

Section 13 - Politics and Accountability

69. Introduction The Honorable Warren Rudman

1. United States Commission on National Security/21st Century, Road Map

for National Security: Imperative for Change, Phase 3 Report. Washington, D.C.

(31 January 2001), pp. viii.

70. The Politics of Homeland Security - Anne Khademian

1. General Accounting Office (GAO), "National Preparedness: Integration of

Federal, State, Local, and Private Sector Efforts Is Critical to an Effective

National Strategy for Homeland Security," testimony by Randall Yim before

Subcommittee on Economic Development, Public Buildings and Emergency

Management, Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure, House of

Representatives (22 April 2002), GAO-02-621T. But see HSPD-5: "In these efforts,

with regard to domestic incidents, the United States Government treats crisis

management and consequence management as a single, integrated function,

rather than as two separate functions."

2. Office of Homeland Security, National Strategy for Homeland Security, (July 2002),

p. vii.

3. Siobhan Gorman, "Homeland Security: Spreading the Faith," National Journal

(11 October 2003); GAO, testimony of Randall Yim (11 April 2002).

4. GAO, "Combating Terrorism: Intergovernmental Partnership in a National Strategy to Enhance State and Local Preparedness," testimony of Paul Posner before Subcommittee on Government Efficiency, Financial Management, and Intergovernmental Relations, Committee on Government Reform, House of Representatives (22 March 2002).

5. Donald Kettl, *Regulation of American Federalism* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983). Daniel Elazar, *American Federalism: A View from the States* (3rd ed.) (New York: Harper and Row, 1984). Morton Grodzins, "The Federal

CHAPTER 70 The Politics of Homeland Security 1111

System," in *Goals for Americans* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1960).

Martha Derthick, "Federal Government Mandates: Why the States Are Complaining," *Brookings Review* (Fall 1992), pp. 50-3.

6. Consider recent legislation and policy initiatives. "No Child Left Behind" sets national standards for school performance and national rules governing poorly performing schools. Similarly, efforts to pass a constitutional amendment banning gay marriage would take the decision away from the states.

7. Matt Statler, Johan Roos, and Bart Victor, "Illustrating the Need for Practical Wisdom," working paper, 2004, p. 26.

8. J. W. Peltason, *Understanding the Constitution* (11th ed.) (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1988), p. 17.

9. Herber J. Storing, *What the Antifederalists Were For: The Political Thought of the*

Opponents of the Constitution (Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1981).

10. Helen Ingraham and Steven Rathgeb Smith, Public Policy for Democracy

(Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1993).

11. William Lyons, "Partnerships, Information, and Public Safety: Community

Policing in a Time of Terror," Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies

and Management 25:3 (2002), pp. 530-42(13). Matthew Scheider and Robert

Chapman, "Community Policing and Terrorism," Journal of Homeland Security

(April 2003); [www.homelandsecurity.org/journal/articles/Scheider-Chapman.](http://www.homelandsecurity.org/journal/articles/Scheider-Chapman.html)

html.

12. Keith Bea, Proposed Transfer of FEMA to the Department of Homeland Security.

Congressional Research Service (29 July 2002) (from CRS Web).

13. Ben Canada, Homeland Security: Standards for State and Local Performance.

CRS Report for Congress (8 October 2003), pp. 24-5. (Congressional Research

Service, Library of Congress, from CRS Web.)

14. National Academy of Public Administration (NAPA), Coping with Catastrophe:

Building an Emergency Management System to Meet People's Needs in Natural and

Manmade Disasters (Washington, D.C.: NAPA, 1993). Sandra Schneider, Flirting

with Disaster: Public Management in Crisis Situations (Armonk, N.Y.: Sharpe, 1995).

15. DHS, Initial National Response Plan (30 September 2003), p. 1.

16. U.S. Conference of Mayors.

17. Richard Danzig, "Battling Bioterrorism," Government Executive (15 July 2004),

p. 17.

18. Office of Management and Budget, Budget of the United States Government:

Fiscal Year 2003, pp. 933–8. White House press release, ‘‘President Announces

Substantial Increases in Homeland Security Budget’’ (24 January 2002),

www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/01/20020124-1.html.

19. PL 107-296, Section 507.

20. The important Emergency Management Performance Grants are still allocated

through FEMA. The FY04 budget also gives FEMA responsibility for several

public health initiatives, including the Metropolitan Medical Response Program,

as well as grants for planning and preparation of major metropolitan health

systems for disasters and cash stockpiles for emergency pharmaceuticals and

training of public health personnel. FY 2004 Budget Fact Sheet, Office of the Press

Secretary, White House (1 October 2003). [www.dhs.gov/dhspublic/display?](http://www.dhs.gov/dhspublic/display?content¼1817)

[content¼1817](http://www.dhs.gov/dhspublic/display?content¼1817).

21. PL 107-296, Section 430.

1112 SECTION 13 Politics and Accountability

22. National Governors’ Association, Center for Best Practices, Vol. 2, Homeland

Security: A Governor’s Guide to Emergency Management (2002), p. 12.

23. Department of Justice, ‘‘Report from the Field: The US PATRIOT Act at Work’’

(July 2004), pp. 1–2.

24. Ibid., p. 29. Prepared remarks for U.S. Mayors’ Conference (25 October 2001).

Development of a passenger prescreening program to increase security for

airline travel has drawn criticism from advocates of privacy, from passengers, and from members of Congress. The Transportation Security Administration (an agency within DHS) argues that airline travel will be more secure if the government has private information about passengers—such as name, address, phone number, and birth date—that can be verified with other commercial and government databases. Such information can also be checked against terrorist “watch” lists. But critics argue that the loss of privacy is dramatic while the gains in security are unknown.

25. Gilmore Commission, Forging America’s New Normalcy, Fifth Annual Report to the President and Congress of the Advisory Panel to Assess Domestic Response Capabilities for Terrorism Involving Weapons of Mass Destruction, December 2003, p. 22.

26. Ibid., p. 4.

27. Michael Sandel, Democracy’s Discontent (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997).

28. Ellen Alderman, “Homeland Security and Privacy: Striking a Delicate Balance,” Carnegie Reporter 2:1 (Fall 2002); www.carnegie.org/reporter/05/homeland/index.html.

29. Michael Sandel distinguishes between these two types of liberty and the forms of government that support them. In the American experience, he argues, the procedural state has grown to protect individual liberties from intrusions by government; the alternative is republicanism, or the realization of liberty

through participation in governance. The former emphasizes the individual,
the latter the community.

30. Alderman, "Homeland Security and Privacy: Striking a Delicate Balance";

Christopher Connell, *Homeland Defense and Democratic Liberties: An American
Balance in Danger?* Carnegie Challenge 2002 (New York: Carnegie Corporation,
2002).

31. Connell, p. 4.

32. *Ibid.*

33. Working Paper Prepared by Human Rights First for the International Conference

on Terrorism and Human Rights, Cairo (January 20), pp. 226–8,

www.humanrightsfirst.org/us_law/after_911/after_911_09.htm

34. Gilmore Commission, *Forging America's New Normalcy*. See also Annual Report,

Vol. 5: *Forging America's New Normalcy: Securing our Homeland, Protecting*

Our Liberty. The Advisory Panel to Assess Domestic Response Capabilities for

Terrorism Involving Weapons of Mass Destruction. Rand (15 December 2003),

pp. 33–4.

35. James Fallows, "Military Efficiency," *Atlantic* (August 1991): 18.

36. 18 U.S.C. x1385, 1994.

37. "The Posse Comitatus Act: A Principle in Need of Renewal," *Wash. U. L.Q.* 953

(Summer 1997), <http://law.wustl.edu/WULQ/75-2/752-10.html#B11>.

CHAPTER 70 The Politics of Homeland Security 1113

38. Ibid.

39. Ibid.

40. 42 U.S.C. 5170b, reference (f).

41. Major Craig T. Trebilcock, "The Myth of the Posse Comitatus" (October 2000), www.homelandsecurity.org/journal/articles/Trebilcock.htm.

42. Ibid.

43. Aaron Weiss, "When Terror Strikes, Who Should Respond?" Parameters (August 2001): 117–133, <http://carlisle-www.army.mil/usawa/Parameters/01autumn/Weiss.htm>.

44. David Kopel and Paul Blackman, "Can Soldiers Be Peace Officers? The Waco Disaster and The Militarization of American Law Enforcement" 30 Akron L. Rev. (1997): 619–659, <http://i2i.org/SuptDocs/Waco/cansoldiersbepeaceofficers.htm#fb23>.

45. Public Law No: 108-458 Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act of 2004.

46. H. RES. 5, Adopting rules for the One Hundred Ninth Congress. Within the House and Senate Appropriations Committees, separate subcommittees for homeland security were created in the 108th Congress.

47. S. Res. 445, Senate Committee Reorganization for Homeland Security and Intelligence Matters.

48. E. M. Earle (ed.), *The Federalist* (New York: Modern Library, 1937), No. 51.

49. Shaun Waterman, "New Homeland Security Committee Off to a Shaky Start"

50. Jack Knott and Gary Miller, *Reforming Bureaucracy: The Politics of Institutional*

Choice (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1987).

51. Donald Kettl, *System Under Stress: Homeland Security and American Politics*

(Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2004).

52. "Independence," however, refers to the location of an agency outside the

executive branch, not necessarily to absence of oversight and influence of elected

officials. The history of independent agencies, for example, suggests greater

congressional influence than presidential influence.

53. Philip Selznick, *Leadership in Administration: A Sociological Interpretation*

(Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson, 1957).

54. Public Law No. 107-296.

55. See James Q. Wilson, *Bureaucracy: What Government Agencies Do and Why They Do*

It (New York: Basic Books, 1989).

56. Chris Strohm, "Homeland Security Creates Privacy Advisory Committee,

Govexec.com," Daily Briefing (26 April 2004), [www.govxec.com/dailyfed/](http://www.govxec.com/dailyfed/0404/042604c1.htm)

[0404/042604c1.htm](http://www.govxec.com/dailyfed/0404/042604c1.htm).

57. Chris Strohm, "DHS Scraps Computer Pre-Screening System, Starts Over,"

Govexec.com, Daily Briefing (15 July 2004), [www.govxec.com/dailyfed/0704/](http://www.govxec.com/dailyfed/0704/071504c1.htm)

[071504c1.htm](http://www.govxec.com/dailyfed/0704/071504c1.htm).

58. Anne Khademian, "Strengthening State and Local Terrorism Prevention and

Response," in Kettl (ed.), *The Department of Homeland Security's First Year*

(The Century Foundation, 2004): 152.

59. Kettl, System Under Stress, p. 76.

60. Jerry Seper, "Limits Set on Border Patrol," Washington Times (17 August 2004): A01.

71. HLS and Accountability - Charles R. Wise and Rania Nader

1. 9/11 Commission Report (New York: Norton, 2004), pp. 365, 400.

2. David Osborne and Peter Plastrik, Banishing Bureaucracy (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1997). See also B. Guy Peters, The Future of Governing: Four

Emerging Models (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1996).

3. Robert D. Behn, "The New Public Management Paradigm and the Search for Democratic Accountability," International Public Management Journal 1:2 (1999): 131.

4. Bernard Rosen, Holding Government Bureaucracies Accountable (3rd ed.) (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1998), p. 207.

5. Ibid., p. 210.

6. Behn (1999), p. 142.

7. Robert D. Behn, "Linking Measurement and Motivation: A Challenge for Education," Advances in Educational Administration 5 (1997): 17.

8. Richard Mulgan, "Accountability: An Ever-Expanding Concept," Public Administration 78:3 (2000): 555.

9. Ibid. See also G. W. Jones, "The Search for Local Accountability," in S. Leach (ed.), *Strengthening Local Government in the 1990s* (London: Longman, 1992).
10. Raymond J. Decker, "Combating Terrorism," statement prepared for U.S. House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Economic Development, Public Buildings, and Emergency Management. Hearing on Combating Terrorism: Options to Improve the Federal Response, 107th Congress, 1st Session (24 April 2001).
11. 9/11 Commission Report, pp. 400–1.
12. Paul L. Posner, "Combating Terrorism: Intergovernmental Partnership in a National Strategy to Enhance State and Local Preparedness," testimony before the U.S. House Committee on Government Reform, Subcommittee on Government Efficiency, Financial Management, and Intergovernmental Relations. Washington, D.C.: GAO-02-547T (22 March 2002), p. 7.
13. Charles R. Wise and Christian Freitag, "Accountability and Risk: The National Fire Policy," *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* (2002): 141.
14. Eugene Bardach and Cara Lesser, "Accountability in Human Services Collaboratives: For What? And to Whom?" (1996), p. 203.
15. Stephen Paige, "Measuring Accountability for Results in Interagency Collaboratives," *Public Administration Review* 64:5 (2004): 541.
16. 9/11 Commission Report, p. 339.
17. U.S. House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence and U.S. Senate Select

Committee on Intelligence (Joint Committee), Report of the Joint Congressional

Inquiry into Intelligence Community Activities before and after the Terrorist Attacks

of September 11, 2001 (Washington D.C., 2002), p. 62.

18. Ibid., p. 66.

19. 9/11 Commission Report, p. 352.

20. Wise and Freitag (2002).

21. Joint Committee, p. 99.

22. 9/11 Commission Report, p. 344.

23. Martin A. Levin and Mary B. Sanger, Making Government Work (San Francisco,

Calif.: Jossey-Bass, 1994), p. 59.

24. Joint Committee, p. 73.

25. John J. DiIulio, Jr., Gerald Garvey, and Donald F. Kettl, Improving Government

Performance: An Owner's Manual (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1993),

p. 232.

26. Joint Committee, p. 105.

27. Linda DeLeon, 'Ethics and Entrepreneurship' in Van R. Johnston (ed.),

Entrepreneurial Management and Public Policy (New York: Nova Science, 2000),

p. 222.

28. James A. Stever, The End of Public Administration: Problems of the Profession in the

Post-Progressive Era (Dobbs Ferry, N.Y.: Transnational, 1988), p. 99.

29. 9/11 Commission Report, p. 394.

30. Stephen Cohen and William Emicke, 'Is Public Entrepreneurship Ethical?'

Public Integrity 1:1 (1999): 54–74.

31. Barbara Romzek and Melvin Dubjick, ‘‘Accountability in the Public Sector:

Lessons from the Challenger Tragedy,’’ Public Administration Review 47:3 (1987):

227–38.

32. Barbara Romzek and Melvin Dubjick, ‘‘Issues of Accountability in Flexible

Personnel Systems,’’ in Patricia Ingraham and Barbara Romzek (eds.), New

Paradigms for Government (San Francisco, Calif.: Jossey-Bass, 1994), pp. 263–93.

33. Rosen (1998), p. 209.

34. Ibid., p. 210.

35. Romzeck and Dubjick (1994), p. 88.

36. David M. Walker, ‘‘9/11 Commission Report: Reorganization, Transformation,

and Information Sharing,’’ testimony before the Committee on Government

Reform, U.S. House of Representatives (3 August 2004) (GAO-04-1033T), p. 24.

37. Levin and Sanger (1994), pp. 17, 214.

CHAPTER 71 Accountability and Homeland Security 1129

38. John Brehm and Scott Gates, ‘‘Donut Shops and Speed Traps: Evaluating Models

of Supervision on Police Behavior,’’ American Journal of Political Science 37 (1993):

555–81. See also Gary Miller, Managerial Dilemma: The Political Economy of

Hierarchies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

39. Paul Teske and Mark Schneider, ‘‘The Bureaucratic Entrepreneur: The Case of

City Managers,’’ Public Administration Review 54:4 (1994): 337.

40. Sandford Borins, ‘‘Loose Cannons and Rule Breakers, or Enterprising Leaders?

Some Evidence about Innovative Public Managers,’’ Public Administration Review

60:6 (2000): 500, 504.

41. See the following. Peter Blau, *The Dynamics of Bureaucracy* (2nd ed.) (Chicago:

University of Chicago Press, 1963). Barbara Koremenos, ‘‘Leadership and

Bureaucracy: The Folk Theorem and Real Folks,’’ *Rationality and Society* (2004).

Donald Warwick, *A Theory of Public Bureaucracy: Politics, Personality, and*

Organization in the State Department (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University

Press, 1975).

42. Levin and Sanger (1994), pp. 248, 276.

43. Paige (2004). See also Beryl Radin and Barbara Romzek, ‘‘Accountability

Expectations in an Intergovernmental Arena,’’ *Publius* 26:2 (1996): 59–81.

44. Advisory Panel to Assess Domestic Response Capabilities for Terrorism

Involving Weapons of Mass Destruction (Advisory Panel), *Forging America’s*

New Normalcy, Arlington, Va. (15 December 2003).

45. Bardach and Lesser (1996), pp. 205–6.

46. Jocelyn M. Johnston and Barbara Romzek, ‘‘Contracting and Accountability in

State Medicaid Reform: Rhetoric, Theories, and Reality,’’ Public Administration

Review 59:5 (1999): 388.

47. Paige (2004), p. 593.

48. Robert S. Kravchuk and Robert W. Schack, ‘‘Designing Effective Performance-

Measurement Systems under the Government Performance and Results Act

of 1993," Public Administration Review 56:4 (1996): 349-58.

49. Sanford Borins, "The New Public Management Is Here to Stay," Canadian Public Administration 38:1 (1995): 121.

50. Behn (1999), p. 158.

51. Advisory Panel (2003).

52. Walker (2004), p. 17.

53. Behn (1999), p. 156.

54. William Gormley and David Weimer, Organizational Report Cards (Cambridge,

Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999). See also Robert Kaplan and David

Norton, "The Balanced Scorecard: Measures That Drive Performance," Harvard

Business Review 70:1 (1992): 71-9.

55. Bardach and Lesser (1996).

56. Paige (2004), p. 603.

57. Patria De Lancer Julnes and Marc Holzer, "Promoting the Utilization of

Performance Measures in Public Organizations: An Empirical Study of Factors

Affecting Adoption and Implementation," Public Administration Review 61:6

(2001): 693-708.

72. Waging the "War of Ideas" William Rosenau

1. Frank Kitson, Low Intensity Operations: Subversion, Insurgency, and Peacekeeping

(London: Faber and Faber, 1971), p. 78.

2. For more on the nature, structure, and operations of al-Qaida, see Jason Burke,

Al-Qaeda: Casting a Shadow of Terror (London and New York: Tauris, 2003),

particularly chapters 1–2.

3. See, e.g., John Mackinlay, *Globalisation and Insurgency*. International

Institute for Strategic Studies Adelphi Paper 352 (Oxford: Oxford University

Press, 2002), p. 79; and ‘‘Point Man of the Pentagon,’’ *American Legion Magazine*

(August 2004): 30.

4. Michael Doran, ‘‘The Pragmatic Fanaticism of al Qaeda: An Anatomy

of Extremism in the Middle East,’’ *Political Science Quarterly* 117:2 (Summer

2002): 187.

1144 SECTION 13 Politics and Accountability

5. Anonymous [Michael Scheuer], *Imperial Hubris: Why the West Is Losing the War on*

Terror (Washington: Brassey’s, 2004), pp. 209–12.

6. National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States, *The 9/11*

Commission Report (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2004),

p. 363; hereafter cited as *9/11 Commission Report*.

7. ‘‘Strategic Deception in Modern Democracies: Ethical, Legal, and Policy

Challenges,’’ Conference Brief, U.S. Army War College Strategic Studies Institute,

n.d., p. 2.

8. Carnes Lord, ‘‘The Psychological Dimension in National Strategy,’’ in Frank R.

Barnett and Carnes Lord (eds.), *Political Warfare and Psychological Operations*

(Washington, D.C.: National Defense University Press, 1989): 22.

9. As U.S. Army Chief of Staff Peter Schoomaker has concluded, this conflict
 ‘‘is a little bit like having cancer. You may get in remission, but it’s never
 going to go away in our lifetime.’’ Quoted in Robert Burns, ‘‘Army Chief Says
 Islamic Extremist Threat Is Like a ‘Cancer’ That Will Linger,’’ Associated Press
 (15 June 2004).
10. Susan L. Gough, ‘‘The Evolution of Strategic Influence,’’ USAWC [U.S. Army
 War College] Strategy Research Project, Carlisle Barracks, Pa. (7 April 2004), p. 1.
11. See, e.g., Andrew Buncombe, ‘‘Threat of War: Pentagon to Target Allies with
 Covert Propaganda,’’ Independent (London) (17 December 2002): 11.
12. Quoted in ‘‘Changing Minds, Winning Peace: A New Strategic Direction for U.S.
 Public Diplomacy in the Arab and Muslim World,’’ Report of the Advisory
 Group on Public Diplomacy for the Arab and Muslim World, Washington,
 D.C. (1 October 2003), p. 20.
13. Gilles Kepel, Jihad: The Trail of Political Islam (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard
 University Press, 2002), p. 220.
14. Ibid., p. 219. The movement’s Saudi strain, known as Wahhabism, serves as
 kingdom’s state ideology. In general, ‘‘Muslims view the Western usage of the
 term . . . as carrying negative and derogatory connotations.’’ Febe Armanios,
 ‘‘The Islamic Traditions of Wahhabism and Salafiyya,’’ CRS [Congressional
 Research Service] Report for Congress, 22 December 2003, p. 1.
15. Febe Armanios, ‘‘The Islamic Traditions of Wahhabism and Salafiyya,’’ CRS

Report for Congress (22 December 2003), p. 3. The term "wahhabism," which has derogatory connotations for many Muslims, is a version of Salafiyya practiced in Saudi Arabia (p. 1).

16. Ibid., p. 3.

17. Sayyid Qutb, *Milestones* (Cedar Rapids, Iowa: Mother Mosque Foundation, n.d.), p. 12.

18. "Usamah Bin-Ladin, the Destruction of the Base," al-Jazeera (10 June 1999), Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS).

19. "Mujahid Usamah Bin Ladin Talks Exclusively to Nida'ul Islam about the New Powder Keg in the Middle East," Nida'ul Islam (October–November 1996), www.islam.org.au/articles/15/LADIN.HTM, accessed 1 September 2004.

20. Maha Azzam, "Al-Qaeda: The Misunderstood Wahhabi Connection and the Ideology of Violence," Royal Institute of International Affairs, Briefing Paper No. 1 (February 2003), p. 4.

21. See, e.g., "Azzam Exclusive: Letter from Usamah Bin Muhammad Bin Ladin to the American People," Waaqiah (Internet) (26 October 2002), FBIS.

CHAPTER 72 Waging the "War of Ideas" 1145

22. See, e.g., "Bin Laden's Sermon for the Feast of the Sacrifice," Middle East Media Research Institute [MEMRI], Special Dispatch Series No. 476 (5 March 2003), p. 10.

23. "Pakistan Interviews Osama Bin Laden," Pakistan (Islamabad) (18 March 1997), FBIS.

24. John Gray, 'Living with Bin Laden,' Independent on Sunday (London)

(18 May 2003): 25.

25. This point is made in Bruce Hoffman, 'The Leadership Secrets of Osama Bin

Laden: The Terrorist as CEO,' Atlantic Monthly (April 2002): 26–27.

26. John Gray, 'How Marx Turned Muslim,' Independent (London) (27 July 2002): 16.

27. 'The Arabian Peninsula,' according to bin Laden, 'has never . . . been stormed

by any forces like the crusader armies spreading in it like locusts, eating its

riches and wiping out its plantations.' Bin-Laden, 'Others Sign Fatwa

to Kill Americans Everywhere,' Al-Quds al-Arabi (London) (23 February

1998), FBIS.

28. See, e.g., 'About the Heroes Will and the Legitimacy of the New York and

Washington Operations,' Alneda (Internet) (24 April 2002), FBIS.

29. Paul Berman, *Terror and Liberalism* (New York and London: Norton, 2003),

p. 118.

30. Reuel Marc Gerecht, 'The Gospel According to Osama Bin Laden,' Atlantic

Monthly (January 2002) (online edition).

31. Timothy L. Thomas, 'Al Qaeda and the Internet: The Danger of Cyberplanning,'

Parameters 33:1 (Spring 2003): 112.

32. 'Opening Statement of Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz before

the House Armed Services Committee' (10 August 2004), [armedservices.](http://armedservices.house.gov/schedules/2004.html)

house.gov/schedules/2004.html, accessed 18 October 2004.

33. See, e.g., J. Vaughn, "Cloak without Dagger": How the Information Research Department Fought Britain's Cold War in the Middle East, 1948–1956, Cold War History 4:3 (April 2004): 56–84.
34. Gough, "The Evolution of Strategic Influence," p. 16.
35. For various perspectives on these activities, see Scott Lucas, Freedom's War: The American Crusade against the Soviet Union (New York: New York University Press, 1999); Frances Stoner Saunders, The Cultural Cold War: The CIA and World of Arts and Letters (New York: New Press, 1999); Walter L. Hixson, Parting the Curtain: Propaganda, Culture, and the Cold War, 1945–1961 (New York: St. Martin's, 1998); and Kenneth A. Osgood, "Form before Substance: Eisenhower's Commitment to Psychological Warfare and Negotiations with the Enemy," Diplomatic History 24:3 (Summer 2000): 405–33.
36. Anthony J. Blinken, "Winning the War of Ideas," Washington Quarterly 25:2 (Spring 2002): 105.
37. Lucas, Freedom's War, p. 137.
38. Gough, "The Evolution of Strategic Influence," pp. 20–4.
39. Newton N. Minow, "The Whisper of America," Decision Memorandum, Foundation for Defense of Democracies (August 2003).
40. "Shays Hearing on Public Diplomacy in the Middle East," press release (10 February 2004), www.house.gov/shays/news/2004/February/febdip.htm, accessed 15 March 2004.

1146 SECTION 13 Politics and Accountability

41. J. Michael Waller, "Losing a Battle for Hearts and Minds," *Insight on the News*

(22 April 2002): 18.

42. Quoted in Bill Powell, "Struggle for the Soul of Islam," *Time* (13 September

2003): 46.

43. 9/11 Commission Report, p. 361.

44. Powell, "Struggle for the Soul of Islam," p. 46.

45. See, e.g., Pew Research Center for the People and the Press, "A Year after

Iraq War: Mistrust of America in Europe Ever Higher, Muslim Anger Persists,"

(16 March 2004), <http://people-press.org/reports/display.php3?ReportID¼206>,

accessed 8 September 2004.

46. Blinken, "Winning the War of Ideas," p. 105.

47. Derek Kinnane, "Winning Over the Muslim Mind," *National Interest* (Spring

2004): 94.

48. Hady Amr, "The Need to Communicate: How to Improve U.S. Public Diplomacy

with the Islamic World," *Analysis Paper, No. 6, Saban Center for Middle*

East Policy, Brookings Institution (January 2004), pp. 31–2. For more on the

failure of the U.S. battle for Muslim "hearts and minds," see David E. Kaplan,

Aamir Latif, Kevin Whitelaw, and Julian E. Barnes, "Hearts, Minds, and

Dollars," *US News & World Report* (25 April 2005): 22.

49. "Commentator Analyzes Recent Bin Ladin Tapes, Sees U.S. as Losing

"Information War" against al-Qaeda," *Al-Ansar* (Internet) (20 November 2002),

FBIS.

50. Abram N. Shulsky, 'Comment' in Barnett and Lord, *Political Warfare*, p. 106.

51. See, e.g., White House, *The National Security Strategy of the United States of*

America (Washington, D.C.: White House, September 2002), p. 6.

52. Anonymous, *Imperial Hubris*, p. 136. For a useful discussion on countering

transnational revolutionary ideologies, see Mark N. Katz, 'Speaking Freely:

Defeating Islamic Fundamentalism,' *Asia Times Online*, 26 February 2005,

www.atimes.com/atimes/Middle_East/GB26Ak01.html, accessed 3 March 2005.

53. See, e.g., White House, Office of Management and Budget, 'Department

of State and International Assistance Programs' (7 September 2004), [www.](http://www.whitehouse.gov/omb/budget/fy2005/state.html)

[whitehouse.gov/omb/budget/fy2005/state.html](http://www.whitehouse.gov/omb/budget/fy2005/state.html), accessed 7 September 2004.

54. Zachary Selden, 'Neoconservatives and the American Mainstream,' *Policy*

Review (April–May 2004), www.policyreview.org/apr04/selden.html, accessed

7 May 2004. For a representative expression of the administration's views, see

'State of the Union Address,' 2 February 2005, www.whitehouse.gov/news/

[releases/2005/02/print/20050202-11.html](http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2005/02/print/20050202-11.html), accessed 13 June 2005.

55. John Gray, 'Global Utopias and Clashing Civilizations: Misunderstanding the

Present,' *International Affairs* (London) 74:1 (1998): 149.

56. White House, 'Dr. Rice Addresses War on Terror' (19 August 2004),

www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2004/08/20040819-5.html, accessed 24

August 2004.

57. David Ignatius, 'A Copernican Foreign Policy,' Washington Post (7 September 2004): 23.
58. Paul Eedle, 'Terrorism.Com,' Guardian (London) (17 July 2002): 4.
59. See, e.g., 'Liberal Muslim Scholar: The Term 'Jihad' Is Misunderstood by Islamist Clerics,' MEMRI Special Dispatch Series, No. 699 (23 April 2004), www.memri.org/bin/articles.cgi?Page%2Fsubjects&Area%2Freform&ID%2FSP69904, CHAPTER 72 Waging the 'War of Ideas'; 1147 accessed 8 September 2004; and 'Arab Liberal: Most Islamic Ideologues, Organization Leaders Advocate Violence,' MEMRI Special Dispatch Series, No. 696, www.memri.org/bin/articles.cgi?Page%2Fsubjects&Area%2Freform&ID%2FSP69604, accessed 8 September 2004.
60. See, e.g., Paul Eedle, 'Al-Qaeda Takes Fight for 'Hearts and Minds' to the Web,' Jane's Intelligence Review (August 2002): 25.
61. 'Saudi Armed Forces Journal on the Jews: 'The Fabricated Torah, Talmud, and Protocols of the Elders of Zion Command Destruction of All Non-Jews for World Domination,' MEMRI Special Dispatch Series, No. 768 (20 August 2004), www.memri.org/bin/articles.cgi?Page%2Fsubjects&Area%2Fantisemitism&ID%2FSP76804, accessed 9 September 2004.
62. The Saudi authorities have made progress in this direction, having banned hundreds of extremists from preaching in mosques. Max Rodenbeck, 'Unloved in Arabia,' New York Review of Books (21 October 2004), www.nybooks.com/articles/17477, accessed 26 October 2004.
63. 'Muslim Cleric Faces New Attack Over Visit,' Daily Telegraph (London) (11 July 2004), www.telegraph.co.uk/news/main.jhtml?xml%2Fnews/2004/07/

12/uclicr.xml&sSheet¼/portal/2004/07/12/ixportaltop.html, accessed 20

October 2004.

64. Kevin Myers, 'The Fishy Heart of the Entente Cordiale,' Sunday Telegraph

(London) (4 April 2004): 22.

65. 'Usama Bin-Ladin, Others Sign Fatwa to Kill Americans Everywhere,' Al-Quds

al-Arabi (London) (23 February 1998), FBIS.