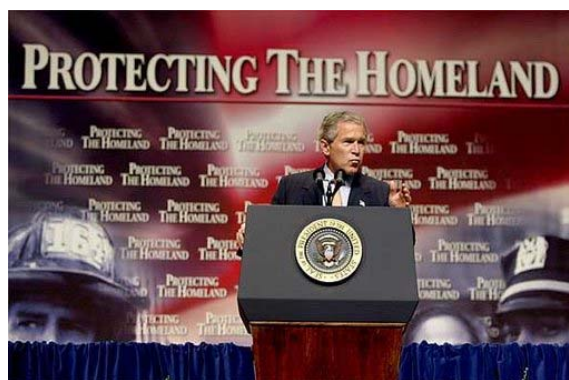


The Bush Administration's Homeland Security

RHETORIC



[T]he Department of Homeland Security has improved airline security, enhanced the protection of our borders and ports of entry, and taken vital steps to safeguard the nation's critical infrastructure.

– President George W. Bush, January 11, 2005

VERSUS



America's Homeland Security

REALITY

Almost 4 years after September 11, 2001, and two years after the creation of the Department of Homeland Security, the Bush Administration's record on homeland security is one of too much talk and bumbling and too little action and funding.

Prepared by the Democratic Staff of the House Appropriations Committee, May 2005

RHETORIC	REALITY
Border Security	
<p>“Tom Ridge went up to Canada – he went up with Canada and were talking about a new border initiative with our friends. We’re analyzing every aspect of the border and making sure that the effort is seamless, the communication is real, that the enforcement is strong.” – Bush 1/25/02ⁱ</p> <p>“Indeed we have heard from time to time reports about al-Qaida trying to use our southern border but also about them trying to use our northern border...There is no secret that al-Qaida will try to get into this country and into other countries by any means they possibly can...That’s how they managed to do it before, and they will do everything that they can to cross the borders...We are all concerned about terrorists and how they might use our very long and porous borders...The terrorists are going to keep trying. They’re going to keep trying on our southern border. They’re going to keep trying on our northern border.” - Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice 3/10/05ⁱⁱ</p>	<p>Since 9/11, Congress provided an additional \$308 million to beef up security on our northern border, and to add border patrol agents, inspectors and equipment. Bush requested only one-third of this funding and today over \$36 million of it remains unspent due to the Administration’s slowness.</p> <p>The 2001 Patriot Act called for tripling inspectors and agents on our Northern Border. No Bush budget ever proposed to meet this goal. It was met only because Congress provided additional funding. Yet, only 965 new border agents have been hired since 9/11. Only one in 10 border patrol agents is assigned to guard the northern border, which is almost three times as long as the southern border.</p> <p>Today there are almost 2,000 fewer inspectors than called for in the Patriot Act. The White House continues to have no plan to identify how many more agents and inspectors and how much new technology are needed to adequately guard our northern and southern borders.</p> <p>The Intelligence Reform law calls for 2,000 additional border agents and 800 new immigration investigators. Yet the Bush 2006 budget calls for only 362 new personnel.</p> <p>In addition, the Administration seems to prefer to move agents and investigators around, such as the over 200 agents temporarily moved to Arizona as part of that initiative, which simply creates new holes on the border rather than permanently addressing the problem.</p>

RHETORIC	REALITY
Immigration Reforms	
<p>“The INS estimates that 40 percent of the people who are here illegally have overstayed their visa ... And one of the things we want to make sure of is we find the 40 percent ...” - Bush 1/25/02ⁱⁱⁱ</p> <p>“I also believe the Conference took an important step in strengthening our immigration laws by, among other items, increasing the number of border patrol agents and detention beds.” - Bush 12/6/04, urging passage of Intelligence Reform^{iv}</p>	<p>The Bureau of Immigration and Customs Enforcement’s (ICE) “deportation” backlog list continues to grow. In June 2003, there was a 396,000-person backlog and it has grown since by about 40,000 a year. Today, the backlog is over 465,000. Lack of detention bed space has resulted in the release of thousands of illegal immigrants into the US from countries other than Mexico.</p> <p>Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) faced significant funding shortfalls in 2004 that went unaddressed for months by DHS. In June, ICE’s acting director wrote, “Currently we are exceeding the level our resources can support nationwide...Discretion and financial constraints shall be considered when deciding whether to accept nonmandatory aliens for detention.” Detention officers were required to release illegal aliens. In Tennessee and Arkansas, ICE officials had cut their detainee population to 50 by July 1. ICE’s Philadelphia district released 77 detainees in the last week of June.</p> <p>Administration claims aside, the 2006 Bush budget would not increase the number of detention beds.</p>
Port Security	
<p>“We will work to make sure that not only is the port strong for economic reasons...we will make sure ... that this port is safe and secure. we have a solemn duty to protect our homeland, including the seaports of America.”^v – Bush 2/5/04</p>	<p>The Coast Guard estimated in 2002 that at least \$7 billion would be needed to improve port security. Congress has provided \$737 million to improve port security since 2001. Bush requested only \$46 million or six percent of this funding.</p> <p>DHS, after it transferred the port security grant program from TSA to the Office of State and Local Government Preparedness in 2003, funded an additional 86 port security grants, 82 of which were not recommended by the Coast Guard-Maritime Administration-TSA team reviewing the grant proposals. Many of these grants were to major oil companies, not local port authorities.</p>

RHETORIC	REALITY
Container Security	
<p>“Information regarding nearly 100% of all containerized cargo is carefully screened by DHS before it arrives in the United States. Higher risk shipments are physically inspected for terrorist weapons and contraband prior to being released from the port of entry.”^{vi} - White House Press release 1/22/04</p> <p>“We’re doing things more wise in order to protect our country. We’re not waiting for ships and planes to arrive; we’ve got what we call a Proliferation Security Initiative – fancy words which means America is working with other governments to track and stop the shipments of dangerous weapons and dangerous cargo.”^{vii} - Bush 2/5/04</p>	<p>Today, only a small percentage of cargo loaded on ships at foreign ports is inspected. It took until 2004 for the Bush Administration to request funding (\$62 million) for the Container Security Initiative (CSI) program, to inspect risky containers overseas before they leave for the US. Bush vetoed earlier CSI funding provided by Congress. Most cargo inspectors are assigned overseas on a temporary basis and do not have the time to develop the most effective working relationships with foreign governments.</p> <p>GAO found that the targeting system used to identify containers needs to be redone and that no national system for reporting and analyzing inspection statistics exists.</p>
Radiation Detection	
<p>“I agree with my opponent that the biggest threat facing this country is weapons of mass destruction in the hands of a terrorist network.”^{viii} - Bush 9/30/04</p>	<p>Under the Bush Administration’s 2006 budget, radiation portal monitors that can screen for weapons of mass destruction would not be installed in all ports until 2009. Only a handful of foreign ports currently screen incoming cargo for radiation.</p>

RHETORIC	REALITY
Critical Infrastructure, continued	
	<p>Less than \$550 million since 9/11 has been provided to improve rail and transit security. In contrast, the transit industry estimates that \$6 billion is needed for security training, radio communications systems, security cameras and limited access to sensitive facilities.</p> <p>DHS responded that more funds are not necessary until they have a better opportunity to define the problem. However, DHS has not tried to define the problem. The Department's main accomplishment is a security directive that basically told transit agencies and railroads to do what they are already doing.</p>
Local Police, Fire and Emergency Responder Preparedness	
<p>“We’ll increase funding to help states and communities train and equip our heroic police and firefighters.”^{xi} – Bush 1/29/02</p> <p>“The first responders of America, all across America, must have the resources necessary to respond to emergencies and save lives.”^{xii} – Bush 3/27/02</p>	<p>A 2003 Council of Foreign Relations report found that first responders were “Drastically Underfunded, Dangerously Unprepared,” and that “America will fall approximately \$98 billion short of meeting critical emergency responder needs over the next five years if current funding levels are maintained.”</p> <p>DHS has not finalized equipment standards needed to give appropriate guidance to localities. Without this guidance, funding provided to the states is left unspent. Even though 94 percent of the \$6.1 billion appropriated through DHS for first responders has been obligated, only 29 percent of it has been spent. With DHS’ limited grant staffing, it does not have the resources to provide the guidance that would help states spend homeland security funding on things that would help protect the American people.</p>

RHETORIC	REALITY
Local Police, Fire and Emergency Responder Preparedness, continued	
<p>“The department has also taken action to strengthen the hand of our partners in state and local law enforcement. Local police and other authorities are those most likely to encounter terrorists.”^{xiii} - Bush 3/3/05</p>	<p>For the past two years, Bush has proposed to reduce funding levels for DHS and Justice responder programs. The funding reductions proposed by Bush total \$2.3 billion in 2004 (37%), \$1.2 billion in 2005 (22%), and \$1 billion (20%) in 2006 primarily for law enforcement and firefighters.</p> <p>A 2003 Rand survey identified needs in six areas: personal protective equipment, communications, training, chemical protective equipment, communicable disease protection, and best practice benchmarking.</p> <p>A recent survey of fire departments found that:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Only 13% of fire departments are prepared to respond to a hazmat incident; • An estimated 57,000 firefighters lack personal protective clothing needed in a chem-bio attack; • 1/3 of firefighters per shift are not equipped with self-contained breathing apparatus and nearly half of the available units are 10 years old; and, • Only half of all emergency responders on shift have portable radios.

RHETORIC	REALITY
Creation and Management of DHS and TSA	
<p>“The reason to create this department is ...to increase its (the government’s) focus and effectiveness. ... By ending duplication and overlap, we will spend less on overhead, and more on protecting America.”^{xiv} – Bush 6/06/02</p>	<p>The largest homeland security funding increases requested by Bush for DHS in 2004 and 2005 were for overhead (92% and 26%, respectively). Meanwhile at TSA, the Inspector General found millions of dollars misspent on contracts, throwing lavish award ceremonies, and furnishing offices. At DHS’ headquarters, which includes the Secretary’s office, lax financial controls resulted in an independent audit being unable to certify that funding was being properly managed.</p>
	<p>Bush failed to use the unprecedented flexibility Congress provided to hire needed Homeland Security staff. One year after formation of DHS, almost 30 percent of key positions in human resources, budget, and legal were unfilled. Today, slightly more than 20 percent of Departmental level positions are vacant. In its two short years, the DHS has had two Secretaries, and three Deputy Secretaries. Today, six high level political positions, 42% of the total, are vacant or staffed by people who have already announced their departures. Meanwhile, needed decisions are not made and await the new political appointees.</p>
New Aviation Security Technology	
<p>“We will invest in new technology for aircraft security, with grants to develop transponders that cannot be switched off from the cockpit; video monitors in the cockpit to alert pilots to trouble in the cabin ... including technology to enable controller to take over distressed aircraft and land it by remote control.”^{xv} - Bush 9/27/01</p>	<p>Less than \$2 million has been invested in this technology. Transponders can still be switched off from the cockpit. Only in 2004 was \$10 million provided to the Defense Department so that military pilots and air traffic controllers can talk to one another. Since Defense wanted the commercial system to pay, the FAA wanted the military to pay, and the White House failed to intervene, this system will not be operative until 2006.</p>

RHETORIC	REALITY
New Aviation Security Technology, continued	
<p>“With new equipment, we’re now screening every bag that goes to every airplane.”^{xvi} - Bush 9/10/03</p>	<p>GAO reported that even the mandate to screen all checked baggage with explosive detection machines has not been met. The 9/11 Commission also pointed out that we do not screen airline passengers for explosives. The Intelligence reform bill called for screening all passengers and carry-on bags for explosives. Yet, TSA plans to conduct such screening on a limited basis.</p> <p>TSA initially identified equipment that would have dramatically improved our capacity to detect explosive materials, but this plan was expensive and the White House’s Office of Management and Budget decided the government could not afford it. TSA acknowledges that the more expensive machines would pay for themselves within three to five years.</p> <p>Intelligence Reform also calls for speeding up installation of in-line explosive detection systems. Yet, the Bush 2006 budget does not fund any additional systems beyond the current eight.</p>
<p>“We’re not waiting for ships and planes to arrive; we’ve got what we call a Proliferation Security Initiative – fancy words which means America is working with other governments to track and stop the shipments of dangerous weapons and dangerous cargo.”^{xvii} - Bush 2/5/04</p>	<p>No system exists to screen all cargo carried on passenger airlines. Up until last year, DHS didn’t even know who all the “known shippers” were and these shippers are allowed to put cargo on passenger aircraft virtually uninspected. Last October, Congress directed TSA to increase three-fold the percentage of cargo carried on passenger aircraft that is screened. It is now seven months after this legal requirement, and TSA still has not acted to implement the law.</p>

RHETORIC	REALITY
Intelligence	
<p>“And this new department [of Homeland Security] will review intelligence and law enforcement information from all agencies of government, and produce a single daily picture of threats against our homeland.”^{xxviii} - Bush 6/6/02</p> <p>“Right now, there are several major watchlists and related systems. But with each separate watchlist comes the potential for another seam. The Terrorist Screening Center will provide “one-stop shopping” so that every federal anti-terrorist screener is working off the same page.”^{xxix} - Ashcroft 9/16/03</p> <p>“Under this new law, our vast intelligence enterprise will become more unified, coordinated and effective. It will enable us to better do our duty, which is to protect the American people.”^{xxx} - Bush 12/18/04</p>	<p>The integration of intelligence information and the consolidation of terrorist watch lists is arguably the most important homeland security challenge, but rather than a focused effort, it’s been tossed around, split apart and not made the progress it should have.</p> <p>First, this task was assigned to the new Department of Homeland Security, and then switched to the Terrorist Threat Integration Center (TTIC). Now the consolidation of watch lists – a key component – has been moved to the Terrorist Screening Center (TSC) and intelligence integration has been moved from TTIC to the new National Intelligence Director.</p> <p>The Government Accountability Office (GAO) found that most local officials do not think the homeland security intelligence sharing process is effective. Unfortunately, the Administration has never requested the funding necessary to fully link all necessary federal agencies and local law enforcement with the TSC.</p> <p>The process does not even work well within the Executive Branch. For example, TSA passenger lists are not linked to the TSC and passengers on most international flights are not checked against watch lists until after an aircraft is already in the air. Even though this has long been identified as a security vulnerability, DHS has not yet addressed it. A recent flight from Europe was prohibited from flying in US airspace due to watch list matches.</p>
Air Marshals	
<p>“...we are going to dramatically increase the number of federal air marshals on our airplanes.”^{xxxi} - Bush 9/27/01</p> <p>“Americans should know that every available air marshal is being deployed and additional resources are being directed to this critical program.”^{xxxi} – former Homeland Security Secretary Tom Ridge 7/30/03</p>	<p>The last two Bush budgets have cut the number of air marshals from the number Bush said were needed after 9/11 and were in place in 2002.</p> <p>The 2005 Bush budget included a 20 percent cut in the number of air marshals, which was rejected by Congress, and the 2006 Bush budget includes a 10 percent reduction. These reductions come as the number of air passengers and flights are increasing.</p>

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- ⁱ Remarks by the President at Southern Maine Technical College, Portland, ME, 1/25/02
 - ⁱⁱ On-the-Record Briefing with Secretary of State Rice, En Route to Mexico, 3/10/05
 - ⁱⁱⁱ Remarks by the President at Southern Maine Technical College, Portland, ME, 1/25/02
 - ^{iv} Letter to Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act of 2004 conferees, 12/6/04
 - ^v Remarks by the President on Seaport and Cargo Security, Union Pier Terminal, Charleston, SC 2/5/04
 - ^{vi} Background: Significant Progress in the War on Terror Protecting Our Homeland, White House Office of the Press Secretary, 1/22/04
 - ^{vii} Remarks by the President on Seaport and Cargo Security, Union Pier Terminal, Charleston, SC 2/5/04
 - ^{viii} The First Bush-Kerry Presidential Debate, University of Miami, Coral Gables, FL, 9/30/04
 - ^{ix} Remarks by the President on the Swearing in of Homeland Security Secretary Michael Chertoff, Ronald Reagan Federal Building, 3/3/05
 - ^x Homeland Security Department Secretary Michael Chertoff, Senate Homeland Security Committee Hearing, 3/9/05
 - ^{xi} State of the Union Address, 1/29/02
 - ^{xii} Remarks by the President to South Carolina First Responders, Wyche Pavilion, Greenville, South Carolina, 3/27/02
 - ^{xiii} Remarks by the President on the Swearing in of Homeland Security Secretary Michael Chertoff, Ronald Reagan Federal Building, 3/3/05
 - ^{xiv} Remarks by the President in Address to the Nation, The Cross Hall, The White House, 6/6/02
 - ^{xv} Remarks by the President to Airline Employees, O'Hare International Airport, Chicago, Illinois, 9/27/01
 - ^{xvi} President Bush Discusses Homeland Security at the FBI Academy, Quantico, Virginia, 9/10/03
 - ^{xvii} Remarks by the President at Southern Maine Technical College, Portland, ME, 1/25/02
 - ^{xviii} Remarks by the President in Address to the Nation, The Cross Hall, The White House, 6/6/02
 - ^{xix} Department of Justice Press Release, "New Terrorist Screening Center Established Federal Government Consolidates Terrorist Screening Into Single Comprehensive Anti-Terrorist Watchlist," 9/16/03
 - ^{xx} President Signs Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act, Andrew W. Mellon Auditorium, Washington, D.C., 12/17/04
 - ^{xxi} Remarks by the President to Airline Employees, O'Hare International Airport, Chicago, Illinois, 9/27/01
 - ^{xxii} Statement by U.S. Homeland Security Secretary Tom Ridge, "Ridge Reassures Americans on Airline Security," 7/30/03