

**Department of Public and International Affairs**  
**George Mason University**  
**PUAD 731 (001) and GOVT 719 (003)**  
**Homeland/Transportation Security Administration**  
Spring Semester 2008

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Course Purpose and Organization:

The primary purpose of this class is to give graduate students an opportunity to examine U. S. governmental efforts to protect the U. S. aviation system from terrorist attack in the pre and post 9/11 eras and to examine the broader policy and organizational context of what is now called "homeland security." Special attention will be given to creation, structure, financing, leadership, operation, and performance of both the Transportation Security Administration and the Department of Homeland Security. Because the efforts to protect American citizens from terrorist attack take place in a federal system, we will also look at the intergovernmental dimensions of both aviation and homeland security.

We will begin this class with an examination of the terrorist attacks of 9/11. Specifically, we will look at the way the terrorists defeated the aviation security system, turned commercial airplanes into guided missiles that they used to destroy the World Trade Center Towers, severely damage the Pentagon, and kill more almost 3,000 people. We will also examine local government responses to these attacks. Then, we will turn our attention to an examination of the ways in which the terrorists exploited vulnerabilities in the aviation security to pursue their deadly purposes. We will also attempt to determine why, despite repeated warnings about the weaknesses of that system, elected officials and administrators in the U.S. government did not act decisively to improve aviation security before 9/11. The writings of journalists and academicians will be the principal tools used for this purpose.

The next step in our study will be an examination of the first two major U.S. governmental responses to 9/11, including the creation of an Office of Homeland Security in October of 2001 and a new agency, the Transportation Security Administration, in November of that year. In the third phase of our study, will 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.

The fourth step is to examine the U. S. government's "second round" responses to 9/11, with particular focus on the creation of a new cabinet department (Homeland Security) in November of 2002. It is worth noting that the two major policy responses to 9/11 (the creation of TSA and DHS) were passed by congress and signed into law by President George W. Bush before the two principal investigations of 9/11 were completed. The

finding of the House-Senate Joint Inquiry were not published until December 2002, and the findings of the 9/11 Commission were not published until July 2004. In other words, the "solutions" or remedies to the "problems" of 9/11 were passed into law before the problems were fully defined and the underlying causes of the problems were formally articulated. For this reason, we will attempt to determine the extent to which the "solutions" offered in the 2001 and 2002 legislation fit the problems (and causes) identified by the House-Senate Joint Inquiry and 9/11 Commission.

We will complete the course with an attempt to determine what progress has been made since 9/11 in strengthening transportation security and homeland security. In the former area, special emphasis is given to aviation security; in the latter area, particular attention will be given to the massive reorganization of the executive branch that was required in the creation of the Department of Homeland Security. We will also attempt to examine the effects that 9/11 has had more broadly on American politics, policy, administration.

Course Pedagogy

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.

Course Work and Grades:

Short papers for weeks two and five are required of all students, and so is a research or applied research paper 25 to 30 pages. Requirements for the short papers, research paper proposal, research papers, and class presentations are outlined in a memo that that accompanies this syllabus.

Short Papers Wks 2 & 5 (2:10% each) 20%	Paper Proposal Due Wk. #6 10%	Paper Due Wk.14or15 45%	Class Disc. (including paper presentations) 25%	Totals 100%

**Grade Scale:** 100-92 = A; 91-90=A-; 89-88= B+; 87-82=B; 81-80=B-; < 80=C; < 70=F

**Late Papers:** All written assignments must be submitted at the beginning of the class period on which they are due. A one-grade penalty will be applied for a paper that is one to three days late; a two-grade penalty will be applied for three to seven days.

**Incompletes** for the course are discouraged, but extraordinary circumstances can be accommodated. Requests for an incomplete must be submitted in writing at the earliest possible date.

**Honor Code:** The George Mason Honor Code is the code by which we operate. The core presumption of the code is that all written work is your own work. Proper citation of material taken from other published work is required.

Required Readings, Books for Purchase, and Recommended Readings:

Required readings are drawn from eight books and several readings packets. The books listed below contain required readings for the course, and they are available for purchase at the GMU Bookstore. (The bookstore prices for these books are very competitive.)

David Halberstam, *Firehouse* (2002)

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

Strasser, ed., *The 9/11 Investigations* (2003)

The National Commission on Terrorists Attacks Upon the United States: *The 9/11 Commission Report* (2004)

Stephen Flynn, *America the Vulnerable* (2004)

Donald Kettl, *System Under Stress: Homeland Security and American Politics*, 2nd ed. (2006)

James Q. Wilson, *Bureaucracy* (2000)

Robin Wright, *Sacred Rage* (2001)

Books Recommended for Purchase:

Michael Smerconish, *Flying Blind* (2004)

(This book contains required reading for week #10; it is a key source for understanding the constraints U.S. Law places on the aviation security operations)

Steven Brill, *After: The Rebuilding and Defending of America in the September 12 Era*, (2003) (This book contains a comprehensive portrait of key events and circumstances following 9/11, as well as stories about key actors in the post-9/11 era.)

**\*\*Readings Packets:**

The two packets listed below contain required readings, and copies will be provided to all members of the class. I will ask you to return the copies at the end of the semester.

1.) Public Law 107-071-Nov. 19, 2001 (The Aviation and Transportation Security Act of 2001)

2.) Student/Faculty Papers: There are two readings packets that include unpublished papers that students in previous sections of this class have written or that I have written. Some of these papers are currently under review at academic journals and others may soon be sent to academic journals. Please do not to duplicate or circulate these unpublished papers.

I have several copies of the following, and these copies will be shared by class members who want to use the copy:

3.) Public Law 107-296-Nov. 25, 2002 (The Homeland Security Act of 2002)

## 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. INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

#### 1. September 11, 2001: On the Front Lines at the N.Y. Trade Towers & Pentagon

(Jan. 22)

- A. New York: The Trade Towers
- B. Northern Virginia: The Pentagon
- C. Comparing the two catastrophes and the governmental responses to them

#### Required Reading:

David Halberstam, *Firehouse* (2002)

*The 9/11 Commission Report*, Chapt. 9 "Heroism and Horror" (NYC pp. 278-311; Pentagon pp. 311-315; Analysis pp. 315-323).

#### Recommended Reading:

Bruce Benson, "Preparing for the Improbable and Unpredictable: The Arlington County Police Department's Response to the 9/11 Terrorist Attack on the Pentagon" (readings packet)

#### 2. Terrorist Attacks, Warnings about Weaknesses in the Aviation Security System, and Explanations for the U. S. Government's Failure to Protect Its Citizens on 9/11

(Jan. 29)

- A. Pre-9/11 Terrorist Activities, Warning Signals, Reports about Weaknesses in the Aviation Security System and Recommendations for Improvement
- B. 9/11; Initial Descriptions, Reactions to and Explanations for 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)

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, Joel "'You Never Imagine' A Hijacker Next Door," *Washington Post*, Sept. 16, 2001, pp. A-1, A-6 and 7 (e-reserve)

Hiatt, Fred, "A Timely Summons," *The Washington Post*, Nov. 6, 2001 (e-reserve)  
Lindblom, Charles, "The Science of Muddling Through," *PAR*, 1959 (e-reserve)  
Wilson, James Q., *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. and their bibliographies

Morrow, Lance, "The Case for Rage and Retribution," *Time*, September 11, 2001

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

Edelman, Murray, *Politics as Symbolic Action*

Jones, Charles O., *An Introduction to the Study of Public Policy*, 3rd ed. (1984)

Kingdon, John, *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies*, 2nd ed. (1995)

Lindblom, Charles, *The Intelligence of Democracy* (1965)

Lindblom and Woodhouse, *The Policy-Making Process*, 3rd. ed. (1993)

Sabatier, Paul A., ed., *Theories of the Policy Process* (1999)

## **II. U.S. GOVERNMENTAL RESPONSES TO THE 9/11 ATTACKS, CREATION OF THE 9/11 COMMISSION, AND THE REPORT OF THE 9/11 COMMISSION**

### **3. Creating The Office of Homeland Security and the Transportation Security Administration**

(Feb. 5)

A. Oct. 8, 2001; *Executive Order Establishing Office of Homeland Security*

B. Nov. 19, 2001; *Aviation and Transportation Security Act*

Key Factors for Discussion:

1. Policy Design as a "Problem Solving" Exercise
2. Policy-making as a Political Exercise
3. The Struggle over the creation ("birth") of a new agency and system
4. Timetables, Revenue, and Budgetary Considerations
5. Personnel System and Rules

Required Reading:

*Aviation and Transportation Security Act*, Nov. 19, 2001 (packet)

Shugrue, Laura, "Personnel Policy and Staffing at TSA" (packet)

Recommended Reading:

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

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

*Executive Order Establishing the Office of Homeland Security*, Oct. 8, 2001 (e-reserve)

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

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

Jones, Charles O., *Presidential Address*, APSA, 1994

Kingdon, John, *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies*

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

**4. The 9/11 Investigations and the 9/11 Commission Report: Describing and Explaining How Terrorists Breached the Aviation Security System on 9/11**  
(Feb. 12)

- 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”

National Commission on Terrorists Attacks Upon the United States, *The 9/11 Commission Report*, Chapter 1, and Chapters 11-13

Recommended Reading:

*9/11 and Terrorist Travel*, A Staff Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the U. S.

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

**5. Background on Terrorism: Roots, Goals, Organization, Methods, Results**  
(Feb. 19)

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

Required Reading:

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

Recommended Reading:

- Huntington, Samuel, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (1996)  
Kegley, Charles Jr., ed. *The New Global Terrorism: Characteristics, Causes, Controls*, (2003)  
Prados, John, *America Confronts Terrorists* (2002)  
Elliot, Michael, "Such lovely lads: why do so many young British Muslims turn to violence against the land where they were raised?" *Time*, Aug. 21, 2006  
Skerry, Peter, "The American Exception: What Muslims in the U.S. aren't as attracted to Jihad as those in Europe," *Time*, Aug. 21, 2006

**6. Radical Islam, Bin Laden, Al-Qaeda, and U.S. Responses to Terrorist Attacks**

(Feb. 26)

- A. Bin Laden and Al Qaeda
- B. The Larger Picture: Radical Islam
- C. U. S. Responses to Terrorism

**\*\*Research Paper Proposals Due**

Required Reading:

- DeYoung and Dobbs, "Bin Laden: Architect of New Global Terrorism," *Washington Post*, Sept. 16, 2001, p. A-8 (e-reserve)  
Wright, Robin, *Sacred Rage: The Wrath of Militant Islam*, 2001  
National Commission on Terrorists Attacks Upon the United States, *9/11 Commission Report*, Chapt. 2-6

Recommended Reading:

- Corbin, Jane, *Al-Qaeda: In Search of the Terror Network that Threatens the World* (2002)  
Barber, Benjamin R., *Jihad VS McWorld* (1996)  
Bergan, Peter, *Holy War, Inc.: Inside the Secret World of Osama bin Laden* (2002)  
Burke, Jason, *Al-Qaeda: Casting a Shadow of Terror* (2004 )  
Clarke, Richard, *Against All Enemies: Inside America's War on Terror* (2004)  
Coll, Steve, *Ghost Wars: The Secret History of the CIA, Afghanistan, and Bin Laden, from the Soviet Invasion to September 10, 2001* (2004)  
Emerson, Steven, *American Jihad: The Terrorists Living Among Us* (2003)  
Gunaratna, Rohan, *Inside Al Qaeda: Global Network of Terror* (2003)  
Lance, Peter, *1000 Years for Revenge: International Terrorism and the FBI--the Untold Story* (2003)  
Levy, Bernard-Henri Levy, *Who Killed Daniel Pearl?* (2003)  
Miller, Stone, and Mitchell, *The Cell: Inside the 9/11 Plot and Why the FBI and CIA Failed to Stop It* (2002)  
Stein, Jeff, "Can You Tell A Sunni From a Shiite?" *The New York Times*, Oct. 17, 2006  
Williams, Paul, *Al Qaeda: Brotherhood of Terror* (2002)  
Wright, Lawrence, *The Looming Tower: Al Qaeda and the Road to 9/11* (2007)

#### **IV. U. S. NATIONAL GOVERNMENT: SECOND ROUND RESPONSES TO 9/11**

##### **7. Creating the Department of Homeland Security, The 9/11 Commission Report, Intelligence Failures, the DHS, and the Intelligence Agencies**

(Mar. 4)

- A. *The Homeland Security Act of 2002*, Nov. 25, 2002
- B. *The 9/11 Commission Report* (July 2004)
- C. The Intelligence Failure
- D. The Intelligence Agencies on 9/11
- E. Creating a New Structure For the Intelligence Agencies

##### Required Reading:

Kettl, Donald, *System Under Stress: Homeland Security and American Politics*, Chaps. 2-3  
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”

*The 9/11 Commission Report*, Chapters 7-8

##### Recommended Reading:

*The Homeland Security Act of 2002*

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

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

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

Miller, Stone, and Mitchell, *The Cell: Inside the 9/11 Plot, and Why the FBI and CIA  
Failed to Stop It* (2002)

Sageman, Mark, *Understanding Terror Networks*

Posner, Richard A., *Preventing Surprise Attacks: Intelligence Reform in the Wake of 9/11*

#### **V. POST 9/11: ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND OPERATIONAL PROGRESS IN TRANSPORTATION AND HOMELAND SECURITY ADMIN.**

##### **8. Building, Financing, and Staffing TSA**

(Mar. 18)

- A. Creating the Agency and the Screener Work Force
- B. Appropriating for TSA
- C. Financing TSA
  - The Passenger Fee
  - The Aviation Security Infrastructure Fee
- D. The Airline Industry Response to the Fees and the Politics of Aviation Security

Required Reading: (all are in the readings packet)

Sessa, Joe, "TSA Screener Workforce"

Conant, James K., "Appropriating for Transportation Security"

Conrad, Richard, "The Ongoing Implementation of the Aviation Security Infrastructure Fee"

Fudge, Josh, "Taxes Imposed on Air Carriers"

Recommended Reading:

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

### **9. The CFO's Office at TSA (Symposium)**

**\*\* (Friday, Mar. 28; 9:00 to 2:00) \*\***

Senior Managers in the CFO's Office will give presentations on the roles and responsibilities of their offices.

### **10. The Post 9/11 Aviation Security System and Constraints on that System**

(April 1)

#### A. The Aviation Security System

1. Passenger Pre-Screening
2. Passenger and Baggage Screening
3. Cargo Screening
4. On Board Security:  
Air Marshalls, Pilots, Flight Attendants, Passengers
5. Planes/Pre-Board Security
6. Terminal Buildings, Business Operations, and Perimeters

#### B. Constraints: Law and Related Factors

Required Reading: (all are in the reading packet)

Hess, Paige, "Federal Air Marshalls Service"

Lemeshefsky, Stephen and Paige Hess, "Federal Flight Deck Officers Program"

Smerconish, Michael, *Flying Blind*

Recommended Reading:

Bettancourt, Laura "Registered Traveler" (packet)

Chapman, Sherwin, "TSA Screener Training" (packet)

Daly, Chris "Secure Flight" (packet)

Litpon, Eric, "U.S. and Europe Agree on Passenger Data," *The New York Times*, Oct. 7, 2006

Sharkey, Joe, "Finally, a Way to Catch a Flight without Shedding Your Shoes," *The New York Times*, Dec. 19th, 2006 p. C8.

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

## **11. Airports, Aviation Security, and Homeland Security**

(April 8)

- A. Boston Logan: A Model for Aviation Security
- B. Anti-terrorist agencies and coordination of activities
- C. Ports at International Airports
- D. Evolving Terrorist Tactics

### Required Reading:

Flynn, Stephen, *America the Vulnerable*

Bettancourt, Laura, Chris Daly, and Paige Hess, "Dulles Case Study" (packet)

### Recommended Reading:

Cooper, Glenda, "British Charge 11 Suspects in Airliner Plot," *The Washington Post*, Aug. 22, 2006

Dwyer, Jim, "Threats and Responses: Mood; Ordinary-Looking Liquid, to Be Used as a Weapon? A Wake-Up Call Across the U. S.," *The New York Times*, Aug. 11, 2006

Smerconish, Michael, *Flying Blind*

Trento, Susan B. and Joseph J. Trento, *Unsafe At Any Altitude* (2006)

## **12. Transportation: Ports and Surface Transportation**

(April 15)

- 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:

Montaigne, Fen, "Policing America's Ports," *Smithsonian*, Jan. 2004 (e-reserve)

Fudge, Josh "Protecting Transit Systems from Terror" (packet)

Flynn, Stephen, *America the Vulnerable*

### Recommended Reading:

Wilson, James Q. *Bureaucracy*, Chaps. 10-12 and 13-15

Brumback, Kevin, "DHS Grants to States/Localities" (packet)

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

*The New York Times*, "Ships That Don't Dare Sail," Dec. 14, p. A34.

Lipton, Eric, "Billions Later, Plan to Remake the Coast Guard Fleet Stumbles," *The New York Times*, Dec. 9, 2006

Johnson, Haynes, Series on the Customs Service, *New York Times*, 1986  
Kirkham, Chris, "Bearing Point Could Lose Federal ID Card Contract," *The Washington Post*, Nov. 2, 2006

Merle, Renae and Spencer S. Hsu, "Costly Fleet Update Falts: Contractors Oversee Coast Guard Project, *The Washington Post*, Dec. 8, 2006  
Phillips and Loy, *Character in Action: The U.S. Coast Guard on Leadership* (2003)  
GAO, *TRANSPORTATION SECURITY ADMINISTRATION: Action and Plans to Build a Results-Oriented Culture*, GAO-03-190, January 2003  
GAO Reports for 2004 and 2005

**13a. Homeland Security Progress, Challenges, and the U. S. Constitutional and Governmental System in the Post-9/11 Era**  
(April 22)

Required Reading:

9/11 Commission Scorecard  
Kettl, Donald, *System Under Stress*, Chapt. 4-7

Recommended Reading:

Wilson, James Q., *Bureaucracy*, Chapt. 17-20  
Barber, Benjamin, *Fear's Empire: War, Terrorism, and Democracy* (2003)  
O'Hanlon, Michael, *Protecting the American Homeland: One Year On* (2002)  
Rand White Paper, *Homeland Security: A Compendium of Public and Private Organizations' Policy Recommendations* (2003)  
Schulhofer, Stephen J., *The Enemy Within: Intelligence Gathering, Law Enforcement, and Civil Liberties in the Wake of September 11*, (2002)  
White, Jonathan R., *Defending the Homeland: Domestic Intelligence, Law Enforcement, and Security*, (2004)  
Swarns and Lipton, "Administration to Drop Effort to Track if Visitors Leave," *The New York Times*, Dec. 15, 2006 (e-reserve)  
Wald, Mathew, "Tighter Rule on Hazardous Rail Cargo is Ready," *The New York Times*, Dec. 15, 2006 (e-reserve)  
Swarns, Rachel L., "Illegal Immigrants at Center of new Identify Theft Crack Down," *The New York Times*, Dec. 14, 2006 (e-reserve)  
Lithwick, Dahlia, "The 2006 Bill of Wrongs," *The Washington Post*, Dec. 31, 2006  
Whitlock, Craig, "Testimony Helps Detail CIA's Post-9/11 Reach; Europeans Told of Plans for Abductions," *The Washington Post*, Dec. 16, 2006 (e-reserve)  
Witte, Griff, "Boeing Wins Deal For Border Security," *The Washington Post*, Sept. 20, 2006 (e-reserve)  
*The Washington Post* and *The New York Times* articles on Dept. of Homeland Security Reorganization, Intelligence, FEMA, etc.

**13b. Paper Presentations & Reflections on Homeland/Transportation Security**  
(April 22)

**14. Paper Presentations and Reflections on Homeland/Transportation Security and the American Governmental System** (April 29)

**15. \*\*Final Versions of Papers are Due on May 6.**