

Public Administration (PUAD) 729 (005)
Homeland/Transportation Security Administration
Spring Semester 2005

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Course Purpose and Objectives:

In this course, we will examine 9/11 and the American political, policy, and administrative responses to that catastrophe. We will also examine progress made to date in Homeland /Transportation Security. A related purpose is to examine the effects that 9/11 has had on American politics, policy, administration. Within this class, special emphasis is given to transportation security administration and particularly to aviation security administration.

Course Organization and Pedagogy

This course is organized into six sections: politics, policy, and administration pre-9/11; the 9/11 catastrophe and its perpetrators; policy and administrative responses to 9/11; organizational, management, and resource challenges; assessing progress; and politics, policy, and administration in the post 9/11 era.

Since this course is a graduate seminar, most class sessions will be conducted in a discussion mode. Course readings will serve as the basis for discussion; class members are expected to complete required readings for each class session and are encouraged to read selected materials from the recommended readings. Class sessions will also include mini-lectures provided by the instructor and guest lectures by senior members of the Transportation Security Administration and others with special expertise in topics we are studying. Each class member will take responsibility for making a presentation on one or two required readings (or topics to be examined, such as the Coast Guard or Border Security) at least one time during the semester. The presentation requirement may also be met via a group presentation.

Course Overview and Framing

In the immediate aftermath of 9/11/2001, it was a common assumption that 9/11 was “The day the world changed,” (Economist, Sept. 15, 2001) or that “Nothing would ever be the same.” For the thousands of victims of the terrorist attacks and their families, this is surely true. Nothing will ever be the same.

Some thoughtful commentators on 9/11 also seemed to believe “that nothing would ever be the same” in American politics, policy, and administration after 9/11. In support of this view, we can point to some remarkable changes that have taken place since 9/11, including the Aviation Security Act of 2001. This act was pushed along by a bi-partisan commitment to address a national crisis and enacted in only ten weeks. Another

milestone, put in place approximately one year later, is The Homeland Security Act of 2002. The 2002 legislation not only established a new cabinet department but also served as the catalyst for the largest reorganization of the executive branch in more than 50 years. Included in the new Homeland Security Department are 22 agencies and more than 170,000 employees, making Homeland Security one of the largest and most complex cabinet departments—and arguably the cabinet department with the most important mission in the American governmental system. In short, organizing and managing the new department is one of the most urgent, important, and demanding challenges in the history of American public administration.

Yet, while the new elements of American politics, policy, and administration generated by 9/11 are highly visible, one might argue that the fundamentals have changed very little. For example, critics of the Bush Administration contend that the Administration betrayed its commitment to bipartisanship and has used the crisis generated by 9/11 as a tool for aggressively advancing partisan interests in national elections, aggressively pursuing a radical domestic policy agenda, and aggressively pursuing a radical, expansionist and militaristic foreign policy.

Whether one agrees or disagrees with the critics of the Bush Administration, these contentions can be viewed as unsurprising when examined through the lens of Realpolitik, or through many existing models of politics, policy, and administration. It is well known, for example, that, within the American political system, crises provide “opportunities” for presidents—and particular interests—to consolidate power and to use that power to pursue their own objectives. Likewise, viewed through the lenses of some of our theories and models, the administration’s efforts to silence its critics by labeling them unpatriotic, or by managing White House press briefings in ways that set strict limits on what questions reporters can ask is also unsurprising—even if these actions offend democratic sensibilities. After all, power and politics and intimately connected, and politics and policy are the vehicles through which winners and losers are determined.

In sum, the fundamental question about the extent to which 9/11 has changed (or has not changed) “everything” in American politics, policy, and administration will serve as a backdrop for our study of Homeland/ Transportation Security. Indeed, we will begin and end the class with a discussion of the ways in which models of American politics, policy, and administration serve as useful tools for describing, explaining, and making predictions in the pre and post-9/11 periods.

Papers/Research Papers:

Students will have the option of writing three short papers (7-8 pages), two medium length papers (10-12 pages) or a 25 to 30 page research paper. Topics for papers will be discussed in class. Students who want to do the full-length research paper will need to submit a research paper proposal by the beginning of week six. Where a collection of student interests exists around a particular topic, such as financing aviation security, a group project may make sense. Specifically, the group approach could allow a broader and deeper examination of the topic. On the other hand, the topic remains worthy of

study even if only one person in the class wants to do an in-depth examination of this issue. Similarly, either a group approach or an individual approach to other projects, such as legislative history of the Aviation and Transportation Security Act of 2001 or the Homeland Security Act of 2002, could work. Finally, it is worth noting that senior managers in the Transportation Security Administration have been invited to give guest presentations to the class, and they may want to suggest or recommend research topics that could be tackled by groups or individuals.

An alternative to a standard research paper that is based on, or relies heavily on published academic material, government documents, etc., is to do an applied research paper. This may be a particularly attractive option for those of you who are either employed in the Department of Homeland Security or in departments or agencies whose mission and tasks overlap with Homeland Security. Specifically, you may want to look at a policy or administrative issue that is directly related to the work you do and is built, at least in part, on interviews, data, or materials that are not part of existing scholarship, government documents, etc. In such cases, of course, permission to do the study should be secured from your supervisor before you begin the project, and the use or distribution of the material from the project may be subject to particular agency or governmental guidelines.

Course Grades:

Select One Option From Each Column

Paper(s)	Class Presentations	Class Discussion
3 Papers: 60% (20% each)	20% (2)	20%
2 Papers: 60% (30% each)	20% (2)	20%
Research Proposal and Paper 60% (15/45)	20% (2)	20%

Required Reading, Books for Purchase, and Recommended Reading:

The four books listed below should be read in their entirety for this course, and they are available for purchase at the GMU Bookstore:

Fredrik Logevall, ed., *Terrorism and 9/11: A Reader*, 2002

Strasser, ed., *The 9/11 Investigations*

The 9/11 Commission Report

James Q. Wilson, *Bureaucracy*, 2000

All required readings not included in these books can be found on e-reserve, at the library's reserve reading room in the Johnson Center, or through on-line access. For some sources, such as the *Washington Post*, there may be a cost to access material on-line. Some of the articles, book chapters, and books listed as recommended readings have been assembled for your convenience in the reserve reading room at the Johnson Center; most are available on-line.

Recommended books you may want to purchase for your library:

Steven Brill, *After*

David Halberstam, *Firehouse*

Jane Corbin, *Al-Qaeda*

Course Syllabus and Agenda

The topics to be addressed, the dates on which those topics will be addressed, class readings, and assignments are listed below in calendar form. The class schedule (calendar) should be considered a plan for the semester. This plan may have to be modified due to the emergence of unexpected opportunities or factors beyond the control of the professor or the students. Additionally, adjustments to the schedule may be made as a result of faculty judgment or consultation with class members.

I. THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENTAL (POLICY/ADMINISTRATIVE) SYSTEM, AVIATION SECURITY, AND THE 9/11 CATASTROPHE

1. September 11

(Jan. 25)

- A. Pre-9/11 Terrorist Activities, Warning Signals, Reports, Recommendations, and Pleas
- B. 9/11; Initial Descriptions, Reactions, and Explanations of What Happened
- C. The Department of Transportation, the Federal Aviation Administration, and Aviation Security Pre-9/11
- D. Policy and Administrative Models: explanations for why repeated warnings and “reform” initiatives resulted in little change to the aviation security system
- E. Responsibility and Accountability in the American policy/administrative system

Required Reading:

Gaul, Grimaldi, and Warrick, “How Terror Could Break Through,” *Washington Post*, Sept. 16, 2001, pp. A-1 and A-34. (e-reserve)
Fred Hiatt, “A Timely Summons,” *The Washington Post*, Nov. 6, 2001 (e-reserve)
Graham, “Pentagon Unprepared for ‘Something We Had Never Even Thought Of,’” *Washington Post*, Sept. 16, 2001, p. A-1 and A-10, (e-reserve)
Achenbach, “‘You Never Imagine’ A Hijacker Next Door,” *Washington Post*, Sept. 16, 2001, pp. A-1, A-6 and 7 (e-reserve)
Charles Lindblom, “The Science of Muddling Through,” *PAR*, 1959 (e-reserve)
James Q. Wilson, *Bureaucracy*, Chapt. 5, “Interests”

Recommended Reading:

Hart/Rudman Commission, *Road Map for National Security: Imperative for Change*, Phase III Report of the U.S. Commission on National Security/21st Century, (Executive Summary), Feb. 15, 2001.
National Commission Reports; Gilmore, Bremmer, etc. (see attached bibliographic list)
Lance Morrow, “The Case for Rage and Retribution,” *Time*, September 11, 2001
Charles Lindblom, *The Intelligence of Democracy*, 1965
Murray Edelman, *Politics as Symbolic Action*

John Kingdon, "How Does An Idea's Time Come? Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies" (e-reserve)

T. Birkland, *After Disaster: Agenda Setting, Public Policy, and Focusing Events* (1997)

Charles O. Jones, Presidential Address, APSA, 1994

2. September 11, 2001: On the Front Lines

(Feb. 1)

- A. Responses to the Terrorist Attacks: Public Servants and Stories of Extraordinary Courage

Required Reading:

David Halberstam, *Firehouse* (2002)

Recommended Reading:

Tom Downey, *The Last Man Out: Life on the Edge at Rescue 2 Firehouse* (2002)

3. Investigations of 9/11: The 9/11 Commission

(Feb. 8)

- A. The Aviation Security System on 9/11
- B. How Terrorists Breached the System
- C. The Attacks of 9/11
- D. The Intelligence Failure

Required Reading:

The 9/11 Investigations, "Introduction"

The 9/11 Investigations, Staff Statement No. 3, "The Aviation Security System and the 9/11 Attacks"

The 9/11 Investigations, Staff Statement No. 4, "The Four Flights"

The 9/11 Commission Report, "WE HAVE SOME PLANES"

Recommended Reading:

The 9/11 Investigations, "Staff Statement No. 1, "Entry of the 9/11 Hijackers into the United States"

The 9/11 Investigations, Staff Statement No. 2, "Three 9/11 Hijackers: Identification, Watchlisting, and Tracking"

4. Investigations of 9/11: The House/Senate Joint Inquiry and The 9/11 Commission

(Feb. 15)

Required Reading:

The 9/11 Investigations, (The House Senate Joint Inquiry Report)

"The Attacks of September 11, 2001"

"Intelligence Failures"

"Rethinking America's War Against Terror"

Recommended Readings:

The 9/11 Investigations, (The House Senate Joint Inquiry Report)

“Conclusions”

“Recommendations”

II. TERRORISM, AFGANISTAN, BIN-LADEN, AL-QAEDA AND THE AMERICAN RESPONSE TO TERRORISM

5. Background on Terrorism: Roots, Goals, Organization, Methods, Results

(Feb. 22)

- A. Brief History of Terrorism
- B. Terrorism from 1970-2000
- C. Afghanistan, Bin Laden, and Al-Qaeda
- D. Religion
- E. Culture

Required Reading:

Fredrik Logevall, ed., *Terrorism and 9/11: A Reader*, 2002

Recommended Reading:

John Prados, *America Confronts Terrorists*, 2002

Charles Kegley, Jr., ed. *The New Global Terrorism: Characteristics, Causes, Controls*, 2003

Samuel Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, 1996

6. Bin Laden, Al-Qaeda

(Mar. 1)

Required Reading:

DeYoung and Dobbs, “Bin Laden: Architect of New Global Terrorism,” *Washington Post*, Sept. 16, 2001, p. A-8 (e-reserve)

The 9/11 Commission Report,

“THE FOUNDATION OF THE NEW TERRORISM”

“COUNTER TERRORISM EVOLVES”

“RESPONSES TO AL QAEDA’S INITIAL ASSULTS”

“AL QAEDA AIMS AT THE AMERICAN HOMELAND”

“THE SYSTEM WAS BLINKING RED”

Recommended Reading:

Jane Corbin, *Al-Qaeda: In Search of the Terror Network that Threatens the World*, 2002

Robin Wright, *Sacred Rage*, 2001

III. POLICY AND ADMINISTRATIVE RESPONSES TO 9/11

7. First Round Policy Responses: Office of Homeland Security & the Aviation and Transportation Security Act

(Mar. 8)

- A. Oct. 8, 2001; *Executive Order Establishing Office of Homeland Security*
- B. Nov. 19, 2001; *Aviation and Transportation Security Act*
 - 1. Politics of the Policy Process

- a. Executive-Legislative Politics
- b. Interest Groups Politics
- c. Partisan Politics
- 2. Policy Design
- 3. Administrative Arrangements
- 4. Budgetary Considerations
- 5. Personnel System and Rules

Required Reading:

Executive Order Establishing the Office of Homeland Security, Oct. 8, 2001

Aviation and Transportation Security Act, Nov. 19, 2001

Steven Brill, *After: The Rebuilding and Defending of America in the September 12 Era*
(TSA sections will be identified in class)

Recommended Reading:

GAO, *AVIATION SECURITY: Transportation Security Faces Immediate and Long-Term Challenges*, GAO -02-971T, July 25, 2002

John Kingdon, "How Does an Idea's Time Come? Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies" (e-reserve)

Harold C. Relyea, "The Law: Homeland Security: The Concept and the Presidential Coordination Office—First Assessment," *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, June 2002

8. Creating a New Screening System and a New Agency (Transportation Security Administration)

(Mar. 22)

A. Implementing the Aviation Security Act: T.S.A

- 1. Redesigning Airport Security
- 2. Creating TSA in DOT
- 3. Politics, Hierarchy, and the First Casualty

Required Reading:

Steven Brill, *After: The Rebuilding and Defending of America in the September 12 Era*
(TSA sections will be identified in class)

Anthony Downs, "The Life Cycle of Bureaus," (e-reserve)

James Q. Wilson, *Bureaucracy*, Chaps. 3, 4, 6

9. Second Round Policy and Administrative Responses

(Mar. 29)

- A. July 16, 2002, National Strategy for Homeland Security
- B. Nov. 25, 2002, Homeland Security Act of 2002
- C. Politics of the Policy Process
 - 1. Executive-Legislative Politics
 - 2. Interest Groups Politics
 - 3. Partisan Politics
- D. Policy Design
- E. Administrative Arrangements

- F. Budgetary Considerations
- G. Personnel System and Rules

Required Reading:

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

Recommended Reading:

National Strategy for Homeland Security, July 16, 2002

Homeland Security Act of 2002

Harold C. Relyea, "Organizing for Homeland Security," *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Sept. 2003

III. ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND OPERATIONAL PROGRESS

12. Operational Progress in Aviation Security

(April 5)

- A. Financing TSA
- B. Staffing TSA
- C. Aviation Security
 - 1. Planes
 - 2. Passengers and Baggage
 - 3. Terminals and their Perimeters
 - 4. Cargo
 - 5. Support Personnel
 - 6. Other

Required Reading:

Airports Council International: Financing civil aviation security costs in Europe

Michael Smerconish, *Flying Blind*

James Q. Wilson, *Bureaucracy*, Chaps. 7-9

13. Transportation: Ports and Surface Transportation

(April 12)

- A. Seaports
- B. Highways
- C. Intra and Inter-Departmental Overlap, Coordination, Cooperation, Competition
 - 1. Coast Guard
 - 2. Border Security
 - 3. Department of Transportation, FAA

Required Reading:

Fen Montaigne, "Policing America's Ports, *Smithsonian*, Jan. 2004

James Q. Wilson, *Bureaucracy*, Chaps. 10-12

Recommended Reading:

Haynes Johnson, Series on the Customs Service, *New York Times*, 1986

14. Transportation/Aviation Security

(April 19)

A. TSA: Organizational Progress

1. Tasks and Goals
2. Mission
3. Culture
4. Autonomy

Required Reading:

GAO, *TRANSPORTATION SECURITY ADMINISTRATION: Action and Plans to Build a Results-Oriented Culture*, GAO-03-190, January 2003

James Q. Wilson, *Bureaucracy*, Chaps. 13-15

Recommended Reading:

GAO 2005 Reports (soon to be available)

15. Homeland Security Progress to Date; Short-term and Long Term Results and Challenges

(April 26)

Required Reading:

James Q. Wilson, *Bureaucracy*, Chaps. 17-20

Recommended Reading:

Michael O'Hanlon, *Protecting the American Homeland: One Year On*, 2002

Rand White Paper, *Homeland Security: A Compendium of Public and Private Organizations' Policy Recommendations* (2003)

1/17/05