

The Ripon Forum

August/September 2006
Volume 40, No. 4



The Lodestar
of George W. Bush

THE LONG WAR

**A Vigilant Nation. A Patient Enemy.
The Battle Abroad. A Key to Our Security.
A Challenge that Remains.**

Plus: Slade Gorton assesses the state of congressional oversight and Bob Walker discusses a plan to reorganize the Executive Branch.



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The Ripon Forum

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Volume 40, No. 4, August/September 2006

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well-researched proposals, and for a spirit
of criticism, innovation, and independent
thinking within the Republican Party.



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A Note from the Chairman Emeritus

Amidst all the despair and uncertainty that gripped the nation following September 11, 2001, there remained a feeling of resolve: resolve to fight terrorism; resolve to defend freedom; resolve to put the tragedy behind us and continue down the more than 200-year old path of democracy.

Five years later, America now finds itself engaged in what President Bush has called “The Long War.” There can be no doubt the war for America began the day we were attacked. But as Dr. Walid Phares argues in his essay, “The Patient Enemy,” the war actually began after the Cold War concluded, when Jihadi terrorists determined that U.S.-led democracy was now the enemy.

We take a look at America’s enemy in this issue of *The Ripon Forum*, but not before Homeland Security Chairman Peter King gives us an update on what’s being done to keep America more secure. In addition, the Pentagon’s future-warfare czar, Terry Pudas, takes a look at one of the main threats facing our military today, while Parney Albright, the Department of Homeland Security’s first-ever Assistant Secretary for Science and Technology, examines one area that is keeping us safer today. And James Gass discusses a challenge that remains in the effort to keep our Nation more secure.

In addition, two veteran lawmakers identify big organizational problems in both the Executive and Legislative branches. Former Senator and 9/11 Commission member Slade Gorton finds Congressional oversight wanting, while former Congressman Bob Walker demonstrates the need for Executive Branch reform. And Jim Laychak talks about the effort he is heading up to build a 9/11 memorial at the Pentagon. Finally, Clay Sell, the Deputy Secretary for Energy, discusses the Global Nuclear Energy Partnership and how it will keep us, and the world, more secure.

We hope you enjoy this issue of *The Ripon Forum* and remember not only those who lost their lives on September 11, but also those who have given and continue to risk their lives in defense of our liberty today.

Bill Frenzel
Chairman Emeritus
Ripon Society

A Vigilant Nation

Five years after the attacks that changed our Nation, America remains on alert.

CONGRESSMAN PETER KING

Since September 11, 2001, Congress has passed a number of important measures that have increased the security of our homeland. These include the Real ID Act, the passage and reauthorization of the Patriot Act, and the creation of the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) itself in 2003. But while these actions have made the United States a more secure nation, we must remain vigilant. There is still much more work to be done.

In recent months, the U.S. House of Representatives has continued to build on this record of accomplishments, passing the SAFE Port Act earlier this year, as well as the Border Security and Terrorism Prevention Act last December. As we're all well aware, border security and immigration remain important national issues, and it is important to remember that the House led the way in calls for stronger border protections. Over the course of the summer, the House has conducted numerous field hearings and site visits to ensure that we find the right solution to the border security and immigration debate. The American people want Congress to adopt legislation that will allow us to regain control of our borders, and that is exactly what the House intends to do.

In May of this year, the Committee on Homeland Security passed another very important piece of legislation — our Hurricane Katrina “Lessons Learned” bill. Our plan will enhance the Federal Emergency Management Agency’s role and resources within the Department of Homeland Security, based upon the successful U.S. Coast Guard model. Like the Coast Guard, FEMA would be granted autonomy within the Department, while still allowing it ready access to important DHS resources, including Customs and Border Protection, the Secret Service, and the Coast Guard itself. Our approach also mandates that the FEMA Director be a qualified and capable leader, as well as making a number of important

preparedness, response, and emergency communications improvements at the federal, state, and local levels. In July, the Senate adopted a plan very similar to ours by an overwhelming 87-11 margin. As the House moves forward, I feel very strongly that our approach should be the centerpiece of reform.

While we work on enhancing our federal disaster response, it is important that we improve security across the country as well. In July, my committee brought forward a chemical plant security bill that increases security at chemical plants nationwide. The bill requires the Secretary of DHS to assess and rank chemical facilities based on risk and ensures that the highest-risk facilities meet stringent security requirements. If enacted into law, this bill will do a great deal to help ensure our nation’s chemical plants continue to operate safely.

Finally, the Committee on Homeland Security continues its push to ensure that homeland security funding is distributed on the basis of risk. Despite the seemingly obvious rationale, this has not been the case, with New York City and Washington, D.C., receiving 40 percent cuts in their anti-terror funding earlier this year. It’s simple, really — anti-terror funding should go to the areas with the greatest threat of terrorist attack. Cities and states should not be discriminated against because of a poorly written application, and grants should most certainly not be doled out based on some arbitrary political formula, as is the case with many first-responder programs. This has been a top priority of mine since I became Chairman last year, and I am determined to see Congress enact a solution. We cannot allow our high-risk cities and states to be shortchanged.

It has been five years since 9/11; but we can never let our guard down, never rest in our efforts to improve national security, and never forget the horrors of that day. Each and every day, we must do all we can to prevent a domestic terror attack from ever happening again. And I promise you that, as long as I am Chairman, the Committee on Homeland Security will continue to do all that we can to ensure that the American people remain safe and secure.

RF

Peter King represents the 3rd District of New York in the U.S. House of Representatives. He serves as Chairman of the Homeland Security Committee.



Peter King, Chairman of the Homeland Security Committee.

A Patient Enemy

On 9/11, America entered a war that the terrorists had already begun.

WALID PHARES

As we mark the fifth anniversary of the 9/11 attacks on America, and we review the half a decade of war on terror since, the central question that comes to the minds of both experts and policymakers is this – who is winning the war and where are we in its prosecution? And to refine, is al Qaeda on the retreat, is Afghanistan working, is Iraq surviving the challenge, and is Lebanon's Cedars Revolution on the rise or has it been defeated? Is Hezbollah's war changing the U.S. strategy regarding Iran and Israel? And finally, is the U.S. homeland secure, or is it penetrated and threatened?

All of these are issues of great importance to Americans, Westerners and societies determined to struggle for democracy and freedom. For even though 9/11 was a benchmark in the history of the U.S., it also became a rallying date in the eyes of the Jihadists for more lethal future attacks, not just in America, but also in Europe, India, Africa and other parts of the world that have tasted the wrath of terror since 2001.

The widening of the war on terrorism and the multiplication of its battlefields has critics claiming Americans have been led in the wrong direction, and that the decision to fight the terrorists on their ground was erroneous. Are the critics right? Or are they wrong?

Five years after the attacks which sparked this long war, a proper review is in order – a review not only of the enemy we face, but of the war we are engaged in and what the future holds in this regard.

The Road to 9/11

It is first important to understand that the road to 9/11 was the result of a patient and perseverant march by the Jihadists Salafists (including al Qaeda), at least since the end of the Cold War, to first test and then engage the United States head on.

In the decades after World War II, the bulk of the Sunni Islamists concentrated on the Soviet Union and communism as a prime enemy, not because they



supported a free market economy and NATO, but because they perceived atheist socialism as a competitor to be eliminated first. Wahabism offered to work with the U.S.-led West against the Soviets, and Washington extended its support to the Mujahidin in Afghanistan.

But as soon as the U.S.S.R. collapsed, the Jihadists regrouped and took aim at the U.S. Their perception of the crumbling of communism in Russia was based on the idea that once they implemented their Salafi form of Sharia and Jihad, "Allah would do the rest." The 1990s witnessed their deliberate ascendancy and repetitive attacks: the first attack on the twin towers in 1993; the attack on the Khobar towers in 1995; the rise of the Taliban in 1996; the Algerian civil war, the Chechnya Jihad, and the Sudan massacres; the 1998 U.S. embassies attacks in Africa; the penetration of the U.S. by terror cells; and finally the September 11, 2001, terror strikes, aimed initially at provoking a Madrid-like collapse in America.

Meanwhile, the other Jihadi powers, Iran and its extension Hezbollah, as well as their Baathist ally in Syria, moved on two fronts – controlling Lebanon and developing nuclear power. In parallel, Hezbollah built a network of cells within the West, while al Qaeda was building theirs.

The Road Since Then

In the wake of 9/11, the U.S. led a coalition to remove

the Taliban from Afghanistan and root out al Qaeda from its sole real estate. After the battles of Tora Bora, state-sponsored Salafi Jihadism was gone (for the time being). A debate then took place within the U.S. government with regard to the next stages in the war against terror. A strategic choice was made to prosecute the war on the grounds of what are essentially police goals – finding terrorist cells, dismantling them, and bringing them to justice, both within the U.S. and worldwide.

This choice was based on the fundamental premise that there is, for the lack of a better term, a “mother ship” out there. It is a ship that is primarily ideological and deeply incrustated in the organizations, regimes, and networks of radical clerics. Al Qaeda is the product of a wider, deeper pool of Wahabism, Salafism and Muslim Brotherhood movements within the greater Middle East and beyond. The political culture they have produced for decades has allowed military dictatorships to espouse their final objectives, obstruct democratization and sink all attempts for peace processes in the region.

Hence, a second strategic choice was also made to intervene internationally within the sphere of influence of the Jihadists. This intervention occurred on two tracks. The first track was geared toward assisting civil societies endangered by violent regimes. The second track was geared toward delivering a war of ideas to delegitimize the ideologies promoting Jihadism and other forms of radicalism.

At the same time this was being done internationally, the U.S. embarked on a course to strengthen its homeland security within its own shores.

The Iraq Campaign

The debate about the Iraq campaign has signaled a lack of national consensus in the U.S. and the West as to what the danger we face actually is and how we should confront it.

While many elites, still unengaged in the war on

terror and still swayed by the oil influenced political culture of the 1990s, looked at the invasion of Iraq as a strategic mistake because of what they perceived as a lack of legitimate claims (regarding the widely reported presence of weapons of mass destruction and the possible link of the Hussein regime to al Qaeda), the real aim of the campaign was the liberation of a segment of Arab and Middle Eastern society ruled by a ruthless dictator.

As I argued in my book *Future Jihad*, the U.S. intervention – which should have taken place a decade earlier – intercepted the rise of a giant Jihadi bloc stretching from Afghanistan to Lebanon equipped with non-conventional arms. Historians will see it clearly. The prosecution of the liberation could have been much better, but the freeing of the Kurds, Shiites and non pro-Saddam Sunnis opened the path for a dynamic to bear fruits to be understood and seen years from now.



**Let there be no doubt --
the Jihadists are a patient enemy.
They are recruiting wider in their
indoctrinated pool. However, let there
also be no doubt that as a result of
U.S. actions abroad, the pool's
future is now in doubt.**

Elections and Democracy

Al Qaeda has been stopped as a geographically-based regime, but it has still been able to wage terrorist attacks from Indonesia to London. The measurement of its success and its failures is not through the numbers of strikes, but by analyzing the global and future growth of the movement. The arrests of terrorists and break-up of terror cells in the U.S., Canada, and elsewhere over the past years and recent months indicate that a

second generation of Jihadists is spreading and readying to target American stability.

Let there be no doubt -- the Jihadists are a patient enemy. They are recruiting wider in their indoctrinated pool. However, let there also be no doubt that as a result of U.S. actions abroad, the pool's future is now in doubt. If one observes the far reaching effects of the Afghanistan elections and the three Iraqi votes, the sociological consequences are revolutionary. In short, there is no return backward.

Despite all the bloody and barbaric slaughter by Zarqawi and his equivalents across the region, the

younger generations and women who were given the opportunity to taste and test the democratic process have leaped into their future. It will take time before the culture of democracy takes root in the civil societies liberated so far, and in those hoping to be later.

But it is now proven through al Qaeda and other totalitarian movements and regimes that the lethal enemy of Jihadism is democracy.

The Cedars Revolution

On another front, and after 32 years of Syrian occupation and Hezbollah terror, Lebanon's Cedars Revolution in 2005 demonstrated that in previously democratic societies, the roots of freedom can redevelop.

Thanks to the U.S.-introduced United Nations Security Council Resolution 1559, which was approved in 2004 and called on Syria to withdraw and Hezbollah to disarm, Lebanese masses from various communities showed the world and their occupiers that popular democracy movements can face off with military power, if backed by the international community.

But the semi-success of Lebanon's revolt triggered a counter attack by the "axis" of the Syrian and Iranian regimes this year. After a series of assassinations of Lebanese politicians, the axis is provoking a war with Israel, in an attempt to take back the small country and bring back Iranian power onto the Mediterranean.

Iran and Syria

Concerned with the regime changes in Afghanistan and in Iraq and with the Cedars Revolution in Beirut, Iran President Mahmoud Ahmadijnad decided to counter these developments in two ways. First, he announced his intention to acquire nuclear capabilities, thereby signaling that Tehran would use nuclear weapons as a shield against future international support to domestic democratic uprisings. Secondly, Ahmadijnad ordered Hamas to sink the peace process among Palestinians and Israelis and instructed Hezbollah wreak havoc in Lebanon by attacking Israel.

Forced from Lebanon and threatened by the Hariri

assassination investigation, the Assad regime converged with Tehran and Hezbollah on a regional terror plan. But both regimes in Iran and Syria and their allied organizations in Gaza and Lebanon have disclosed their plans early in the process, just as Bin Laden did on September 11. They've attacked civil societies while democratic movements are on the rise. In Damascus and Tehran, youth, women and reformists have understood the message of the war of ideas. Despite terror and bloodshed, the future is for them to struggle for.

War of Ideas

To experts and historians alike, it is clear that the war on terror is centering on the war of ideas. The ability of societies ruled by terror regimes and ideologies to realize the essence of the war and what it means to them is critical. But just as critical is the ability of the members of these societies to understand that when the U.S. and its allies intervene in a post 9/11 era, it is not to rule over them and govern their way of life. Rather, it is to free them so that they can make the choices they deem appropriate.

It is the ability to make choices that will defeat terrorism, be it Jihadi or Baathist. The struggles in Afghanistan, Iraq and Lebanon today are about new democracies, freed by the U.S. and its coalition, attempting to grow, while forces of fascism and Jihadism are attempting to keep them down.

The debate in Washington needs to grasp and aggressively emphasize that dimension of the conflict, for without this understanding, U.S. support for the real war on terror will fade.

And then we would be playing into the hands of an enemy that is not only extremely patient, but ideologically deadly, as well. **RF**

Dr. Walid Phares is a Senior Fellow with the Foundation for the Defense of Democracies in Washington. He is the author of Future Jihad: Terrorist Strategies Against America.

The Battle Abroad

Today, the greatest threat to our military does not come from armed forces, but, rather, from moral ones.

BY TERRY PUDAS

As the United States confronts this Long War against terrorism, a critical debate has emerged over the relationship of the nation's military force to foreign policy and moral principle. Put baldly: US military power is today so superior that the only way any nation or stateless group can counter it is by appealing to moral principle. This is the real battleground in the years ahead, and it is essential that U.S. national security policy recognize the growing relationship between military strength, foreign policy, and moral principle.

Any fundamental critique of American policy in Iraq, for example, can be seen as a variation of Lord Acton's observation that "power corrupts, and absolute power corrupts absolutely." It is not the change in the Iraqi regime and the removal of a despot that concerns the critics. Nor is it the conduct of the military operation through which we did this. It is American willingness to use our military power, and the strength of that power, that, to some observers, implies we are becoming less limited by moral principle in foreign policy. Indeed, some pundits now argue that planning inside the Pentagon focuses strictly on "asymmetric warfare" — on how enemies might seek to counter U.S. military power militarily — largely uncoupled from and unconcerned with the moral principle component of foreign policy. But they are incorrect.

Founded on the sensible assumption that no enemy would fight the United States military the way the U.S. military hopes, trains, equips, and prepares for an enemy to fight, we have tried to think seriously about how we don't want our enemies to fight. So, we presume a military enemy would be inclined to fight us asymmetrically — to do the things we would prefer not to do. We don't like to use our power indiscriminately, so we presume an enemy might seek to do so; that is, prefer to use weapons of mass destruction.

We prefer to attack an enemy's armed forces or at least those means of production, communications, control, and support that tie directly to his military capabilities. So, an enemy, we presume, would be far more willing to direct violence against civilians; that is, to engage in



A protester pulls a U.S. marine in protest during a joint U.S.-South Korea military exercise at Mallipo beach, southwest of Seoul in March 2006.

terror. We don't want to fight long, bloody wars — we call them quagmires. But, an enemy, we presume, might want to fight those kinds of wars for that very reason.

There's nothing wrong with considering such contingencies. That we may have to face them is a very sensible assumption, and one that enhances the deterrent effects of our military capabilities.

The real danger in concentrating on asymmetric warfare possibilities is that it can divert attention from the main threat to American military power. The main threat is not coming from a concerted, effective effort to develop asymmetric military counters to U.S. military power. It is coming from criticisms based on moral principle. It is not American military power, per se, that concerns others. It is that the use of our military power will undermine the moral principle side of the foreign policy equation.

This concern bridges the widely divergent explanations of U.S. behavior held by friends and foe alike. The themes of Osama bin Laden's fatwa and recruitment videos claim U.S. power is morally corrupt and emphasize the moral imperative of opposing it. The British Sir Timothy Garton Ash argues that "there is a growing concern that this rich, commercial, high technology, well-armed, superpower is minded to take ever less notice of the views of other states or the constraints of the international system."¹ These are not mere justifications of the balance of power by nations seeking their self-interest. They are judgments that U.S. military power is unconstrained by morality.

Why should we heed such views, and, if we do, how should the United States link its military power with moral principle? As the war on terrorism shows, there is deep dispute on the merits of different ethical and moral systems. Not everyone in the world agrees with

our ethical and moral system, and many seek to rally allegiance to systems inimical to ours. Their ability to recruit adherents to another ethical and moral system is due in part to the increasingly ubiquitous information technology that makes it much faster to inspire and focus hatreds, rally like-minded people, and mobilize lethal force. The perception that American foreign and military power have a weak moral foundation lowers the barrier to mobilizing opposition.

The link between military power and moral principle occurs in the purpose of American military power, and in the way we use it. We should make clear that the purpose of American military power is not to establish or maintain American sovereignty over other nations or peoples. It is to protect the United States and help enforce universally applicable moral principles, among which are the sanctity of life, liberty, and justice

Another answer stems from the character of our military forces and how we use our military power. Here our moral compass is a commitment to avoiding harm to the innocent and truth and candor in explaining why we use force.

These are generalizations, the real meanings of which become clear with respect to military transformation. The Defense Department's interest in military transformation, for example, focuses on building military capabilities that can apply force faster, with greater precision, across greater distances, with lower risk to the men and women who wield the force, and less danger to the innocent. We do this because such forces provide greater military effectiveness. But we also do it because the resulting character of the forces — forces that are highly networked, knowledge rich, loosely-coupled, more able to operate jointly — are better able to meet the moral commitment to avoid harm to the innocent. The investments we are making in the ability to collect, process, and distribute information will help that force discriminate, not just among physical complexes, specific buildings, rooms, or other smaller areas, but also among individuals. The precision weapons we are buying will allow that force to reduce collateral damage as will the non-lethal weapons we are developing.

We are transforming the U.S. military from a force that epitomized industrial age military power — designed to shock, awe, outlast and overwhelm other industrial age militaries and the societies that built and maintained them — to a force designed to prevent the use of violence and genocide by others. In doing so, we seek to be able to quickly alter undeterred and budding conflict, and to

be able to end armed conflict and restore civil society quickly.

The force we are building to provide these capabilities will differ greatly from the force we are leaving behind. Some of the differences are already visible, and will emerge more clearly over the next several years. These changes are likely to include a shift away from the pattern of forward garrisons, some of which we have maintained for decades. We will move toward sea-based deployments and greater reliance on maneuvering from strategic distances; that is, from basing hubs at greater distances from the area in which we use military force. We will begin to reintegrate into the active force the support, military police, and civil affairs units that we sent to the reserve components a generation ago. We will change the way we modernize the force. And we will increasingly see U.S. military forces as an instrument we use to export security, not just project power; to prevent aggression or terrorism, not just to punish it after it occurs; to provide political solutions, not just win on the battlefield.

And we will accompany these changes in the force with differences in how we explain their use. We will extend access to the transparency our technology provides our military forces to the world as a whole. Over the last decade U.S. officials have increasingly revealed the results of sophisticated intelligence. We may well seek to make the world as transparent to the general public as we once reserved only to our military forces. It is not a new notion to the United States. We were founded on the principle that a decent respect for the opinions of mankind requires that we declare and make clear the causes of our actions.

We will do all this, and more, because it will make us more militarily effective. But we will also do it because we recognize that power, uncoupled from moral principle, cannot be sustained. **RF**

Terry Pudas is the Acting Director of the Office of Force Transformation at the Department of Defense.

It is not American military power, per se, that concerns others. It is that the use of our military power will undermine the moral principle side of the foreign policy equation.

¹ Sir Timothy Garden, *US Hyperpower: what role for Europe?* Quinlan Lecture King's College London 22 May 2002.

A Key to Our Security

America's ability to field and deploy new technology is critical to the Long War.

PENROSE C. ALBRIGHT

When the President and Congress designed the Department of Homeland Security, one of the many rationales for the new Department was to provide a focal point for the development of innovative technologies aimed at securing the homeland.

Even the most casual observer would recognize the spectacular impact technology has had as an enabler and force multiplier for the U.S. military. Just as science and technology has been crucial to our ability to defeat past and present enemies overseas, so too would it be put to work to defeat those who would attack our homeland and disrupt our way of life.

Until this administration, there had been little focus historically on homeland security technology development. Precedence has been given in the past to efforts associated with developing capability for our military and intelligence community, with the implicit idea that we would deter and, if needed, defeat threats to our nation overseas. While overseas engagement is still, appropriately, the dominant element to our security posture, the attacks of September 11th, the anthrax attacks that occurred soon afterwards, and the ensuing examination of our vulnerabilities and the motivations of our enemies made it clear that we needed to bolster our defenses here at home.

The nation possesses a vast technology enterprise — companies, universities, institutes, and government labs of all sizes conduct research and development over a very broad range. Thus, a key mission for the Department of Homeland Security is to harness this resource, and the knowledge it represents, to the mission of homeland security.

Despite its newness, this effort has already borne fruit for the American people. The nation is truly safer today than it was before 9/11, due in large part to technological innovations that help us detect, intercept and respond to potential acts of terrorism more swiftly than ever before imagined.

The Department deployed sensors to over 30 cities to



Sensors used to track biological, chemical and radiological agents sit on the side of a U.S. Post office building in New York City in June 2003.

detect aerosol releases of dangerous biological pathogens — in a timely enough manner to treat the exposed populations and minimize the impact. Chemical and biological sensors have been deployed to transit systems and facilities where crowds of people are gathered, in some cases for special events, in other cases permanently. The Department continues to deploy radiation sensors to our borders to detect the illicit transport of radioactive materials, and is experimenting with capabilities to similarly protect our cities. The Department continues to develop and release standards for radiation detection equipment; for biological pathogen detectors; for interoperable communications; and other types of equipment that might be purchased by federal agencies, the private sector, and state and local agencies. And, of course, systems that detect the presence of explosives have been deployed to our airports.

However, virtually all of these deployments were the result of technology investments that were begun prior to 9/11, and thus could be brought quickly to completion by the new Department. Most of these technologies, while providing needed protection, did not meet the full set of domestic security requirements. Thus, as the Department was completing and deploying these capabilities, it also began, with the enthusiastic support of Congress, a series of research and development programs specifically aimed at meeting the needs of homeland security. The philosophy was — and remains — to improve the technology in spirals, deploying what is available in the near term while at the

same time maintaining a research and development effort aimed at providing the next generation of capability.

For example, as noted earlier, the Biowatch program has deployed to over 30 cities a system for detecting aerosolized biological attacks (such as anthrax). The system, as might be imagined, has stringent performance requirements in terms of both sensitivity — the amount of pathogen that needs to be present before the system alarms — and in terms of its ability to not alarm when it shouldn't. The technology that was available in 2003 that met those (and other) needs requires, every day in each city, lots of analysis by technicians working to capacity in laboratories with specialized equipment. This creates a bottleneck that limits the number of detectors that can be deployed to each city, and ultimately limits the ability of the system to protect the public from some attack scenarios of concern. Thus, in 2004 DHS initiated the development of a new class of innovative Biowatch detectors that remove the need for all of that touch labor. This project has stressed the state of the art, and pilot deployments are expected to begin in 2007, with thousands of detectors then deployed across the Nation soon afterward.

In the realm of nuclear detection, a program was initiated at our Nation's borders to prevent the illicit transport of radioactive materials. This includes material (such as easily available medical radiation sources) that might be spread over an area in a so-called "dirty bomb" to disrupt, for example, the operations at a port. Of greatest concern, however, would be any attempt to bring in to the United States fissile material — the stuff of nuclear weapons. Unfortunately, nuclear weapons and the material used within them are not highly radioactive, making them difficult to detect. A further complication is that there are many naturally occurring or legitimate sources of radiation that cross our borders every day — examples include kitty litter, bananas, and turbine blades — whose overall radioactivity is similar to that of the nuclear threat.

The sensors that were available for deployment in 2003 could certainly detect many of the threats of interest, and hence their deployment has significantly improved the security of the Nation. However, they are unable to discriminate between a nuclear weapon and legitimate shipments, which means that every truck or vehicle crossing the border with the right amount of radioactive material will cause an alarm, and require that vehicle to be pulled over and inspected in detail. At some

ports of entry into the U.S., the frequency with which this occurs causes a bottleneck that ultimately limits the ability of the currently deployed generation of sensors to address the full spectrum of threats.

Recognizing this, in 2003 DHS initiated a program to develop the next generation of radiation sensors that have the ability to automatically sort out legitimate shipments from threats, thus greatly reducing the inspection bottleneck, and providing a system that will address a much greater range of nuclear smuggling scenarios. Deployments to the border will begin in 2007. This new capability will also make practical the deployment of nuclear detection technology to venues other than border ports of entry, such as toll booths and truck weighing stations. With the creation of the Domestic Nuclear Detection Office within DHS, the engineering of this and future generation systems is unified with the budgets

needed for large scale deployment, and is coordinated with overseas programs managed by the Departments of State, Energy, and Defense.

These are but two examples that demonstrate the commitment that the administration has made to innovation and its application to homeland security. Many others could be cited. If effective technology exists to protect the American public, then it has been deployed. Behind the scenes, however, an effort has been underway, with hundreds of millions invested each year, to focus "state of the art" science and engineering on detecting very high consequence threats to the Nation. This represents an asymmetric advantage we as a nation hold in the war on terrorism, and hence requires a sustained commitment of resources and talent.

Perhaps the greatest innovation in homeland security is the importance that has been placed by the administration and Congress on innovation! As the Nation fights terrorism, it is developing the tools that can help us win. It is a unique and historic undertaking. **RF**

Dr. Penrose Albright served as Assistant Secretary for Science and Technology at the Department of Homeland Security. Prior to that, he was Assistant Director for Homeland and National Security in the White House Office of Science and Technology Policy. He is currently Managing Director at the Civitas Group LLC.

The nation is truly safer today than it was before 9/11, due in large part to technological innovations that help us detect, intercept and respond to potential acts of terrorism more swiftly than ever before imagined.

A Challenge that Remains

America's first responders still have trouble communicating among themselves.

JAMES M. GASS

On September 11, 2001, the American people learned again how vulnerable our Nation was to a terrorist attack.

In the five years since, Congress and the President have taken a number of important steps to make sure we are not attacked again. Among other things, they have strengthened security at airports, established the Department of Homeland Security, and increased anti-terrorism spending to the highest level ever.

But in at least one important area, several Administrations and Congresses have been too slow in their efforts to keep our homeland secure. This area has less to do with our ability to prevent another attack than it does with our ability to respond to another attack or major natural disaster. More specifically, it has to do with the ability of our first responders to communicate with each other.

The attacks of 9/11 re-exposed serious problems in that regard. Stories abound of firefighters on the ground outside the World Trade Center not being able to talk to firefighters climbing the stairs inside because their radios were incompatible. Similar stories were heard from first responders at the Pentagon, as well. Lives were lost that day because of this kind of lack of communication. Unfortunately, this was not a new lesson learned. The responder community had cited communications interoperability as its number one concern for years before 9/11.

Post 9/11 progress remains slow. In fact, a June 2004 survey of 192 cities by the National Conference of Mayors found that 60 percent of those responding indicated that city public safety departments did not have interoperability with the state emergency operations center, while 88 percent did not have interoperability with the Department of Homeland Security.

Even prior to 9/11, the National Memorial Institute for the Prevention of Terrorism (MIPT) began sponsoring two programs designed to not only provide more information on the equipment and interoperability



A firefighter walks away from Ground Zero after the collapse of the Twin Towers.

challenges our Nation's first responders currently face, but propose a set of common sense solutions, as well.

The first program was called *Project Responder*. In recognition of the previously unthinkable threat of terrorists' use of chemical, biological, radiological, nuclear and explosive weapons, *Project Responder* evaluated needed capabilities as stated by first responders themselves. It also studied the state of current technology and provided information that could help inform or provide a roadmap for federal and private sector research and development agendas.

Project Responder resulted in a comprehensive report titled "National Technology Plan for Emergency Response to Catastrophic Terrorism" (available on MIPT's web site, www.mipt.org). One section of the report is devoted to "Unified Incident Command, Decision Support and Interoperable Communications" and has to do with a significant part of the capabilities needed by responders. In addition to the clear increases in capabilities that interoperable communications would provide, many other highly desired and needed functional capabilities could be enabled by interoperable communications.

These functional capabilities are currently not available, but could be achievable at low technological risk. They include: 1) point location and identification to help incident commanders know where their personnel and equipment are at any given time; 2) seamless connectivity to aid when multiple agencies and jurisdictions work together at a site; and, 3) information

assurance to ensure the availability of information, as well as what is communicated, not be compromised by adversaries during a crisis.

Providing command information and dissemination tools and multimedia functional capabilities were also identified by *Project Responder*, but were not as highly prioritized as the previous three. One of the key findings was that technology already exists to achieve interoperable communications. New research and development into communications technologies is not needed to solve interoperability. Instead, *Project Responder* concluded that “organizational changes, equipment/interface standards, and practice/training may be more relevant than technology in solving some of the problems.”

The second MIPT initiative impacting interoperability issues is the Lessons Learned Information Sharing (LLIS) system. LLIS, which can be found online at www.llis.gov, was developed by MIPT in conjunction with the Department of Homeland Security. It is a national, online network of Lessons Learned and Best Practices designed to help emergency response providers and homeland security officials prevent, prepare for, respond to, and recover from acts of terrorism. LLIS reveals that interoperability is a recurring problem among first responders nationwide. In my mind, these projects highlight five challenges that need to be taken into consideration if these problems are going to be overcome.

The first challenge has to do with leadership. In short, Congress and the President must provide the first response community with a national vision for interoperable communications and strategies to make this vision a reality. State and local jurisdictions buy equipment based on their own needs and resources. Without an overarching national strategy, there will be no coherence to these purchases, and true interoperability will be all the more difficult to achieve.

The second area concerns the issue of frequency spectrum. Although Congress recently passed and the President signed into law legislation that will allow access to portions of the 700MHz spectrum that first responders utilize and depend on, there will still be competition (with huge financial implications) over how much and what parts to dedicate to the emergency response community — and access to that part of the spectrum is still two and a half years away. I don’t know how much is enough, but all the major response associations have experts in

that issue and we should pay very close attention to what they say is required and then have the national will to provide it.

Third, there is a lack of standards for interoperable communications. Progress is being made on that front, but it is painfully slow as all standards development efforts tend to be. Standards must include not only the technical elements, but must also insure that we have the necessary test procedures and protocols in place to allow for third party testing and certification. We insist on certification testing for responder personal protective equipment — we should do no less for their communications equipment.

Fourth, we need to think about how to establish a common operating procedure. I spent 30 years in the U.S. Army, and we always had a set of Signal Operating Instructions (SOIs we called them) which enabled all who came into an area of operations to know who to call and on what frequency based on their level of command and function. While it may be desirable to have the capability for everyone to be able to talk to everyone else, that would be chaotic and is not how we would want to operate.

Fifth, and after we have all of the above, we will have to deal with the issue of phasing out all of the legacy communications systems. With the millions of communications systems in existence today, we will have to be smart about that or we may waste enormous amounts of resources. Several bridging/gateway technologies already exist that can help us phase into standards compliant communications systems.

Of all these challenges, perhaps the most important one is the first one listed above. For in the end, it’s not so much about technology, though technology is obviously important. It’s about Congress and the Executive Branch forcing changes that should have been made years ago — changes that will help save lives and keep our Nation’s first responders more secure. **RF**

James M. Gass is Deputy Director of the National Memorial Institute for the Prevention of Terrorism in Oklahoma City.

Stories abound of firefighters on the ground outside the World Trade Center not being able to talk to firefighters climbing the stairs inside because their radios were incompatible. Similar stories were heard from first responders at the Pentagon, as well.

Q&A

With Clay Sell

Clay Sell was sworn in as Deputy Secretary of Energy on March 21, 2005. In this role, he serves as the Department's Chief Operating Officer, assisting the Secretary with policy and programmatic oversight over the 100,000 employee, \$23 billion agency. He plays a vital role in maintaining and strengthening the economic and national security of the Nation, and is a driving force behind the Global Nuclear Energy Partnership, which he discusses with *The Ripon Forum* below:



U.S. Dept. of Energy Deputy Secretary Clay Sell (right) discusses the Global Nuclear Energy Partnership at the Foreign Press Center in Washington, DC, with Robert Joseph, U.S. Under Secretary of State for Arms Control and International Security.

RF: *What is the goal of the Global Nuclear Energy Partnership?*

Sell: The primary goals of GNEP are: 1) To increase access to clean, non-emitting nuclear energy throughout the world; 2) Increase the amount of energy generated by nuclear fuel while decreasing the amount of material that must be disposed in a waste repository; and 3) Reduce the risk of proliferation by providing fuel cycle services to developing countries so they do not need to develop uranium enrichment or spent fuel reprocessing capabilities.

RF: *What is the reaction among other countries to this initiative?*

Sell: International interest in GNEP has been very strong. DOE has briefed energy officials in foreign capitals, government representatives at the IAEA in Vienna, and visiting foreign dignitaries. Many Embassy Science Counselors in Washington have received briefings at DOE Headquarters.

We can't speak for individual countries, but in general, many countries have expressed strong interest in participating in the GNEP vision. For example, Russian President Putin was quoted in the media recently as speaking favorably about GNEP and his country's potential involvement.

It's important to note that GNEP, right now, is a vision and a work in progress. It's also important to note that the "P" in GNEP stands for partnership. We intend to continue to have discussions with other countries over the best way to attain the GNEP vision, which is making nuclear power available to every country without developing countries having to construct fuel cycle

facilities for enrichment or reprocessing. We are also making progress with some of our international partners on defining joint work needed to demonstrate advanced recycling technologies.

We intend to continue to have discussions with other countries over the best way to attain the GNEP vision, which is making nuclear power available to every country without developing countries having to construct fuel cycle facilities for enrichment or reprocessing.

RF: *What about the reaction on Capitol Hill?*

Sell: The reaction has generally been quite positive, depending upon the individual member. As the Energy Department provides more detail about the GNEP vision and how it hopes to go about obtaining that vision, I believe there will be even greater acceptance of GNEP. We are hopeful that Congress

will fund the GNEP program at the Administration's full request of \$250 million for FY07, a tangible endorsement of the GNEP vision.

RF: *The House voted this past May to cut the Administration's funding request for GNEP. Does this reflect a lack of support for the program itself, or a*

concern over how it falls in with other budget priorities? Do you think these cuts will be restored in conference?

Sell: Probably a little of both, but as we make progress detailing and explaining the GNEP vision, I believe many House members are becoming more comfortable with the program. I'm hopeful when the Conference Committee completes its work this fall, DOE will receive full funding for its FY '07 request for GNEP.

RF: *Do you think the American people are ready for a new emphasis and expansion of nuclear power?*

Sell: Yes. Polling from a number of sources has told us over recent years that the majority of Americans support nuclear power as a part of this country's energy portfolio. I am excited about the prospects for nuclear power in the U.S. and abroad. Nuclear power proves to be a safe, clean and emissions-free alternative to fossil fuels, which is why President Bush and we at the Energy Department are doing everything we can to support and encourage the expansion of such a promising source of power.

The U.S. currently gets 20 percent of our electricity from nuclear energy in the United States and we look forward to getting more nuclear power plants up and running soon. And hopefully, as a result of the Energy Policy Act of 2005, which makes available federal risk insurance for the first six new nuclear power plants, industry will have enough incentive and support to move forward – which could eventually have enormous consequences for the American energy sector, for our economy, for our national security and for generations to come.

RF: *Practically speaking, if all goes as the Administration hopes, when would the United States start seeing the benefits of this Partnership?*

Sell: I believe we are already seeing some benefits, in that countries all over the world are talking about the GNEP vision of providing fuel cycle services

that will give developing nations access to nuclear power without having to build enrichment or reprocessing facilities. Hopefully, this discussion will lead to commitments that developing countries can rely on.

In this country, DOE is moving forward with looking at potential sites and technologies for two important GNEP facilities:

- An Advanced Burner Reactor, which is a fast reactor that will use transmutation fuel and consume transuranic elements within the fuel and generate electricity.
- A Consolidated Fuel Treatment Center, where usable uranium and transuranics would be extracted from spent light-water reactor fuel for use in fabricating fast reactor fuel.

DOE anticipates beginning an environmental impact study of technologies and sites sometime this year. A final decision on whether to proceed with facilities would be made in 2008, followed by construction. **RF**

The U.S. currently gets 20 percent of our electricity from nuclear energy in the United States and we look forward to getting more nuclear power plants up and running soon.



For more information on the Global Nuclear Energy Partnership, please visit the Department of Energy's website for the initiative at www.gnep.energy.gov.



Deputy Secretary Sell (center) receives an explanation of GNEP-related nuclear energy technologies during a visit in June 2006 to the Oak Ridge National Lab's Radiochemical Engineering Development Center.

Stuck on September 10th

Outdated congressional committee system needs to be reformed.

SLADE GORTON

One of the most important recommendations of the 9/11 Commission is to strengthen Congressional oversight. While the Congress acted promptly on Commission recommendations to restructure the Executive Branch, and while we have so far succeeded in preventing any further terrorist attacks in the United States, Congress has done little to reform itself.

Why does such reform matter? The answer is simple. All of the reforms in law, policy, and practice recommended by the Commission require the attention and guidance of the Congress if they are to be implemented and sustained over time. Difficult and complex reforms of our government are at risk if Congress is not a partner in helping them to succeed.

There is also a fundamental question of checks and balances. The Congress has created a powerful Director of National Intelligence and a National Counterterrorism Center. It has provided broadened investigative authorities to the Executive Branch, and authorized more intrusive transportation and border inspection measures. Under our Constitution, the Congress must also provide an effective check and balance on the actions of



9/11 Commission member Slade Gorton (L) talks to Commission Chairman Thomas Kean before the start of a Commission hearing in Washington, DC, in 2004.

the Executive by conducting robust oversight over the exercise of these authorities.

Congress cannot play its proper role if its oversight committees are weak. Strong oversight by the Congress protects our liberties and makes our policies better. Our freedom and safety depend on getting this balance right.

So what should the Congress do?

First, the Committees on Intelligence and Homeland Security need to be powerful, standing Committees of the Congress, with sufficient and capable staff, strong investigative powers, and exclusive jurisdiction. They should not have to share jurisdiction or be subject to sequential referral over key elements in their jurisdiction.

Reforms at the outset of the current Congress did not meet this test. There were some modest changes: the Senate Intelligence Committee removed term limits,

reduced its membership, created an oversight subcommittee, and limited sequential referrals. Its House counterpart created an oversight subcommittee. On homeland security, both the House and Senate created permanent Committees, but the Senate Committee has authority over only 30 percent of the Department of Homeland Security's budget, and 8 percent of the Department's personnel.

The Intelligence Committees should have sole jurisdiction over the National Intelligence Program. The Homeland Security Committees should have sole jurisdiction over all counterterrorism elements of the Department of Homeland Security. There should be clear lines of accountability, both by the Executive to the Congress, and by congressional oversight committees to the public. The public needs to know which committees have responsibility for oversight.

Second, there should be

Appropriations subcommittees that clearly track the jurisdiction of the authorizing committees. It is clear that the Congress will not create a single Intelligence Committee with both authorization and appropriation powers, as the Commission originally recommended. The next best solution is to create appropriations subcommittees for intelligence that track the jurisdiction of the authorizing committees, as the Congress has done for homeland security.

To underscore the weakness of the current system of oversight, note that the Congress did not complete action on either an Intelligence or Homeland Security authorization bill for this year. Prospects for FY

'07 look no better. The Committees are too weak, or too divided, to guide the legislation to completion. In the absence of policy guidance

Strong oversight by the Congress protects our liberties and makes our policies better. Our freedom and safety depend on getting this balance right.

from the responsible committees charged with oversight, who is minding the store?

We should not place our confidence in congressional oversight structures for national security that were designed at the beginning of the Cold War. The Nation needs to reform all its national security institutions.

The first order of business for the 110th Congress should be to reform its own Committee structures to meet the security challenges of a new era. **RF**

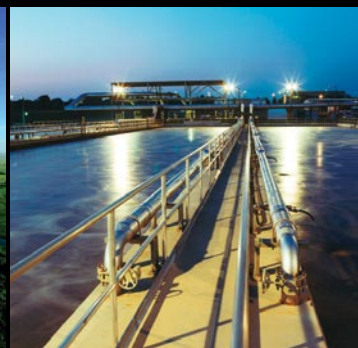
Slade Gorton served on the National Commission On Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States. Previously, he represented Washington State in the U.S. Senate. He is currently Of Counsel at Preston Gates & Ellis.

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The Super Solution to Government Dysfunction

It's not just Congress that needs to be reformed.

ROBERT S. WALKER

This past June, Google announced that it was establishing a federal search engine to help people find government material on the Internet.

In developing this search engine, Google was recognizing a basic fact of life in the 21st century – mainly, given the size and scope of the federal government today, Americans need help working and navigating across federal agency lines.

But it's not just Americans in general who need this kind of assistance. Federal workers in particular need this kind of help, as well. Unfortunately, this is a fact too often ignored by Federal managers, who are restrained by a structure and system that was designed to meet the needs of the past century, not the current one.

Indeed, for years, the federal government has been told that horizontal management across traditional agency jurisdictions is the only way the country can deal with complex and seemingly intractable problems. Presidential

Commissions as wide ranging as the 9/11 Commission, the Commission on Reforming the Intelligence Community, and the Aerospace Commission, which I headed, have looked at different venues of Federal activity but arrived at a common conclusion – the need for greater cross agency decision-making.

The calls for horizontal management as opposed to the use of vertical single mission stovepipes for strategy and decisions are not surprising. Private industry facing



Former President Herbert C. Hoover, in 1949, standing in back of stacks of reports for Hoover Commission Studies.

the complexities of management in a world changed by instant information and global product cycles has torn down vertical structures and replaced them with leaner management teams capable of responding quickly to changed circumstances. When government is viewed in the same light, its failure to change is stark and unacceptable.

In some cases, largely under emergency conditions, Congress and the Administration have responded to the calls for government reform with restructuring. The formation of the Department of Homeland Security and the creation of the Office of the Director of National Intelligence are examples. The recommendation of the Aerospace Commission calling for a joint effort between the Department of Transportation, the Defense Department and NASA to plan and implement a new air traffic control system resulted in a Joint Program Office which is working that mission.

The problem is that handling government reform and restructuring one issue or one emergency at a time is micro-managing an issue which needs macro-management thinking. Too often the restructuring done in emergency situations is thrown together without much thought beyond the current crisis. Consider, for instance, the proposals for taking the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) back out of the Department of Homeland Security just after the Hurricane Katrina mess. Whether it was right or wrong to put FEMA into DHS just after 9/11, the notion of going back and rethinking the decision in response to the next crisis is the antithesis of proper decision-making.

What should be done is a total rethink of the structure of the Federal Government. The last time such a task was undertaken was the Hoover Commission work in the post-World War II era. The generation of leaders

following World War II recognized that the Federal Government faced new circumstances and challenges that belied government structures dating back to the 19th Century. The Hoover Commission recommendations – many of which were adopted – went to wholesale changes in both the executive and legislative branches of the Federal establishment.

In the 21st Century, the governmental structures of the mid-20th Century are no longer relevant or workable. Back then, vertical integration of bureaucracies made perfect sense. Today, those bureaucracies are locked inside their own definitions of priority and have become intractable cultures. Too often the cultures see other Federal agencies as rivals and seek not to cooperate toward common governmental goals but rather to hold on to agency jurisdiction and predominance no matter what the cost to the common good. In Congress, many of the most bitter battles involve issues of committee jurisdiction.

In a world where every citizen has more access to detailed information than the most senior Federal bureaucrat had just a few years ago, recalcitrant and petrified bureaucracies do not produce answers to problems. Rather, they are problems themselves. In a world of globalized politics and economics, vertically integrated agencies cannot act swiftly or decisively enough to address problems and crisis.

So, we face the question of what to do. The macro-political answer is to institute another Hoover-like Commission. A Commission with broad authority appointed by the

President and Congress to look at the entire government structure and recommend broad-based reforms and restructuring would be ideal. If instituted and successful in its mission, implementation of the recommendations in the face of entrenched interests would prove challenging, but at least a plan would be in place. And, at some point, the wisdom of having a Federal Government that comports to economic and political reality has to lead to action. But until we get to Hoover-like recommendations and implementation, the Administration could take meaningful steps that would result in vastly more horizontal decision-making inside

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of commonly shared jurisdictions.

One possible step that the President could take on his own without the approval of Congress would be to create five “Super Secretaries” within his Cabinet. These Super Secretaries would assume a policy coordinating function across multiple departments and agencies and would be presidentially designated from among current Cabinet Officers. For example, there should be a Super Secretary for National Security who would coordinate policy for

the Department of Defense, the Department of State, the Director of National Intelligence and such other agencies as the President might include. Other Super Secretaries could encompass Economy and Trade; Justice, Border and Homeland Security; Energy, Environment and Science and Technology; and Human Resources and Transportation.

Several important reforms would result from the Super Secretary restructure. The President would have a manageable number of key advisors who actually run departments but are forced to think more broadly. The Congress would have to respond to the new reality of a restructured policy function in the Executive Branch and make Committee jurisdictional changes of its own. Former interagency battle lines would be rethought in light of broader policy initiatives. Finally, because the Super Secretaries have the ear of the President, new ideas and priorities would flow more authoritatively to the agencies.

Would there be problems implementing such a plan? Sure. Egos would be bruised. Entrenched interests would be challenged. Boldness always has its critics.

But the alternative to doing something bold and controversial that moves the Federal Government into 21st Century reality is to accept the present state of dysfunction. Our most successful Presidents generally ran their administrations with a minimum number of close advisors and a very broad concept of success. Abraham Lincoln, Franklin Roosevelt and Ronald Reagan clearly defined goals that transcended bureaucracies and moved with focused determination

toward those goals. The Federal Government as now structured frustrates that kind of leadership. Government disorganization and dysfunction are part and parcel of public disenchantment. And when crises are mismanaged as a result of dysfunctionality, the political consequences are often severe.

In an article commenting on the Super Secretary concept, former presidential advisor James Pinkerton stated that the way the Federal government is currently configured is at the heart of the problem. "If you will," Pinkerton wrote, "It's the system, stupid."

Presidential commissions have said the same thing time and time again. The public knows that

the government is not working because they witness the results that impact their lives. No one believes that the present state of the Federal establishment is in sync with the new realities of politics and economics; of information expansion and information security; of global changes and confrontations demanding swift and decisive action.

Just as the Hoover Commission was established 60 years ago to recommend structural changes to the federal government at the end of World War II, so too do we need another presidential commission to make a similar set of recommendations today. But until such a commission is established,

we need to look for ways to move us closer toward some of the reforms we know that are needed.

The establishment of Super Secretaries would do just that. It would be but one step toward addressing much bigger needs. But it could be a super one. **RF**

Robert S. Walker is Chairman of Wexler & Walker Public Policy Associates. He served as Chairman of the Commission on the Future of the United States Aerospace Industry. From 1977 to 1997, he represented the 16th District of Pennsylvania in the U.S. House of Representatives.



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Never Forget

Pentagon Memorial
will be a fitting
remembrance for
the victims of 9/11.

JAMES J. LAYCHAK

Distance runners talk about the “bell lap.” Horse trainers talk about the “home stretch.” At most football games, you see players hold up four fingers signifying the start of the fourth quarter.

What do all those expressions have in common? They all recognize that to finish a race or game, special effort is needed. A special effort is required to reach the goals that those individuals or teams are trying to achieve. Nobody ever won a game or a race by coasting through the final moments of the contest.

The Pentagon Memorial broke ground on June 15th. This was a significant day — a day that marked the beginning of construction of the memorial and gave us a view of the finish line, which will be a ceremony to dedicate the completed memorial in the fall of 2008. That will no doubt be a day to cherish. It will be a day in which everyone who remembers the horror and tragedy of September 11th will be able to see a memorial that not only pays tribute to the lives lost on 9/11, but also offers returning servicemen and women a place to visit and know why they were called to duty in the Long War.

The Pentagon Memorial will be on a 1.9 acre park that sits adjacent to the west wall of the Pentagon, within sight of the impact zone. The park will be filled with 184 cantilevered benches that rest over reflecting pools of water, one for each of the



Nighttime depiction of the Pentagon Memorial. The Memorial will feature 184 cantilevered benches, each to be lit at night, and each inscribed with the name of a victim who lost his or her life on September 11, 2001.

fallen. The benches will be aligned in order of age from youngest to oldest. They will be angled toward the air for those who lost their lives on Flight 77, and toward the Pentagon for those whose lives were claimed in the building. Each bench will be unique in its position within the park, reminding us that every life lost was special and unique. The Pentagon Memorial will truly be a place of remembrance, reflection and renewal.

Yet amid these lofty thoughts, today, tomorrow, and next month there remains work to be done.

Indeed, as the President of the Pentagon Memorial Fund, part of my job is to create a level of excitement and anticipation for the memorial — to let people know what it will look like when complete and how it will impact visitors who look at the names on the benches and remember 9/11. But in the afterglow of the groundbreaking and recent excitement, I find myself repeating one message to everyone I come into contact with, whether they are a family member, a donor or an interested party. The message is simple — it is time to finish the job we started. The finish line is not that far away, and now is when we need everyone’s support the most.

The Pentagon Memorial Fund has reached the halfway point in our campaign to raise the funds needed to construct the Pentagon Memorial, having raised over \$11 million of the \$22 million that is needed. We cannot coast or rely on our past accomplishments in this regard. We still need to work very hard to raise the remaining funds, to raise awareness and to make sure this great memorial is built.

For those who have yet to contribute I invite you to visit our web site at www.pentagonmemorial.net and view the design of what will be a very thought-provoking memorial in a city of very special memorials. If you are in the area, I invite you to drive by the Pentagon and remember the tragedy of the 9/11 attacks and know that you can be a part of turning that tragedy into a powerful reminder for all Americans — a reminder that calls on everyone to never forget what happened on that terrible day in September five years ago. **RF**

James J. Laychak is the President of the Pentagon Memorial Fund. He lost a brother in the attack on the Pentagon on September 11, 2001.

Reforming FEMA:

It should be an independent agency with a direct line to the President.

CONGRESSMAN TOM DAVIS

Neat lines on an organizational chart don't always reflect untidy, but undeniable, operational realities. Or, as military strategists put it: most plans do not survive first contact with reality. The plan to subsume the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) into the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) made hard contact with the reality of Hurricane Katrina last year, and the plan clearly failed.

That failure compels us to confront the question: What caused FEMA's inability to marshal federal resources effectively in support of state and local responders struggling to overcome catastrophic losses? Was it simply "deliberately uncooperative senior leadership" at FEMA that hobbled the federal response, as DHS Secretary Chertoff asserted? Or was FEMA undone, not by the undisciplined actions of a few, but by the deliberate machinations of many at DHS following the inevitable dynamics of a flawed structure?

Exhaustive investigations by the House Select Committee on Katrina, which I chaired, by the Senate, and by the White House all found FEMA suffered profound problems in planning, personnel, logistics, communications and other areas. Critical failures in these essential mission functions lead many, including former FEMA Director James Lee Witt, to conclude only structural changes would restore the agency's capabilities and effectiveness.

Cosmetic or merely marginal adjustments to the status quo will not fix the root causes of FEMA's dysfunction. Renaming it, adding critical infrastructure protection to its mission portfolio and burying essential

disaster management functions deeper within DHS, as proposed by some, would only compound the original error of merging FEMA into the new Homeland Security Department.

It's no shame to admit a mistake. It would be a tragedy if we failed to correct that mistake because neither DHS nor the congressional homeland security committees could see beyond parochial turf interests to the obvious, proven solution: an independent FEMA.

There's a reason fire departments have not been merged into city or county transportation or public works departments. While it might look good on paper, and even offer the promise of efficiencies and synergies, highly speculative benefits just do not outweigh the very real risks that essential resources and capabilities will be siphoned off by the larger enterprise.

That's what happened to FEMA. Crammed into a sprawling and conflicted mission portfolio at DHS, the national emergency response tools fell out of favor as other, trendier priorities drew funding and leadership focus. According to FEMA veterans, the agency was steadily bled to anemic incapacity by its many new siblings in a parent organization focused on terrorism to the detriment of the broader emergency management mission.

National all-hazard preparation and response capabilities constitute a discrete and perishable asset that has to stand alone to thrive. FEMA was founded on the principle that all federal efforts to prepare for, respond to, recover from and mitigate against the impacts of major civil emergencies should

be housed together and supervised by just one official responsible directly to the President. We should go back to that basic configuration that enabled FEMA to succeed.

Conceding the inherent conflict between the terrorism prevention mandate and the all-hazard response mission, the Senate recently proposed to create "an independent FEMA within DHS." It's a telling admission that the nation's emergency response function must be stand-



It would be a tragedy if we failed to correct that mistake because neither DHS nor the congressional homeland security committees could see beyond parochial turf interests to the obvious, proven solution: an independent FEMA.

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Reforming FEMA:

We should focus more on what it does than where it goes.

CONGRESSMAN DAVE REICHERT

Congress is often criticized for failing to act in the best interests of Americans. However in the wake of 9/11, Congress acted swiftly and in good faith to create the Department of Homeland Security (DHS), an entity designed to address the new era of security and safety concerns America faced. Constructing a new department of the size and scope of DHS was a daunting but necessary undertaking, and one marked by many challenges.

DHS has enjoyed many successes in its short history, including thwarting several terrorist plots due to intelligence agencies sharing information and the cooperative efforts of law enforcement officials. This type of collaborative effort was made possible by the new department. Unfortunately, all of the transitions and efforts have not been successful.

The most visible failure has been that of the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) following Hurricane Katrina last year. By all accounts, FEMA is not functioning as it should and it's imperative that Members of the House of Representatives work together to address this urgent problem immediately. Mother Nature isn't waiting on us to figure out the solution; we are in the midst of hurricane season, and another Katrina or Rita could be only days away.

The dramatic differences between the threats posed just 10 years ago versus those we face in the 21st century require a new approach to emergency management. The number of changes needed are so many and the characteristics of success so different that it is impossible to achieve the scale of effectiveness required for a 21st century approach to emergency management without altering the way we are conducting

the business of emergency response in the United States. After Katrina, the scale of failure evident showed us that any solution must be multi-faceted, as response failed at several levels and in many ways. Making FEMA an entity capable of rendering the response Americans need following catastrophic disasters requires a comprehensive solution.

The National Emergency Management Reform and Enhancement Act, H.R. 5351, represents comprehensive legislation that is strongly backed by the first responder community. FEMA must be strengthened, given a more accurate mission and the resources and authority to carry it out and its efforts must be integrated with those of local

authorities who respond to disasters. During catastrophic events, the head of FEMA must report directly to the President. The person in the position must be a well qualified emergency management professional, qualified not only to administer a sizable office but also to draw from the knowledge and experience that comes from a career on the front lines while doing so.

FEMA's role must be elevated and its resources augmented so that it is able to carry out its mission. Additionally, FEMA's resources must be protected, and the Secretary of the Department of Homeland Security must not be permitted to reprogram any of FEMA's funds without Congressional approval. It is imperative that FEMA remain within the Department of Homeland Security so that it can rely on the resources DHS offers, in much the same way the United States Coast Guard does.

FEMA must have responsibility for preparedness (planning for potential disasters, including coordinating federal efforts with that of local authorities), mitigation

(taking measures to lessen the severity of harm caused by a disaster), response (responding to a disaster after it occurs) and recovery (rebuilding in the wake of a disaster). It is integral to the success of coordinated emergency response that preparedness, mitigation,

(Continued on page 25)



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response and recovery be integrated under one office.

The Senate voted in July overwhelmingly to adopt an amendment to the *FY07 Homeland Security Appropriations Act*. The amendment, which is similar to provisions in H.R. 5351, strengthens FEMA while keeping it within DHS.

The Senate's action in approving this bipartisan amendment is important. The amendment protects FEMA as a distinct entity within DHS and, like H.R. 5351, reunites preparedness and response, effectively enhancing our Nation's ability to prepare for, prevent, respond to, recover from and mitigate the effects of catastrophic events.

The failure of a competing amendment to remove FEMA shows that this is not a viable solution. As the Hart-Rudman Commission concluded prior to 9/11, FEMA is integral to the foundation of the Department of Homeland Security.

It also shows that the efforts of first responders to lobby their senators and representatives are working. First responders have been calling, writing and visiting their representatives to explain the importance of keeping FEMA a distinct entity within DHS. This approach has not only been vetted with first responders, but through

every step of the drafting process, first responders were crucial, active participants in crafting the language.

As the commander of the King County Sheriff's Office SWAT Team, I was given the authority to make life and death decisions by my superiors; it was my responsibility. It was my job. What we're doing in this bill is the same — giving authority back to the regional personnel making similar decisions. It's why our bill strengthens the role of regional directors, using a bottom-up approach that puts the power with the local first responders who will respond in the event of a disaster.

We need a 21st century approach to emergency management that responds better and faster to the wider variety of threats we are faced with today, whether it is a Category 5 hurricane or a biological attack by terrorists. We owe it to the American people to respond to those threats with an overwhelming capability that draws on the best of our entire country. With hurricane season upon us, coordinated, effective and timely emergency response depends on it. **RF**

Dave Reichert represents the 8th District of Washington in the U.S. House of Representatives. He serves as the Chairman of the Subcommittee on Emergency Preparedness, Science and Technology House Committee on Homeland Security.

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alone. But they would only "fence off" the agency, arguing similar protections have kept the Coast Guard intact. The analogy is inapt. The Coast Guard has a well established identity, reinforced by its parallel military roles. FEMA can't sail away or shoot back. To thrive, FEMA needs to be beyond the potentially eviscerating reach of an inconstant landlord distracted by the ever-changing shape of the terrorism threat. Any so-called fence separating FEMA from DHS should be statutory cement, not the flimsy fabric of a cubicle divider within the DHS maze. That barrier was breached once before, to our national detriment, and we should make sure the temptation to bury or neglect FEMA will not be an option going forward.

Arguments about how hard it would be for DHS and an independent FEMA to function together are based on worst cases and straw men. No one is proposing to send FEMA off shore or into space. Independent, cabinet-level status would simply give FEMA the stature and

tools essential to its core task to coordinate all federal response assets. Coordination with DHS elements would be close and constant, just as HHS and DOD coordinate with DHS now. If everything necessary to meet the threat of large scale disasters has to be inside DHS to work, large pieces of those departments would need to go there too. DHS is big enough.

It took Katrina to get DHS to pay attention to FEMA. Until the next large scale natural disaster, DHS will inevitably get distracted again trying to address myriad, pressing vulnerabilities to terrorism. Prevention ought to be their full time job. Leave the response to the emergency management professionals who, in an independent FEMA, will be ready to answer the call. **RF**

Tom Davis represents the 11th District of Virginia in the U.S. House of Representatives. He is the Chairman of the House Committee on Government Reform.

RIPON Profile

Name: Bill Frist
Hometown: Nashville, TN

Current job: Majority Leader, United States Senate.

Hobbies: Hunting, writing, flying airplanes (commercial, instrument, multiengine pilot), fishing, medical mission work.

Songs on my playlist: “Live Like You Were Dying,” Tim McGraw; “Politically Uncorrect,” Gretchen Wilson with Merle Haggard; “Yesterday,” The Beatles; “Believe,” Brooks and Dunn.

Books that I’d recommend: *The World is Flat: A Brief History of the 21st Century* by Thomas L. Friedman; *Redefining Health Care: Creating Value-Based Competition on Results* by Michael E. Porter and Elizabeth Olmsted Teisberg; *The Sound and The Fury* by William Faulkner.

Political inspiration: I spent the first 20 years of my adult life working with patients, trying to help and heal people. Sen. Howard Baker, more than any other individual, helped me decide to pursue elective office and thereby work to help the entire nation. After a mutual friend introduced us, we had three formal meetings. I learned a lot from him. By the end of our third meeting, probably because of my persistence more than anything else, Sen. Baker implied that I could win a statewide race in Tennessee. He suggested that I shoot for the position that gave me the greatest opportunity nationally and internationally—a seat in the U.S. Senate. I took his advice.

Most important issues facing America: Health care touches American families, businesses, and governments in a way that no other issue does. We have the best doctors, nurses, researchers, and medical laboratories in the world, but our health care system needs a great many improvements. We don’t have a systematic way of storing medical records, over 30 million Americans lack health coverage, and costs continue to rise at an alarming rate. We need to build a patient centered, provider friendly system, that will ensure health, hope, and new opportunities for all Americans.

Why I am a Republican: I’ll quote from a letter my father once wrote to his grandchildren: “I am conservative. I believe the free enterprise system can do a better job at most things than the government can. People should learn to be self-reliant; when they are self-reliant, they will have self-respect.”

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The Lodestar of George W. Bush

LOUIS M. ZICKAR

In 1991, the historian James McPherson published a book entitled, *Abraham Lincoln and the Second American Revolution*. The book was a collection of essays about the Civil War and our Nation's sixteenth President.

One of the essays was called, "The Hedgehog and the Foxes." In it, McPherson quoted the Greek poet Archilochus, who wrote that, "The fox knows many things, but the hedgehog knows one big thing." McPherson used this quote to argue that, in his single-minded pursuit of policies which were guided by a central vision, Lincoln was very much like a hedgehog.

In reading McPherson's essay, it is remarkable how easily one could apply the points he makes about President Lincoln to President George W. Bush today. Like Lincoln, President Bush finds himself in the middle of a controversial war. Like Lincoln, President Bush has been harshly criticized for his prosecution of the war. Like Lincoln, President Bush leads a political party in which many candidates are trying to distance themselves from him as the fall elections draw near.

Perhaps the most striking similarity, though, is that, like Abraham Lincoln, George W. Bush is driven by a single, central vision – what McPherson called the "lodestar." President Lincoln's lodestar was putting the Union back together. For President Bush, it is making sure our country is not attacked again. As McPherson noted in his essay, Lincoln was "surrounded by foxes who considered themselves smarter than he but who lacked his depth of vision and therefore sometimes pursued unrelated and contradictory ends." These were men like Horace Greeley and William Seward, who at various times encouraged the President to make a deal with the confederacy and bring an early end to the war. Lincoln refused, and history has proven him right.

It is obviously too early to tell whether history will prove George W. Bush right in the course he has taken for our Nation. The war in Iraq is, seemingly, a long way from resolution. And, although scholars like Walid Phares make a persuasive case that, in the long run, establishing a democracy in that country is the right thing

to do because it brought down a tyrant and interrupted the spread of Jihadism across the globe, in the short run, many Americans clearly have their doubts. Similarly, although knowledgeable officials like Homeland Security Committee Chairman Peter King make a good case that important steps have been taken to strengthen our homeland security, there are clearly some who believe that the steps taken so far have not been enough. Only history will tell who was right.

Until that time, George Bush finds himself surrounded by foxes. Foxes who supported the decision to send troops to Iraq in 2003 but who now say the mission was a mistake and our troops should be withdrawn. Foxes who supported bills like the Patriot Act when they were passed in 2001 and 2002 but who now say these laws went too far and portions of them should be repealed. Foxes who supported the President when he stood on the rubble of the World Trade Center but who now view him more as a political liability and someone to avoid.

History will indeed tell us who was right. But history already tells us this: Presidents are not elected to deal with small things. Jimmy Carter scheduled tennis courts; Ronald Reagan defeated communism. You don't need to be a historian to know which one used his time in office the best. Like Lincoln, Reagan

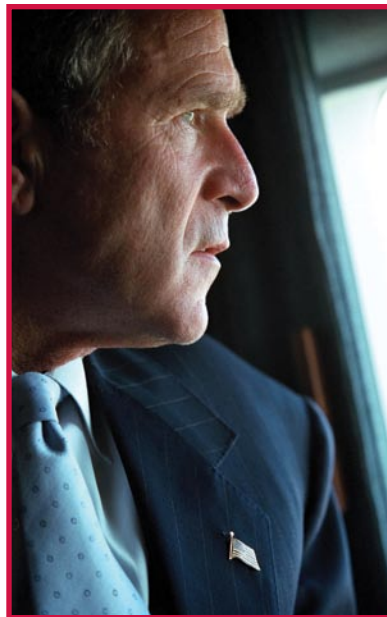
was a hedgehog. And so, too, is George W. Bush.

For good or for bad, he has dedicated his presidency to fighting terrorism. And despite the criticism of how he has managed various aspects of this fight, and despite other initiatives he has pursued like reforming Social Security that have been anything but a success, the fact remains that America hasn't been attacked in five years.

We could be attacked tomorrow. We could be attacked next week. But for the past 60 months, the President has kept our country safe and our citizens secure. In short, he has gotten the job done.

And in that important regard, the lodestar of George W. Bush has proven to be right. **RF**

Louis M. Zickar is the Editor of the Ripon Forum.



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