

**Public Administration (PUAD) 729 (005)**  
**Homeland/Transportation Security Administration**  
Spring Semester 2006

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Course Purpose and Objectives:

In this course, we will examine the terrorists attacks of 9/11, the vulnerabilities in the aviation security system that were exploited by the terrorists, and some of the reasons why elected leaders and administrative officials did not act more decisively to improve aviation security before 9/11 despite repeated warnings about the weaknesses of that system. We will also look at the development of radical Islam in the three decades that preceded the 9/11 attacks, and we will study the rise of Osama bin Laden and Al Qaeda in the two decades that preceded the 9/11 attacks.

Additionally, will examine the principal policy and administrative responses to 9/11, including the creation of a new agency (TSA) in November of 2001 and a new department (Homeland Security) in November of 2002. It is noteworthy that the creation of the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) required the largest reorganization of the executive branch in more than 50 years. It is also worth noting that these two major policy responses to 9/11 (TSA and DHS) were completed before the work of the two principal bodies that investigated 9/11. Specifically, the findings of the House-Senate Joint Inquiry and 9/Commission were not published until December 2002, and the work of the 9/11 Commission was not published until July 2004. One benefit of this "inverted cycle" (problem solutions precedes a full and clear definition of the problem and its causes), however, is that we now have the benefit of looking at and evaluating the actions taken by elected officials through the lenses provided by the House-Senate Joint Inquiry and the 9/11 Commission.

Finally, we will attempt to determine what progress has been made since 9/11 in strengthening Homeland /Transportation Security (with special emphasis given to aviation security administration), and we will attempt to examine the effects that 9/11 has had on American politics, policy, 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.

### 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 two papers of medium length (10-12 page) 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 an examination of aviation security from a bottom-up perspective, a group project may make sense. Specifically, the group approach could yield a broader and deeper examination of the topic than could be expected from one person. 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 Work and Grades:

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

Grade Scale: 100-92 = A; 91-91=A-; 89-88= B+; 87-82=B; 81-80=B-; < 80=C; < 70=F

Required Reading, Books for Purchase, and Recommended Reading:

The five books listed below should be read in their entirety for this course, and they are available for purchase at the GMU Bookstore. (The prices for these books at the bookstore are very low.)

Stephen Flynn, *America the Vulnerable*

David Halberstam, *Firehouse*

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

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

*The 9/11 Commission Report*

Other books that contain required readings for the course and would be valuable purchases are:

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

Michael Smerconish, *Flying Blind*

James Q. Wilson, *Bureaucracy*, 2000

Robin Wright, *Sacred Rage*

\*\*Other source of required readings include unpublished papers that I have written and papers that students in previous sections of this class have written. Some of these papers are currently under review at academic journals and others may soon be sent to academic journals. I will provide copies of these papers to you, with the proviso that you agree not to duplicate, share, or circulate these unpublished papers.

Finally, the book that has the most extensive portrait of events immediately following 9/11 is: *After: The Rebuilding and Defending of America in the September 12 Era*, by Steven Brill. You may want to have this book as part of your resource library for this class.

## 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 that may be modified for unexpected opportunities or problems, the professor's judgment, or faculty consultation with class members.

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

#### **1. September 11**

(Jan. 24)

- A. Pre-9/11 Terrorist Activities, Warning Signals, Reports, Recommendations, and Pleas
- A. 9/11; Initial Descriptions, Reactions, and Explanations of What Happened
- B. The Department of Transportation, the Federal Aviation Administration, and Aviation Security Pre-9/11
- C. Policy and Administrative Models: explanations for why repeated warnings and "reform" initiatives resulted in little change to the aviation security system
- D. 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/21<sup>st</sup> 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**

(Jan. 31)

- A. New York: The Trade Towers
- B. Northern Virginia: The Pentagon

### Required Reading:

David Halberstam, *Firehouse* (2002)

Bruce Benson, "Preparing for the Improbable and Unpredictable: The Arlington County Fire Department's Response to the 9/11 Terrorist Attack on the Pentagon"  
*The 9/11 Commission Report*, NYC pp. 278-311; Pentagon pp. 311-315

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

### **3. Background on Terrorism: Roots, Goals, Organization, Methods, Results**

(Feb. 7)

- 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

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

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

### **4. Radical Islam, Bin Laden, and Al-Qaeda**

(Feb. 14)

- A. Bin Laden and Al Qaeda
- B. The Larger Picture: Radical Islam

### Required Reading:

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

Robin Wright, *Sacred Rage: The Wrath of Militant Islam*, 2001

### Recommended Reading:

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

**\*\*Additional Recommended Readings at back of syllabus**

### III. POLICY AND ADMINISTRATIVE RESPONSES TO 9/11

#### 5. Policy and Administrative Responses: (Feb. 21)

- A. Oct. 8, 2001; *Executive Order Establishing Office of Homeland Security*
- B. Nov. 19, 2001; *Aviation and Transportation Security Act*, July 16, 2002,
- C. National Strategy for Homeland Security
- D. Nov. 25, 2002, Homeland Security Act of 2002
- E. Whither the FBI and CIA?

Key Factors for Discussion:

- . Politics of the Policy Process
  - 0. Executive-Legislative Politics
  - 0. Interest Groups Politics
  - 0. Partisan Politics
- . Policy Design
- . Organizational Design and Administrative Arrangements
- . Budgetary Considerations
- . 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

*Homeland Security Act of 2002*

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

#### Recommended Reading:

Steven Brill, *After: The Rebuilding and Defending of America in the September 12 Era*

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

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

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

*National Strategy for Homeland Security*, July 16, 2002

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

### IV. THE 9/11 INVESTIGATIONS AND FINDINGS

#### 6. The House-Senate Joint Inquiry

(Feb. 28)

- A. Intelligence Failures
  - a. Sources of Failures
  - b. Consequences

### c. Prescriptions for Change

#### Required Reading:

Strasser ed., *The 9/11 Investigations*, (The House Senate Joint Inquiry Report)

“The Attacks of September 11, 2001”

“Intelligence Failures”

“Rethinking America’s War Against Terror”

“Findings”

“Recommendations”

### **7. The 9/11 Commission**

(Mar. 7)

A. The Aviation Security System on 9/11

B. How Terrorists Breached the System

C. The Attacks of 9/11

D. The Intelligence Failure

E. Presidential Roles and Responsibilities

F. Assessments and Recommendations

#### Required Reading:

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

Whitney, “Introduction, ”

Staff Statement No. 1, “Entry of the 9/11 Hijackers into the United States,”

Staff Statement No. 2, “Three 9/11 Hijackers: Identification, Watchlisting, and Tracking”

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

Staff Statement No. 4, “The Four Flights”

*The 9/11 Commission Report*, Chapter 1, and Chapters 11-13

#### Recommended Reading:

*The 9/11 Commission Report*, Chapters 2-10

## **V. POST 9/11: ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND OPERATIONAL PROGRESS**

### **8. Top-Down Perspectives on Aviation Security: Organizational and Operational Progress at TSA**

(Mar. 21)

A. Leading TSA

B. Financing TSA

C. Staffing TSA

D. TSA Organization and Oversight

#### Required Reading:

James K. Conant, "Appropriating for Transportation Security"



Josh Fudge, "Financing Aviation Security"  
Richard Conrad, "The Ongoing Implementation of the Aviation Security  
Infrastructure Fee"  
L. S., "Personnel Policy and Staffing at TSA"  
Joe Sessa, TBA

Recommended Reading:

Airports Council International: Financing civil aviation security costs in Europe  
(e-reserve)

**9. Bottom-up Perspectives on Aviation Security**

(Mar. 28)

A. Aviation Security

1. Planes
2. Passengers and Baggage
3. Terminals and their Perimeters
4. Cargo
5. Support Personnel
6. Other

Required Reading:

Michael Smerconish, *Flying Blind*  
James Q. Wilson, *Bureaucracy*, Chaps. 7-9

**10. Transportation: Ports and Surface Transportation**

(April 4)

- A. Seaports
- B. Transit Systems and 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 (e-reserve)  
Josh Fudge, "Protecting Transit Systems from Terror"  
James Q. Wilson, *Bureaucracy*, Chaps. 10-12

Recommended Reading:

Haynes Johnson, Series on the Customs Service, *New York Times*, 1986  
C. S., "Heading for Deep Water: The Coast Guard in the Pre-9/11 Era"  
C.S., "Return to Port: The Coast Gaurd in the Post-9/11 Era"  
Phillips and Loy, *Character in Action: The U.S. Coast Guard on Leadership*

## **11. Transportation/Aviation Security: Internal Factors, External Perceptions, and the Future of TSA**

(April 11)

### **A. TSA: Organizational Progress**

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

#### Required Reading:

Sherwin Chapman, "Media Coverage of TSA: An Analysis of Selected Articles from The New York Times and the Washington Post"

James K. Conant, "The Life Cycle of the TSA?"

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

#### Recommended Reading:

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

GAO Reports for 2004 and 2005

## **12. Homeland Security Progress to Date; Short-term and Long Term Results and Challenges**

(April 18)

#### Required Reading:

Washington Post articles on Dept. Homeland Security Reorganization, Intelligence, etc.

Stephen Flynn, *America the Vulnerable*

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)

## **VI. REFLECTIONS ON THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENTAL SYSTEM AND HOMELAND/TRANSPORTATION SECURITY IN THE POST 9/11 ERA**

### **13. Paper Presentations and Reflections on Homeland/Transportation Security**

(April 25)

### **14. Paper Presentations and Reflections on Homeland/Transportation Security**

(May 2)

**\*\*Research Papers Due On or before May 9**

### **Additional Sources You May Want to use for Class Discussion and Papers**

Barber, Benjamin R., *Jihad VS McWorld*

Barber, Benjamin, *Fear's Empire: War, Terrorism, and Democracy*

Bergan, Peter, *Holy War, Inc.: Inside the Secret World Osama bin Laden*

Burke, Jason, *Al-Qaeda: Casting a Shadow of Terror*

Coll, Steve, *Ghost Wars: The Secret History of the CIA, Afghanistan, and Bin Laden, from the Soviet Invasion to September 10, 2001*

Emerson, Steven, *American Jihad: The Terrorists Living Among Us*

Gunaratna, Rohan, *Inside Al Qaeda: Global Network of Terror*

Lance, Peter, *1000 Years for Rvenge: International Terrorisim and the FBI--the Untold Story*

McDermott, Terry, *Perfect Soldiers: The 9/11 Hijackers: Who They Were, Why They Did It*

Miller, John, *The Cell: Inside the 9/11 Plot, and Why the FBI and CIA Failed to Stop It*

Sageman, Mark, *Understanding Terror Networks*

Williams, Paul, *Understanding Terror Networks*