TERRORISM, CZARS, AND AMERICAN POLITICS

Today will discuss three topics:

- Our preference for things Russian and Soviet----Czars and 5 Year Plans
- The Problem of Homeland defense and what should be our plan (5ys or not)
- And what will be the political legacy of September 11th.

I. Czars and the 5 Year Plans

Just after 9/11 President Bush appointed Gov. Tom Ridge as Director of a newly created Office of Homeland Security, and charged him with coordinating protection against terrorism and preparing a plan. Immediately dubbed Czar and the plan a 5 year one.

The inclination to appoint Czars and to craft 5 year Plans whenever there is a government crisis might strike some as strange. After all:

- Czar was an absolute monarch, which we abhor, and the last Czar was overthrown and his entire family killed in a Revolution.

- Five Year Plans are Soviet and we defeated the Soviet Union and destroyed its Empire.

Of course, it is precisely because a Czar's power is so different from that we grant our leaders that it has appeal. Crisis = need to change our ways, put someone in charge, make decisions.

History.

Started in W.W.II; Production Czar, Transportation Czar, Manpower Czar as we tried to mobilize the society ----much of the vital elements outside of government let alone
outside the federal government. Knew of Soviet commissars, "Czars" more neutral term.

More recently: Nixon appointed Energy Czar in 1973
    Reagan a Drug Czar in 1986
    Clinton an AIDS Czar in 1993

Action gives gullible reassurance, bureaucrats and local governments a focal point for policy, and the President a Fall guy, someone to take the hit. And of course, almost everyone thinks there is a need to coordinate policy, a good thing in most eyes.

Coordination leads to planning which apparently leads to Five-Year Planning, a wonderful Soviet idea.

Centralization (czars) has its fans in a decentralized world ----Planning has even more fans. Definitely a Progressive era, New Deal thing----America needs plans. Urban Planning Dept.

Why Five Years?---DOD McNamara 1960s Whiz Kid notion that stems from 1920s/30s Public Administration, Good Government take politics out of policy making ---let experts decide. Soviets probably stole it from them. Coming from DOD a certain immunity. Five years longer than one administration, certainly longer than normal one-year budget cycle.

What has been the experience?

- Czars haven't "worked"
  
  > WWII Office of War Mobilization with Judge Burns in charge set up after production peaked. (Gropman Mobilizing Us Production in WWII)

  > Tenth Fleet set up to coordinate ASW effort came into being a month after the Battle of the Atlantic turned.

  > Energy Czar did not give us energy independence or the low prices we currently enjoy. Cubic czarconium of czars.

  > Drug Czar ---need I say more than the joke is that if any foreign group wanted to important Anthrax all they would have to do is hide it in a shipment of Cocaine.

  > AIDS turned around but through independently managed drug research and a lot of fear which is now starting to fade.
Political benefit of doing something until the attention cycle shifts may be there. It would not keep happening unless there was this continuing benefit.

Czars Popular, maybe getting Too Popular---several states 46 of 50 have them:

- Privacy Czar
- Transportation Czar (NJ's caught DWI)
- Fashion czar just died or retired in France
- Economic czar (Argentina)
- Coffee Czar (Columbia)
- Yes even Porn czar in Utah

5-Year Plans still in DOD but essentially meaningless as Congress didn't switch budget to 2 years let alone 5.

What are the limits?

1. Czars

   - It is unconstitutional to centralized that much (almost any) power; *coordination an unnatural act performed by non consenting adults*

   - Conflict in goals-----Drugs, privacy, domestic, foreign

   - agencies resist---want access to President

   - its his job----even SecDef not in control/ NSC, State, CIA

   - Congress hasn't agreed-----the committees want to control priorities, no effective centralization allowed

2. Plans

   - what is planning ---control, hope, prediction, prayer

   - all of number 1

II PROBLEMS & SOLUTIONS
A> There are real problems

350,000,000 foreign visitors
20,000 miles of border
301 ports of entry
12,000,000 20' containers (211,00 ships)
2800 power plants (100 plus nuclear)
190,000 miles of natural gas pipelines
600,000 bridges
463 50 plus story skyscrapers
11,500,000 truck entries
2,200,000 railroad cars
46 agencies, maybe more
120,000 federal cops in perhaps 20 agencies, everyone of them has a Swat team

lots of conflict:
  • border patrol and customs
  • DEA and FBI
  • ATF and FBI
  • CIA and FBI
  • health and law enforcement or defense (ANTHRAX)

candor---Worse than defense?

>>>Heterosexual AIDS

>>>Second hand smoke

B> Solutions

- Not homeland defense agency------its foreign
- Not Root Causes----Israel and Oil
- Not more research----helps, need a set of labs
- Not more $------what is in it for Al Frankan ---already happening, ethanol, tax cut, more refuelers
- Not more planning-

1982 ---FBI in charge of domestic crisis management, terrorism; State foreign; FEMA coordinates federal assistance to first responders (it was a merger of
five agencies in 1979--kept old priorities); confirmed in Pres Dec Dir 39 in 1995

1998 --- PDD 62 sets up National Coordinator for Security Infrastructure Protection and Counter Terror----our graduate Richard Clark; PDD-63 cyberspace

Attorney General issues 5-Year Plan!!! (Secret) Interagency Counter Terrorism and Technology Crime Plan

May 2001 President asks VP to oversee coordination

FEMA sets up Office of Nat Preparedness

FBI sets up National Domestic Preparedness Office

Budget compiled $12.8 billion ---8.6 counter terror

1.2 WMD
2.6 Critical Infrastructure

just got $20 billion more

Just had two Commissions report

III. September 11 and Future

A. More of the same.

Governor Ridge and Office of Homeland Security plus newly established Homeland Security Council will go the way of other czars and planners. Czars are ignored by Barons and killed by serfs

Department a Democrat plan that backfired. Bush against, but made issue in election. Department doesn't change much, but has potential for slowing things down with internal coordination bureaucracy.
Everyone wants new Department and current fears to solve their problems: CG wants more $, public health the same. Army wants NG to do this.

Mission impossible? Will get domestic spy agency.

Several agencies really still independent ---USCG, Secret Service, Lawrence Livermore Laboratory----even though in new Department

Only big wave of attacks would bring big changes. Bin Laden only group coming here so far. Immigration reform?

B. Competition/Conflict Good----there is too much to do to try to coordinate all the parts. Big challenge then let several try to solve. Will be that way anyway:

- Intelligence FBI and CIA outside
- Military outside
- Local law enforcement
- Public health
- NSC

Think how system worked in past

C. Things too complex already

- National Security Strategy
- National Strategy for Combating Terrorism
- National Strategy to Combat WMD
- National Money Laundering Strategy
- National Drug Control Strategy

D. Going to Baghdad like it or not

- Have to get out of Baghdad
- One win leads to next
- Dems need to look strong on defense; President can't leave himself open to George I arguments. Dems have to get beyond Vietnam