“Sometimes you can tell more truth through fiction”

Analyzing the content in Richard A. Clarke’s nonfiction and fiction
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1. Introduction

This paper focuses on the former National Coordinator for Security and Counter-Terrorism of the United States, Richard A. Clarke, and more importantly, his motives as an author. Right after his retirement from a long career in various positions in the United States government, Clarke published *Against All Enemies: Inside America’s War on Terror* (2004), a very critical text on how the American government, especially the George W. Bush administration, handled the war on terror insufficiently both before and after the 2001 terrorist attacks. The following year Clarke expanded his literary efforts into fiction as he published *The Scorpion’s Gate*, a thriller in which he approaches the familiar themes of terrorism and problems of nonfunctional government. The connection to his nonfiction novel is palpable and, in fact, the cover of *Scorpion’s Gate* states: “Sometimes you can tell more truth through fiction.” By 2017, Clarke has published five nonfiction texts and four fiction novels. The fact that a person who held a very high position in the government has chosen to devote his retirement to look deeper into these issues he faced at work can be taken as an indication that these themes need further exploration.

Therefore, this paper looks at how the themes of Cyber Security and Warfare, Energy, Government, Homeland Security, Intelligence and Terrorism are presented in Clarke’s fictional texts *The Scorpion’s Gate* (2005), *Breakpoint* (2007), *Sting of the Drone* (2014) and *Pinnacle Event* (2015) in relation to two of his nonfiction texts *Against All Enemies: Inside America’s War on Terror* and *Your Government Failed You: Breaking the Cycle of National Security Disasters* (2008). The objective is to determine whether Richard A. Clarke’s agenda is to say more about these issues through fiction, things he for some reason could not expose in his factual texts, as the line on the cover of *Scorpion’s Gate* implies, or is he in fact merely retelling the same things through a different format and the purpose behind the change of genre is simply to get more widespread attention and following for Clarke’s political views? In short, the research questions are 1) Is Clarke revealing more in his fiction than in his nonfiction? and 2) Does Clarke attempt to affect the reader’s views by portraying things in a certain way?

The method of qualitative content analysis is used to answer the research questions. The approach by Schreier (2013) is complemented with content analysis by Krippendorf (2004) and, from the field of
semantic content analysis, assertions analysis and designations analysis by Janis (1943/1965). In addition, Clarke’s influence is briefly investigated through discourse analysis. Against all Enemies and Your Government Failed You could be described as memoirs and even as polemic; “[a] strong verbal or written attack on someone or something” (oxforddictionaries.com), and might present things in a certain light to support Clarke’s claims. As the aim of this study is not to discover the facts about the events but to study Clarke’s motives, his possibly overelaborate critique actually serves the purpose of identifying Clarke’s opinions on the themes that emerge during analysis better than an objective piece of writing would. The topic is closer to cultural studies than literary or linguistic studies in nature since it focuses solely on the message within the text, and as the subject of the study is a specific person, the study could be categorized as a case study. In order to understand the political agenda behind the texts, the theory section of the paper will explore the existing connection between fiction and US politics, for example how science fiction terms have been used in political campaigns. It is important to acknowledge the significance of different formats, but the content should not be overpowered by the delivery system. The investigation of Clarke’s motives will begin by first looking at the two nonfiction texts to discover what is said in these texts and then it will proceed into analyzing what is said in the fictional texts in relation to the nonfiction.

This subject was chosen because of a personal interest as the writer of this paper was an exchange student in the United States for the fall semester in 2015. There the writer completed a course that focused on science fiction and writings of disaster in which one of the main themes was drone warfare, Sting of the Drone and Richard Clarke were studied. During the course an online publication called The Intercept published “The Drone Papers”, a set of secret documents leaked by a whistleblower that contained inside information on the negatives of drone warfare. This new information shows that Clarke’s accusations of the government’s poor judgment in dealing with terrorism are not obsolete but on the contrary should be given more thought. Furthermore, even though Richard A. Clarke is a high profile character and the themes of his texts are controversial and volatile to say the least, he himself or his novels have not been studied much. There are of course plenty of articles written for periodicals and reviews of his books but any academic exploration on this matter is scarce. Despite Clarke’s impressive career and the knowhow he has accumulated during his decades in the government, it must be recognized that he is only a one person that has his own
individual views and that his nonfiction texts are based on his own recollection of the described situations. Keeping this in mind, it can be fruitful to explore what is actually said both in the fiction and nonfiction of Richard A. Clarke.

The structure of the thesis proceeds from introducing the context to explaining the methodology and finally into analysis and conclusions. Section 2 focuses on the research material of the thesis; Clarke and his books. Section 3, Theoretical background, first discusses the thriller genre and why it is such well suited as a medium for Clarke’s ideas. This section also studies how fiction has been used in US politics before and similarities with these uses and Clarke’s thrillers. Some previous research on the subject is also introduced. Section 4 presents the theory of qualitative content analysis and the methodology used in this study. Section 5 first identifies the themes used as a coding frame. Then the samples are fitted into the themes, and the frame is evaluated and possibly modified. Then, the samples are analyzed in themes and finally the results are presented in the Discussion section. Section 6 presents the conclusions from the thesis, and also suggests possible future research topics related to Clarke and his books.
2. Research materials

This section presents the context of this study which consists of the author, Richard A. Clarke, his experiences in government and, most importantly, the books he has published based on that knowledge. First, Richard A. Clarke is introduced. It is important to acknowledge Clarke’s background and accomplishments in the United States’ government, so that Clarke’s authority to make these statements can be established. Second, the plot and subject matter of his texts that are used in this study are summarized allowing the reader to get acquainted with the subject without having to read the actual texts. The context will be further deliberated in section 5.1., where the themes Clarke has addressed in his texts are analyzed and Clarke’s involvement in these issues is also discussed.

2.1. Richard A. Clarke

This thesis centers on the former National Coordinator of Security and Counter-Terrorism of the United States, Richard A. Clarke, who is also known as the ‘counter-terrorism czar’. Clarke worked in the government for roughly three decades under three different administrations, but “[d]espite being such a high-profile figure in Washington, D.C., Clarke maintained a low personal profile. In fact, few outsiders had ever heard of the civil servant” (Encyclopedia of World Biography). The public became more widely aware of him in 2004, when he published his memoir, Against All Enemies, appeared on the 60 Minutes television news show, and testified before the 9/11 Commission. At the time there was a lot of controversy whether his claims were legitimate or not, including harsh criticism from the White House. However, he and his views gained a lot of support and the disapproval of the administration has been taken as an attempt to discredit Clarke and his divergent opinions. Since this thesis is not interested in studying the facts or the actual events and issues Clarke addresses but his motives behind writing these novels and how he writes about these issues, the debate is mentioned here but not discussed further. However, Clarke’s authority and influence is briefly assessed through discourse analysis. One of the most fundamental hypothesis of discourse analysis is that language contributes to the construction of reality, which means that there is a lot of power in language and therefore “those who are in a position to produce and to distribute texts which carry a certain
authority in society” (Schreier 46) can exercise that power. Considering Clarke’s history and position in government, his texts on government should be considered authoritative, but not automatically taken as the truth. Consequently, his writings and motives behind the texts should be studied since they might influence large groups of people.

During his time in the government, Clarke obtained a vast understanding of terrorism, and as Wright states, “[i]n the web of federal agencies concerned with terrorism, Clarke was the spider. Everything that touched the web eventually came to his attention” (233). Clarke’s long career in the government began in 1979 when he joined the State Department where he worked on the Soviet Union and their nuclear weapons. Previously he had worked on the same issues at the Pentagon. His work in the State Department and later in National Security Council involved intelligence, politico-military affairs and terrorism. After three decades of working on these issues, it was agreed in the spring of 2001 that a new White House position for Critical Infrastructure Protection and Cyber Security would be filled by Clarke in October 1st 2001. The 9/11 terrorist attacks delayed his transfer to the new job, but confident that the recent terrorist events would incite proper actions in the field of national security, Clarke took the position of The Special Advisor to the President for Cyberspace Security. He retired from government in 2003 and in addition to writing several books, “Clarke has served as an on-air consultant for ABC News for ten years, taught at Harvard’s Kennedy School of Government for five years, managed a consulting firm [and] chaired the Board of Governors of the Middle East Institute” (http://www.richardaclarke.net/). Despite leaving the government, Clarke is still working and raising public awareness on the same issues.

2.2. The texts

So far Clarke has written or co-authored nine books of which six are studied in this thesis. From the nonfiction category two books with the most wide-ranging themes were chosen as comparison points to the fictional texts. As the purpose is to study Clarke, his co-authored texts were discarded to avoid the possibility of confusing somebody else’s ideas with his. The two selected texts show the development of his ideas over the years; Against All Enemies: Inside America’s War on Terror (2004)
focuses on the mistakes that led and followed the 9/11 terrorist attacks whereas *Your Government Failed You: Breaking the Cycle of National Security Disasters* (2008) addresses the shortcomings of government more widely and presents solutions to these issues. As one of the main interests of this thesis is the correlation between the fiction and nonfiction, all four fictional texts, *The Scorpion’s Gate* (2004), *Breakpoint* (2005), *Sting of the Drone* (2014) and *Pinnacle Event* (2015), are studied. Simply put, the premise of all four thrillers is government employees trying to solve or stop terrorist attacks of various natures. Despite the very similar basis and the fact that all of the books discuss more or less the same themes also found in the nonfiction texts, in each thriller has their own main motif e.g. weapons of mass destruction or drones.

The four nonfiction texts that were not included—*Defeating the Jihadists* (2004), *Cyber War: The Next Threat to National Security and What to Do About it* (2010), *The NSA Report: Liberty and Security in a Changing World* (2013) and *Warnings: Finding Cassandras to Stop Catastrophes* (2017)—can be described as in-depth analyses of a certain theme and, as was mentioned earlier, are therefore not studied in this thesis as the aim is to get a comprehensive look at the whole spectrum of Clarke’s interests and motives. However, it is important not to neglect these books altogether, since they show which themes Clarke has deemed necessary to address more closely. Therefore, some of these books will be referred to in section 5.1. Identifying the themes.

The source texts are introduced chronologically within genre, first nonfiction in section 2.2.1., and then thriller in section 2.2.2. Another possible framework would be to present and study the texts chronologically without separating the genres, but the division option was selected since the dissection helps to differentiate the facts from fiction. Yet, it is interesting that Clarke first wanted to convey his ideas through nonfictional *Against All Enemies* (2004) and then fictionalizes the same issues in *Scorpion’s Gate* (2005), but then with *Breakpoint* (2007) and *Your Government Failed You* (2008) he changes the setting upside down by representing his thoughts through fiction before nonfiction. It is possible that Clarke simply wanted to address the issue of Cyber Security and Warfare and thought that the science fiction like theme would be more approachable first in fiction. In regards to the research questions, however, the fact that Clarke decided to cover these themes in both nonfiction and fiction context is sufficient in itself and we do not have to study the timeline further.
2.2.1. Non-fiction

This section summarizes the two factual texts that were chosen to give a diverse presentation on Clarke’s opinions and to discover the main themes that occur in his thrillers as well. Description of the texts is brief since the themes that these books consist of are analyzed further in section 5.

*Against All Enemies* was published in 2004, right after Clarke’s retirement from government work. The inception of the text is obvious as Clarke reveals in the foreword: “As the events of 2003 unfolded, I began to feel an obligation to write what I knew for my fellow citizens and for those who may want to examine this period in the future.” (xxv) The text is highly critical about President Bush and Vice President Dick Cheney as well as United States Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld and his Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz for their alleged personal vendetta against Iraq. The focus of the book is on US foreign policy in regards to terrorism and national security during the time period that Clarke himself was employed by the government. He sheds light to terrorist incidents and what was done in response or preparation during these four administrations beginning from the Reagan administration of 1981-1989 to the George H. W. Bush administration of 1989-1993 to Bill Clinton in 1993-2001 and finally to George W. Bush from 2001-2009. The historical review demonstrates how the failures accumulated through the years resulting in the outright disasters preceding and following 9/11, the main focus of the book. Most of the book is dedicated to recollecting the events of 9/11 and criticizing the failures of government, whereas only 1 chapter of approximately 40 pages focus on solutions and what should have been done. This is one of the main differences between *Against All Enemies* and *Your Government Failed You*, in which Clarke not only points out flaws but also actively offers answers to these issues.

Published in 2008, *Your Government Failed You: Breaking the Cycle of National Security Disasters* is Clarke’s effort to further point out and learn from the United States government’s incompetence in dealing with national security issues, not only in the field of terrorism, but also in matters like cyber security and energy. In the nonfiction category, this text could be labeled as a mix between a memoir
and a how-to book. Although the scope is more extensive than in *Against All Enemies*, the inspiration behind *Your Government Failed You* is the same. The very first sentence of the book, in the beginning of the preface, reveals the foundation of the text:

The premise of this book is that the well-known failure of government to stop 9/11 is dwarfed by the national security failures that followed the terrorist attacks of that day. Its central argument is that the cycle of major and costly national security failures was not just a product of the malfeasant and nonfeasant Bush-Cheney leadership, but that those failures also resulted from systemic and institutional problems. (ix)

Consequently, this text could be described as a revision of *Against All Enemies*, a retry to expose the same failures more deeply and to disclose new weaknesses not mentioned in the first expose, but also to end the destructive governance that has led to these disasters or shortcomings.

### 2.2.2. Fiction / Thriller

This section briefly introduces the fiction novels that are studied in this thesis. All four books belong in the thriller genre and have similar settings but then again they all address different issues. The texts are presented analogically so we can see the evolution in Clarke’s themes of interest.

Clarke’s first thriller *Scorpion’s Gate* was published in 2005. With only a year in between the release of *Scorpion’s Gate* and *Against All Enemies*, it can be assumed that he was working on these texts—or at least the ideas—simultaneously. Many similarities and common themes can be found between these texts, which will be addressed in the analysis section. The setting of Scorpion’s Gate is very complex: The Al Sauds have been overthrown and Islamyah formed in place of Saudi Arabia. In Bahrain terrorist attacks against Americans are framed to look like attacks by Islamyah, and the situation gets more serious as an American analyst finds missile silos in Islamyah. Some in the US administration are more than happy to accuse Islamyah as an excuse to invade the area and to covertly try to reinstate the House of Saud. The political atmosphere is getting hostile, as Deputy Director of Intelligence Analysis Center (IAC), Rusty MacIntyre, and the British SIS Station Chief Brian Douglas try to investigate what
has actually taken place and how the situation might unfold. On the ‘other side’, Vice Chairman of the Shura Council of the Islamic Republic of Islamyah and Minister of Security, Abdullah bin Rashid and his brother Ahmed, who came back from Canada where he studied and practiced as a doctor, are trying to stabilize the Shura Council and prove the Americans that Islamyah had nothing to do with the attacks. Both sides hurry to gain intelligence and stop their own perpetrators before a war breaks out.

The thriller is narrated from the perspective of various characters, which gives an insight into the worldview and opinions of all parties. The name of the book refers to the Muslim outlook that nonbelievers should not occupy ‘the Land of the Two Holy Mosques’, the birthplace of Islam: “the Americans, the Iranians, the Chinese. . . . these nations are like scorpions. And the scorpions are coming again.” (19) Although the book has particular noticeable similarities to what happened after 9/11, such as the obsession to invade Iraq, Clarke insists that the text is fully fictional: “Some may think, as they read this volume, that they see themselves of others portrayed. They do not. This is a work of fiction, in which all the characters are fictional.” (7) Despite Clarke’s claim, the themes of unsuccessful intelligence and warmongering administration have most certainly been inspired by real life instances.

In his second thriller published in 2007, Clarke focuses more on cyber security, cyber terrorism and scientific advances in human genetics or transhumanism. The thriller begins with simultaneous attacks that leave internet traffic going from America through the Atlantic to Europe is incapacitated. Susan Connor, the analyst who discovered the Islamyah missile silos in Scorpion’s Gate, is now in charge of IAC’s Special Project’s branch under the new Director of the Intelligence Analyst Center Rusty MacIntyre. The government suspects China is behind the attacks, but Susan and Jimmy Foley, a NYPD detective on loan to IAC, are assigned to work the case from another perspective. As more attacks occur, it becomes clear that technology is the intended target, which increases the suspicion of China’s culpability as it is believed they are trying to hinder the advances made in USA to catch up. However, with the help of a hacker called Soxster, Susan and Jimmy come to the conclusion that the attacks might actually be related to the developments in science related to the philosophy of transhumanism, advancing “from just doing genetic corrections to creating genetic enhancements”
(38). They must work against the clock to find the real culprits before the President is pressured to do something, possibly leading to a war with the only ‘obvious’ perpetrator, China.

The 2014 thriller novel *Sting of the Drone* tells a story on America’s drone warfare and terrorism, both from the viewpoint of US officials and soldiers as well as the multinational terrorists. The novel brings forth the long-distance nature and the question of the reliability of drone warfare as well as the ethics involved in deciding on targets. For clarity, the term drone is shortly explained here. The name drone can be used of any vehicle that is remotely or automatically controlled, but in the context of this paper, it refers to an unmanned aerial vehicle that the U.S. military uses either for reconnaissance or, if armed, to execute attacks on suspected terrorists. (Chamayou) The US drone program executes members of the Qazzani group, a Pakistani criminal organization, which triggers not only a response of more generic terrorist bombings but also new kind of attacks on the drone technology and members of the drone program based in the deserts near Las Vegas. Different perspectives are presented throughout the novel as the story is narrated from various characters’ viewpoint: from the terrorist perspective, the procession to accomplishing revenge is followed, whereas the American narration proceeds from routinely executing drone strikes, or Kill Calls, to the attempt to piece together who are behind the terrorist attacks and then the effort to prevent further attacks and capturing or eliminating the culprits. The main protagonists of the text are Raymond Bowman, the Director of the Policy Evaluation Group, PEG, Sandra Vittonelli, the CIA officer in charge of initiating Kill Calls at the Las Vegas drone base, Erik Parsons, the squadron commander at the base, and Dugout, the chief hacker working for cases at PEG. The Pakistani viewpoint is narrated mainly from the viewpoint of Ghashi Nawarz, who came back from Canada to avenge his father who was killed by an American drone strike.

In 2015, Clarke’s latest thriller *Pinnacle Event* was published. The story begins when a pinnacle event, meaning a nuclear detonation, is detected in the Indian Ocean. While executing big data analysis on large international transfers for another case, Dugout, the hacker introduced in *Sting of the Drone*,
discovers a group of people who all had received large deposits and were all South Africans living abroad. Digging for more information, Dugout uncovers that they all have died recently on the same date. Furthermore, these people or their parents were involved in South African nuclear weapons program during the Apartheid period. Considering proximity of the date of the detected nuclear detonation in the Indian Ocean and the date of the ‘deaths’ the director of PEG is convinced that there are nuclear weapons on the loose. Dugout is sent to enlist the retired Raymond Bowman on the case who reluctantly accepts and starts investigating with the help of Mbali Hlanganani, the Director of the Special Security Services Office of South Africa. The administrations of both governments are trying to keep the situation under wraps, because they both egocentrically believe themselves to be the target of the weapons of mass destruction. Ray and Mbali have to find out who has the nuclear weapons and, more importantly, what is their real objective, before the rest of the nuclear warheads are detonated.
3. Theoretical Background

This section first defines the term thriller and its defining features, and summarizes how thriller writers have used the genre to imperceptibly toy with the injustices of their time. Clarke’s thrillers are compared to these ‘norms’ and also the reason behind his choice of genre are explored. The next subsection then moves onto previous studies on how fiction has been used in US politics. For example, the characteristics of the science fiction genre has been used in post 9/11 political campaigning, mostly by the Bush campaign but also many of political journalists have adopted the exaggerative and out-of-this-world vocabulary of the science fiction genre. The uses of non-American literature in criticizing the American government after 9/11 are also explored, to bring perspective into Clarke’s native criticism. Lastly, previous research on related subjects is presented.

3.1. Thriller

All of Clarke’s fiction novels can be categorized as thrillers and therefore this chapter looks into why Clarke chose this genre to convey his ideas. Thriller genre consists of fictional texts that tend to follow a typical pattern, takes place in a specific environment and focuses on a particular profession. Harper (1969) describes the distinctive events of a thriller as follows: “[o]ut of boredom, through some chance encounter with a world where things are really happening, where the stakes are big and life is lived at high tension, a man hunts and in return is hunted, is trapped, caught, escapes, and finally defeats his enemy” (21). More specific characteristics of the thriller genre can be seen in Table 1. below.

<table>
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<th>Table 1. Characteristics of Thrillers (Saricks 73)</th>
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<tr>
<td>1. Thrillers move at a rapid pace, driven by the danger or threat of danger faced by the protagonist. Although some are densely written and the action may be more cerebral than physical, their building intensity makes them compelling page-turners.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Extensive details and technical language related to each occupation are vital, and they are woven into the story in a way that does not detract from the pacing. They offer the reader an insider’s view of that profession.</td>
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3. These cinematic stories center on the plot and the action generated by the intricately involved narrative. There is often a political focus with either national or international ramifications, and hot topics from the news are frequently explored. Conspiracies thrive here. Protagonists face frightening perils, physical and emotional, and violence or the threat of violence propels the story line.

4. Protagonists are usually strong, sympathetic characters, whether heroes or antiheroes. Secondary characters are less well developed and may even be caricatures. Protagonists often operate alone, as they can never be certain, in their worlds of betrayal and deception, whom they can trust.

5. The tone of Thrillers is often dark, and gritty details contribute to this mood. Spoofs may produce a lighter but still menacing tone.

6. The language of Thrillers reflects the jargon of each profession. Styles range from elegantly literary to more informal and conversational.

Clarke’s thrillers fit ‘the characteristics of thrillers’ presented by Saricks (2004) almost perfectly. In Clarke’s texts, an imminent threat leads the protagonists on a fast-paced hunt to save the nation, the world or whoever is in danger. Considering Clarke’s background, it is self-evident that details, technical language and jargon are used heavily, but contrary to many other thriller authors, Clarke does not assume that the average reader understands the profession related content and thus explains there terms reasonably well. There is always a political focus of some variety present in Clarke’s thrillers, and the themes discussed are based on current and controversial topics. Violence is another constant in the texts as the protagonists risk dangerous situations, but they also contemplate both difficult personal and crisis related themes with the risk of ruining their personal lives or even the safety of the nation if the antihero agenda becomes too relatable and they are distracted from actually apprehending the villains. Clarke offers the views of both the hero and antihero in the texts and gives them both characteristics the readers can sympathize with as well as some qualities that are generally disapproved of. The question of trust appears more in relation to one’s own government, but the trust issues behind the protagonist’s preference for solo operations is not solely based on not trusting others to be honorable but more likely stem from the ‘masco’ worldview of the protagonist, where he/she does not trust others to perform as well as him/her. The only characteristic that is not palpable in Clarke’s writing is the ‘dark tone’ and ‘gritty details’ Saricks refers to.
According to Harper (1969), “[a] thriller can hardly lay claim to being a thriller if it does not bear this initial distinguishing mark of the spy story: the vulnerability of the hero” (21). In Clarke’s thrillers the vulnerability of the United States as a nation against various threats is clear, but Clarke also depicts the vulnerabilities of the human nature in both the American and ‘terrorist’ protagonists. Breakpoint depicts the vulnerability of the US as a nation against the cyber-attacks. As Clarke’s nonfiction texts were received as aggressive attacks on administration, the selection of the thriller genre can be seen as another critical approach towards the government: “[s]ince the thriller has some regard for truth and justice seen from the perspective of a free mind, it can be judged positively subversive in some political climates” (Harper 8). Harper also states that Joseph Conrad and Graham Greene, who both wrote spy themed thrillers, “could see the ridiculous in the banal, the secret agent in the shopkeeper, the stupidity and ineffectuality of secret services. They both knew what the public is only now beginning to understand, that espionage establishments exist in large part to cancel each other out” (24). It can be argued that, very much like Conrad and Greene, Clarke is using the thriller genre to bring forth his knowledge of the inefficiency of the United States government.

In the field of thrillers, Clarke’s books can be located in political thrillers that “pit terrorists, spies, and governments against each other, both currently and historically” (Saricks 76). One of the specific characteristics of political thrillers is “shades of gray among the characterizations” and “occasionally authors will play with this convention; characters who appear to be terrorists are actually the protagonists, deep under cover” (Saricks 78). This style of representing both the heroes and the villains as multilayered characters can be detected also in Clarke’s texts, where the events are frequently narrated from the viewpoint of the terrorists. In Scorpion’s gate one of the protagonists actually fought alongside Al Qaeda but his reasons for doing this are explained and reasonable: to liberate his country and further to bring freedom and progress into the former Saudi Arabia. In Breakpoint, the Luddite perspective to the issue of transhumanism is argued for by few different characters so convincingly, that one of the protagonists actually sympathizes with most of their views. Like to two earlier thrillers, Sting of the Drone narrates from the viewpoint of the main antihero, who is not only trying to revenge his father but also has a more noble cause of destroying the US drone program that produces substantial collateral damage. Pinnacle Event differs from the other three thrillers in that it presents the antiheros only halfway into the book and exposes their agenda even
later on. In all of the thrillers, the reasoning of the antiheroes is explained and endorsed by facts. Even though the reasoning leads to a reprehensible act, Clarke has worked hard to not immediately judge these people but rather to understand their actions so that similar events by likeminded people could be prevented in the future.

Another typical aspect of the genre is the habit to comment on current issues between the lines: “[t]hrillers explore many social, political, and ethical questions, and readers like to see them from the insider’s point of view that the genre provides” (Saricks 84). Clarke undeniably has insider knowledge about these issues, which makes the thrillers all the more exiting and terrifying, and all of his thrillers address such questions. The humanity of drone warfare is questioned by describing the viewpoints of the victims and the insecurities of the technology as well as admitting the probable collateral damage. The issue of transhumanism is explored in relation to who among the population will have the necessary socioeconomic status to enhance themselves and who will remain simply human as others become smarter, stronger, and healthier, even immortal. The public’s belief in the benevolent motives of political figures is brought into question by introducing characters who use their power for their own advantages. The comments on these issues might not be as undetectable or subtle as in most thrillers, but Clarke’s texts are filled with concealed and obvious references to real life issues.

After taking all these aspects into consideration, it is apparent why Clarke chose the thriller genre as a medium to distribute some of his knowledge and concerns on these issues. The thriller is a traditional and acceptable form of criticizing one’s own government, although it seems that Clarke did not find it necessary to censor his critique in his nonfiction either. The thriller is also a suitable format to encourage mutual understanding by depicting the protagonists—heroes of antiheros—sympathetically, and relating the beliefs of both sides of an altercation so the reader is given an opportunity to understand their viewpoint. The thriller enables the use of various events, locations and themes, which gives the author flexibility to discuss multiple issues of a different nature within one text. Noticeably, Clarke has much to say on a number of different issues and the thriller genre allows him to explore all the crucial themes while delivering his message to the readers.
3.2. Science fiction as a strategy in American post 9/11 politics

For the context of this study it is important to understand how fiction has been used in presenting 9/11 related issues to the public and one of the most recognizable approaches has been the use of science fiction language in the political discussion aimed at the public by the administration and media. To understand what is meant by science fiction language, the term science fiction is explained in the following sentences. The internet version of *Oxford English Dictionary* defines science fiction as “[f]iction in which the setting and story feature hypothetical scientific or technological advances, the existence of alien life, space or time travel, etc., esp. such fiction set in the future, or an imagined alternative universe.” (OED) Popular abbreviations for science fiction are “scifi” or “sci-fi” and “sf”. According to *Encyclopædia Britannica*, these aforementioned themes are accompanied by a selection of typical science fiction “theatrics”, for example “prophetic warnings”, “titanic disasters” and “political agitation of many extremist flavours” (*Encyclopædia Britannica*). These, among other characteristics of science fiction, have been heavily utilized in political campaigning by the Bush administration.

In his article “Science Fiction Narratives of Mass Destruction” Doug Davis (2008) presents how the Bush administration has used the science fiction framework to push forward their agenda, especially their interests towards Iraq. Davis argues that the “members of the Bush administration have not feared over their first six years in office to describe then far-off future” (145) and furthermore that “President Bush and the members of his administration have tended more to frighten their subjects by foreseeing, for them, scenario after scenario of prolonged combat and national doom” (145). The fact that the Bush administration has successfully used methods characteristic to science fiction demonstrates on its part the effectiveness of science fiction in persuading the public. Davis further elaborates that

“the narrative of massive military destruction and nuclear attack has become more than fiction as it has been deployed by policymakers as the nation’s probable future. Countering the threat of a terrorist WMD [weapons of mass destruction] attack has become one of the guiding principles of twenty-first-century American foreign policy and the war on terror” (147).
The scheme of using an idea of a gigantic disaster as a motive for war has not been contained to the level of government officials, but rather widely utilized in gaining the support of citizens: “[f]ictions of WMD terrorism in the war on terror now serve as strategic fictions . . . dramatizing for a mass audience the newly threatening character of the world” (Davis 154). The aspect of a mass audience is the key to the effectiveness of science fiction language harnessed for political agendas.

In her article “Science Fiction Language/Political Reporting: Communicating News Via Words From Nowhere Real” (2012), Marleen Barr presents her study on the language used by The Times magazine in their political articles. She argues that “the language of science fiction has broken out of its generic boundaries and invaded political reporting prose” (Barr 24). On the same note as Davis, Barr states that

“[t]he Times' political writers turn to science fiction language to comment upon a political reality which is ever more unreal. Science fiction language is the best parlance to address, for instance, Iraq's nonexistent weapons of mass destruction—the unreal reality which constituted George W. Bush's pretext for going to war” (24).

The grand objectives of the administration need to be presented in a suitable genre that allows the public to believe that these extreme actions are actually the best possible solution. Furthermore, on the basis of her analysis, Barr argues that “Postcolonial science fiction language has become the United States' new national language for navigating the political landscape” (22). The traditional (somewhat) neutral style of political journalism has been replaced by more entertainment centered and easily digestible structure of science fiction language. Following this evolution midst the United States politics, it can be argued that Clarke’s motivations behind converting his message into a thriller setting are of political nature. The new more entertaining form is most likely an attempt to broaden his readership so that the issues he writes and cares about get more publicity, which in turn might lead to his ideas and solutions getting more support.
3.3. Anti-Americanism in European literature

This section briefly accounts some examples of how the American government has been criticized in non-American literature after the 9/11 terrorist attacks. This gives perspective into how Clarke’s views as an American and a career government employee differ from the European views regarding the actions of the American government. In 2007, Jesper Gulddal published the article “The One Great Hyperpower In The Sky: Anti-Americanism In Contemporary European Literature” on the subject, in which he focuses on three different European texts that exemplify the emergence of anti-Americanism in contemporary European literature. In the article he studies three different texts from French, German, and British authors that were all written after 9/11 and the invasion of Iraq and somehow respond to the international conduct of the US in these matters. Although, as Gulddal explains, anti-Americanism is an attitude that "goes beyond what can be characterized as a rational critique of the US" (678), this survey of the article focuses only on the critique of the government, not the unfavorable depictions of Americans in general that are also a part of anti-Americanism.

The connection to United States and their actions in their war on terror is not always superficially clear, for example, Gulddal notes that the German “thriller has little to do with 9/11 or the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. Structurally, however, the relation is impossible to miss” (686). The tale entails an apocalyptic allegory of the war on terror. In addition to allusions of war, political characters are used to convey the American imagery: “the anonymous president, is evidently modelled on George W Bush and consistently shown as weak and dim-witted, yet at the same time self-righteous and cynical to the point of callousness” (Gulddal 687). In the German texts the opinion on President Bush and all Americans is almost hateful, whereas Clarke’s reaction consists of frustration and disappointment in his fellow government officials mixed with utter devotion for the protection of his own country and fellow Americans.

The European texts seem to imply “American foreign policy in the wake of 9/11 is ... rooted in a set of inherent, unchangeable features of the US and the American people” and that the terrorist attacks “were in the very least natural, predictable consequences of America’s superpower arrogance” (Gulddal 691). American characteristics are seen as utterly negative and even as a reason for the terrorist attacks. All of the three texts somehow mention 9/11 and the American invasions
that followed, and subsequently “their representations of the US are to a certain extent based on historical reality” but these literary interpretations of historical reality are “pervaded by contempt for the American people and extreme paranoia concerning the political intentions of the US” (Gulddal 691). In literature that address 9/11 and the U.S. government, the biggest difference in foreign—in this case European—and domestic literature represented by Clarke’s books is the tone; domestic writings may be highly critical but they still maintain a somewhat respectful attitude towards the people and actions they are criticizing.

3.4. Previous research

This section surveys two previous studies related to the subject of this thesis. Despite intermittent search efforts expanding over two years, the writer could not find previous studies that were directly related to this theme. Only one scientific article could be found on Clarke. The article "Political Realism" (2004) by Louis Klarevas compares the political worldviews of Clarke and the former US National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice. There were various periodicals written on Clarke, but due to their polemic nature they were discarded as unserviceable for this thesis. Material on the instance of an author writing both nonfiction and fiction was also scarce. Therefore, to examine previous research on the relation of fiction and nonfiction, an article by Thomas Connery is introduced. In the article “Fiction/Nonfiction and Sinclair’s The Jungle” (2008), Connery studies how fiction and nonfiction play a part in Upton’s fictional exposé. A clear connection to Clarke can be seen here, as Upton wrote on his own experiences and his realistic yet fictional book was taken as the truth. Clarke’s texts—both nonfiction and fiction—are directly based on his experiences, and therefore the idea of nonfiction or reality inevitably influencing writers fiction is interesting considering this thesis as well.

Clarke and his first book, Against All Enemies, were studied by the Assistant Professor of Political Science at City University of New York, Louis Klarevas, in his article "Political Realism" that was published in the Harvard International Review in 2004. In this article Klarevas compares the realist
and liberalist worldviews presented by former US National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice and Richard Clarke, respectfully. The premise of the article is that “The United States must re-evaluate and modify the political theories that guided the national security leadership on the eve of September 11.” (18) Klarevas further claims that

the administration of US President George W. Bush was operating in a more or less realist framework. Realism, however, is a worldview ill-equipped to deal with the challenges to security in the 21st century, as it greatly underestimates the critical role played by non-state actors. In our globalized world of asymmetrical hazards, we must rethink our priorities to include unconventional rogue networks alongside traditional great power threats. (18)

Here Klarevas refers to the Bush administration’s refusal to take the threat from the non-state organization Al Qaeda. In order to respond to the chancing threats, Klarevas insist that the United States should be “more receptive to liberalism as a guiding paradigm and that we take a more critical view of the teachings of realism.” (18) Klarevas uses Clarke and Rice and their public disagreements as examples of these conflicting paradigms: “The public pronouncements and testimonials of Rice and Clarke show that they hold different worldviews in respect to international relations. Guided by two dissimilar paradigms, it is only natural that they treated competing issues with different levels of priority.” (19)

Klarevas summarizes how the realism paradigm dictates international relations: “non-state actors are discounted, unilateralism is favored over multilateralism, military force is a privileged means to an end, and international law and human rights are expendable in the final analysis because morality is never universal.” (19) All of these aspects of realism are clearly represented in the Bush administration’s actions before and after 9/11 as well as Clarke’s critique on them. Based on Rice’s articulated, speeches and 9/11 Commission testimony, Klarevas deposits that: “Condoleezza Rice is a realist. Her understanding of international relations is state-centric. Her policy ends are filtered through national self-interests. Her privileged means are military. And her understanding of world events is demarcated by a clear division between international and domestic realms.” (21) According to these observations, Rice’s view of realism is evident.
Klarevas further claims that “Rice and her colleagues promoted a traditional agenda that reversed some of the non-traditional efforts begun under the Clinton administration. Although he never identifies the divide as an academic one, the assertions in his book clearly imply such a conclusion. Clarke places himself in contrast to Rice, subscribing principally to liberalism.” (22) By the ‘non-traditional efforts’ Klarevas implies to Clarke’s initial explorations of terrorist networks, among other things. Klarevas noticeably has a more favorable attitude towards Clarke than towards Rice, which can be detected, for instance, in this statement: “Clarke is an advocate of both a multilateral approach to international problems and a transnational vision of world politics.” (22) Klarevas has suggested that liberalism should be incorporated to the political paradigm, and addressing Clarke as an ‘advocate’ of these liberalist approaches shows appreciation towards his work. According to Klarevas, the encouragement to multilateralism can be seen in that “one of Clarke’s strongest criticisms of the current presidential administration’s approach to the problem of terrorism focuses on the failure to use soft power resources through multilateral frameworks to curb anti-US violence.” (22) Regarding Clarke and transnationalism, Klarevas states that “different assignments in the past decade left him preoccupied with networks as actors in international relations” and, moreover, “he expanded investigations into what seemed like small, benign nongovernmental organizations.” (22) Klarevas also portrays how Clarke’s attempts to tackle the issue of terrorism and Al Qaeda were overpowered by those in administration that preferred the outdated ideas influenced by realism:

“Prior to September 11, terrorism was simply not on the national security-agenda. The NSC had its own agenda by the spring: opting out of the Antiballistic Missile Treaty, withdrawing from the Kyoto Protocol, and confronting Iraq. Clarke viewed these issues as “vestigial Cold War concerns.” In other words, traditional realist issues became the concern of the Bush administration while equally important, if not even more important, liberal issues were discounted.” (23)

Clarke’s new liberalist approach was flattened by the more numerous and loud voices of realism.

Klarevas concludes that: “Policies—both foreign and domestic—must be re-oriented to accommodate the changing trends and technologies.” (23) Klarevas’ proposition to improve the United States’ policy is to combine the best of each discussed paradigm: “If we are to comprehend the intricate workings of foreign affairs, we must open our minds to accepting the teachings of liberalism alongside those of realism. Continuing to privilege realism is just another recipe for disaster—a disaster that,
next time, may be even greater than that of September 11.” (23) In this article, Klarevas uses Rice as the antihero or the example of failure, whereas Clarke and his ideas and attempts to change the political atmosphere are used as an example of what should be strived for.

There are not many studies that compare the texts from the same author in fiction and nonfiction genres, as a matter of fact, none were found as theoretical background for this thesis. However, in order to explore the relationship of these to genres, an article on how fiction and nonfiction are present in Upton Sinclair’s *The Jungle* is summarized. In his article “Fiction/Nonfiction and Sinclair’s The Jungle” Connery (2008) examines Upton Sinclair’s fictional book *The Jungle* (1906). The article studies how nonfiction and reality have affected the text. Connery “Sinclair’s *The Jungle* . . . is part of numerous attempts to document those living on the margins of American society. Indeed, sharing material and techniques means there are precursors that are not always placed under the same literary or cultural umbrella with *The Jungle.*” (167) Upton worked in food production factories with the objective to reveal the trade’s harsh and unsanitary working conditions. He wrote the realistic book, *The Jungle*, based on his experiences. Connery posits that “What fiction may seem to be borrowing from nonfiction and what nonfiction might seem to be borrowing from fiction are due to both participating in and being informed by the same cultural paradigm. They both drink from the same well, so to speak: the well of actuality observed.” (167) That is, writers utilize their perceptions of reality and experiences even when they are writing in fiction, and even when this influence is deliberately evaded, the impact is difficult if not impossible to avoid.

Connery begins his examination of *The Jungle* and its probable inspirations with the “contention that fiction and nonfiction did not so much borrow from one another but rather "borrowed" from American culture and society.” (167) In other words, the seemingly related texts might not have been used as stimulations for each other but more likely these texts derived from the social and cultural context and as a result are similar. Realism emerged in the late twentieth century and Connery describes it as follows: “—paradigm of actuality indeed reflected a realistic impulse, a realistic sensibility, because it was based primarily and essentially on the observation of life being lived —” (168) Realism had a great impact on Sinclair and other writers of the time, and they aspired to be as
realistic and truthful as possible. To mention two of the most significant influences to Sinclair, one representing each genre is discussed. Connery claims that *The Jungle* derives from the nonfiction of Stephen Crane, whose “writing was far more impressionistic than Sinclair's, more metaphorical, but just as Sinclair depicted the lowly and demeaning aspect of life, the hardness and harshness, and the notion of brute survival, so did Crane.” (169) The themes in these two texts are the same, only the stylistics and genre differ. Connery also detects similarities to the fiction of Rebecca Harding Davis, who “also depicted working class life and the awful, demeaning conditions of industrial labor.” (169) These connections cannot be confirmed since none of the authors has mentioned the other as an inspiration or source to their work, and Connery comes to his previously mentioned conclusion that the biggest influence and source for the writers was the culture and society.
4. Research approach

This section first surveys the theoretical field of content analysis and then presents how the method is utilized in this thesis.

4.1. Qualitative content analysis

In qualitative content analysis the data should be viewed as “representations not of physical events but of texts, images, and expressions that are created to be seen, read, interpreted, and acted on for their meanings, and must therefore be analyzed with such uses in mind.” (Krippendorf xiii) In other words, content analysis does not see the data simply as a motiveless description of something, but attempts to study what the creator of the data has tried to accomplish with their product. According to Schreier (2013), “the aim of QCA is to systematically describe the meaning of your material . . . in certain respects which you have to specify” (3). Qualitative content analysis does not support the examination of all meanings behind the data, but helps to describe it comprehensively in the limits of one or two specific research questions, such as in this thesis. The method follows a structured procedure in which theoretical background and research question are used to formulate a criterion that regulates which aspects of the material are analyzed. Then the material is divided into categories based on the criterion, the produced categories are revised and modified to fit the research question better, and finally when the frame is deemed reliable, the main analysis is made (Mayring 2000). This technique brings the qualitative analysis of meaning into a setting of quantitative research and so enables to look at the findings in a more organized manner. Here is Schreiers (2013) version of the steps that are involved in QCA: “1) Deciding on your research question 2) Selecting your material 3) Building a coding frame 4) Dividing your material into units of coding 5) Trying out your coding frame 6) Evaluating and modifying your coding frame 7) Main analysis 8) Interpreting and presenting your findings” (8). These approaches are very similar, but Mayring emphasizes the theoretical background and different terms are used eg, ‘category’ vs. ‘coding frame’.
The topic of study and the research question define what material is selected for the study. In comparison to natural sciences, where mechanical devices are often used to make data, “[i]n the social sciences . . . data making tends to start with observations.” (Krippendorf 83). A common method of selecting material is sampling, which “allows the analyst to economize on research efforts by limiting observations to a manageable subset of units that is statistically or conceptually representative of the set of all possible units, the population or universe of interest.” (Krippendorf 84) However, in order to achieve reliable results, the sampling plan has to be carefully constructed so that the used samples represent the whole data and therefore do not distort the results. While sampling text, it should be taken into consideration that “[t]exts can be read on several levels—at the level of words, sentences, paragraphs, chapters of whole publications; as literary works or discourses; or as concepts, frames, issues, plots, genres—and may have to be sampled accordingly.’”(Krippendorf 84) It is therefore important to decide on what level the study will focus and then analyze all the samples on the same level.

As mentioned earlier, sampling allows the researcher to study a smaller sample group that is ‘representative of the set of all possible units’. Relevance sampling “aims at selecting all textual units that contribute to answering given research questions” and because of this determined search for certain type of samples, relevance sampling “is not probabilistic” by nature. (Krippendorf 119) Typically sampling is implemented by extracting random samples from the data set, but on the other hand, “[r]elevance sampling is so natural that it is rarely discussed as a category of its own. . . . Most researchers adopt some kind of relevance criteria for defining the populations from which they sample.” (Krippendorf 120) In relevance sampling this idea can be taken even further. Krippendorf suggest, that the “analyst proceeds by following a conceptual hierarchy, systematically lowering the number of units that need to be considered for an analysis.” As Krippendorf states, “[t]he resulting units are not meant to be representative of a population of texts; rather, they are the population of relevant texts, excluding the textual units that do not possess relevant information.” (119) The final samples now represent the exact phenomenon that is studied, which decreases the possibility of sacrificing time analyzing irrelevant data and presenting results that are unrelated to the actual research question.
Krippendorf introduces five ways of building a coding frame. Physical distinctions do not consider the meaning of units since they “emerge from strictly mechanical operations” (109). Syntactical distinctions define units such as words, books or quotations and they “do not require judgments on meaning” (104). Categorial distinctions group the units that have something in common or belong in the same category. Categorial distinctions are one of the most used definitions of units, but since they “depend on interpretations, the identification of units becomes unreliable when multiple interpretations are possible.” (110) Propositional distinctions “delineate units according to particular constructions, such as those that have a particular propositional form or exhibit certain semantic relations between conceptual components.” (106) Krippendorf argues that propositional distinctions can produce interesting results, but the units can be hard to recognize and thus the process can be “inefficient”. Thematic distinctions use themes as a coding frame. According to Krippendorf, “[t]hematic distinctions are rich in information and potentially very productive and they would therefore be preferable to all other kinds of distinctions if their use did not make it so difficult to achieve reasonable levels of reliability.” (110) The data and the projection the researcher wishes to pursue should determine which of these techniques is used.

Another orientation of qualitative content analysis, semantical content analysis, is described by Janis (1943/1965) as “procedures which classify signs according to their meanings”. There are three orientations of semantical content analysis: 1) “designations analysis provides the frequency with which certain objects (persons, things, groups, or concepts) are referred to” e.g., references to the Bush administration; 2) “attribution analysis provides the frequency with which certain characterizations are referred to” e.g., references to incompetence; and 3) “assertions analysis provides the frequency with which certain objects are characterized in a particular way” e.g., references to the Bush administration as incompetent (gtd. in Krippendorf 45). These methods can be used to gather quantitative information on the data.
4.2. Research process

The methodology used in this thesis is qualitative content analysis. For the structure of analysis, this thesis uses the Schreier (2013) method plan of qualitative content analysis:

1) Deciding on your research question
2) Selecting your material
3) Building a coding frame
4) Dividing your material into units of coding
5) Trying out your coding frame
6) Evaluating and modifying your coding frame
7) Main analysis
8) Interpreting and presenting your findings (8)

Some aspects of Krippendorf’s (2014) content analysis are used in selecting the material and building the coding frame. This thesis also varies from exact order of the steps in that building the coding frame and selecting analysis were done simultaneously to achieve a solid data set with a clear purpose. First, the texts are reviewed and promising samples gathered. Then the initial coding frame is built. This thesis uses thematic distinctions to build a coding frame, which means that the samples are organizes and analyzed by theme. Despite the difficulty of accomplishing consistent results via thematic distinctions, it appears to be the best suited method for this research. From the preselected samples, the most thematically suitable samples are gathered via relevance sampling. The data is gathered by recognizing the parts of the texts that could possess significant information in regards to the research questions. In order to answer the research questions of this thesis, it is vital to examine the units that address the selected themes, which would be difficult if not impossible with randomly collected samples. The remaining data was selected based on its usefulness regarding the research questions.

In order to answer the actual research questions, two forms of semantical content analysis as classified by Janis (1943/1965) are used. Designations analysis is used to examine how many times each theme is referred to in the texts and to compare the frequency of mentions in the nonfiction and fiction. In turn, assertions analysis is used to compare how things related to the themes are
characterized in the nonfiction and fiction texts and to conclude if some characterizations are purposefully repeated to influence the reader. Despite the limited sampling, these quantitative research methods supply statistical information on the researched data and also assist the qualitative content analysis by producing evidence on the importance of themes as judged by their frequency. In order to utilize designations and assertions analysis, the main research questions are divided into smaller and more approachable units: How many times a theme is addressed in the books? Is the message always the same or are different views portrayed? Is the intent to influence the reader’s opinion on the subject?
5. Analysis

The analysis section attempts to answer the two research questions:

1) Is Clarke revealing more in his fiction than in his nonfiction?
2) Does Clarke attempt to affect the reader’s views by portraying things in a certain way?

First the themes are identified and Clarke’s background concerning each theme is addressed. Then, designations and assertions analysis are applied to give quantitative results than can be used in the otherwise qualitative analysis. The quantitative results are presented in two tables from which some initial observations are made before the thematically sectioned content analysis. Next, the analysis process is presented, in which the samples from the nonfiction and fiction texts are divided into fitting themes and then compared and examined through the premise of the research questions. The coding frames, or themes, that are used were identified in the previous section. Lastly, the findings of the analysis are examined with the observations from the tables to make the final deductions in the Discussion section.

5.1. Identifying the themes

This section identifies the themes that can be found both in Clarke’s nonfiction and fiction texts and are therefore used as a coding frame to study the samples from these texts. The frame built in this section will be assessed and, if needed, altered in section 5.1. This section also briefly explains Clarke’s involvement in the themes. Some themes have more background information as Clarke has worked on these themes more, whereas sections on other themes simply mention what the theme consists of. It is important to discuss Clarke’s role in these issues so that the reader can assess his knowledge and authority as well as recognize what he possibly hopes to gain by raising these issues.

Some of the themes are quite visible and, in fact, Clarke lists some of the themes that are also used in this thesis in the acknowledgements of Scorpion’s Gate:
“The issues the characters face, however, we will all face in the years ahead: the oil needs of competing powers, the requirements for accurate intelligence, the threat of weapons of mass destruction, the challenge of terrorist groups, the possibility of governments’ being dishonest with their people, the responsibility and loyalty of those in government.” (ix)

As mentioned earlier in section 2, the three other factual books aren’t studied in this thesis but the fact that Clarke has decided to write whole books on these subjects is helpful in identifying the themes most significant to Clarke. There are other themes present in these texts, such as climate change, but they are omitted from this study since their role in the thrillers is insignificant compared to the other themes. Next, the themes are introduced.

The first theme is Cyber Security and Warfare. Considering Clarke’s history in counterterrorism his involvement and interest in cyberspace and its threats is logical. In Your Government Failed You, Clarke explains how he got involved: “[p]erhaps because the computer security or IT security problem was sometimes given the misnomer of “cyberterrorism”, I was asked by President Bill Clinton to figure out what the problem was and what to do about it.” (296) He further reveals how he tried to tackle the new problem: “[w]hen I wanted to learn more about cyberspace in the mid-1990’s, I traveled to NSA, DOD, and a number of government labs and IT companies.” (297) His efforts to gain more knowledge through the official sources produced little useful information and so he thought: “[m]aybe I needed to talk with the hackers, since they seemed to know more about the problems with the information technology systems than the people who made and sold them.” (298) Clarke has used his hacker sources both in his government related work but also in his latest civilian projects. Two years after publishing Breakpoint, Clarke issued a whole book with Robert K. Knake on the subject Cyber War: The Next Threat to National Security and What to Do About It (2010). This and the fact that Clarke took the position as The Special Advisor to the President for Cyberspace Security even after 9/11 shows that cyber security is in his mind important. He also wrote an op-ed for New York Times in 2012 titled How China Steals Our Secrets, a theme which is touched upon in his books as well.
The second theme is Energy. Although Clarke’s career has never directly concerned the theme of energy, it has been an important part of the American government’s actions. This can be seen especially in how oil has often been considered an incentive for war. In his texts, Clarke focuses on exposing the administrations mistakes in energy policy, such as pursuing total independence in energy or using oil as a motivation for war, but he also offers solutions to tackle the problems in energy policy regarding issues such as climate change.

The third theme, unsurprisingly, is Government. Clarke’s involvement in the theme of government has already been touched upon in his ‘profile’ section. He has worked in the government for approximately thirty years in various positions, which also include a ten year run in the White House assisting three consecutive Presidents. Despite his long career in the government, his texts focus on the failures of the government that led to and followed 9/11. However, the operations of government are closely related to the other themes analyzed in this thesis and therefore Clarke’s attempts to improve these interlinked issues are also an effort to avoid similar future debacles.

The fourth theme, Intelligence, is one of the most prominent themes in the texts. The focus of this theme is the defective US Intelligence Community and its improved alternative envisioned by Clarke. In Your Government Failed You, Clarke describes the relationship between his career and intelligence: “Over the next three decades I would serve in jobs in which I performed and managed intelligence analysis, tasked intelligence collection, provided oversight to covert action, and tried as a policy maker to utilize intelligence analysis as an aid in decision making.” (93) Based on this list of credentials, it can be assumed that Clarke has used his vast understanding on intelligence not only in his memoirs but has also incorporated it into his thrillers.
The fifth theme of Terrorism is also evident considering Clarke’s career. The United States was first introduced to foreign terrorist threat on their own soil in 1993 when a car bomb went off in the parking garage of the World Trade Center. In Against all enemies Clarke states that “the notion that terrorism might occur in the United States was completely new to us then” (74). However, the severity of the terrorist threat inside the US was only revealed after the 9/11 attacks and yet then the Al Qaeda background of the terrorists was unclear. Even though Clarke and George Tenet from the CIA tried to convince Bush that Al Qaeda was to blame, Vice President Cheney persisted to blame Iraq for the attacks even when there were no evidence to back his strong opinion. After the attacks the new National Security Strategy was published in which President Bush declared a “War on Terror”, a continuous effort to fight terrorism. The United States invaded Iraq in 2003 and has been engaging terrorists ever since. In 2004, Clarke published Defeating the Jihadists: A Blueprint for Action in which he outlines a more efficient US counterterrorism policy.

Clarke had an immense role in defining United States national security in terms of terrorism at a time when the modern concept of a terrorist group as an organism that works in the shadows across nations was still unknown and the idea of terrorism occurring inside the United States was unthinkable. For example here’s a section from Against All Enemies, in which Clarke remarks how he called the Situation Room after an explosion in the World Trade Center in 1993:

(2)

“I know you handle terrorism, sir, and we’re supposed to tell you when something happens that might be terrorism, but do you want to know when things happen in the United States too? Do you guys handle domestic crises too?”

The National Security Council staff . . . had only ever concerned itself with foreign policy, defense, and intelligence issues.

“Yes, yes we do,” I vamped, making up my view as I answered. “Anything that happens in the U.S. that could involve foreign agents is our job.” (74)

At the time of 9/11 Clarke was working at the White House, and had a significant role in what happened at the high levels of the United States’ government during and after the attacks. In October 2001 Clarke resigned from his counterterrorism job as had been planned before the 9/11 attacks and
became the Special Advisor to the President for Cyberspace Security, a field which’ importance is growing also in regards terrorism.

Clarke discusses his “personal responsibility for the use of drones against terrorists” (353) in Sting of the Drone’s author’s note section. Here he reveals that for the purpose of eliminating leaders of Al Qaeda, he “tried to get the Air Force to arm the Predator with missiles” (354) during the 2000/2001 winter. Despite his efforts, the Principals’ Committee did not meet until September 4, 2001, and furthermore his suggestion was overruled. Quickly after the events of 9/11, the position of the Committee was changed and:

(3)

On September 12, 2001, CIA proposed deploying armed Predators to attack al Qaeda in Afghanistan. On November 14, 2001, in Afghanistan, Mohammad Atef, the head of al Qaeda’s military forces, became the first person to be killed by a Predator. Since then the United States has killed at least two thousand people in five countries using armed drones. And the killing continues. (355)

As can be seen, Clarke’s work in the government has included many different tasks in the field of counterterrorism and he himself has influenced the ways in which the United States handle issues related to terrorism.

The sixth and final theme is Weapons of Mass Destruction. As mentioned in section 2.1., Clarke’s work at the State Department during the Cold War had to do with the Soviet Union’s nuclear program. During his career in the government on intelligence and counterterrorism related issues, weapons of mass destruction must have remained a persistent subject. After Clarke’s retirement from government, he has taken part in conducting a survey on WMD preparedness in American cities: “former Senator Warren Rudman asked me, following my departure from the White House, to join him in worrying about how we train and equip our first responders to deal with weapons of mass destruction attacks” (All Against 259). Some results of what they discovered during this survey can be found in the analysis section of this theme.
The thematic coding frame was evaluated by trying to fit the samples into theme categories. This was achieved by creating a basic Excel chart, where the samples were organized under the appropriate themes. Each of Clarke’s books was given a random color and the samples were color coded accordingly to keep track of the source text. The content of the chart is presented in two tables in the next section, where it is used to count the frequencies in the semantical content analysis. Because of the intertwined nature of the themes present in Clarke’s books, some samples could have belonged under two different themes. However, in cases like this a more prevailing connection could always be found and the sample could be categorized. The only necessary modification to the frame before the analysis was to expand the original and too narrow theme Weapons of Mass Destruction into the more comprehensive theme Homeland Security, so that it represents all related samples.

5.2. Quantitative examination of the data

First, the process of selecting data through relevance sampling is summarized. In this thesis the data and initial sample size consisted of all six books by Clarke; approximately 2000 pages of text. The research question limited the relevant data to similarities within the nonfiction and fiction and as the parallels are studied through thematic distinctions, first the common themes were identified and then the relevant samples to these themes were selected from each text. Now the sample size entailed roughly 70 pages and almost 150 separate units. From this group, the most useful samples, total of 78 units, are examined in this study.

Designations analysis was used to calculate occurrences of themes in the texts and therefore answers the question: How many times a theme is addressed in the books? The frequencies of the themes imply which topics were more important to Clarke, or perhaps just more easily conveyed through text. The rates of recurrence are presented in Table 2.
Table 2. Number of Thematic Occurrences by Genre

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Number of occurrences in nonfiction</th>
<th>Number of occurrences in Fiction</th>
<th>Total number of occurrences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cyber Security and Warfare</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Energy</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homeland Security</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intelligence</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terrorism</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total number of occurrences column in Table 2. suggests that Intelligence and Terrorism are the two most discussed themes in Clarke’s texts, whereas Energy and Homeland Security are the two least explored subjects. However, when comparing the number of occurrences by literary genre, the arrangement shifts. For example, examining the number of occurrences in the fiction texts, Intelligence and Cyber Security and Warfare are the most common themes, while Terrorism is now one of the least frequent themes together with Homeland Security and Government. In nonfiction, Terrorism is clearly the most recurrent theme, Energy comes up in the samples only thrice and all of the other themes have the constant of six to eight samples. Most importantly, Table 2. enables the comparison between how many times the theme is sampled in each genre. This assists in studying whether more is said through fiction. Three themes have more samples from fiction, but the differences in quantity are small; Cyber Security and Warfare has only one more fiction sample, Energy has two and Intelligence three. With such small differences, the question has to be answered qualitatively later on. However, the other three themes have significantly more nonfiction samples than fiction samples. Through quantitative comparison, it can be argued with a relative certainty that in Government, Homeland Security and Terrorism themes less is said in fiction.
Table 3. demonstrates how the themes were statistically represented in the texts. This information is used to identify whether the themes are discussed broadly within the texts or if some themes are explored only in few of the texts.

Table 3. Number of Thematic Occurrences by Text

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Against All Enemies</th>
<th>Your Government Failed You</th>
<th>Scorpion’s Gate</th>
<th>Breakpoint</th>
<th>Sting of the Drone</th>
<th>Pinnacle Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cyber Security and Warfare</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Energy</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homeland Security</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intelligence</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terrorism</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to Table 3., Intelligence is also the most widely addressed theme, with occurrences in every book except Pinnacle Event. Despite having the third most total occurrences, the samples of the Cyber Security and Warfare theme originate from only two books, Your Government Failed You and Breakpoint. Most of the samples from the Government theme are from Against All Enemies whereas the bulk of Terrorism samples stem from Your Government Failed You. The only book that covers all of the themes is the comprehensive Your Government Failed You. No direct deductions can be made based on this information, but it can be assumed that the themes that have the most samples in the fiction texts, such as Cyber Security and Warfare, and are present in more than one fiction texts, such as Intelligence and Energy, are the also the themes which Clarke wishes to promote to the public.
5.3. Analyzing the samples

In this section the questions *Is the message always the same or are different views portrayed?*, and *Is the intent to influence the reader’s opinion on the subject?*. Distributed into the theme segments, the samples are further divided into smaller sets of data with a similar approach to the theme. Double space if left between the paragraphs to distinguish the different sets of data. The conclusions within the themes hold the answer to the research questions in regards to that specific theme, but in order to get a comprehensive answer concerning the whole data set, these conclusions will compared be in the Discussion section.

5.3.1. Cyber Security and Warfare

This theme was addressed in only two books, *Your Government Failed You* and *Breakpoint*. The data set has six nonfiction samples and seven thriller samples. The samples with similar content are analyzed as a set, with the exception of the first sample from *Your Government Failed You*. The sample is has similarities to the thriller, but no suitable samples could be gathered so the connections will be explained without a certain page to refer to. In this sample, Clarke describes how he approached hackers in order to better understand cyberspace:

(4)

I learned of a group in the Boston area called The L0pht . . . A group of hackers. I asked the FBI if it had any open cases or complaints, any investigations or reasons I should not talk with L0pht. The surprise answer came back that not only were they not a problem, but the Boston FBI office had actually asked them technical questions once or twice, maybe, of the record. (298-299)

Clarke set up a meeting with the group at a bar, where he waited for half an hour before giving up and asking for a check. At that moment, a young man from the next table reveals himself to be the hacker he has come to see. Direct references to Clarke’s relationship with Mudge can be found in *Breakpoint*, where one of the main characters, the hacker Soxster, similarly tests the other protagonist Susan Connor before exposing his identity to her. Other similarities are the location, since
Soxster’s group also resides in Boston, and the hackers’ history with helping government agencies, as Soxster has consulted for the National Security Agency.

These three samples show the first introduction to matters of cyber security, both in reality, as presented in Your Government Failed You, and fiction, as presented in Breakpoint. In 1997 the administration was formally introduced to a new king of threat, when "[t]he [critical infrastructure] commission surprised us by coming back with a report that did not focus on the vulnerability of key buildings around the country but instead on the security problems in the new phenomenon of cyberspace." (Your Government 289) Along the way there were some issues regarding the rapid expanse of the user base and the turn of the century, but the first real hacking related problem occurred in July, 2001, when the White House internet site was under attack. The severity of the situation was not instantly recognized since the site itself was not essential, but "[b]y having so much internet traffic moving toward one location on the internet, the flood will overwhelm routers along the way, stopping traffic from getting to other sites as well. Could jam up sites that are critical to things working, like banks, airlines, you name it. It's serious." (Your Government 286) The cyberspace opened up whole new revenue of targets, which of course inspires the criminals. In Breakpoint, the unprepared administration experiences a similar astonishment: “Some group has crippled the international financial system and degraded our military command control by blowing up obscure, unprotected, little buildings on beaches? We don’t really know who did it or why they did it? And it will take us weeks at best to repair the damage?” (18) These samples show the unpredictability of cyber terrorism and the consequent unpreparedness and vulnerability to cyber-attacks.

These following samples demonstrate some more possible types of attacks in cyberspace. They show the evolution from the actual attack presented in the previous set. All of the samples are from Breakpoint:

(5)
— the Pacific communications satellites, we assume they were hacked by phony signals. They would have to have originated from somewhere in the western U.S.; we don’t know where. The attack was smart, sending the satellites out of orbit— (72)

(6)
So the hack on the Marines was an RF signal to get around the firewall on the base network. Short distance. They called the server they used ‘Mini-UAV3.’ So maybe they bounced the signal down onto the troops from a mini-UAV flying above the base. (108)

(7)
We hacked that software so some of the generators will spin so fast that they will jump right off their moorings and go crashing around the floor, damaging all their turbine blades. It will take months to repair some of them. (151)

Although technology evolves and improves, the related security and prevention inventions are usually developed only after the specific risk has been come across and even if a measure is taken beforehand somebody usually finds their way through the safety protocols.

This set of samples focuses on Chinese cyber espionage. Despite being more aware of internet reconnaissance, the cyber environment is still largely unknown. In Your Government Failed You Clarke argues that "Counterintelligence officers are not usually highly skilled at operating in cyberspace, but they need to become so quickly because that is where our secrets are being stolen." (152) Clarke also gives an example on how the Chinese utilize the web:

(8)
Private-sector IT security experts were finding evidence of Chinese hacks everywhere, including an ingenious Trojan-horse program embedded in digital picture frames sold at electronics stores across America, such as BestBuy. When you connected the digital picture frame to your computer to download your photos, the picture frame uploaded a program into your computer that disabled antivirus programs, found all of your passwords, and sent them to China. The picture frame was, of course, made in China. (Your Government 315)

The resemblance between the nonfiction sample and fiction sample is obvious:
The Chinese had gotten into the other companies through the products that they were using in their computer networks. Things like computer firewalls, intrusion-detection systems, all sorts of gizmos I don’t understand. But I understood this much: They all had parts made in China, sometimes the whole things were even assembled in China. And these gizmos had back doors, Trojan horses, put in their computer code and in the hardware. (Breakpoint 75-76)

These two samples are essentially the same, though the wording has been changed and the example of the digital picture frame has been generalized. The final sample from Breakpoint links the attacks on the US technology with the Chinese espionage: “—it looks like a Chinese attempt to take apart our cyber networks and to prevent us from implementing some of the fixes the President approved after the Cyber Crash of 2009. Those fixes might prevent Chinese industrial espionage on us, among other things.” (72-73) This further suggests that even when precautions are developed, the hackers typically anticipate and try to intercept the safety measures or try to work their way around them.

The final group looks at how the US military would be affected without the use of their secure internet. In Your Government Failed You, Clarke reveals that the operational capability of the military is based on an assumption: "The future of the United States’ defense and military capability is based upon the assumption that there is and will be highly secure and reliable Defense Department internet, separate and walled off from the chaos in the public worldwide internet. . . . We are building a twenty-first-century military that is completely dependent upon that net." (317) The vulnerability of the assumption is visualized in Breakpoint, where attacks on the United States’ technology have serious consequences for the military: “more than half of our forces overseas could not fully carry out their wartime missions right now because they do not have unclassified internet connectivity to the U.S.” (17) Clarke demonstrates the defenselessness that derives from blindly trusting something to work as it is supposed to instead of taking safety measures to ensure it does.
The theme of Cyber Security and Warfare is reasonably evenly portrayed in both nonfiction and fiction. The thriller samples present more possible ways of hacking, but since these methods are common knowledge it can be said that Clarke is not actually revealing any new truths through his fiction. The samples in this theme does not include many characterizations that could be examined through assertions analysis, but one example of this could be the unflattering image of unprepared military that relies on assumptions. Another instance would be the references to Chinese espionage and them ‘stealing the secrets’. This gives the impression of a China that is not inventive enough on its own and therefore has to steal knowledge from the United States. A more positive characterization can be found in the description of the hackers, since both of their ‘services’ are used by law-enforcement.

5.3.2. Energy

In Your Government Failed You, Clarke devotes a whole chapter to the theme of Energy. From the twenty five pages, three samples that give the best response to the five samples from the thrillers are presented and analyzed. One of the main issues regarding energy is the fixation on oil as an energy source as well as an excuse to invade the Middle East.

(10)

Our energy policies have been contributing to climate change, but our national debate and discussion on energy policy have instead for several decades misdiagnosed the problems, focusing alternately on the need to secure oil flows from the Middle East and to achieve energy independence at home. Leaders of significant stature have contributed. (Your Government 263-264)

This viewpoint is further exhibited when Clarke lists some prominent figures that, according to him, are guilty of misguiding the energy discussion and goals to wrong directions. He disapproves President Richard Nixon’s pursuit of not being dependent on other nations in energy and also points out Ronald Reagan’s attempt to explain “his military intervention in Lebanon by referring to oil. Lebanon had no oil. But for Ronald Reagan and a lot of Americans, the entire Middle East was about oil.” (Your
On the same note, he discredits the White House Chief of Staff, James A. Baker III, who during his time contended that "Iraq's occupation of Kuwait might lead to a shortage of oil for America, leading to a loss of jobs. Yet in 1991 only a small fraction of U.S. oil came from the Middle East." (Your Government 264) According to Clarke, the most recent oil related mix-up occurred when "[f]ollowing 9/11, President Bush 43 called, in a State of the Union address, for "'energy independence'". Despite that goal, he then invaded Iraq. The revered former chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, Alan Greenspan, explained the invasion of Iraq as being "'largely about oil.'" (Your Government 264) This latest incident differs from the others in that oil was not claimed as a public incentive, but rather the administration publicly strived for ‘energy independence’, while secretly the motivation to invade Iraq was oil-related all along.

The relevant thriller sample presents the view of Secretary of Defense, Henry Conrad, another powerful member of the administration who bases his actions on oil: “[The Chinese] are importing as much oil as we are. That was okay when most of the world’s reserved were Saudi and we had long-term deals to get it. . . . But if the Chinese pull it off the market, we will be left with hind titty and paying top dollar.” (Scorpion 148) Instead of focusing on securing the future availability of energy through sustainable sources, this person talks about ‘long-term deals’ to get oil. His Under Secretary Ronald Cashigan has a likeminded outlook on oil as an incentive for war: “But we can still claim the need to go in to protect the oil from a second-wave Iranian attack . . . and from the chaos in Islamyah. There is definitely chaos there. They’re changing leaders by the day.” (Scorpion 226) The characters of Henry Conrad and Ronald Kashigan are fictional representations of the actual US politician that have misused the theme of energy in their political campaigns.

Clarke offers solutions to the current and future energy problems in a chapter labeled: “not less energy, more clean energy” (Your Government 278). His suggestions are as follows:

(11)

(1) reducing the rate of increase in our energy requirements through regulations requiring the widespread and rapid deployment of more energy-efficient devices;
(2) requiring power plants and vehicles to achieve the highest possible levels of clean energy production with existing technology, and

(3) instituting tax incentives and regulations to shift us to plug-in hybrid cars and many nuclear power plants using new technology. . . . At the same time, the government would be funding research on the next step, which would come later, a new generation of solar energy, hydrogen cells and batteries, non-corn based ethanol and other biofuels, and maybe advanced technologies such as systems that capture the carbon from coal-fired power plants (Your Government 282-283)

The samples from the thrillers echo the ideas Clarke presented in *Your Government Failed You*. In *Scorpion’s Gate*, Senator Paul Robinson voices his frustration at Rusty MacIntyre: “We can’t go into this century with our energy policy being to fight wars over who gets the remaining oil.” (212)

Interestingly, in the thriller genre Clarke presents his proposals for a better energy policy as the plans of the new era of Islamyah:

(12)

Today we invest two billion euros, the first of a much greater amount, to create the Future Energies Institute here in Riyadh, an international center to develop and deploy new methods of electrical and other power beyond the fossil era. . . . Until we help the world emerge from the fossil era, we shall share our oil on the world’s market, open to all to buy, at the rate of one percent of our known reserves every year. No more, no less. Ten percent of our revenues will go to the Future Energies Institute. If anyone uses force to seek more of our assets, all of our facilities will self-destruct. Thus, there is no point in invading our lands. (Scorpion 224)

*Breakpoint* returns to this theme as it presents how the Islamyah’s pursuit of new energy innovations has affected the world:

(13)

The private sector would also have continued producing gas-guzzling cars, paying for overseas oil to make into gasoline, until the last drop of oil was pumped and the last dollar was spent on it. Only because of the government of Islamyah and its research and its investments in companies in the U.S., we can say that half the cars in this country are now powered by either hybrid engines or buy ethanol from corn, sugarcane, and switch grasses. (36)
These samples from two different thrillers show an utopist view of how Clarke’s suggestions might change the world for the better if they would be put to practice.

As a whole, the theme of energy is portrayed fairly equally in both fiction and nonfiction. The same ideas are visited in both genres and the connotations stay the same throughout. One way of influencing the reader’s opinion can be seen in how the selection of American politicians are depicted as dishonest and disoriented when it comes to energy. The fictional characters Henry Conrad and Ronald Cashigian further enhance this characterization. On the other hand, the theme of government control is positively enforced by presenting the Islamyah government as progressive and righteously firm in matters of energy. The negative remark on the selfish private sector amplifies the image of good government. The progressive vision of former Saudi Arabia could be an attempt to spread a more positive outlook on the countries in the Middle East.

5.3.3. Government

In contrast to the observations of positive government control at the end of the last theme, the samples under this theme all consist of critique towards the administration. The sample set consists of eleven samples; seven from Against All Enemies, one from Your Government Failed You and three from Scorpion’s Gate. First, the nonfiction samples that discuss how certain people in the United States government chose to ignore facts and pursue their own agenda are introduced. Then, the fiction samples from Scorpion’s Gate are compared to the nonfiction samples. Finally, more samples from the nonfiction are compared to the fictional samples.

Right after 9/11, Clarke and Roger Cressey, the Director for Transnational Threats, were certain that at least now their pleas to take down Al Qaeda would be taken seriously:
“Well, that’s fucking great. Sounds like they’re finally going to do everything we wanted. Where the hell were they for the last eight months?” Cressey asked.

“They’ll probably deploy the armed predator now too,” Cressey said, referring to his project to kill bin Laden with an unmanned aircraft. CIA had been blocking the deployment, refusing to be involved in running an armed version of the unmanned aircraft, to hunt and kill bin Laden. “If they had deployed an armed Predator when it was ready, we could have killed bin Laden before this happened.”

“Yeah, well, this attack would have happened anyway, Rog. In fact, if we had killed bin Laden in June with the Predator and this still happened, our friends at CIA would have blamed us, said the attack on New York was retribution, talked again about the overly zealous White House counterterrorism guys.”

They were disappointed when the discussion on retaliative action turned from defeating Al Qaeda to invading Iraq. Even though the actual invasion of Iraq came as a surprise to the people aware of the actual culprit, Al Qaeda, Rumsfeld and Wolfowitz’ aspiration to start a war with Iraq was recognized within the administration from early on: “Then I realized with almost sharp physical pain that Rumsfeld and Wolfowitz were going to try to take advantage of this national tragedy to promote their agenda about Iraq. Since the beginning of the administration, indeed well before, they had been pressing for a war with Iraq.” When it became clear that this ideology was beginning to get a hold of the President, a meeting was held to “develop an official position on the relationship between Iraq and Al Qaeda. All agencies and departments agreed, there was no cooperation between the two. A memorandum to that effect was sent up to the President, but there was never any indication that it reached him.”

Clarke and others tried hard to keep the focus on Al Qaeda, but ultimately, “President Bush has sowed the seeds of current and future terrorism against the United States by his needless, counterproductive, deceitful invasion of Iraq.” The last sample differs from the other relatively objective narrations with the use of adjectives such as ‘deceitful’.

The thriller samples are all from *Scorpion’s Gate* and they showcase the deceptive plot to invade Islamyah over any possible excuse as designed by the Secretary of Defense Henry Conrad and the
Under Secretary Ronald Cashigian. In the first sample, Rusty MacIntyre realizes that Conrad might have some hidden agendas:

(15)
You heard what Conrad just said. He will respond. Not the President. Not America. Him. . . Conrad is the problem. He’s the one demonizing Islamyah. Scaring them with some big exercise off Egypt. Scaring Washington into thinking the missiles they got from China have nukes on them. He’s gonna get us into a war again out here real soon, and maybe with China, too, by the time he’s done. (169-170)

The concept of scaring somebody to do something is familiar also in the real United States politics, for instance, the idea of having to invade Iraq just in case because they might have weapons of mass destruction that there is no evidence of. Bowman’s suspicions are right, as can be seen from this sample of a conversation between Kashigian and Conrad:

(16)
“Right, although I don’t know how much evidence we will actually have on any chaos there to show anybody,” Kashigian admitted.

“Evidence? This is not a court of law!” Conrad pounded the table. “The press will report it, if we say it.” (202)

As discussed earlier, real evidence is apparently not needed because the assumption that there might be a threat towards United States is plenty enough. The treachery of Conrad and Kashigian goes even deeper than merely making up evidence. They have been conspiring with other parties and framing innocent nations as culprits of terrorist attacks, just to secure their oil:

(17)
“Don’t blame me. You gave me orders to set things up so you and your Saudi friends could get back in. Well, this was the best thing that anyone could come up with. It doesn’t matter what the facts are, Henry, we need to invade!” Kashigian yelled at his boss. We just use the Big Lie. It’s worked before.”

Henry Conrad walked closer to the screen showing the image of the beaches lines with civilians, praying. “Don’t you see? There are no nuclear weapons there. There are no Iranian invaders there. There are no Chinese. And the chaos you promised me has
turned into a fucking prayer rally! Do you think we can tell our constituency back home that we bombed a prayer rally?” (226-227)

The similarity of the actions by the fictional Secretary of Defense and his Under Secretary and the actual people in the administration is remarkable. Conrad was quickly cleared of all charges in the thriller, and one might wonder whether that is a factual reference to someone in the actual government who has been involved in similar obscure operations and gotten away with it. Nevertheless, these samples expose the possibility of incompetent government employees and their influence in the administration.

The other group of samples highlights the failures of the government organizations. All of these samples are from the nonfiction genre, but the connection to the fiction samples in previous group is discussed. In these samples Clarke emphasizes the trust that civilians have in their government to do the right thing and how that trust was broken before and after 9/11. The first sample lists some of the failures that enabled 9/11: “What is clear is that there were failures in the organizations that we trusted to protect us, failures to get information to the right place at the right time, earlier failures to act boldly to reduce and eliminate the threat.” (Against 238) The information and capacity to act was there, but somehow the various United States government organizations could not piece the information together in time to prevent the attacks. After the attacks, Clarke and the American people waited for an adequate response: “The people trusted, as I did, that the mechanics of government, now awakened, would deal with the terrorist threat completely and systematically. We were wrong.” (Against 240) The attacks on homeland did not prove to be incentive enough, as the retaliation turned out to be a farce:

(18)

The nation needed thoughtful leadership to deal with the underlying problems September 11 reflected: a radical deviant Islamist ideology on the rise, real security vulnerabilities in the highly integrated global civilization. Instead, America got unthinking reactions ham-handed responses, and a rejection of analysis in favor of received wisdom. It has left us less secure. We will pay the price for a long time. (Against 287)
The strong critique of the Bush administration's actions continues in the next sample: "The disregard of civil liberties, human rights, international law, privacy rights, and due process repeatedly demonstrated by the U.S. government after 9/11..." (Your Government 255) Clarke’s disapproval of the manner in which the administration handled the situation after 9/11 is clear in these samples. The last sample lists the failures in a more organized manner:

(19)

Now most Americans accept seven damning facts:

(1) President Bush did little or nothing about terrorism before 9/11,
(2) there was no Iraqi threat to the United States,
(3) the Bush administration began plotting to invade Iraq early in their term, well before 9/11,
(4) there is no evidence of an Iraqi hand in 9/11, or of any significant support to al Qaeda,
(5) there were no weapons of mass destruction and the White House and Pentagon justified their claims about WMD by citing phony evidence from Iraqi exiles to whom they paid millions of dollars,
(6) the Bush administration had no real plan to administer Iraq after the invasion and
(7) Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld ignored professional military advice and sent too few troops to Iraq to protect our forces. (xvi)

This list of realities has many common aspects with the description of the deceitful actions of the Secretary of Defense Conrad and Under Secretary Ronald Kashigian in Scorpion’s Gate.

According to these samples, the theme of Government, or more specifically defective government, is presented similarly in both fiction and nonfiction. Although more samples were introduced from the nonfiction genre, most of the ideas are present in the smaller sample set from the thriller genre. On the surface, the fiction does not reveal more than Clarke’s nonfiction samples, but if imagination is used, the fact that Conrad was not held responsible for his actions might be a reference to the reality. This theme was full of characterizations, and government and its employees were referred to or
implied to be ‘untrustworthy’ in all of the 11 samples. In addition to criticizing the Bush administration, these characterizations could be seen as an attempt to make the Americans realize that they cannot blindly trust in authority figures.

5.3.4. Homeland Security

The original theme ‘weapons of mass destruction’ was changed into ‘Homeland Security’ while evaluating the adequacy of the coding frame. Now the theme encompasses all aspects discussed in Clarke’s texts in relation to this issue. Though the theme of Homeland Security is present throughout the texts, suitable samples were hard to find. Therefore the analysis consists of only six samples from the nonfiction texts, three from each book, and two samples from *Pinnacle Event*.

Clarke describes *Your Government Failed You* as his "attempt to understand what happened after 9/11 and answer the larger question of why the U.S. government, despite all of its resources, performs so poorly at national security" (Your Government 3). The results of the previously mentioned survey on the WMD preparedness of American cities portray a frightening image: “what Warren Rudman and I confirmed is that no city has the plan, trained staff, equipment, or facilities to handle a major, contagious biological attack requiring isolation hospitals. None was remotely prepared to deal with an incident in which a radiological or nuclear device was utilized.” (Against 260) The reduced state of Homeland Security is especially worrying if evaluated from the angle of this other sample from *Against All Enemies*:

(20)

Dealing with domestic protection, or Homeland Security, means identifying and reducing major vulnerabilities to attack. And it means coming up with a set of national requirements for response capabilities and then funding them systematically over several years. We have not done either, nor have we done well on organization, technology, resources, or sensitivity to protection of civil liberties. Defending America against terrorism at home must depend as much on reducing vulnerabilities as it does on catching “the evil-doers,” for we will never catch them all...Every day that we continue
to have porous borders or unprotected chemical plants is another day we are at risk. (262)

Even though 9/11 was not the first attack that took place in the United States, the nation had not addressed the vulnerabilities at home rigorously enough to prevent attack or to minimize their affects.

There are two samples that criticize the Department of Homeland Security. In Your Government Failed You, Clarke blames the badly managed crisis work after Hurricane Katrina on the creation of the new Department of Homeland Security: "People I knew and had worked with had taken a well-run Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), politicized it, and buried it in a bureaucratic nightmare they called the Department of Homeland Security." (204) In Against All Enemies, Clarke further explains why the organization has been defective: “Twenty-two agencies were simultaneously merged into the new Department, into an organization that itself did not exist prior to the merger.” (251) The instantaneous structural change into a massive new organization set an inadequate basis for the new Department of Homeland Security. In the following sample, Clarke suggests some improvements to the faulty institute:

(21)

- Maintaining an active and positive outreach program to the U.S. Muslim community to ensure that it is not the victim of discrimination or religious intolerance and to work with it to prevent violent Islamist extremists from acting within the United States
- Realigning the Homeland Security Department into a Border and Transportation Security Department, a completely independent FEMA with grant programs authority for vulnerability reduction and emergency response, and a Domestic Security Research agency reporting to the Director of National Intelligence
- Specifying vulnerability reduction and capacity enhancement program goals in detail, including for each of the 157 metropolitan areas, and developing three- and five-year plans to fund them
- Re-creating trust and overcoming suspicion about domestic security programs by establishing an active Civil Liberties and Privacy Rights Commission, led by nationally respected leaders
- Initiating a well-funded, short-completion-time international program to account for and secure radiological material, particularly highly enriched and high-contamination materials
• Completing the efforts to achieve a highly secure aviation system and achieve specific goals for rail and subway transit security
• Brokering the necessary compromise to secure the borders, create a migrant worker program, place some currently illegal migrants on the path to citizenship, and establish a secure credentialing system including civil liberties and privacy protections

(Your Government 259-260)

These suggestions are among the few strategies that Clarke presents in his nonfiction but does not refer to in the thrillers.

The samples from Pinnacle event both concern the inability to secure the borders from weapons of mass destruction, as well as the absence of technology that could be used in detecting nuclear materials. The National Security Advisor, Winston Burrell is questioning the capabilities to stop WMDs from entering the United States: “We only look at about one or two percent of containers entering this country now. If we looked at all of them, the country would grind to a halt.” (33) The process of checking all shipping containers, not to mention other possible ways of transport, would be too strenuous and would slow down the import of goods to a level that ordinary lives would be impacted on a non-acceptable level. In Pinnacle event the only large scale nuclear detection device in North America and the whole world is located in The Bahamas in Freeport. An U.S. Customs and Border Protection officer, George Martinez, who is stationed there, says “This is the only operational Blue Man in the world. We get less than one percent of containers going in to the U.S. to scan here in the Bahamas. Most just sail right in to Newark or Norfolk, Miami, Seattle, LA Long Beach. Scary, huh?” (99) Here Clarke is essentially repeating the same thing as in the previous sample and in the samples from Your Government Failed You, but the last sentence ‘Scary, huh?’ appeals to the reader's feelings and can be seen as an attempt to trigger an emotional response to the issue and, consequently, as a way of getting the reader to imagine the situation.

In contrast to most of the other themes, the fiction and nonfiction samples on Homeland Security are not addressed equally. In fact, the only aspect of Homeland Security present in the fiction samples is border control, or more precisely, the use of nuclear detection devices at freight ports. It can thus be
determined that for the part of Homeland Security, less is said through fiction. The unpreparedness in American cities to handle incidents involving weapons of mass destruction is referred to in few different samples. These ominous references can be seen as Clarke’s attempt to shock the reader into considering this issue. Another criticism or characterization has to do with Clarke’s description of the Department of Homeland Security as ‘a bureaucratic nightmare’ and the further negative comments on the birth and size of the organization. With these portrayals Clarke might influence the reader so that in the future, they envision the Department in a negative light and to consider his suggestions to improve its operability.

5.3.5. Intelligence

Intelligence was the most widely referenced theme and also has the most samples—together with Terrorism—to analyze from Clarke’s texts. This section includes eight samples from the nonfiction genre and eleven from the fiction genre, a total of nineteen samples. These samples will be analyzed in groups formed from samples that address similar issues of intelligence. First, samples associated with the large and divided United States Intelligence Community are presented. Next, Clarke’s idea of an alternative to the issue of bad functionality of traditional intelligence, small and independent intelligence agency, is studied. Finally, samples that present other improvements in the field of intelligence are looked at.

The complicated structure of government intelligence organizations has been recognized as one of the reasons behind the failure of not detecting the 9/11 attacks beforehand. Clarke addresses the issue in Your Government Failed You, in which he states that "the U.S. intelligence bureaucracy (which likes to call itself the Intelligence Community) is a large and confusing array of secret agencies whose purpose is not always clear" (95) and further elaborates that "the number of people employed in the agencies . . . is in the tens of thousands, supported by many more in private sector companies on contract—" (95). The unclear combination was additionally complicated when the FBI and CIA “saw this congressional mandate [to the Department of Homeland Security] as a challenge to their
authority. Although often at odds and unwilling to share information about terrorism, CIA and FBI can make common cause when faced with the same bureaucratic enemy. Thus, they proposed the creation of a CIA-FBI entity to analyze terrorist information.” (Against 252) Consequently, another intelligence organization was formed, adding to the puzzling mixture.

In *Sting of the Drone*, the conflicting thoughts of National Security Advisor Winston Burrell are presented on the subject of uniting the National Counter Terrorism Center and the CIA’s Counterterrorism Center:

(22)

The White House budget staff had suggested merging the two groups, but Burrell was reluctant. Even though he also thought having two big Centers was ridiculous, he also knew that if there were another significant terrorist attack after the White House had “downsized” the counterterrorism intelligence staffs, the CIA and its friends on the Hill would blame the President. Better to waste a billion or so a year than to put the President at risk of appearing soft on terrorism. (19)

This reasoning shows how government operatives have to consider the political side in addition to practical reasoning, and sometimes the political agenda has to be put first. In *Scorpion’s Gate*, the fictional intelligence agency is compared to the reality: “they had avoided the bloat that had made the CIA so ineffective” (25). Again, big is bad and leads to mistakes. In another sample from *Scorpion’s Gate*, Rusty MacIntyre lists some intelligence failures and the importance of good intelligence in avoiding future errors: “‘Cuz I’m trying to help make things better after the screw-ups, after 9/11, after Iraqi WMD, after the Islamyah coup. We have to get better intelligence analysis or we will keep making painful, costly mistakes.” (Scorpion 138) Clarke’s proposal on to how to get better intelligence is discussed in analysis of the next set of samples.

Clarke’s solution to the aforementioned problems of the large Intelligence Community is presented in the following samples. In *Against All Enemies* Clarke argues that “It is time to do now what so many veteran observers of the Intelligence Community have recommended: remove the intelligence analysis function from CIA and establish a small, independent bureau with a staff of career
professionals and outside experts.” (252) A badly run organization with multiple tasks cannot concentrate on solely on analysis or be completely unbiased, as is suggested in Scorpion’s Gate. In the thriller the fictive Intelligence Analysis Center “had been created as the final piece of the intelligence reorganization started by the report of the 9/11 Commission and the fiasco over weapons of mass destruction in Iraq”. The organization’s “analytical function was separated from the intelligence collectors, so the analysts would be unbiased, uncommitted to their agency’s sources.” It was also “dictated that the new IAC have the resources to utilize open sources . . . from around the world.” (20) In Your Government Failed You, another reference to the nonfunctional large intelligence organizations is made: "in the world of intelligence analysis, small is good. The large analytical staffs of the CIA and DIA are less likely to produce thoughtful work than a smaller team with more scope per person." (141) Clarke also offers a more precise description of how the new ‘bureau’ should operate: “A relatively small, elite, highly trained and experienced, professional intelligence analysis organization should serve the DIA and the President. This Intelligence Assessment Staff must be institutionally insulated from political pressures, and it must be able to control intelligence collection to support its analysis efforts.” (Your Government 151) The possible political pressures and their outcome were described in the earlier sample from Sting of the Drone.

In Scorpion’s Gate and Breakpoint, Clarke’s idea of a small intelligence agency manifests as the Intelligence Analysis Center that was mentioned earlier. Two of the most prominent features of IAC, expert workforce and independence, are presented in the following sample: “With an elite staff of two hundred handpicked specialists, the new IAC was bureaucratically independent from the intelligence collectors” (Scorpion 21) The independence from collectors reduces the risk of bias and skilled professionals can produce intelligent data. The relevance of size is also portrayed in the two thrillers, as in this sample from Scorpion’s Gate: “In the analysis business, smaller is better. Fewer people, higher quality.” (82) In Breakpoint, IAC is compared to the traditional organizations: “FBI, Homeland Security, the works. But while they’re stumbling all over themselves as usual, we’ll do our own…nonconventional exploration. I need someone smart, agile, quick, and that’s you.” (23) The Intelligence Community is criticized throughout Clarke’s texts, and one subject of critique has been bias and groupthink. These themes are found in these two samples from Breakpoint: “We prove what the evidence tells us, not what the TV and the Pentagon and Congress all assume.” (78) and “You are
not supposed to be competing with the other agencies. You’re doing it our way, small and smart, unconventional, iconoclastic and separate. . . . We’ve seen before what happens when there is groupthink—” (24) The assumption is that a smaller and more professional unit would be able to avoid groupthink and focus on solving the truth instead of submitting to public beliefs. This assumption is repeated in Sting of the Drone: “—we look for the iconoclasts, the force multiplier geniuses. Want to avoid groupthink. That’s how we can have such a great analytical capability with fewer than a hundred staff. We beat the pants off the Agency analysts every time, even though we are way outnumbered.” (129) This sample also compares the traditional analyst with the new proposed group. In Sting of the Drone, the equivalent of IAC is

(23)
—Policy Evaluation Group, a small, unconventional unit that theoretically reported to the Director of National Intelligence, but really worked directly for Burrell. PEG was his “second opinion” team, his independent, low-profile unit that trolled through the other agencies’ intelligence, but also mastered open sources. They talked to subject matter experts no one else had found, and had a track record for prediction that consistently beat the rest of the gigantic Intelligence Community. (22)

The three presented options of forming the new intelligence analysis unit are almost identical. In the thrillers, the new organization is repeatedly compared to the Intelligence Community.

In addition to moving towards smaller intelligence organizations, Clarke presents some other improvements. In Your Government Failed You, Clarke argues that "much of what one needs to know in order to do sensible policy analysis is available in the open, and often available only in open sources." (122) He repeats the argument in Scorpion’s Gate: “Often the very best material is the open source” (83) Throughout his thrillers, the crucial information is gathered from open sources. So that open sources can be utilized "we need to further shift resources from traditional, costly satellite collection systems . . . To fund other programs using cyberspace and using human intelligence" (Your Government 150) Clarke also suggests that one person should "control all of the U.S. intelligence
agencies and their budgets." (Your Government 150) As long as the Intelligence Community consists of separate units with their own tasks, it is vital to have a governmental body to supervise the entity.

The large data set on Intelligence is not surprising as intelligence has been a large part of Clarke’s career. Even though the thriller genre produced three more samples, the content of the samples is the same as in the samples from the nonfiction genre. The current Intelligence Community is referred to as ineffective due to its size and complexity. In both nonfiction and fiction Clarke focuses considerably on his proposition on how to ensure good intelligence in the future. His proposal of a smaller and more independent intelligence organization is repeated throughout his texts. In addition to describing the new department in his nonfiction, he portrays two similar examples of the department, IAC and PEG, in his thrillers. These manifestations illustrate how smaller intelligence organizations would be more effective and could actually stop incidents from happening. These small organizations are characterized with adjectives such as smart, unconventional, independent, and their performance is frequently compared to that of the actual Intelligence Community. The repetition of the contrast between large and small intelligence could affect the reader into favoring Clarke’s views, especially after reading examples of the success its methods in the thrillers.

5.3.6. Terrorism

Terrorism was a defining theme in both Against All Enemies and Your Government Failed You, which can be seen in the amount of nonfiction samples. Although the thrillers are all terrorism related, the only book that entailed suitable samples was Sting of the Drone, in which only three samples were found. Many of the nonfiction samples could have been placed under the Government category, but as they address the failures of government in the specific area of terrorism, they are analyzed as such. Since there are so many samples, they have to be divided into smaller groups. The fiction samples form their own group. There are no correlations between the nonfiction and fiction samples regarding
Terrorism. Therefore, the characterizations and intentions found in the samples are analyzed in these groups.

The first group consists of two lengthy samples that focus on how Bush’s decision to invade Iraq affected the terrorism issue. In the first sample, Clarke is both presenting the correct approach to 9/11 and what the Bush administration actually did. The second sample expands on the effect on and further explains why the decision to invade Iraq was so senseless and how it helped to advance Al Qaeda’s ideology.

(24) [Bush] had a unique opportunity to unite America, to bring the United States together with allies around the world to fight terrorism and hate, to eliminate al Qaeda, to eliminate our vulnerabilities, to strengthen important nations threatened by radicalism. He did none of those things. He invaded Iraq. There were no longer any excuses after September 11 for failing to eliminate the threat posed by al Qaeda and its clones, for failing to reduce America’s vulnerabilities to attack. Instead of addressing that threat with all the necessary attention it required, we went off on a tangent, off after Iraq, off on a path that weakened us and strengthened the next generation of al Qaedas. (Against 286)

(25) Nothing America could have done would have provided al Qaeda and its new generation of cloned group better recruitment device than our unprovoked invasion of an oil-rich Arab country. Nothing else could have so well negated all our other positive acts and so closed Muslim eyes and ears to our subsequent calls for reform in their region. It was as if Usama bin Laden, hidden in some high mountain redoubt, were engaging in long-range mind control of George Bush, chanting “invade Iraq, you must invade Iraq.” (Against 246)

These samples blame President Bush 43 personally for the decision to invade Iraq, which is evident in the use and emphasis on the pronoun ‘He’ in ‘He did none of those things. He invaded Iraq.’ whereas he later uses the pronoun ‘we’ referring to the whole nation. Also, by using the term ‘excuses’ and
repeating the verb ‘failing’ twice in the same sentence, Clarke portrays Bush as a failure who makes excuses. Furthermore, in the last sentence he associates Bush with bin Laden, adding to his negative.

These too samples from Your Government Failed You demonstrate Clarke’s disappointment in the Bush administration in regards to the terrorism issue. Before 9/11 a new government position was designed with Clarke in mind, but the terrorist attacks delayed his transfer as it was presumed he wanted take part in sorting out what should be done. However, when the earlier indifferent attitude towards getting Al Qaida morphed into the idea of invading Iraq, Clarke had had enough: "When, in June 2001, I became convinced that the Bush administration was hopelessly naïve and deaf on the terrorism issue, I resigned the senior U.S. counterterrorism job effective October 1." (54) With the hope that the Bush administration would do the ‘right thing’, Clarke focused on issues related to cyberspace in his new position as the Special Advisor to the President for Cyberspace Security. Clarke’s reluctance to leave the government is evident: "Only in February 2003, convinced that the unnecessary Iraq War would happen and would make progress in counterterrorism impossible, did I resign altogether from government." (54) Clarke had been building rapport with the countries in the Middle East and now his efforts of primarily peaceful approach to terrorism prevention had been annulled. Here Clarke adds to the negative characterization of the Bush administration as called them ‘hopelessly naïve and deaf’.

The next group of samples focuses on how the wrong approach of counterterrorism resulted in more enemies and the few opportunities that might have resulted in a different outcome. Clarke makes it clear that he condemns the way in which the administration has taken up the counterterrorism effort; "Far from crushing the terrorist organization that attacked us, the Bush administration since 9/11 has repeatedly approached the fight against al Qaeda from the wrong angle, frequently military." (Your Government 171) This leads the recipient of the American military approach to the false conclusion that "America does want to punish, suppress, debase, and rob Islamic nations." (192) This kind of anti-Americanism is of course undesirable but, according to Clarke, the possible effects of the invasion was
not much discussed: "There was also little talk about the terrorism that would be fueled by the invasion in the near term." (179) This negligence of analysis most likely would not have prevented the invasion, but the discussion would at least have resulted in a conscious choice knowing all the risks. Clarke recommends the 1966 film *The Battle of Algiers* as an example and a precedent to what happened: "In the film the French counterterrorism forces find and kill all of the leaders of a terrorist group, but they do it in such a repressive way that they generate another, much stronger enemy among the people." (196) The carelessness of the administration resulted in not considering all the relevant aspects before deciding to invade Iraq. And now, "because of Iraq, we created a new generation of battle-tested terrorists and allowed the core of al Qaeda to establish real-world training bases and networks once again, this time in Pakistan." (186) From this set of samples, the first one has direct criticism towards the Bush administration, and accuses them of ‘repeatedly’ using ‘the wrong angle’.

The context of this group is similar to the previous one, with the distinction that the previous group looked at the specifics whereas this group analyses the policy itself. In these samples from *Your Government Failed You*, Clarke explains why an effective counterterrorism policy is necessary: "We can capture and kill terrorists forever, and we will have to, unless we have a comprehensive strategy that combines smart police and intelligence work with policies that counter the appeal of the al Qaeda movement." (191) and what it should entail:

(26)

a successful and comprehensive counterterrorism effort . . . would have consisted of three key agenda items.

First, the President would have engaged in a massive effort to eliminate our vulnerabilities to terrorism at home and strengthen Homeland Security.

Second, he would have launched a concerted effort globally to counter the ideology of al Qaeda and the larger radical Islamic terrorist movement with a partnership to promote real Islam, to win support for common American and Islamic values, and to shape an alternative to the popular fundamentalist approach.
Third, he would have been active with key countries not just to round up terrorists, end the sanctuaries, dry up the money, but also to strengthen open governments and make it possible politically, economically, and socially for them to go after the roots of al Qaeda-like terrorism.” (247)

As these steps cannot be achieved retrospectively, Clarke focuses more on what should be done now. In short, "we must take action to strengthen our defenses against terrorism, go on the offence to capture or kill the al Qaeda terrorists, and win the ideological struggle by showing the Muslim world that al Qaeda is wrong." (191) To begin the battle of ideologies, "much of what we need to do to dry up support for al Qaeda is to stop doing some of the stupid things we have been doing." (192) For example, "We should withdraw major combat units from Iraq" (192) In addition to this concrete action, Clarke suggest that the battle should be conducted by humane means as described in the following sample:

(27)

Abroad, we must act boldly to reestablish our moral leadership, respects for international law, and support for human rights. We must refocus our efforts on countering the violent Islamic extremists, chiefly through nonmilitary means ... If another government will not act against a violent extremist terrorist or terrorist facility, we should do so, consistent with legal standards and methods. (356)

The samples of this group encompass Clarke’s view on both how the counterterrorism should have ideally been handled and how it should be handled now after the initial failures. The only negative characterization is calling the administration’s actions ‘stupid’. This fits in with the other critical references to President Bush and his team. In promoting his less violent tactics to overpower the extremist ideology, Clarke appeals to the American mindset of taking action when no-one else will.

All of the fiction samples are from Sting of the Drone. Even though all of the other thrillers have terrorists of some sort, the passages concerning the attacks and responses are more deeply connected to the other themes and thus analyzed in that context. All samples address the use of drones and have a clear connection to Clarke’s own personal involvement in launching the use of
armed drones. In the first sample Ray Bowman is contemplating his role in America’s War on Terror and the collateral damage that the drone strikes produce:

(28)

He had just signed the death certificates for sixteen more men, plus however many others who would have the misfortune of standing nearby them. On average, that number was four. So, he had just ordered sixty-four executions---How had he ended up doing this? When they had started using the drones to kill, right after 9/11, it had seemed like a welcome way of finally stopping terrorist attacks on Americans. Somehow, it had grown into an industry, and he was the CEO of the industry leader. (26)

Especially the part ‘it had seemed like a welcome way of finally stopping terrorist attacks’ reminds how Clarke himself was eager to arm the Predators in order to capture leaders of Al Qaeda. The thought of collateral damage makes the protagonist doubt the morality of the drone program but in the next sample, Ray Bowman is weighing the pros of using drones:

(29)

I remember before 9/11 when CIA and the Pentagon were fighting against the whole idea of the Predator and especially the armed Predator. But they had nothing that could find terrorists in real time, verify that there was no collateral at the site, and bring in an arrest team or a kill team. We had nothing. We were blindly sending cruise missiles at targets. Predator changed all that. It has almost completely eliminated al Qaeda Central in Af-Pak, it has been a huge force multiplier against the Taliban, it has kept AQAP in Yemen on the ropes, it has shattered al Shabab in Somalia, it helped to defeat Qadhafi in Libya. It has probably saved thousands of American lives. We need it. (60)

Clarke does not address the issue of drones in either of the nonfiction texts that are studied and but as mentioned in the background section, he imparts his contribution to the birth of armed drones in the author’s note of *Sting of the Drone*. Both of these samples could be taken as a hint of his stance now that he has seen the reality of drone warfare. In the last sample Erik Parsons describes the how flying drones has affected the pilots: “Out of seventy-five pilots, eleven have asked for early transfer, I dismissed three for DUI’s, and eight have filed for divorce since they got here. Those are not normal numbers—” (103). Based on these three samples, Clarke’s views on drones are conflicted. On one hand they bring the needed advantage but on the other hand the drones produce both collateral
damage abroad and mentally unstable pilots at home. Since none of the nonfiction samples address
the theme of drone warfare, it can be stated that on this issue, more is said through fiction. The
collateral damage and side-effects to the pilots portray the program in a very negative light, but on
the other hand the other sample defends the use of drones. The motives on the issue on drone
warfare are therefore not clear since Clarke gives examples that are both for and against the use of
drones. It can be assumed that Clarke himself has mixed feelings on this subject and does not want to
persuade the reader over to either side of the argument but rather presents the subject so the reader
can come to their own conclusion.

5.4. Discussion

This section combines the analysis from each theme to answer the two research questions. First, the
methodology regarding the building of coding frame will also be assessed briefly. The use of
thematical distinctions proved out to be fruitful, but as Krippendorf suggested, not without its
difficulties. The coding frame had to be modified concerning Weapons of Mass Destruction, which
had to be expanded to Homeland Security to incorporate all the related samples. The theme
approach was also somewhat problematic, since the issues addressed in Clarke’s texts are heavily
intertwined. This resulted in having to decide between two possible themes for some samples.
However, as the results of the theme analysis are compiled and then assessed here in the discussion,
the slight thematic ambiguity should not be an issue.

1) Is Clarke revealing more in his fiction than in his nonfiction?

The initial analysis by Janis’ designations analysis suggested that the most likely themes to have more
information in the fictional samples than in the nonfiction samples were Cyber Security and Warfare,
Energy and Intelligence. This was based solely on the amount of samples from each genre, and as the
difference between the occurrences was so small—the largest difference was 3 samples— the
question has to be answered using qualitative analysis. During analysis in was concluded that the

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1 More on the effects of drone warfare can be found, for example, in A Theory of The Drone by Gregoire Chamayou (2013).
theme of Cyber Security and Warfare includes samples that present more possible ways of hacking than the nonfiction samples, but since these procedures are freely available, the samples cannot be identified as new truths revealed through his fiction. Likewise, the fiction samples in themes of Energy and Intelligence did not reveal anything more than the nonfiction samples.

The quantitative analysis showed that the other three themes—Government, Homeland Security and Terrorism—had significantly more nonfiction samples than fiction samples and it was thus argued with relative certainty that in these themes, less is said in fiction. The fewer fiction samples in Government managed to address nearly all of the aspects of the nonfiction samples. In the theme of Homeland Security, the fiction samples only focused on one aspect of what Homeland Security consists of and it was determined that less is said through fiction. However, the Terrorism theme proved out to be different. All three fiction samples address the issue of drone warfare whereas drones are not mentioned in any of the nonfiction samples. The fiction samples portray the opposites of using drones; on one hand it allows the execution of enemies without risking own citizens, but on the other hand it produces collateral damage and induces high numbers of mental disorders in the pilots. Consequently, it can be determined that in the Terrorism theme, more is said on drone warfare through fiction.

2) Does Clarke attempt to affect the reader’s views by portraying things in a certain way?

According to the quantitative results gained by Janis’ designations analysis, themes such as Cyber Security and Warfare, Intelligence and Energy might possess the intent to influence the reader’s opinion since they are most widely presented in the texts. In the acknowledgements of Scorpion’s Gate, Clarke reveals that his “hope is that this book will cause readers to think about those issues and will give them an insight into the real world in which such issues are addressed by real people, for we need a national and international dialogue—an informed dialogue—about exactly these matters.” (7) This can be taken as a motive for at least the Scorpion’s Gate but also for the other thrillers and nonfiction texts that discussed these themes are meant to provoke the reader to from their own
opinion on the subject. And, of course, Clarke has offered his own ideas as a starting point for the issues at hand, which inadvertently can lead to readers sympathizing with his views.

The sample set from Cyber Security and Warfare theme shows two examples of negative characterization; the unflattering image of unprepared military that relies on assumptions and the references to Chinese espionage ‘stealing the secrets’. One example of positive characterization is the use of hackers in law-enforcement and intelligence. As Clarke has noticed the benefits of these cyberspace specialists, and wants to enforce the positive outlook on utilizing them.

In the theme of Energy, Clarke has used both negative and positive reinforcement. In the nonfiction Clarke portrays how some American politicians have been dishonest in regards to oil. And the characterization is further enriched with the fictional characters Secretary of Defense Henry Conrad and Under Secretary Ronald Kashigian who are developing excuses to secure the oil from the Middle East. The theme of government control is positively reinforced when the Islamyah government is presented as progressive and they are committed to producing new sources of energy. The negative remark on the selfish private sector amplifies the image of good government. The progressive vision of former Saudi Arabia could be an attempt to spread a more positive outlook on the countries in the Middle East.

In the theme of Government, characterizations of ‘untrustworthy’ administration were found in all of the 11 samples. The motive behind the criticism and examples of bad administration could be to awaken the Americans into the realization that they cannot blindly trust in authority figures. One far-fetched reference to a secret cover up can be discovered from the character of Secretary of Defense Henry Conrad.

Homeland Security has some characterizations, such as badly organized national security and the vulnerability of American cities in case of a nuclear attack. These sections can be seen as an attempt to shock the reader to take interest in the subject. Clarke also describes the Department of Homeland Security as ‘a bureaucratic nightmare’.
The use of characterizations in the theme of Intelligence is interesting in that the Intelligence Community is repeatedly described as slow and undependable whereas the small new intelligence organization modified to Clarke’s own vision is referred to as smart, independent and so on. These two types of organizations are constantly compared throughout the texts and Clarke’s agency always wins there comparisons. Here Clarke is clearly trying to influence the reader.

In the Terrorism theme Clarke accuses the administration of ‘repeatedly’ using ‘the wrong angle’, and he also calls their actions ‘stupid’ and calls administration itself ‘hopelessly naïve and deaf’. In addition to criticizing the administration, Clarke blames President Bush for the invasion of Iraq, giving a humorous account on how bin Laden must have been whispering into Bush’s ear.

The examples from the different themes show that Clarke repeatedly references real events or people negatively and often pairs up generally acknowledged failures or characteristics with his own suggestions on the matter. Considering Janis’ assertions analysis, there are frequent references to negative characteristics of the current situation or the administration whereas Clarke’s own ideas are not only positively characterized but also, his thrillers show how his step by step plans to repair the unsatisfactory situations are applied and working perfectly. On the other hand, such as Connery (2008) suggests it could be argued that writer’s references to their reality are inevitable and therefore the fictitious manifestations of the reality’s culprits and events in Clarke’s thrillers are not intentional. However, the ways in which these references are made and the quote from the acknowledgements of Scorpion’s Gate imply that some deliberation was involved. Thus, it can be determined that Clarke is attempting to affect the reader’s views by portraying things in a certain way.
6. Conclusion

The aim of thesis, as described in the Introduction, was to study the former National Coordinator for Security and Counter-Terrorism, Richard Clarke’s, fictional texts *The Scorpion’s Gate* (2004), *Breakpoint* (2005), *Sting of the Drone* (2014) and *Pinnacle Event* (2015) in relation to two of his nonfiction texts *Against All Enemies* and *Your Government Failed You* (2008). The subject of the thesis was inspired by the line on the cover of Scorpion’s Gate: “Sometimes you can tell more truth through fiction.” Based on this line, two research questions were proposed: 1) Is Clarke revealing more in his fiction than in his nonfiction? and 2) Does Clarke attempt to affect the reader’s views by portraying things in a certain way?. In addition to presenting the aim of the thesis, the Introduction also explained how the writer’s exchange studies inspired the thesis and contended that it was important to examine Clarke and the motives behind his books due to Clarke’s authoritative power and influence.

The sections of Research material and Theoretical background were intended to familiarize the reader to the context of the study. The section on research material began with the background of the author, Richard A. Clarke, and summary on each of his texts that were used as a source. Theoretical background section presented different relevant subjects and studies. The characteristics of the thriller genre were introduced and Clarke’s thrillers were compared to these ‘norms’. Also the motive behind his choice of genre was examined. Then, previous studies on how fiction has been used in US politics, for example, in post 9/11 political campaigning. Research on Anti-Americanism in European literature was offered as a contrast to the native criticism by Clarke. Finally, as well as some previous research on related subjects were introduced.

The methodology section first presented theory on qualitative content analysis and then determined how the qualitative content analysis method was used in this study. The methodology consisted of qualitative content analysis with the arrangement by Schreier (2013) and some alterations from Kirppendorf (2004) as well as semantical content analysis by Janis (1943/1965). To simplify the analysis, three smaller and more approachable units were formed from the two main research questions: How many times a theme is addressed in the books? Is the message always the same or are different views portrayed? Is the intent to influence the reader’s opinion on the subject?
Analysis section first identified the themes in which the samples would be analyzed: Cyber Security and Warfare, Energy, Government, Intelligence, Terrorism and Weapons of Mass Destruction. Clarke’s background concerning each theme was also addressed. The coding frame was evaluated before analysis and as a result, the theme Weapons of Mass Destruction was changed into the more inclusive Homeland Security. Then, designations and assertions analysis were applied and the quantitative results were presented in two tables—Table 1. “Number of Thematic Occurrences by Genre” and Table 2. “Number of Thematic Occurrences by Text”—from which some preliminary observations were made before the actual content analysis. In the analysis, the nonfiction and fiction samples were divided into themes and then studied. Lastly, the findings of the analysis were examined together with the observations from the tables to answer the research questions in the Discussion section.

The results of the thematic analysis were summarized and united to answer the research questions in the Discussion section. It was determined that even though Clarke himself has promoted the idea of ‘telling more truth through fiction’, his thrillers actually say as much or less than his nonfiction texts, with the exception of the issue of drone warfare. The assertions analysis method revealed that a lot of the themes are presented almost identically in both genres. In some samples from the thrillers, the used language can be more emotion provoking than in the factual text. Since Clarke has expressed his personal opinions clearly already in his memoirs and the methods used in this study did not expose any secrets enclosed in the thrillers, the conclusion to the first question was that for the most part Clarke is not revealing more in his fiction than in his nonfiction. The thriller genre is just another delivery system for Clarke’s ideas, a way to gain more attention for these issues. The theme of drone warfare has not been mentioned in his nonfiction, but it is the main theme of Sting of the Drone. The second research question was studied by counting and analyzing the samples in which certain themes were referred to in a particular way. For example, Clarke repeatedly criticizes the large US Intelligence Community; ”they’re stumbling all over themselves as usual” (Breakpoint 23), whereas he presents his vision of smaller separate intelligence agency in a very positive way; “smaller is better. Fewer people, higher quality.” (Scorpion 82) Based on the analysis, it was determined that Clarke does attempt to affect the reader’s views by portraying things in a certain way.
The fact that no previous research was found either on Clarke or the relation between fiction and nonfiction genres in text—especially written by the same author—suggests not only that this thesis is needed but also that these would be fruitful and original subjects of future studies. Another more specific further study topic would be sexuality in Clarke’s thrillers. Although certain level of manly conquests is typical in the thriller genre, the sexuality in Clarke’s fiction is somewhat deviant and unusual. In xxx the main terrorist leader has sexual exchanges with adolescent boys. In Pinnacle Event, the main protagonist has moved onto a secluded island after the traumatic events of Sting of the Drone—including the death of his casual lover. He lives in a relationship with two women and one of them is pregnant with his child. The marriage and sexual relationship of Erik and Jennifer Parsons’ is also portrayed quite comprehensively in Sting of the Drone. In Breakpoint, one of the main protagonists cheats on his wife with a woman, who actually has had a lengthy casual relationship with the other main protagonist, and furthermore, these two protagonists develop a friendship without knowing about their mutual conquest. Thus, the sexuality in Clarke’s nonfiction could possess an exciting research angle for someone.
References


