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Up Close and Personal
With NY Rep. Nan Hayworth in our
latest Ripon Profile



The Ripon Forum

Summer 2011
Volume 45, No. 3

Intell's TOP COP

**Former FBI Agent
Mike Rogers discusses
his role as Chairman of the
House Intelligence Committee
and the effort he is leading to
prevent another 9/11**



**Plus: Maine Senator Susan Collins on
her bipartisan plan to defend our
nation from a cyber attack**



**And: Author Margaret Hoover
on the Millennial Generation and
how September 11th shaped their lives**

**Also: Brian Michael Jenkins on airline security, Carl Schramm on
expeditionary economics, and Dale Klein on the fallout from Fukushima**



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Volume 45, Number 3

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In this Edition



September 11, 2001, was a day without adjective.

Even a decade later, it is hard to properly describe the grief, anger, horror and pain we all felt watching the attacks unfold.

The 10th anniversary of the attacks will no doubt be a time of recollection for us all – of where we were when the planes hit, of what the country has gone through in the years since, and of the lives that were changed or ended as a result.

It is good to look back and remember. But let us hope this time of recollection becomes a moment of renewal as well. In the weeks and months after the attacks, America was filled

with a spirit of resolve and unity that brought us together and helped us overcome the loss and devastation of that day.

You would be hard pressed to find a person who doesn't believe America needs a similar sense of resolve and unity today. In some respects, our challenges now are even greater than they were on September 12, 2001. Job growth is stagnant and debt is consuming a record share of our economy. And, as the nation struggles to cope with these economic threats, we continue to face the threat of terrorism.

We look at the continuing terror threat in this special edition of THE RIPON FORUM with a collection of leaders and thinkers who are at the forefront of the effort to keep America secure. Leading the way is Michigan Congressman and former FBI Special Agent Mike Rogers. As Chairman of the House Intelligence Committee, Rogers has jurisdiction over a bureaucracy that suffered its greatest defeat on 9/11 and enjoyed its greatest victory with the killing of Osama bin Laden earlier this year. Rogers discusses these defeats and victories in an interview, and talks about his role as "Intell's Top Cop" on Capitol Hill.

As the Republican leader of the Senate Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs Committee, Maine Senator Susan Collins has had a hand in nearly every significant piece of homeland security-related legislation that had made it to the President's desk in recent years. Lately, much of her focus has been in how to respond to the threat to American's computer networks and infrastructure. The Senator discusses these efforts further in an essay on the importance of "Preventing a Cyber 9/11."

We also look at the state of intelligence reform with former Intelligence Committee Chairman Pete Hoekstra, and the state of airline security with author and aviation security expert Brian Michael Jenkins. Tennessee Congressman John Duncan argues that it's time for U.S. forces to leave Afghanistan, while Carl Schramm of the Kauffman Foundation explains why economic growth – or, as he calls it, expeditionary economics – can play a vital role in counterinsurgency and be a force for good.

And Fox News commentator Margaret Hoover, author of a new book on America's millennial generation, looks at how these young Americans were impacted by 9/11 and the lessons for the GOP today.

We hope you enjoy this edition of the FORUM and, as always, encourage you to write us at editor@riponsociety.org with any thoughts or comments you may have.

Lou Zickar
Editor
THE RIPON FORUM



Intell's TOP COP

**Former FBI Agent
Mike Rogers discusses
his role as Chairman of the
House Intelligence Committee
and the effort he is leading
to prevent another 9/11**

Shortly after Congressman Mike Rogers (MI-8) was selected by Speaker John Boehner to be the new Chairman of the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, a story appeared in the *Los Angeles Times* describing the quiet but influential role he has played in intelligence matters over the years.

One anecdote in the story in particular stood out. The anecdote related how Rogers had convinced then-President George W. Bush to increase the intensity of drone strikes against militants along the Pakistan-Afghanistan border. Rogers made this recommendation after traveling to the region and seeing first-hand the nature of the threat.

Bush took his advice and, the Rogers Doctrine, if you want to call it that, went on to become one of the principal means by which the Obama Administration has taken the fight to the enemy in that part of the world. The story illustrates not just Rogers' grasp of intelligence issues, but his "boots on the ground" approach to solving the challenges we face in that area. It is an approach he honed while serving as an officer in the U.S. Army, and then later as an FBI Agent investigating corruption in Chicago.

With the 10th anniversary of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks upon us, the *Forum* recently asked Rogers about his role as Chairman of the House

Intelligence Committee, and the effort he is leading to prevent another 9/11 from occurring.

RF: Is our country safer today than it was on September 12, 2001? If so, why?

MR: Yes, I believe we are safer than we were on September 12, 2001, for several reasons.

First, we learned the hard way that the drastic cuts to the defense and intelligence budgets in the 1990s were unwise and led to America being faced with undue risks to our national security. In the years since 9/11, we corrected that problem, and for the last 10 years, we have invested the resources necessary to make sure America remains the dominant force in the world.

We have also learned a great deal about how to conduct military and intelligence operations around the world. And, of course, we now have the most combat-hardened military since World War II – and the skill and knowledge that this generation will bring to future threats is simply immeasurable.

Second, we also learned after 9/11 that our national security bureaucracy simply wasn't designed to confront 21st century threats. In the intervening years, we passed laws – including the Patriot Act, the Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act of 2004, and the FISA Amendments Act – that addressed those problems and were designed to integrate intelligence, break down walls, and encourage better coordination and communication among agencies.

While I believe this is still a work in progress, the intelligence community has made significant transformations in the last few years, and I believe that progress will only continue as long as we ensure that even in this time of fiscal constraint, we don't inappropriately cut our intelligence and defense budgets.

RF: Congress passed a number of reforms after 9/11 that reorganized the Nation's intelligence community. Do you believe those reforms helped lead to the killing of Osama bin Laden earlier this year?

MR: The bin Laden raid highlights the remarkable patience and skill of our intelligence and military professionals – we should first credit the expertise and bravery of those individuals. Without them, the U.S. couldn't plan such missions in the first instance.

But I also believe that the structural reforms to our intelligence community that began after 9/11 – including the Patriot Act, the Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act of 2004, and the FISA Amendments Act – were indeed helpful to the success of the mission. The structural reforms helped push along key cultural changes in the community – allowing for greater communication and integration among agencies, and an ability to bring together all intelligence and military assets to achieve missions success.

The creation of Office of the Director of National Intelligence, for example, not only encouraged that integration, but it also freed up the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency to focus exclusively on the operational mission of the Agency. And as we know, Director Panetta's focus and energy were also a key element of the successful mission.

The bin Laden raid highlights the remarkable patience and skill of our intelligence and military professionals ... But I also believe that the structural reforms to our intelligence community that began after 9/11 were indeed helpful to the success of the mission.

RF: General David Petraeus is known as something of a turnaround expert – he turned around operations in Iraq and made them a success, then went to Afghanistan and was achieving similar results before he was appointed Director of the Central Intelligence Agency. Does his appointment reflect the fact that the CIA needs “turned around” as well, or is it more a reflection of the growing synergy between military and intelligence operations as America confronts a future of asymmetric war?

MR: General David Petraeus has achieved remarkable success in both Iraq and Afghanistan. In fact, he has succeeded at every position he's held throughout his esteemed career, and I have no doubt he will succeed at the Agency. I do not believe, however, that his appointment reflects a problem at the CIA or suggests that the CIA needs to be “turned around.”

Rather, I think his appointment is a testament to the leadership he has displayed and the trust he has developed throughout the intelligence community and with the American people. As the bin Laden raid showed, there is indeed a growing synergy between military and intelligence operations. And as commander of U.S. forces in both Iraq and Afghanistan, General Petraeus has been a high-level consumer of intelligence and a partner with the intelligence community in our efforts overseas.

Given that reality, his perspective and experiences will serve him well as the next Director.

RF: As President Obama pulls our troops out of Afghanistan and increases the use of drones to hunt down and kill members of Al Qaeda and the Taliban, are you at all concerned that the U.S. approach to fighting terrorism might revert back to what it was under President Clinton – essentially a law enforcement exercise conducted primarily by cruise missile and unmanned aerial strikes?

MR: I am already concerned that the Administration relies too heavily on law enforcement methods when combating our enemies. For example, the Administration's recent decision to try Ahmed Warsame, a terrorist picked up off the coast of Somalia, in criminal court in New York highlights not only an over-reliance on criminal prosecution, but also an apparent lack of a comprehensive detention system that would allow us to better incapacitate and interrogate terrorists captured abroad.

I think most people realize that we cannot return to a law-enforcement-only method of dealing with terrorism. We learned those lessons in the 1990s, when we ignored threats, failed to respond quickly and militarily when we were targeted, and focused almost exclusively on bringing terrorists to trial. That approach did not work, it did not keep America safe, and it invited only more risk in the future. Our committee will be watching carefully to make sure we don't return to that model.

As to Afghanistan specifically, I do believe that General Petraeus' approach in Afghanistan is the right one and we should stick with it. Precision operations are of course part of our counter-insurgency strategy – it brings together military special operations and intelligence professionals to kill or capture our enemies with the goal of destroying their network and eventually forcing their surrender.

I have real concerns about the President's announced troop drawdown and the pace of our departure. The gains in Afghanistan have been hard-fought, and I believe we must continue to build on that success as we try to give the Afghans a chance to fill the gap when

we do finally leave. And, in general, we should not pull troops out of theater before the conditions on the ground warrant their departure.

To do so sends the wrong message to both our friends and our enemies that the United States will not stay till the end. We cannot let Afghanistan be turned over, once again, to extremists and terrorist groups.

RF: What are your top legislative priorities moving forward as Chairman of the House Intelligence Committee?

MR: When I took over as Chairman of the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence in January of this year, one of my top priorities was to reassert the Committee as the force for serious bipartisan oversight, and to restore the critical function of the committee, which is to pass meaningful, annual intelligence authorization bills. The annual intelligence authorization bill is one of the most important bills that the House passes each year. It provides and allocates resources to critical national security programs, including those that detect, prevent, and disrupt potential terrorist attacks against the American people.

The Intelligence Authorization Act of 2011 has already become law, which was a solid first step for Congress and the Intelligence Committees in reasserting their proper role overseeing the intelligence community. And we are well on our way to a 2012 bill – it has already passed through the Committee, and we expect it to be on the House Floor soon. I will work to continue this success throughout my tenure.

RF: How much did your background as an FBI agent help prepare you for this role?

MR: Serving as a Special Agent with the FBI was an invaluable experience. I had the good fortune to work organized crime and public corruption in Chicago. That was the best education you can get for just about anything let alone the House Intelligence Committee. As chairman, I work regularly with the Intelligence Community leadership, line officers and analysts as well.

My early experience in field work gives me a better understanding of the perspective of field officers



I am already concerned that the Administration relies too heavily on law enforcement methods when combating our enemies.

when it comes to the challenges and difficulties they face on the front lines. It has helped develop a mutual respect between me and the men and women who dedicate their lives to keeping America safe. I can speak from experience and speak their language. That makes for better, and more accurate, oversight from the committee's perspective.

RF: Finally, what threat more than any other keeps you up at night?

MR: As Chairman of the House Intelligence Committee, I learn in detail about the many threats facing our country. It makes little sense to rank these threats – as we must remain vigilant and focused on each. But I think one threat of most concern remains the risk of nuclear, biological or chemical weapons in the hands of a terrorist or terrorist group that reaches America's shores.

If such an event were to occur, the death toll could

be huge, and the damage to America's economy and general social cohesion would be devastating. And it is incumbent upon the country's leaders to do all they can to keep this threat from becoming a reality. In fact, this threat explains much of the intelligence community's efforts around the world for the past ten years. We've worked to keep those weapons out of the hands of militants and keep those extremists out of America.

We must continue to build on our success in Iraq and Afghanistan and ensure that no country becomes a terrorist safe haven. We must confront the nuclear ambitions of Iran and North Korea and work to stop nuclear proliferation in general.

We must continue the fight against Al Qaeda and affiliated forces, while not becoming myopically focused on only the threat posed by Al Qaeda.

In general, we must remain involved in the affairs of the world; for turning our backs on the world only invites more risk and more costs down the road. **RF**

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Preventing a Cyber 9/11

The Next Great Challenge We Face

SUSAN COLLINS

Ever since September 11, 2001, Americans have worried and wondered about the next terrorist attack. The questions of “when” – the Super Bowl or during an ordinary morning commute? – and “who” – a squad of trained terrorists or lone wolf? – are the cause of much speculation and theorizing.

As a leader of the Senate Homeland Security Committee, I am committed to taking action on every possible answer to those important questions. In addition, another question the Committee constantly probes is “what” – a dirty bomb, hunting rifle, or anything in between. By exploring this question from every conceivable angle, we strive to close the gap between threats and our preparedness.

Perhaps the biggest gap exists in what may well be the battlefield of the 21st Century – cyberspace. In fact, our military officials now describe cyberspace as the fifth domain of war, in addition to land, sea, air and space. But cyberspace is unique, they note, because it is the only battlefield invented by humans.

And the battle is arguably already underway. Recent attacks range from intrusions into Sony’s on-line gaming network to the largest U.S. military contractor. Hackers based in China reportedly gained access to hundreds of Gmail accounts, including some belonging to senior U.S. government officials and military personnel.

The annual cost of cybercrime worldwide has climbed to more than \$1 trillion — billions of dollars annually in the United States. At his Senate confirmation hearing in June, Defense Secretary Leon Panetta warned that the “next Pearl Harbor we confront could very well be a cyberattack that cripples our power systems, our grid, our security systems, our financial systems, our governmental systems.”

Clearly, the Internet must be made more secure, but in a manner that promotes continued innovation and does not infringe on our constitutional rights to receive information and express views.

President Mubarak’s actions in January to shut down the Internet in Egypt and the current cyber-censorship imposed by President Assad in Syria were, and are, attacks on fundamental human rights. Freedom of speech must be protected, and their bans are clearly designed to limit criticism of or action against oppressive governments.

Last year, Senators Joe Lieberman, Tom Carper, and I introduced legislation to strengthen the government’s efforts to safeguard U.S. cyber-networks from attack and prevent presidential overreach. That bill was unanimously approved by the Senate Homeland Security Committee.

In June, we introduced a new version with stronger, more explicit provisions that would prevent the President from ever shutting down the Internet.

Most importantly, our bill would make America’s critical assets safer. Our bill would:

Establish a cybersecurity leader within the Department of Homeland Security who would

have the authority to coordinate policy and to mandate protective measures across all federal civilian agencies. This leader would head a new National Cybersecurity Center — much like the National Counterterrorism Center — that would bring together expertise from across the federal government.

Promote information-sharing on cyber vulnerabilities and protective measures, distributing data to federal, state, local and tribal governments and private-sector stakeholders.

Create incentives for the private sector to develop



cybersecurity “best practices.”

Provide specific authority to the National Cybersecurity Center — a risk-based, collaborative model — to identify and mitigate cyber vulnerabilities, where disruptions could result in catastrophic loss of life and property.

Prevent the President or any official from shutting down the Internet.

This legislation would help our nation be better equipped to anticipate, neutralize and build additional safeguards against cyberattacks. It would protect the ever-evolving frontier of cyberspace, which encompasses so much of modern life and will only grow in importance.

If we do not build adequate protections into our federal networks and critical infrastructure, malicious hackers — including nation-states and terrorist groups

— are likely to exploit, attack and destroy them. America must be prepared to meet this emerging global cyber threat.

We cannot afford to wait for a “cyber September 11th” before our government finally realizes the importance of protecting our digital resources, limiting

our vulnerabilities, and mitigating the consequences of penetrations of our networks.

We must be ready. It is crucial that we build a strong public-private partnership to protect cyberspace. It is a vital engine of our economy, our government, our country and our future. **RF**

We cannot afford to wait for a “cyber September 11th” before our government finally realizes the importance of protecting our digital resources, limiting our vulnerabilities, and mitigating the consequences of penetrations of our networks.

Susan Collins represents the State of Maine in the U.S. Senate. She serves as Ranking Member of the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs.

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Intelligence Comeback: *Fact or Fiction?*

PETE HOEKSTRA

To many observers, the successful May raid that led to the death of Osama bin Laden marked a comeback for the United States Intelligence Community. Special Forces under the control of the CIA gave America the final say in a chapter that began when Al Qaeda attacked the homeland on 9/11. A beleaguered intelligence community that once was not equipped to detect the extent of the threat posed by al-Qaeda had worked seamlessly to execute one of the most daring and successful raids in modern times.

We have come a long way from the dispirited, stove-piped intelligence community we had in September 2001. The collapse of the Soviet Union and end of the Cold War were a bleak period for the community, when budgets were slashed, the mission was poorly defined and human intelligence became virtually nonexistent. It was in this gap, created by shortsighted planning and budget decisions by Washington policymakers, that Al Qaeda found the space it needed to grow. There is no question that 9/11 was an intelligence failure. However, the failure was not on the part of the men and women of the community. It was on the part of the political leadership in the nineties.

Why, it is right to wonder, would politicians not ensure that America maintained a robust intelligence capability? The first reason is a challenge that our government is facing at this very moment — they saw it as simply a budget issue. The fact of the matter is intelligence is expensive. Human assets -- the core resource of the CIA -- cost money. Technology, whether it is NSA supercomputers or spy satellites flown by the National Reconnaissance Office, costs a lot of money. In the face of tight budgets, government shutdowns and the mistaken belief that we could reap the so-called peace dividend in the mid-nineties, bad decisions

were made to cut investments in intelligence capabilities. And the results were clear.

America's aging constellation of spy satellites would be pushed beyond their design life with no long-term or comprehensive plan for replacement. We curtailed human intelligence collection, leaving large regions of the world with few if any assets in place, and we reduced the hiring and training of the case officers we count on to recruit spies. The bottom line is we were penny-wise and pound-foolish, and in the process, we sacrificed America's first line of defense on the altar of budget expediency.

The other major reason that intelligence faltered in the nineties is that some politicians saw it as a "dirty job." It is not a secret that there is nothing nice about trying to steal someone else's secrets. The reality is, however, if we are going to disrupt hostile plots against the homeland, then we need to be able to operate in the dark and gritty streets of faraway places. Best plans and intentions can fail, and sometimes spies get caught, all of which can be difficult. But it was a mistake in the nineties for America to stop doing the hard things just because they were hard and politicians were unwilling to

take the risks that good intelligence requires.

The 9/11 attacks provided a jolt to the way we perceive threats to our national security. America has reinvested in a robust intelligence capability. Scores of new recruits have beefed up our human collection and our technology has been updated. This has enabled the United States to not only effectively wage a war against Islamic extremists, but to extend our ability to cover threats from foreign adversaries around the world.

Simultaneously, American leadership on both sides of the aisle has broadly embraced the necessary work of



**There is no question that
9/11 was an intelligence
failure.**

intelligence. President Barack Obama -- perhaps the harshest critic of the Bush Administration's national security policies -- has embraced and in some cases increased their use, by admission of his own officials. Guantanamo Bay remains open, the Obama Administration has said it will hold detainees indefinitely, and they have brought back Military commissions. Indeed, with the exception of insisting on interrogating enemy combatants using the publicly available Army Field Manual, it can be hard to tell the difference between the two administrations' policies.

Beyond a doubt, I believe America's intelligence community is back with renewed and strengthened capabilities that help keep America safe. But there continue to be issues. We must improve the quality of intelligence analysis, which continues to downplay the threat posed by Iran's nuclear program and failed to predict the "Arab Spring." We must also guard against the push by some to slash intelligence

budgets, capabilities and authorities in the current Beltway budget mess.

If we learned anything from the 9/11 attacks, it is that we cannot afford to let history repeat itself. It is far more expensive to rebuild our intelligence capability after an attack than to maintain it to help prevent the next one. Over the past decade, we have seen what an effective intelligence community looks like.

It is learning and adaptive, it takes risks, makes apolitical judgments and is accountable to the President and Congress, with their support and the resources to get the job done. **RF**

However, the failure was not on the part of the men and women of the community. It was on the part of the political leadership in the nineties.

Pete Hoekstra, a former Michigan congressman, served as chairman and ranking member of the House Intelligence Committee. He is now president of Hoekstra Global Strategies. He also recently declared his candidacy for the United States Senate in Michigan.



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Is it Time to Consider a New Approach to Airline Security?

BRIAN MICHAEL JENKINS

From the failed attempt to blow up a passenger plane flying from Amsterdam to Detroit in 2009 to the unsuccessful attempt to bring down two cargo airliners flying to the United States in 2010, Americans need no reminder that – 10 years after 9/11 -- terrorists remain obsessed with attacking airlines and airports.

To meet this threat, the United States is spending billions of dollars each year on airline security. In light of these dollars and in light of this continuing threat, it is fair to ask what the American people are getting for their money besides a pat down at the airport and a body scan before they board their flights. Has the U.S. investment in airline security worked? And are the benefits worth the costs?

The answers depend on how one calculates the costs and benefits of airline security. Generally speaking, cost-benefit analysis of security measures works best in situations where there is a high volume of continuing crime, allowing analysts to implement new security measures and quickly discern their results. Cost-benefit analysis does not so easily apply to terrorist attacks, which are fortunately rare, but which also have potentially significant consequences that go beyond casualty and property loss.

While all deaths are tragic, a cold quantitative analysis would tell us that terrorist attacks make a minuscule contribution to violent deaths in America. Between 2000 and 2009, nearly 200,000 Americans were the victims

of homicides, while 360,000 more committed suicide. An additional 440,000 were killed in traffic accidents, bringing the decade body count to a million. In fact, the average American has a roughly one in 7,000 chance of dying in an automobile accident, a one in 16,000 chance of being murdered, but less than a one in a million chance of being killed by terrorists. The 9/11 victims account for less than one-third of a percent of America's total carnage for the decade.

But 9/11 also represented the largest loss of life on American soil since the Civil War. The direct costs of the attack were estimated to have run between \$50 and \$80 billion, with business losses putting the total into the hundreds of billions of dollars. The 9/11 attacks also scarred the nation psychologically and created a political crisis that led to a war on terrorism which, according to one estimate, has cost the nation \$3.8 trillion, not to mention thousands killed in subsequent wars. What America spends annually on airline security would pay for just three days of the war in Afghanistan, a military mission maintained

to prevent al Qaeda from regrouping and launching new terrorist attacks.

Indeed, strict application of cost-benefit analysis would allow the removal of both security and safety measures. In the 1970s, terrorists attempted to hijack or sabotage airliners with an average frequency of one a month. Accidental crashes also occurred more often,



Brian Michael Jenkins

**Make no mistake –
in the years since the
9/11 attacks, airline security
has improved.**

but aviation was still statistically very safe, and people still flew.

Critics accuse airline security of being reactive and of responding to the last attack. They are right, but this is true of virtually all security. It is easy to conjure up new terrorist scenarios for which security measures are not currently in place — everyone has a little armchair terrorist inside them — but it is difficult to obtain funding or public acquiescence to security measures to protect against things that have not happened. Without the shoe bomber, can one imagine passengers being required to remove their shoes? Could restricting carry-on liquids have been done before the discovery in 2006 of a terrorist plot involving liquid explosives? Yet once an event occurs, it is difficult to argue against adopting new measures to prevent its repetition.

For many Americans, the Transportation Security Administration is their most regular encounter with the federal government, and for some, it is a hands-on experience. Americans are a cantankerous lot. They unrealistically expect 100 percent security, but sound off when security intrudes on their privacy or person. News media exaggerates the public's reaction to the full body scanners and new pat down procedures, but it may also signal that security may be approaching the edge of public tolerance. There is a point beyond which those being protected become adversaries of the measures employed to detect them — that is fatal to security.

Make no mistake — in the years since the 9/11 attacks, airline security has improved. This is in part because TSA has fielded new technology and screeners are better trained. While significant room for improvement remains, the screening force is more stable in contrast to the 300 and 400 percent turnover rate when screening was carried out by low-paid and poorly trained private screeners. Stability means screeners can gain experience, and best practices can be identified and disseminated.

Even more important to improved airline security are the additional layers of security -- from additional air marshals to locked and armored cockpit doors which have made hijacking a less viable terrorist tactic. Passenger attitudes have also changed. Instead of passive compliance, a hijacker today faces the risk of being beaten to death by desperate passengers. Mentally disturbed persons have attempted to hijack U.S. planes (without weapons) since 9/11, but, thus far, terrorists

have not.

To the extent that current concerns center on terrorist bombs, improvements have been made in that regard, too. Security has made smuggling bombs on board planes more difficult. In the 1980s, for example, there were 39 attempts to sabotage airliners. This dropped to 15 in the 1990s, and eight in the first decade of this century. Despite this decrease and as evidenced by the attempted attacks over the past few years, terrorists keep trying.

In the face of this threat, aviation security faces a number of challenges. Airline passenger loads — which dropped right after 9/11, but then recovered and dropped again with the recession -- are now coming back. At the same time, while the number of security measures and security machines has increased, the number of TSA security officials will not significantly increase. That stresses the system, and can begin to degrade performance.

Moreover, terrorists are determined to build small improvised explosive devices and conceal them in ways that make them undetectable to all but the most intrusive security inspection. The good news is that these small devices with exotic explosives and non-metallic detonators are hard to make, don't work, and probably would not bring down the plane if they did. But ultimately, this could be

It may be possible that the development and deployment of improved security technologies and reconfigurations of security checkpoints will keep security one step ahead of terrorist adversaries...

a losing battle for security.

It may be possible that the development and deployment of improved security technologies and reconfigurations of security checkpoints will keep security one step ahead of terrorist adversaries, but it also may be an appropriate time to explore fundamentally new approaches.

American aviation security is based upon the search for objects. This search should extend well beyond passengers — currently the overwhelming focus of airport security efforts — to the thousands of airline and airport employees who pass into “sterile” areas of airports each day without being screened. But in the remainder of this discussion, I, too, will focus on passengers.

All passengers are treated exactly the same way except for a few selected for secondary searches. An alternative approach would be to look more closely at the individual passengers. This would be closer to the Israeli approach, although the volume and more diverse composition of American passengers rule out outright

adoption of the Israeli model. It does not mean racial or ethnic profiling.

Instead, passengers might go through one of three security routines instead of the current two. Registered or secure travelers would volunteer information about themselves, undergo a background check, and be approved for an expedited security check, something like “pre-9/11-light.” This category might include the most frequent flyers who account for a disproportionate share of U.S. airline boardings. It could also include those with top-level government security clearances.

A second category would be individuals indicated, as now, by computer-assisted screening programs already in place, perhaps using a more advanced version, and by behavioral detection techniques being developed.

In addition, some would be randomly selected. (Maintaining an unpredictable random element is always good security.) These are not suspects and should never

be treated as such. They are simply individuals about whom less is known or whose travel patterns raise some questions. All other travelers would comprise the third category.

The objective is not simply that frequent flyers will not have to take off their shoes. By reducing requirements for those in lower risk categories, finite security resources can be shifted to higher risk categories.

This is one place where increasing efficiency can increase effectiveness and make airline travel not only more convenient, but more secure. **RF**

**...but it also may be
an appropriate time to explore
fundamentally new approaches.**

Brian Michael Jenkins is Director of the National Transportation Security Center at the Mineta Transportation Institute. He also serves as Senior Advisor to the President of the RAND Corporation, a non-profit, non-partisan research institution.

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LEAVING AFGHANISTAN

It's what Eisenhower would do

JOHN DUNCAN

Dwight Eisenhower is looking better all the time.

All he did was give us peace and prosperity.

During his eight years in office, inflation averaged 1.3%, growth 2.3%, unemployment 4.9%, and the National Debt blipped up by less than one percent instead of jumping by leaps and bounds like today.

Yet his most important contributions were in foreign policy. He brought the Korean conflict to conclusion. He resisted pressure to go to war in other places such as the Suez and Indo-China.

Having spent his career mostly in uniform, he loved the military, but hated war.

In probably his most famous speech, his farewell address to the Nation, he said: "In the councils of government, we must guard against the acquisition of unwanted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist."

He even reduced military spending and substantially reduced the size of our armed forces.

Today, fewer than 22% of the current Congress has ever served in any branch of the military.

Most of the non-veterans seem to be afraid to question anything the Pentagon wants or does for fear of being called unpatriotic.

This has led us into some very costly misadventures in Iraq, Afghanistan and Libya—costly in terms of both blood and treasure.

I voted for the first gulf war after I attended several briefings and heard all our top officials talk about Saddam Hussein's elite troops and the great harm that would come if we failed to act.

Then I watched those same elite troops surrender to CNN camera crews and empty tanks, and I realized the threat had

been greatly exaggerated.

I began to question our later military actions more closely, and I and many others now have very serious doubts about our seemingly endless war in Afghanistan.

One columnist wrote a few months ago that "Afghanistan has little strategic value and the war is one of choice rather than necessity" and added that it has been a "wasteful and frustrating decade."

General David Petraeus testified at one hearing that we should never forget that Afghanistan has been known as the "graveyard of empires."

I am certain that President Eisenhower, with his experience and history, would never have involved us in a mess like Afghanistan in the first place.

And I am even more convinced that he would never have let such a war drag on like it has.

Traditional Republicans believe a nation should go to war only when there is no other alternative and then only as a last resort.

Evan Thomas, in *Newsweek* in 2008, wrote that recent leaders "have gone to extraordinary lengths to be seen as Churchill...."

The people of this Nation are peace-loving people, and we need to have presidents like Eisenhower who are not eager to go to war—presidents who do not have to get into unnecessary wars to prove that they are great leaders.

Hamid Karzai, the President of Afghanistan, told ABC News

last year that the U.S. needed to be there another 15 to 20 years. But the truth is he really just wants all the mega-billions we are pumping in there.

Some have said that people like Barry Goldwater, Ronald Reagan, and William F. Buckley would be seen as moderates in the Republican Party of today. Be that as it may, Mr. Buckley



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wrote something in 2005 that is very much applicable to the situation in Afghanistan today: "A respect for the power of the United States is engendered by our success in engagements in which we take part. A point is reached when tenacity conveys not steadfastness of purpose, but misapplication of pride."

The people of Afghanistan have shown many times that they do not appreciate what we have done for them unless they are on our payroll.

In fact, our foreign policy in recent years has created more resentment around the world than respect.

On June 1, 2009, George C. Wilson, military columnist for the Congress Daily, wrote: "The American military's mission to pacify the 40,000 tiny villages in Afghanistan will look like mission impossible, especially if our bombings keep killing Afghan civilians and infuriating the ones who survive."

Foreign Policy magazine after the death of George Kennan described him as "the most influential diplomat of the 20th century."

In a 1999 interview, Mr. Kennan said, "This whole tendency to see ourselves as the center of political enlightenment and as teachers to a great part of the rest of the world strikes me as unthought-through, vainglorious, and undesirable."

George W. Bush, when he was campaigning for President in 2000, said that we needed a "more humble" foreign policy and that we should not engage in nation-building.

There is a very respectable position, a centrist position, between isolation and eagerly going to war.

It is the path to peace. It means encouraging trade and tourism, cultural and educational exchanges with other nations, and helping out to a limited extent during humanitarian crises.

But the historic Republican approach is that we be very slow to go to war and quick to end it, and that we make sure we do not neglect our own people and our Country in the process.

The foreign policy columnist Georgie Ann Geyer wrote a few years ago that "Americans, still strangely complacent about overseas wars being waged by a minority in their name, will inevitably come to a point where they will see they have to have a government that provides services at home or one that seeks empire across the globe."

President Eisenhower, who gave us the Interstate Highway System, and led the way on Civil Rights for all people, took care of things at home first.

The Ripon Society, I believe, follows the traditional Republican Eisenhower path of peace and prosperity and a government that serves its people. **RF**

John Duncan represents the 2nd District of Tennessee in the U.S. House of Representatives.

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Expeditionary Economics and Countering Violent Extremism

CARL J. SCHRAMM

In the years following the attacks of September 11, 2001, many in the international aid and development communities attempted to show causality between economic stagnation and the type of violent radicalization that led to those attacks. That the men who planned and executed the heinous acts ten years ago were well-educated and well-resourced elites was a fact conveniently ignored by those who would suggest that disenfranchised individuals resort to terror for want of economic opportunity. Some excellent work has been done of late to show that aid and economic development alone make for poor counterterrorism strategy, and indeed, their limitations as components of a counterinsurgency effort have become evident in nearly ten years of war in Afghanistan and Iraq.

Now, at a time when Americans are weary from a decade of complicated wars and eager to focus on new domestic economic realities, the rhetorical pendulum is swinging away from counterinsurgency and nation building as the framework through which the United States engages those fragile, economically stagnant states that so often serve as nurseries for violent extremism. Foreign assistance will not defeat terrorists – it was not development dollars but a dedicated and relentless force of elite special operators and intelligence analysts that brought retribution to Osama bin Laden – but it would be a terrible mistake to discount the vital role that economic growth must play in fostering global stability. It is not a coincidence that the countries from which most violent extremists emanate

have seen low or negative rates of growth over the past 30 years, nor that these are the countries most prone to civil war and insurgencies.

All growth is not created equal. Development economists, many of whom are on the payroll of the world's international aid and development organizations, expend considerable energy conducting regression analyses of socioeconomic, political and security inputs as they seek correlation between, say, violent acts and GDP growth. But a country's per capita GDP can grow from a change in world oil prices, currency valuation or foreign aid injection, with no real benefit to the people; further study is needed on the security effects of "real" growth – that which stems from the creation of new firms, new lines of business and new industries, which lead to faster job creation and through which the people – and not just the state – come to own the economy.

This is at the core of a new field of study known as expeditionary economics, a phrase I coined last year in an article in *Foreign Affairs*, and which has subsequently been taken up by military and civilian reconstruction personnel as a framework for reconsidering how to rebuild war- and disaster-stricken countries. In the years since the unabashed success of the Marshall Plan

and the postwar reconstruction of Japan, the developed world has a discouraging record of development in fragile and failing states, providing perpetual sustenance aid as it attempts to apply the rigid prescriptions of the Washington Consensus and prioritizes large-scale infrastructure



Carl J. Schramm

Foreign assistance will not defeat terrorists ... but it would be a terrible mistake to discount the vital role that economic growth must play in fostering global stability.

construction projects and state-run extraction of natural resources. The United States has paid little regard over the years to the private sector in the developing world, even though entrepreneurs are responsible for the dynamism of our own economy through the creation of new, high-growth firms. The nascent doctrine of expeditionary economics holds that development policies could see unprecedented success were they only to apply to the developing world the proven economic model practiced in the United States by prioritizing private sector growth driven by new and young firms.

Though it may be a bitter pill for the international development community to swallow, the American military is well placed to execute a mandate for fostering economic growth in fragile states, having the resources, the interest and the presence in the economically stagnant countries that are – again, not coincidentally – stricken with instability and violent extremism. Indeed, the military is already a lead actor in development, not only in Iraq and Afghanistan, where it leads or cooperates on the implementation of a number of economic programs, but in Africa and South and Central America too, where military combatant commands have assumed prominent development roles. In total, the Department of Defense controls one-fifth of U.S. foreign aid, and what it currently lacks in formal economic expertise it in part makes up for with now years of development experience and an institutional understanding that success in complex operations like our current wars necessitates an economic component.

It is worth noting, too, that the American military, despite being by some accounts the largest bureaucracy in the world, has proven remarkably innovative. Counterinsurgency doctrine is in many ways an imperfect work in progress, but there is no denying the change in approach within the military over the past ten years, from the general on the Joint Staff to the lance corporal on patrol in Kandahar. One would be hard pressed to point to similar adaptation at USAID or the State Department.

It has been said that bureaucracy is the enemy of innovation. It is one reason large businesses fall and a reason why government so consistently fails to meet our expectations. But after many decades of development activity with nary a success story in sight, innovation in development is exactly what is needed. For all of these reasons, the military

will continue to have a role in bringing economic growth to those countries that form the nexus of instability, insecurity and economic stagnation. Expeditionary economics offers the framework of a military doctrine for development. I and my colleagues at the Kauffman Foundation have proposed the creation of two military institutions that would uniquely provide an independent capacity for economic analysis and train a perennial professional cadre of development specialists.

■ The first, the Institute for Military Economic Analysis, would provide independent analysis and speculative theorizing around the “what if” questions that are particular to military planning. Devoted to speculative economics in the realm of geopolitical power relationships, its military and civilian academic staff would focus on developing effective approaches to economic development in instances of American military involvement, pre-, mid- and post-conflict. Such an institution could be a driving force for a new realism in economic science.

■ The second proposal is less revolutionary, but rather a revival of an institution that trained the military officers responsible for two of the few real development success cases – those of post-war Germany and Japan. The School of Military Government operated in Charlottesville, Virginia, and at 10 universities across the country during the Second World War. Graduates of these programs went on

to serve in military governments, with responsibilities including money and banking, natural resources, labor, public works, legal administration, public health, and industry and commerce. In pursuing equally ambitious and perhaps even more complicated nation building challenges, military officers today are tasked with very similar duties, but have benefitted from none of the rigorous training that the School of Military Government once provided.

Taken together, these institutions would develop and test economic development theory, provide ongoing critical support to military planners, and equip a professional cadre of development experts with the skill set to build capacity in a fragile state and put into place the conditions to allow for entrepreneurial growth. (Considerably more information about both proposals can be found at www.expeditionaryeconomics.org).

Economic development alone is not a tactic for

Expeditionary economics does have a role in the counterterrorism or counterinsurgency fight ... In giving the people ownership of the economy through entrepreneurship and private sector growth, it gives meaning to the public diplomacy efforts that are critical to defeating the terrorists' “propaganda of the deed.”

counterterrorism or counterinsurgency. The United States cannot use development or the carrot of economic prosperity to convert a terrorist into an entrepreneur. Most existing anecdotal and quantitative research on the subject indicates that in most cases, once he has adopted a philosophy of violent extremism, a terrorist has irrevocably become a political, not an economic actor. In these cases, the threat can only be mitigated by the sharp stick of military (or law enforcement) action.

Expeditious economics does have a role in the counterterrorism or counterinsurgency fight, however. In giving the people ownership of the economy through entrepreneurship and private sector growth, it gives meaning to the public diplomacy efforts that are critical to defeating the terrorists' "propaganda of the

deed." In creating sustainable economic growth in the country harboring terrorists, it provides the state with increased resources to provide for its own security and to combat the terrorist threat.

Though it may be a bitter pill for the international development community to swallow, the American military is well placed to execute a mandate for fostering economic growth in fragile states...

When applied in a pre- or post-conflict setting prior to or following a counterinsurgency or counterterrorism campaign, effective economic development, by providing economic opportunity and social stature to would-be terrorists, has the potential to preclude the development of violent extremism before it has opportunity to flourish. **RF**

Carl J. Schramm is the President and CEO of the Ewing Marion Kauffman Foundation, the world's premier organization dedicated to creating new firms and understanding the role they play in economic growth.



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How 9/11 Shaped the Millennial Generation

...and the lessons for Republicans today

MARGARET HOOVER

On September 11, 2001, nineteen men hijacked four commercial airplanes, transforming them into missiles that murdered thousands of innocent civilians on American soil. These attacks were a defining moment in the lives of millennials – so named because they are the first generation to come of age in the new millennium. In the same way that the attack on Pearl Harbor is imprinted upon the Greatest Generation, and the Kennedy assassination impacted the Baby-Boomers, 9/11 has shaped the worldview of the millennial generation.

On that fateful morning, the oldest millennials were seniors in high school, while the youngest were just infants. For the first time in their lives, they were confronted with the fact that their government and their parents were not in control. Osama bin Laden became a household name, and to the youngest millennials he was the incarnation of their worst fears. In an instant, these young Americans realized that their country wasn't invulnerable, and that there were forces of evil in the world bent on eliminating America's hard-won freedoms.

Three defining features of the millennials, as identified by experts who study generational trends and characteristics, were, I suspect, strongly influenced by the impact of 9/11.

First, hyper-partisanship in our politics turns millennials off. In the critical days and weeks after 9/11, as the country went to war against the Taliban and Al Qaeda in Afghanistan, it did so purposefully and with a united front. Millennials noticed that, when it mattered

most, political leaders set aside partisan interests. Millennials drank deeply from this spirit of national unity, and it remains a defining feature of their generation. As a presidential candidate, Barack Obama channeled this generational ethos when he spoke of transcending partisan differences in a country with no blue states or red states, only the United States of America. While unity in a time of war is imperative, and while it would be unreasonable to expect the country's leaders to remain united forever, millennials nonetheless expect their leaders to express principled disagreements respectfully, and they dislike when politicians demonize and demagogue their political opponents.

Second, millennials place a premium on public service. I think this is almost certainly a result of the gratitude and reverence showered on the heroes of 9/11 and its aftermath: most visibly our firefighters and our men and women in the military. Millennials volunteer more frequently than any other generational cohort, with 60 percent saying they've volunteered within the

past year, and 83 percent of entering college freshmen having volunteered regularly in high school. I think the outpouring of community spirit associated with 9/11 goes a long way toward explaining why the millennial generation is one that values public service.

Finally, millennials have a positive view of government. They do not tend to see it as part of the problem, to paraphrase Ronald Reagan's famous line. According to the Pew Research Center, impressions



Margaret Hoover

**Millennials place
a premium on public
service.**

about government, once solidified in a generation, tend to endure. While there is no clear evidence that directly links the events of 9/11 to this generally positive view of government, I surmise that these attitudes took hold as a result of seeing the U.S. government act decisively in response to the 9/11 attacks. Young people saw that when America was in danger, the country – its citizens, its government, and its armed forces – could rise to the challenge and get urgent tasks done quickly and decisively in order to meet the threat. Thus it was no surprise to see young Americans flood the streets in celebration on the night of May 1-2, 2011, upon hearing the news that our heroic Navy Seals had killed Osama bin Laden in his Pakistani hideout. For young Americans as much as anyone, the success of the mission to eliminate bin Laden demonstrated a hard earned American triumph, and it was an outpouring of patriotism from the

Young people saw that when America was in danger, the country – its citizens, its government, and its armed forces – could rise to the challenge and get urgent tasks done quickly and decisively in order to meet the threat.

9/11 generation that good defeats evil, and in the end, America wins.

The Republican Party should consider the impact of 9/11 on millennials, especially as we march into the 2012 presidential contest and hope to connect with this rising generation. There is urgency for understanding and harnessing their enthusiasm now, as experts demonstrate that partisan identity solidifies in new generations after three presidential election cycles. Since the Millennials voted for John Kerry in 2004, and Barack Obama in 2008, we Republicans have fifteen months to make our case that the policies of the Republican Party are best suited to the interests of the millennial generation. When it comes to fiscal responsibility and national security, we have the answers. Now is our chance, to boldly make our case to the 9/11 generation. **RF**

Margaret Hoover is a Fox News commentator and author of the book, American Individualism: How a New Generation of Conservatives Can Save the Republican Party. She previously served as an aide in the George W. Bush Administration.

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Amid the Battle Over Spending, The Fight Over Health Care Continues

CHARLES BOUSTANY

In the midst of the debate on controlling spending, Congress continues its fight against President Obama's expensive health-care law. Since January, the House has voted to repeal and defund Obamacare, but the Senate has not acted.

To repeal and replace Obamacare with real solutions, we must do a better job educating Americans on specific ways the law will harm their families. The health law places expensive new mandates on individuals and job creators and creates a new bureaucracy to ration care. As a former heart surgeon, I'm fighting to repeal these provisions immediately. Otherwise, they'll increase costs, destroy jobs and delay patients' access to life-saving care.

President Obama's individual mandate will increase health costs by forcing Americans to purchase expensive Washington-approved coverage for services they may not want or need. Our Founders never intended to empower Congress to regulate economic inactivity under the Commerce Clause. Instead of protecting individual freedom, Washington Democrats opted for a heavy-handed approach, arguing Congress can do anything it wants.

Small businesses across America

joined a lawsuit with 26 states to prevent this overreach. Despite a recent 2 to 1 decision by the 6th Circuit Court of Appeals to uphold the law, the battle continues before other courts and will ultimately

country if they do not sign up for government-sanctioned health care.

To combat this, I recently introduced H.R. 1744, the American Job Protection Act, to eliminate the damaging employer-mandate provision in Obamacare. The bill removes requirements stating employers with 50 or more full time "equivalent" employees may be assessed a "free rider" penalty.

At a time when businesses large and small are struggling to survive in a weakened economy, this added burden is completely misguided and unacceptable. The Congressional Budget Office warns of job loss in the next 10 years because of this provision. We must repeal it now to permit businesses across the country to focus on growing their companies, hiring workers and doing their part to improve the economy.

I also joined my colleagues in a fight to stop Obamacare's new rationing panel, the Independent Payment Advisory Board (IPAB). During my career as a heart surgeon, I often treated patients who had difficulty finding a primary care doctor because they were on Medicare. The new health law exacerbates this problem.



**President Obama's individual
mandate will increase health costs
by forcing Americans to purchase
expensive Washington-approved
coverage for services they may not
want or need.**

reach the U.S. Supreme Court.

As this case makes progress through the courts, I am working closely with my colleagues to undo the damage of the law through legislation. In addition to enacting unconstitutional mandates on individuals, Obamacare also punishes job creators around the

Obamacare creates more life-threatening delays for seniors under the President's IPAB. This 15-member panel of presidential appointees will make new cuts to meet annual spending targets. IPAB will have unprecedented control over patients' personal medical decisions but limited medical expertise. The law limits the membership of doctors with real experience caring for patients, instead selecting number crunchers focused only on costs. Experts in "technology assessment" will help devise payment formulas that prevent new life-saving medical breakthroughs.

Secretary Sebelius insists IPAB may not "ration" care, but she admits the new law fails to define the

word. By slashing payments below costs, IPAB will deprive patients of needed care. While IPAB can't outlaw needed treatments, it can force frail patients to wait longer or travel farther. It can also penalize

At a time when businesses large and small are struggling to survive in a weakened economy, this added burden is completely misguided and unacceptable.

doctors who offer a new and more effective treatment

We cannot serve patients' best interests by allowing unelected bureaucrats to make critical medical decisions. Even Democrats who voted for Obamacare support repealing IPAB before it begins.

Obamacare's policies hurt

the people they claim to protect. Rather than creating thousands of new jobs as was promised, America's unemployment has remained stagnant at 9 percent for months. This law is not the answer to our nation's health care needs.

Now is the time to act and repeal it and replace it with commonsense solutions to lower costs and protect the doctor-patient relationship. **RF**

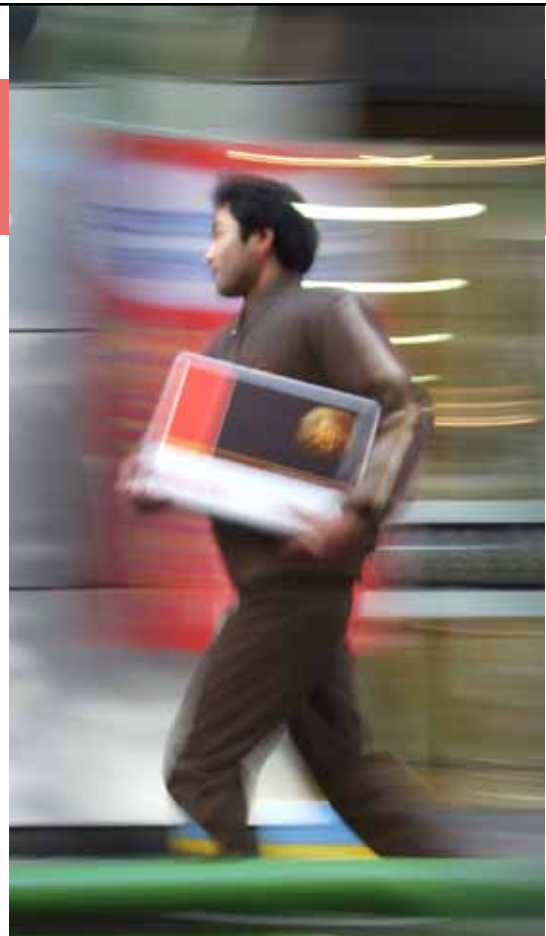
Charles Boustany represents the 7th District of Louisiana in the U.S. House of Representatives. A cardiovascular surgeon for over 20 years, Dr. Boustany serves as Chairman of the Ways and Means Oversight Subcommittee and is a member of the GOP Doctor's Caucus.

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In the Wake of FUKUSHIMA

DALE KLEIN

In the wake of the nuclear incident at Fukushima, Japan, the world held its breath wondering if the facilities would be capable of recovering from one of the most significant natural disasters in recorded history. While the media never failed to report on every setback, it missed the opportunity to report on what went right. This is what separates those who want to report the news from those who want to change the world.

As engineers and scientists across the globe began to review this event, some common themes and causes began to emerge. The first, and most fundamental, was the scope of the regional disaster itself and the lack of preparation by local and national authorities to cope with an event of this magnitude. Second, and perhaps more difficult to understand, was the multi-layered complacent belief by the Japanese government that contingency plans addressed every possibility. To appreciate this, one has to understand the Japanese culture and their structure of governance that tends to frown upon the questioning of a superior's

position or understanding.

Over the years, I have made many friends within the Japanese nuclear safety community and industry. I can tell you that at an



Dr. Dale Klein

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individual level, they have the same passion as I do for questioning and challenging the fundamental requirements for a strong safety culture. But as a collective body, they have difficulty breaking the barriers of social and political protocol which limits their ability to reform.

Faced with the Fukushima disaster, and certainty of power shortages and economic hardship that will hurt the Japanese people, I believe that Japan now has the opportunity to “do it right.” It took the Three Mile Island accident in the U.S. to force utilities, vendors, and regulators to do the in-depth self-criticism that eventually led them to strive for excellence. It remains to be seen if the Japanese culture can evolve to accept and embrace the concepts of self-criticism, to have a questioning attitude, to share best practices, and more importantly, fully disclose their failures when things go wrong.

The lessons to be learned from Fukushima are many, but what may be surprising is how few may actually apply to U.S. plants. The facts are that these plants survived the earthquake and would have survived the damage caused by the tsunami if backup power had been supplied. In the U.S., this condition is known as “Station Blackout” and was addressed extensively by the U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission and the U.S. nuclear industry after

9/11. While a nuclear reactor is technically complex, what is now emerging as the fundamental failure has little to do with the nuclear reactor design but the decision on where and how to site the facility and, most importantly, the design of back-up systems to withstand historical tsunamis. Worldwide, I expect all nuclear plants will be re-examined for beyond-design basis events, including new plants either already under construction or planned.

Along the coastal areas of Japan are historical markers, some dating back over 600 years, which warn of the devastation caused by tsunamis. The markers delineate the inland boundaries where historically tsunamis had left a path of destruction. Had the constructors of the Fukushima plant in the 1960's taken these warnings to heart, they could have engineered systems that would have prevented what was ultimately responsible for triggering this tragedy.

Underway right now in the U.S. and around the world is an effort to examine plants situated in vulnerable areas to determine if adequate precautions have been taken. It is the nature of the U.S. nuclear industry to constantly question and seek to improve.

Many outside the nuclear industry do not understand the process that drives us after a significant event such as Fukushima. Probing analysis, self-criticism, and questioning attitudes -- the hallmarks of the industry's safety culture -- are not intended to assign blame, but rather to gain insight and improve the safety and reliability of operations. However,

heroic -- efforts made by brilliant dedicated engineers, operators, and technicians who recovered a six-reactor site from one of the worst natural disasters ever seen. And they did it under the worst of conditions. Many left behind their desperate families and did not know the fate of friends and loved ones. Their dedication and willingness to sacrifice deserves

our admiration and our thanks.

For this reason, I do not doubt that the Japanese nuclear industry has the capability to transform to a nuclear operations safety culture. If anyone doubts they can achieve this, you need only remember that less than 50 years ago the term "Made in Japan" was synonymous with cheap and unreliable products.

But the Japanese embraced the concepts of quality that propelled their automotive and electronics brands

to world leaders. I believe they can also achieve this same status in nuclear operations as well. **RF**

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At Fukushima, there were mistakes made and there were decisions that should have been made, but were not. But there were also extraordinary -- even

Minority Rules

A snapshot on redistricting heading into next year

CLARK BENSEN

As a result of the 2010 federal Census, we know there were more than 308 million persons in the United States as of April 1, 2010.

As most political observers in America are keenly aware, the real import of the Census is that the boundaries for all representational districts need to be redrawn to reflect the shift of population over the previous decade.

This means that 428 of the 435 districts for the 113th Congress will be somewhat different than the districts used in 2010. It also means that new districts will be drafted for 7,382 state legislators around the country as well as for countless county commissions, city councils, and other local boards and commissions that use districts for elections, either on a partisan or non-partisan ballot. Today, this process is known by most as redistricting.

The results of the Census confirmed the same general population trends of the past several decades -- that is, the seemingly relentless move of persons from the East and Midwest to the South and West. From an interstate congressional perspective, 12 seats shifted from 10 donor states to 8 recipient states. From an intrastate legislative perspective, there is more of a mixed pattern, though in the East and Midwest many big cities lost ground relative to the surrounding suburbs. From an Electoral College perspective, this shift provides some marginal benefit to the Republicans based upon the 2008 vote. The new apportionment will affect presidential elections for the next three elections, through 2020.

While several states have made

progress on their districts, litigation has barely commenced. There are a few general concepts that will affect this process for the upcoming decade:

Emerging Minorities: Two population subgroups that experienced large rates of growth over the decade are the Hispanic/Latino and Asian



Clark Bensen

communities. These groups are also ones that have been largely left out of the political process to date. For decades past, targeted and passionate activity at all levels has improved the political empowerment of the African-American community. The 2010 census indicates that similar activities may now be needed for other emerging minority communities.

However, practical considerations are likely to make it difficult for these groups to transition into the political mainstream with respect to appropriate representation in the halls of Congress and state houses.

Both communities differ in significant ways from the African-American community. First, they are much more likely to be immigrants and less likely to be citizens, and thus less likely to be eligible to register to vote. Second, they are much more geographically dispersed. Even if there are areas where they first settle upon entry into the country, many are likely to move elsewhere for simple reasons of economics.

This makes drafting some districts for these groups difficult without tortuous amalgamations of census geography to achieve a racial end, a practice that has been discouraged by the courts. On the other hand, if districts can be drafted that reflect logical communities of interest for these emerging minorities, public policy would dictate that keeping these areas together in a district would be beneficial.

Citizenship: There is no longer any "long form" for the federal Census. The information that was formerly collected from a subset of the population once a decade is now collected on an ongoing basis by the Bureau of the Census through

the American Community Survey (ACS). The ACS is the only source for information on the citizenship status at low levels of geography. Citizenship status may be an important consideration in drafting districts and/or in litigation brought under the federal Voting Rights Act (VRA). There is still some question as to the applicability of the citizenship data for districting as well as several data concerns relating to any use of this information.

Prisoner population: There was some discussion in preparation for the

Census about the Census residence of prisoners. The Bureau of the Census has now provided some information that may allow the consideration of this concept during redistricting. The focus on prisoner population varies state by state because large prisons may be in either rural areas of a state or in urban downtown areas. In addition, there are additional operational concerns about integrating this information into the districting process.

The focus on prisoners alone, and not on other persons who live in what the Bureau calls "group quarters" (e.g., dormitories, military barracks), only addresses part of the puzzle and does not squarely address the longstanding rules established for Census residence. Nevertheless, the rationale for not counting prisoners where they are incarcerated is that they are persons who cannot vote where they live and

thus artificially inflate the population of a district. This is a concept relating to the overall weight of a vote.

When the Reapportionment Revolution of the 1960s transformed the political landscape, the focus of

approximately equal in weight to that of any other citizen in the State."

A primary tenet of democracy is that the majority should determine the outcome. For elections held by district, this means that the preferences of the majority of the voters should translate into a majority of the seats in a chamber or in a congressional delegation. However, numerous instances exist in which the number of actual voters in districts varies greatly, sometimes by a ratio of three to one.

The end result of such an uneven distribution of actual voters across districts is that the possibility exists that a majority of the seats in a chamber may be elected by a minority of the voters. **RF**

Clark Bensen is the founder of Polidata, a company that has been collecting, analyzing and disseminating data related to the art of politics since 1974.

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the numerous opinions from the U.S. Supreme Court was clear: that the very reason for the change to a population-based standard for redistricting was that of vote equality. As the Court stated in the 1964 case of Reynolds v. Sims: "the overriding objective must be substantial equality of population among the various districts, so that the vote of any citizen is

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Ripon Profile

Name: The Honorable Nan Hayworth, M.D.

Office: Member of Congress, 19th District of New York

Before entering politics, you were an ophthalmologist. Was it difficult transitioning from a profession with very precise solutions to a profession where solutions are often hard to come by and anything but precise? Medicine is a servant profession in which one has to listen carefully to the patient, develop a shared understanding of the problem at hand, and craft a solution that will work for all concerned. It's thus quite similar to being a Representative--though there's clearly a big difference in scale and scope, which makes Congress all the more challenging, and I welcome that.

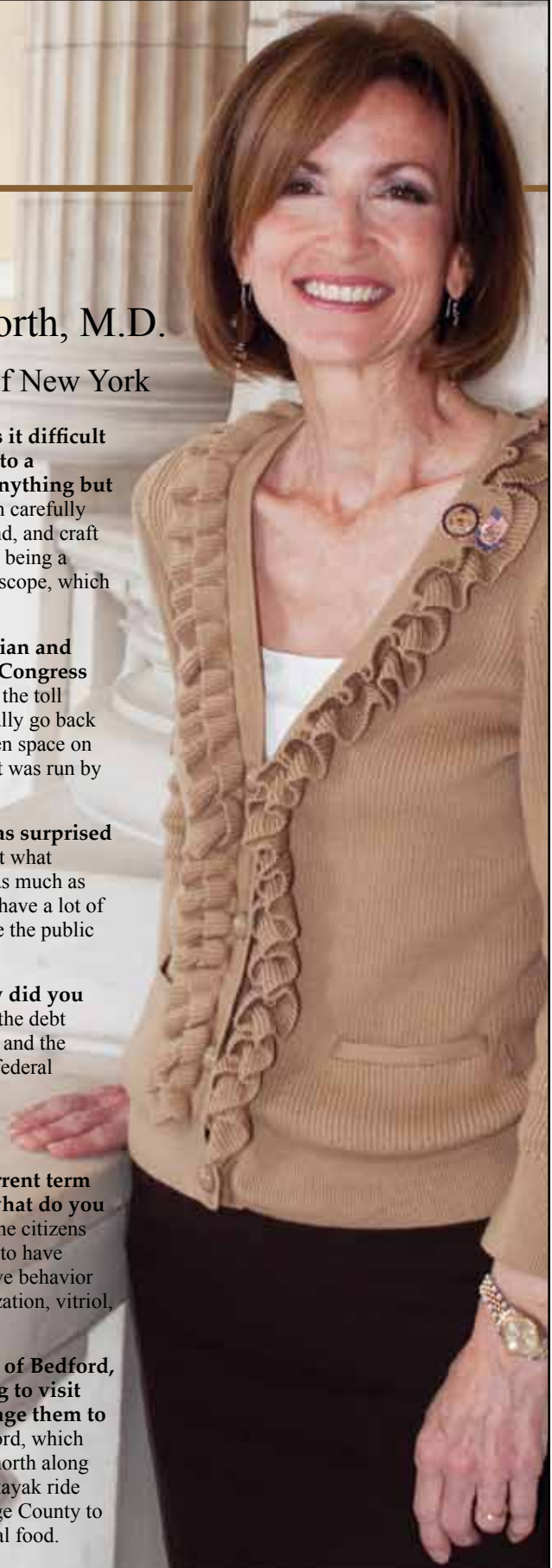
On your Facebook page, you say you are a fan of the comedian and film producer Mel Brooks? Which Mel Brooks movie does Congress resemble most? Remember in "Blazing Saddles" when they erect the toll booth in the middle of the desert and the guys riding toward it actually go back to get dimes instead of just going around the barrier in the wide-open space on either side? No common sense. That's how the federal government was run by the last Congress, and that's what we're fighting in this Congress.

You've been in office now for nearly eight months. What has surprised you most about the job? I had only limited specific notions about what serving in Congress would be like, so there haven't been surprises as much as there have been realizations. The best one is that Washington does have a lot of people with good minds and hearts who are doing their best to serve the public honorably, and that's a great positive that we can build on.

What's been the toughest vote you have cast so far, and how did you explain it to your constituents back home? Voting to increase the debt ceiling was the toughest, and I began explaining the grim necessity, and the reasons for it, back in January. The constituents I serve expect the federal government to live within its means, just as they do, and therefore I also emphasize that we're working to bring deficit spending down now and for the future.

When you leave office – whether it be at the end of your current term or at the end of another term somewhere down the road – what do you hope your greatest accomplishment will be? To have served the citizens of New York's 19th District, and of the nation, honorably and well; to have modeled--despite all obstacles!--the kind of positive and constructive behavior that will transform our politics from its current sorry state of polarization, vitriol, and class warfare.

Finally, a question close to home: you live the historic town of Bedford, about an hour north of New York City. If people were going to visit your District this Fall, what three things would you encourage them to do and see? Ride along the designated Scenic Road through Bedford, which was founded in 1680, and savor the village's historic charm; drive north along the Hudson through Putnam and Dutchess Counties and stop for a kayak ride from Beacon's new Long Dock Park; then head west through Orange County to see West Point and stop in our Black Dirt region for some great local food.





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