



DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY
UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY
West Point, NY 10996

SS464: Homeland Security
Spring 2006 (Academic Year 2006-2)

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Course Description

SS464: Homeland Security complements several Department of Social Sciences courses on terrorism, part of the newly-dedicated General Wayne A. Downing Terrorism Studies Program, as well as terrorism-related courses in other departments. SS464 and its companion course SS474: Terrorism and Counterterrorism, are the two mandatory courses for West Point's new minor in terrorism studies.

SS464 provides future leaders with a broad understanding of the homeland security challenge. Students learn about the major policy and institutional reforms underway in the homeland security policy area, examine whether these changes are improving or will improve U.S. security, and develop their own views on the direction of national homeland security policy. By the end of the course, students gain a solid intellectual foundation to think critically and creatively about America's efforts to prevent terrorist attacks within the United States, reduce our vulnerability to terrorist attack, and minimize the damage and recover from attacks that may occur.

In spring semester, 2006, SS464 will feature several guest lecturers and a planned two-day trip to Boston, Massachusetts to visit federal, state, local, and private sector homeland security officials and organizations.

As an advanced liberal arts course, SS464 places a premium on informed participation and clear, analytic writing. Graded requirements include class participation, two policy memoranda, a group exercise structured as a mock congressional hearing, lesson and guest lecture synopses, a trip section synopsis, a final paper, and a take-home Term End Exam (TEE).

Course Objectives

- Provide aspiring officers with a thorough understanding of the homeland security challenge, and the manner with which homeland security is similar to, and different from, other national security challenges.

SS464: Homeland Security

- Develop an understanding of how homeland security policy intersects with domestic policy, and the unique challenges that homeland security poses to competing national priorities such as international trade.
- Develop an understanding of the doctrinal foundations of current homeland security policy and how it fits with related but distinct policy areas: combating terrorism, counterproliferation, and homeland defense.
- Develop an understanding of the international dimensions of homeland security policy, and how those dimensions interact with the whole of U.S. foreign policy.
- Foster an appreciation of state, local, and private sector roles and responsibilities in homeland security.
- Develop an understanding of the appropriate role of the military in homeland security.
- Acquire a theoretical and practical understanding of moral, ethical, organizational, legal, fiscal, and cultural challenges to improving homeland security.
- Acquire sufficient perspective and knowledge to critically evaluate whether homeland security policies, individually or cumulatively, pose a risk to American values, civil liberties, or way of life.
- Develop a basic understanding of interagency and intergovernmental processes, and foster an awareness of the skills necessary for military officers to work effectively with civilian counterparts across a broad range of professional disciplines.
- Foster the ability to develop creative approaches to border security, transportation security, intelligence and warning, domestic counterterrorism, critical infrastructure protection, and emergency preparedness and response.
- Develop the ability of aspiring officers to conduct critical analysis, both written and oral, of the issues that are examined in the course.
- Develop an intellectual curiosity that leads towards a lifetime of learning.
- In addition to the course's stated objectives, students will gain some insight into the institution of the presidency, and the organization, operation, and reform of executive branch agencies. Thus, students will find that, in addition to SS474 (Terrorism), SS493 dovetails with SS373 (American Presidency) and SS376 (Organizational and Bureaucratic Politics).

Course Administration

Enrollment and Prerequisites. Students must have previously taken SS202/SS252 and SS307/SS357, unless the instructor approves an exception. Students pursuing the minor in terrorism studies have priority for enrollment. Other students may enroll on a space-available basis, with priority to:

- Students who have successfully completed SS474;

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- Cadets First Class;
- Students who have completed or are enrolled in one or more of the following Department of Social Sciences courses related to national security policy: SS473 (American Foreign Policy), SS478 (Bradley Professor Seminar), SS480 (Public Policy-Making Process), or SS483 (National Security Seminar); and
- Students who demonstrate how SS493 fits into an integrated program of study, particularly students who help broaden the academic diversity in the class. I encourage students majoring in departments other than Social Sciences to take this course as a complement to the academic work for your major.

Preparation and Participation. This course is organized as a seminar, which means that daily participation is essential to understanding the readings and developing your knowledge of homeland security policy. A seminar requires involvement from all participants, and you are expected to attend class and speak regularly. Careful reading will be necessary for informed participation. If you keep up with the syllabus, then you will find this course both educational and enjoyable.

Writing. An important objective of this course is to develop your ability to write solid, coherent argumentative papers. Quality of writing, including style and structure, will account for a substantial portion of your grade on written assignments. I recommend the following:

- After writing an outline or first draft, talk through your paper and argument with a peer. This practice will help greatly clarify your thoughts, and substantially improve your writing. You must cite your peer's assistance in the acknowledgements section.
- Ask a talented peer to proofread your final drafts. You must cite their assistance in the acknowledgements section, and turn in any drafts that your peer marked-up when you turn in the assignment.
- Seek additional instruction (AI), not later than three days prior to the due date.

I strongly recommend that you invest \$7.95 and purchase a copy of William Strunck, Jr. and E.B. White, *The Elements of Style*, Fourth Edition (Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon, 2000). It is an indispensable reference for writers of all skill levels.

Instructor Office Hours. I am available for AI in our classroom immediately after each SS464 class. I also hold 1245-1340 free every day in order to be available for AI on a drop-in, first come/first served basis (though it's usually best to send me an email or give me a call in the morning, in case I've committed time to another student or have a mandatory event or appointment that I must attend).

Website. SS464 is administered online. The instructor frequently will post questions related to news or policy developments for classroom discussion. Students must check the site prior to each lesson.

Department of Social Sciences Grading Policy

Level of Achievement	Letter Grade	Percentage	Subjective Interpretation
<i>Mastery</i>	A+	97-100	Mastery of concepts. Can apply concepts to new situations.
	A	93-96.9	
	A-	90-92.9	
<i>Excellence</i>	B+	87-89.9	Solid understanding of concepts. Strong foundation for future work.
	B	83-86.9	
	B-	80-82.9	
<i>Proficiency</i>	C+	77-79.9	Acceptable understanding.
	C	73-76.9	Questionable foundation for future work.
<i>Marginal Proficiency</i>	C-	70-72.9	Doubtful understanding.
	D	67-69.9	Weak foundation for future work.
<i>Failure</i>	F	<67	Definitely failed to demonstrate understanding.

Department of Social Sciences Late Assignment Policy. The Department of Social Sciences policy is to penalize late assignments ten percent (a full letter grade) per day. I will grant extensions, in advance, only in exceptional circumstances. Under no circumstances are computer problems an acceptable excuse for a late submission. Cadets must complete all assignments to pass the course.

Attendance. Attendance in class and guest lectures is a requirement. If you must miss a class, *notify the section marcher (not your instructor) prior to class* and provide a reason for your absence. Section marcher will report attendance at the start of each class.

Participation in Trip Section. Participation in the trip section is required, unless the instructor approves otherwise 4 weeks prior to the trip (this is due to the coordination required for funding, hotel rooms, and trip events). Please make appropriate arrangements at the beginning of the course to ensure your availability to participate.

Section Marcher Responsibilities. Prior to class, turn-on the overhead projector and computer. Just prior to class start, report the reason for any planned absences or late arrivals. Ensure students who are absent or late are informed about requirements or guidance discussed in class, and promptly receive any materials distributed in class. After class, ensure boards are erased, classroom is clean and orderly, and overhead projector is turned off.

Required Texts

Stephen Flynn, *America the Vulnerable: How our Government is Failing to Protect us from Terrorism*, (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 2004).

Philip B. Heyman, *Terrorism Freedom and Security: Winning Without War* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2003).

Russ Howard, Joanne Moore, and James Forest, eds., *Homeland Security and Terrorism: Readings and Interpretations* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2005).

Mark A. Sauter and James Jay Carafano, *Homeland Security: A Complete Guide to Understanding, Preventing, and Surviving Terrorism*, (New York, NY: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 2005).

National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States, *The 9/11 Commission Report: Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States*. (New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2004).

Michael E. O'Hanlon, Peter R. Orszag, Ivo H. Daalder, I. M. Destler, David L. Gunter, James M. Lindsay, Robert E. Litan, James B. Steinberg, *Protecting the American Homeland: One Year On* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2002).

Block 1: Understanding the Challenge – Nature of the Threat

Block 1 examines the nature of the threat posed by terrorists and global terrorist networks, particularly those which have or seek the capability to carry out catastrophic attacks. The intent of Block 1 is not to build an in-depth understanding of particular terrorist groups, motivations, tactics, or history (SS474: Terrorism and Counterterrorism is the Department of Social Sciences course that explores these issues), but rather to consider the threat from a "net assessment" perspective. Just as experts and officials, beginning in the late 1940s, considered how the nature of the nuclear weapons threat changed the international security environment and American foreign policy and national security policy, we pursue a similarly broad perspective with respect to the new (and permanent) strategic reality of catastrophic terrorism. What are the important characteristics of the terrorist threat that America and other nations face in the foreseeable future? How do these characteristics shape homeland security policy?

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Course Introduction

Readings:

1. Alexander Hamilton, *Federalist Paper No. 8: The Effects of Internal War in Producing Standing Armies and Other Institutions Unfriendly to Liberty*, November 20, 1787.
2. Chris Hornbarger, *Welcome to SS464: The State of Homeland Security Entering 2006*, January 2, 2006.
3. Review the syllabus and course website thoroughly, in particular: (1) the requirements for the first three weeks of lessons (below); and (2) the course's graded requirements.
4. Review the *Executive Summary* of the *National Strategy for Homeland Security*. (Focus on the structure and framework of the strategy, not on the specific initiatives listed).

Study Questions:

1. What aspects of Hamilton's argument remain compelling today? What aspects do not?
2. In what ways does America enjoy or not enjoy an "insular situation" similar to that which Hamilton describes of Great Britain?
3. Reflecting on both assigned essays, what are some of the difficult choices Americans face in how to best protect the country from terrorism?
4. Considering the structure and objectives of the National Strategy for Homeland Security, describe the rationale for the way this course is structured?

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The Next Attack?

Readings:

1. Stephen Flynn, *Chapter 2: The Next Attack in America the Vulnerable: How our Government is Failing to Protect us from Terrorism*, (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 2004): 17-35.
2. Graham Allison, "Introduction" in *Nuclear Terrorism: The Ultimate Preventable Catastrophe*, (New York, NY: Times Books, 2004): 1-15.

Study Questions:

1. As you go through the Flynn and Allison readings, identify as many specific problems for which a solution, mitigation, or countermeasure might prevent, or lessen the chances of success, of the attack scenarios that Flynn and Allison describe.
2. Use the *lesson 2 worksheet* to list as many of these specific problems as you can, categorizing them in one of the columns (each column corresponds to one of the six critical mission areas in the National Strategy for Homeland Security). Try to list each problem in only one column. Be prepared to turn-in your worksheet.
3. Characterize the number and variety of problems, and the breadth and depth of policy the list embraces.

3
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9/11

Readings:

1. National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States, *Chapter 1: We have Some Planes in The 9/11 Commission Report: Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States*,(New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2004): 1-46.
2. Skim: National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States, *Chapter 9: Heroism and Horror in The 9/11 Commission Report: Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States*,(New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2004): 278-323.

Study Questions:

1. As you did with lesson 2, identify as many specific problems as you can within both chapters.
2. What is common between your lesson 2 list and the list of problems with respect to chapter 1?
3. What is similar and dissimilar between your lesson 2 and chapter 1 lists and your chapter 9 list?

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The Threat: A Net Assessment I

Readings:

1. Alan M. Dershowitz, *Why Terrorism Works*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002): 16-33, 94-103.

2. Anonymous, *Chapter 1: Some Thoughts on the Power of Focused, Principled Hatred in Imperial Hubris*, (Washington, DC: Brassey's Inc., 2004): 1-19.

Study Questions:

1. Is terrorism a viable (not necessarily legitimate) means of pursuing political objectives? Why or why not? Provide examples.
2. What are the key characteristics of the terrorist threat the United States faces in the foreseeable future?

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The Threat: A Net Assessment II

Readings:

1. Richard A. Falkenrath, Robert D. Newman, and Bradley A. Thayer, *Chapter 3: The Threat of Nuclear, Biological, or Chemical Attack by Non-State Actors in America's Achilles' Heel*, (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1998): 167-187.
2. John Parachini, *Putting WMD Terrorism into Perspective* in Russell Howard, James Forest, and Joanne Moore, eds., *Homeland Security and Terrorism*, (New York, NY: McGraw-Hill Inc., 2005): 31-42.
3. Skim: Graham Allison, *Chapter 3: Where Could Terrorists Acquire a Nuclear Bomb* and *Chapter 4: When Could Terrorists Launch the First Nuclear Attack?* in *Nuclear Terrorism: The Ultimate Preventable Catastrophe*, (New York, NY: Times Books, 2004): 61-103.
4. Ernest R. May and Richard E. Neustadt, *Chapter 3: Unreasoning from Analogies* in *Thinking in Time: The Uses of History for Decision Makers*, (New York: The Free Press, 1986): 34-57.

Study Questions:

1. How serious is the confluence of the proliferation and availability of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) material, and the growth of terrorist networks?
2. Using May's and Neustadt's framework, what do you deem are the most important known, uncertain, and presumed facts about the current terrorist threat, and the likenesses and differences (refer to May's and Neustadt's example on pages 40-42) between the current national security threat of catastrophic terrorism, and the national security threats we face or have faced with nation states (e.g.: China, Russia, North Korea, etc.)?

Block 2: Responding to Terrorist Attacks

In Block 2, we dive in to the substance of homeland security. The National Strategy for Homeland Security establishes three objectives; in priority order they are: (1) prevent terrorist attacks within the United States, (2) reduce America's vulnerability to terrorism, and (3) minimize the damage and recover from attacks that do occur. The strategy also establishes six critical mission areas: (1) intelligence and warning, (2) border and transportation security, (3) domestic counterterrorism, (4) critical infrastructure protection, (5) defending against catastrophic threats, and (6) emergency preparedness and response.

The critical mission areas parallel the lifecycle of the terrorist threat, from its genesis beyond our shores, to the execution and aftermath of attacks within the United States. The first three mission areas generally correlate to the first objective; the next two to the second objective; and the last to the third objective.

Block 2 examines the National Strategy's third objective and its corresponding critical mission area. The course follows the structure above, starting from the "inside out" -- doing so exposes students to policies which are more accessible and with which they are most likely to have an existing baseline of understanding. Doing so also best allows us to examine the nature of the homeland security policy area early in the course. Throughout the course, within each critical mission area, we explore such questions as:

- What is the mission area's scope? (breadth of policy, organizations, manpower, resources, statutory authorities, etc.) What does it include? What does it not include?
- How important is the mission area? What should we seek to accomplish?
- What is the status of the Nation's efforts in the mission area? Are we succeeding? Failing? On-course? Off-track?
- What are the current laws and policies relevant to the mission area? Are new laws or policies needed?
- What challenges or impediments make progress difficult in the mission area?
- What policy tools are available to achieve progress in the mission area? What are their costs, benefits, and appropriateness?
- With what other priorities or policies does the mission area intersect or compete? Which are more or less important, and why?
- What should we seek to accomplish within the next year, five years, ten years?

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Emergency Preparedness & Response (EP&R) I: Incident Management

Readings:

1. George W. Bush, Emergency Preparedness and Response in *National Strategy for Homeland Security*, (Washington, D.C.: The White House, July 2002): 41-45.

2. Mark A. Sauter and James Jay Carafano, "Chapter 15: Incident Management and Emergency Management" in *Homeland Security*, (New York, NY: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 2005): 307-329.

3. Richard A. Falkenrath, *Homeland Security and Consequence Management* in *The Challenge of Proliferation, A Report of the Aspen Strategy Group*, Summer 2005: 131-138.
4. Skim: George W. Bush, *Homeland Security Presidential Directive-5 (HSPD-5) – Management of Domestic Incidents* (Washington, DC: The White House, February 28, 2003).
5. Skim: Department of Homeland Security, Chapter IV: Concept of Operations in *National Response Plan* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, December 2004): 14-43.

Study Questions:

1. Describe current US Government policy regarding the organization for and management of domestic incidents.
2. What principles guide current policy?
3. What are the NRP, NIMS, and HSPD-5?
4. Define "incident management" and its subordinate terms "crisis management" and "consequence management."
5. What is the division of federal, state, and local responsibility in emergency response?
6. Characterize the key issues and challenges in designing and implementing policy for incident management?
7. Subscribe to the "Homeland Security Week" newsletter from GovExec.com: (1) go to GovExec.com; (2) in the left margin, click "E-Newsletters;" (3) enter your email address, then scroll down and check "Homeland Security Week;" enter.

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Emergency Preparedness & Response (EP&R) II: Preparedness

Readings:

1. National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States, Staff Statement 13: Emergency Preparedness and Response and State Statement 14: Crisis Management from the Eleventh Public Hearing, in *Staff Statements of the 9/11 Commission*, New York, May 18-19, 2004.
2. Congressional Research Service, *State and Local Homeland Security: Unresolved Issues for the 109th Congress* (Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, June 9, 2005).
3. Skim: Homeland Security Council, *Planning Scenarios: Executive Summaries -- Created for Use in National, Federal, State and Local Homeland Security Preparedness Activities* (Washington, DC: The

White House, July 2004). Read: Scenario 2: Biological Attack - Aerosol Anthrax, and Scenario 10: Natural Disaster - Major Hurricane.

4. Skim: George W. Bush, *HSPD-8 – National Preparedness*, (Washington, DC: The White House, December 17, 2003).

Study Questions:

1. What are the key issues that state and local governments must address to ensure their preparedness for emergencies, both natural and manmade?
2. What is the federal government's role in ensuring national preparedness?
3. What are the current issues regarding federal grants for state and local emergency preparedness?
4. What standards or benchmarks should guide preparedness efforts?

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30 Jan 06

Emergency Preparedness & Response (EP&R) III: Katrina

Readings:

1. The Brookings Institution, Event Transcript of *Hurricane Katrina: Where do We Go From Here?* (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, September 8, 2005): read the Falkenrath and Nivola sections, pp. 1-22, or watch the video of their statements accessible on the website. The remainder of the transcript is recommended but not required reading.

2. US House of Representatives, Committee on Homeland Security, *Hearing on "Federalism and Disaster Response: Examining the Roles and Responsibilities of Local, State, and Federal Agencies,"* October 19, 2005. Read the Bush and Samuel testimony.

Study Questions:

1. What are local government responsibilities in responding to major emergencies? State responsibilities? Federal?
2. What Constitutional issues does Katrina highlight?
3. What were the key failures at each level of government?
4. What reforms and actions may be required in the wake of Katrina?

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1 Feb 06

Military Role in Homeland Security I

Readings:

1. US Department of Defense, *Strategy for Homeland Defense and Civil Support* (Washington, DC: Department of Defense, June 2005): 1-19.
2. US Army Training and Doctrine Command (TRADOC) Deputy Chief of Staff for Intelligence (DCSINT), *Sections I, II, III, and IV* in *TRADOC Handbook No. 1.04: Defense Support to Civil Authorities* (Fort Leavenworth, KS: TRADOC, August 15, 2005): I-1 to IV-10. (Note: in addition to providing a good overview of how the U.S. Army thinks about the homeland security mission, these sections succinctly describe the incident management structures in lesson 6).
3. Chris Hornbarger, *Katrina Lessons-Learned: National Contingency Planning for Domestic Emergencies* (West Point, NY: Department of Social Sciences, USMA, September 23, 2005): read the base memo (pp. 1-7), as well as Tabs A, E, F, and G.

Study Questions:

1. Define and distinguish between "homeland defense" and "homeland security."
2. What are DoD's responsibilities and major policies for the homeland defense mission?
3. What are DoD's responsibilities and major policies for homeland security (or "civil support") missions?
4. What is the functional relationship between DoD, DHS, and other federal agencies with homeland security responsibilities?
5. What are the key DoD organizations with homeland defense and civil support responsibilities?
6. What is Posse Comitatus, and what constraints does it place on the use of military forces for civil support?
7. What is the Insurrection Act, and what does it empower the President to do or not do?
8. What is the Stafford Act, and what does it authorize or require the Department of Defense to do?

Block 3: Understanding the Challenge – Nature of the Homeland Security Policy Area

Having examined the issues and policies associated with emergency preparedness and response, Block 3 explores the specific characteristics of the homeland security policy area, which differs from the traditional national security policy area in important ways. In Block 2, we established a foundation for us to consider how best to organize for and coordinate homeland security policy, questions which we will

continuously revisit throughout the course. In addition, an important objective of SS464 is for future national security leaders to develop an understanding of national policymaking, interagency coordination, and the intersection of domestic policy and foreign policy. Block 3 focuses on this objective.

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3 Feb 06

US National Security Architecture and the Interagency Process

Readings:

1. David Aidekman, *The National Security Act of 1947: Background, History, and Politics*. Unpublished memorandum. (Harvard-Stanford Preventive Defense Project, October 26, 1999): 1-3

2. David Aidekman, *The Goldwater-Nichols Act: History, Background, and Politics*. Unpublished memorandum. (Harvard-Stanford Preventive Defense Project, October 20, 1999): 1-3.

3. Chris Hornbarger, *National Security Act of 1947: Creation and Persistent Criticisms*. Unpublished memorandum. (Harvard-Stanford Preventive Defense Project, February 21, 2000): 1-6.

4. John Deutch, Arnold Kanter; and Brent Scowcroft, with Chris Hornbarger. *Strengthening the National Security Interagency Process*, Chapter 10 in Ashton P. Carter and John P. White, eds., *Keeping the Edge: Managing Defense for the Future*, edited by Ashton B. Carter and John P. White (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2000): 265-284.

Study Questions:

1. What were the primary reasons behind the National Security Act of 1947 and the Goldwater-Nichols Act of 1986?

2. What difficulties or challenges did proponents of both Acts face? How did the military services contribute to or impede the reforms? What compromises were made as a result?

3. How complex was the integration of the military services, as accomplished by both the National Security Act and Goldwater-Nichols? How long has the integration taken?

4. What lessons might we draw from both reform efforts? What lessons might not apply to the current situation? (We will revisit these questions when we examine the two significant acts of institutional reform legislation since 9/11: the Homeland Security Act of 2002, and the Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act of 2004.)

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7 Feb 06

Defining the Homeland Security Policy Area

Readings:

1. Sauter and Carafano, Chapter 12: 237-259.
2. Chris Hornbarger, *National Strategy: Building Capability for the Long-Haul* in Russ Howard, Joanne Moore, and James Forest, eds., *Homeland Security and Terrorism: Readings and Interpretations* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2005): the sections entitled "The Strategic Challenge of Homeland Security" and "What Makes Good Strategy?": 274-287.
3. George W. Bush, *National Strategy for Homeland Security*: read the blue box on p. 5.
4. Review the discussion slides linked below.

Study Questions:

1. Compare the President's constitutional foreign policy and national security powers with his domestic policy powers. What impact does this have on the interaction between the President and the Congress regarding homeland security policy?
2. Compare the domestic policy arena to the foreign policy arena.
3. How do the missions and authorities of the departments and agencies principally charged with national security (in particular, the Department of Defense, Department of State, and CIA) differ from the departments and agencies with important homeland security missions (for example, the Departments of Homeland Security, Justice, and Health and Human Services).
4. Compare the impact of homeland security policy and national security policy on American's daily lives.
5. With what other national priorities must homeland security policy compete?

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Organizing for Homeland Security

Readings:

1. Sauter and Carafano, Chapter 11: 209-234.
2. Ivo H. Daalder and I.M. Destler, *Advisors, Czars and Council: Organizing for Homeland Security* in *The National Interest*, Summer 2002: 1-11.

3. National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States. *The 9/11 Commission Report: Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States*. (New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2004): 419-423.

4. Skim: George W. Bush, *National Strategy for Homeland Security* (Washington, D.C.: The White House, July 2002): v-6, 11-14, 67-70.

Study Questions:

1. What are the key issues regarding the organization for and management of homeland security?
2. What is federalism, and how does it impact how we organize for and manage homeland security? What are the appropriate roles for the federal, state, and local governments?
3. How does the President oversee and coordinate homeland security? What are the Homeland Security Council and the National Security Council, what do they do, and how do they interact with one another?
4. Describe the advantages and disadvantages of the three organizational models Daalder and Destler discuss? Which is best and why? Which model(s) do we currently use?
5. What federal agencies play key roles in homeland security? What other roles do those agencies have? What challenge(s) does this pose?
6. How has Congress organized for homeland security?

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The Homeland Security Act of 2002 and the Department of Homeland Security

Readings:

1. Chris Hornbarger, *National Strategy: Building Capability for the Long-Haul* in Russ Howard, Joanne Moore, and James Forest, eds., *Homeland Security and Terrorism: Readings and Interpretations* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2005): the section entitled “The National Strategy for Homeland Security and the Case for DHS,” 287-293.

2. Siobhan Gorhman, *DHS is Cautionary Tale for New Intelligence Director* in GovExec.com, February 2005.

3. Department of Homeland Security. *Homeland Security Secretary Michael Chertoff Announces Six-Point Agenda for the Department of Homeland Security*, July 13, 2005. Also review the organization chart hyper-linked on that page (approximately 1 page).

4. Skim: United States Congress. *H.R. 5005, the Homeland Security Act of 2002*. Washington, D.C. U.S. Congress, November 25, 2002, Read Section 2, Title I, and Title IX (approximately 2 pp.).

5. Skim: Bush, George W. *The Department of Homeland Security*. Washington, D.C.: The White House, June 6, 2004 (approximately 18 pages less charts, accessible on the White House website: however there are no longer links to it from any other White House website page. If the link above does not work, cut and paste it into your browser and try again).

Study Questions:

1. Describe the rationale behind the President's DHS proposal?
2. What agencies did DHS subsume and why?
3. What are the missions of DHS? What "non-homeland security" missions does the Department have? What challenges does this pose?
4. How did the President propose to organize these agencies? How did the Congress organize them in the Homeland Security Act?
5. What changes did Secretary Chertoff and the Congress make to DHS' structure?

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15 Feb 06

Costs of Homeland Security

Readings:

1. O'Hanlon, Michael E., Peter R. Orszag, Ivo H. Daalder, I. M. Destler, David L. Gunter, James M. Lindsay, Robert E. Litan, James B. Steinberg. 2002. *Protecting the American Homeland: One Year On*. (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2002): 77-98.
2. George W. Bush, *National Strategy for Homeland Security* (Washington, D.C.: The White House, July 2002): 63-66.
3. Chapter 3 (Homeland Security), under Crosscutting Programs in *Analytic Perspectives, Budget of the United States Government*, Fiscal Year 2006, pages 37-53 (actual pages numbers in the document, which correspond to pages 49-64 in Adobe Acrobat). Document is second link down.

Study Questions:

1. How much does the federal government spend on homeland security? On national security?
2. How is homeland security spending apportioned across the six critical mission areas?
3. How is homeland security spending apportioned among federal agencies?
4. How much of the costs of homeland security should the federal government bear? State and local governments? Private sector entities? What principles should we use to apportion the burden?

5. How do we determine how much spending is enough? What factors complicate that determination?

Block 4: Reducing America's Vulnerability to Terrorist Attack

Block 4 examines the National Strategy's second objective and its corresponding mission areas of critical infrastructure protection and defending against catastrophic threats.

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Critical Infrastructure Protection (CIP) I: Overview of the CIP Challenge

Readings:

1. Sauter and Carafano, Chapter 14: 283-304.

2. *National Strategy for the Physical Protection of Critical Infrastructures and Key Assets*, (Washington, D.C.: The White House, February 2003): section entitled "Securing Critical Infrastructures," 35-69.

3. Skim: *National Strategy for Homeland Security* (Washington, D.C.: The White House, July 2002): 29-35.

Study Questions:

1. What are the definitions of "critical infrastructure" and "key assets?"

2. What are the various CIP sectors? How are the CIP sectors similar to one another? How do they differ? What are some of the key characteristics of each? What sorts of assets, public and private, does each infrastructure incorporate?

3. How might the sectors' individual characteristics affect the calculations, plans, and actions of terrorists? How might these characteristics impact protective measures? What challenges do these characteristics, and their variety, pose to government agencies and private sector entities?

4. What are the federal government's CIP responsibilities? What are the responsibilities of state and local governments?

5. Which lead federal agencies are responsible for the various CIP sectors?

6. What principles guide federal CIP strategy, and what CIP initiatives are the federal government pursuing?

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23 Feb 06

Critical Infrastructure Protection II: The Private Sector

Readings:

1. O'Hanlon, Michael E., Peter R. Orszag, Ivo H. Daalder, I. M. Destler, David L. Gunter, James M. Lindsay, Robert E. Litan, James B. Steinberg, Protecting the American Homeland: One Year On (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2002): Chapter 4 (pp. 51-66), Chapter 6 (pp. 77-98), and Appendix A (133-135).
2. Stephen Flynn, America the Vulnerable: 52 (1st paragraph) to 58, 111 to 127, and 130 (2nd paragraph) to 133.
3. Skim: Information Sharing and Advisory Council (ISAC) Council, *A Policy Framework for the ISAC Community: White Paper*, January 31, 2004.

Study Questions:

1. Why is information sharing a key CIP policy issue? What are ISACs, what do they do, and why?
2. What incentives (market or otherwise) do private sector firms have to improve the security of their infrastructure? What disincentives do firms have?
3. What is the "tragedy of the commons?"
4. What liability issues do firms face with respect to CIP?
5. What are negative and positive externalities? How are they relevant to CIP?
6. What are the benefits, costs, and challenges associated with: (1) regulation, (2) insurance and reinsurance, and (3) subsidies?
7. What criteria should the government use to determine where and how extensively to intervene to ensure private sector CIP measures? In what CIP sectors is government intervention most appropriate, and why?
8. How should the cost of CIP efforts be distributed?

17

27 Feb 06

Critical Infrastructure Protection III: Integration

Readings:

1. Chris Hornbarger, *White Paper: Strategic Approach to Critical Infrastructure Protection*, Unpublished.
2. National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States: 344-360.
3. Chris Hornbarger, *National Strategy: Building Capability for the Long-Haul* in Russ Howard, Joanne Moore, and James Forest, eds., *Homeland Security and Terrorism: Readings and Interpretations* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2005): the recommendation on p. 298.

Study Questions:

1. What does "integrating threat and vulnerability" mean? Why is it important?
2. What is "risk shifting," what challenge does it pose to infrastructure protection, and how should we best account for it?
3. What does "institutionalizing imagination" mean? How does it differ from "connecting the dots? How is it best accomplished?
4. Imagine that the US Government had created, prior to 9-11, a scenario that terrorists might fly airliners into large or important buildings -- not because we deemed it likely, or because we had specific intelligence indicating such an attack might be in the works, but simply because an assessment of our aviation infrastructure revealed that such an attack would probably succeed. Could such a scenario have been useful in generating "indicators" for discerning or establishing connections among available information and intelligence? How?

18

1 Mar 06

Defending against Catastrophic Threats I: Nuclear and Radiological Terrorism

Readings:

1. Sauter and Carafano, 153-179.
2. Bill Keller, *Nuclear Nightmares* in *New York Times Magazine*, May 26, 2002.
3. Graham Allison, *Nuclear Terrorism: The Ultimate Preventable Catastrophe* (NY: Times Books), 2004: 19-29; 104-113; 117-120; 211-221; skim: pp. 113-117.

Study Questions:

1. What is the difference between nuclear and radiological weapons? What are their effects?
2. How could terrorists acquire nuclear or radiological weapons? How available are the weapons or the materials needed to make them?
3. How might terrorists manufacture nuclear or radiological weapons? What challenges would they have to surmount?
4. What organizations, policies, and programs does the United States have to combat the threat of weapons of mass destruction?
5. Be prepared to take the chapter quiz on page 179 of Sauter and Carafano.

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3 Mar 06

Defending against Catastrophic Threats II: Biological Terrorism

Readings:

1. Richard Danzig, *Catastrophic Bioterrorism: What Is To Be Done?* (Washington, DC: Center for Technology and National Security Policy, National Defense University, 2003).
2. George W. Bush, *National Strategy for Pandemic Influenza* (Washington, DC: The White House, 2005): 1-12.
3. Skim: George W. Bush, *HSPD-9: Defense of United States Agriculture and Food* (Washington, DC, January 30, 2004).
4. Skim: George W. Bush, *HSPD-10: Biodefense for the 21st Century* (Washington, DC, April 28, 2004).

Study Questions:

1. What factors lead Danzig to assert that bioterrorism warrants exceptional preparation? What is "reload?"
2. What characteristics of bioterrorism differentiate it from other forms of catastrophic terrorism?
3. How might a bioterrorist attack scenario (a single attack or campaign) unfold? How difficult would it be for a terrorist cell to initiate an attack? How would we detect an attack?
4. How would we respond to an attack? What challenges does biological terrorism pose to emergency planners?

5. How significant is the risk and difficulty of false alarms?
6. What organizations, policies, and programs does the United States have to combat biological terrorism?

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7 Mar 06

Defending against Catastrophic Threats III: Combating WMD

Readings:

1. U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, *The Lugar Survey on Proliferation Threats and Responses*, June 2005.
2. Matthew Bunn, Anthony Wier, John P. Holdren, *Controlling Nuclear Warheads and Materials: A Report Card and Action Plan* (The Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, March 2003): 20-31.
3. *Skim: HSPD-4/NSPD-17 - National Strategy for Combating Weapons of Mass Destruction* (unclassified companion to a classified HSPD/NSPD on this subject) (11 Dec 2002).

Study Questions:

1. What are the pillars of the United States' strategy to combat WMD?
2. What are the key components of each pillar?
3. Describe the Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat Reduction Program.
4. What key trends and conclusions do you draw from the Lugar Survey?
5. What steps must a terrorist group go through in order to attack the United States with nuclear or radiological material? What challenges would they face at each step? what countermeasures does the United States have (or should have) at each step?
6. Based on the material and discussions in lessons 18, 19, and 20, what WMD threats do you consider most likely? Most consequential? Prioritize the threats balancing these two factors.

21

9 Mar 06

Military Role in Homeland Security II

Readings:

1. Defense Science Board, *DoD Roles and Missions in Homeland Security: Volume I* (Office of the Undersecretary of Defense for Acquisition, Technology and Logistics: Washington, DC, November 2003): Chapters 4 to 8 (pp. 39-86).

2. Review: *Joint Task Force-Civil Support Command Brief*.

Study Questions:

1. What is Joint Task Force-Civil Support, and what are its mission, authorities, capabilities, higher headquarters and concept of operation?
2. What are DoD's roles and capabilities in deterring and preventing attacks to the sovereign territory of the United States?
3. What are DoD's roles, capabilities, and core competencies in responding to attacks using Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD), and in providing medical surge capacity to domestic authorities?
4. What are WMD-Civil Support Teams, and what are their mission, authorities, capabilities, higher headquarters and concept of operation?

10-19 Mar - Spring Break

Block 5: Preventing Terrorist Attacks within the United States

Block V explores the National Strategy's most important objective -- prevent terrorist attacks -- and its corresponding critical mission areas of border and transportation security, domestic counterterrorism, and intelligence and warning.

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21 Mar 06

Border and Transportation Security (BTS) I: Goods

Readings:

1. Stephen Flynn, *Port Security is Still a House of Cards* in *Far Eastern Economic Review*, January/February, 2006.

2. Stephen Flynn, "Security Maturity," in *America the Vulnerable: How our Government is Failing to Protect us from Terrorism*, (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 2004): 59-80.
3. George W. Bush, *National Strategy for Maritime Security*, (The White House: Washington, DC, Sep 2005): *Section IV: Strategic Actions*, pp. 13-23.
4. Skim: George W. Bush, *National Strategy for Homeland Security*: 21-24 and 59-61.

Study Questions:

1. What is the scope of the challenge countries face in ensuring the security of goods entering and exiting their country? What specific issues or problems must countries address?
2. Describe the international cooperation required to ensure the security of goods.
3. What initiatives has the United States implemented since 9/11 to improve security of cargo? What agencies play important roles?
4. How effective or ineffective are current U.S. policies?
5. Describe the possible effects that a WMD attack using a shipping container would have on the global trading system? What economic impact would result from such an attack?
6. How does the United States implement "risk management" in the targeting and inspection of goods shipments? Is such a strategy sound? What are its weaknesses?
7. What improvements does Flynn recommend?

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23 Mar 06

BTS II: People

Readings:

1. Review the following American Immigration Law Foundation (AILF) websites: (1) *Fencing in Failure*; (2) *Five Myths About Immigration*; and (3) *Beyond the Border Buildup*.
2. National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States, *Staff Statement No. 1: Entry of the Hijackers into the United States in The 9/11 Investigations: Staff Reports of the 9-11 Commission*. New York, NY: Public Affairs, 2004.
3. Don Kerwin, *The Use and Misuse of "National Security" Rationale in Crafting US Refugee and Immigration Policies in International Journal of Refugee Law* (Oxford: Dec 2005, Vol 17, Iss. 4, p. 749).

4. George W. Bush, *National Strategy for Homeland Security*: read the blue box entitled "National Vision" on page 26.

5. Skim: George W. Bush, *Policies in Focus: Securing America Through Immigration Reform*, White House website. Familiarize yourself with the major features of the President's proposals for immigration reform.

Study Questions:

1. What is the scope of the challenge presented by the movement of people (US citizens and permanent residents; visitors; businesspeople; immigrants, both legal and illegal; refugee claimants; asylum seekers, etc.) into and out of the United States?
2. Describe the process that a "non-US person" must go through to enter the United States, stay within the terms of their visa, and exit the United States. Which agencies have responsibility for which steps in the process?
3. How did the 9-11 hijackers navigate this process?
4. Where are the weak links in the process? What are the challenges associated with strengthening those weak links? What policies and programs does the United States use to do so?
5. How has the US Government translated the President's vision for domestic counterterrorism into post 9-11 immigration policies?
6. Describe Don Kerwin's argument. In what ways may current immigration policies be counterproductive for our national security?
7. What competing priorities or interests, in addition to security, must the US balance in designing and implementing immigration policy?
8. What is the effect of federal immigration law and policy on state and local governments?
9. Describe the President's plan for immigration reform. In your opinion, is it a sound proposal? Describe the key criticisms that members of Congress continue to voice.

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27 Mar 06

BTS III: International Cooperation

Readings:

1. George W. Bush, *National Strategy for Homeland Security*: chapter entitled "International Cooperation," pp. 59-61.

2. Congressional Research Service, *US-EU Cooperation Against Terrorism*, 19 Jan 05.
3. Governments of the United States, Canada, and Mexico. *Annex to the Security and Prosperity Partnership Report to Leaders* (Jun 05): read the Traveler Security, Cargo Security, Bioprotection, and Law Enforcement Cooperation action items which begin on page 62.
4. Skim: Governments of the United States and Canada, *Smart Border Declaration* and *Action Plan* (Ottawa, CA, 12 Dec 01).
5. Skim: *G8 Counter-Terrorism Cooperation since September 11*, Kananaskis, Canada, 2002.

Study Questions:

1. Categorize the activities and policies that the United States and other nations must coordinate with one another. What sorts of issues does the list embrace? On the US side, which agencies have roles in these areas?
2. What is the role and importance of law enforcement and intelligence cooperation with other countries? What are the challenges to such cooperation? What sorts of activities and agreements has the US pursued in this area?
3. What is the role and importance of international cooperation in border and transportation security, and what activities and agreements has the US pursued in this area?
4. How do the domestic laws of other countries impact US security? Describe the challenge of ensuring that US law and the laws of other countries are consistent with or complement one another. What factors (constitutional, political culture, state of current relations) contribute to this challenge?
5. How substantial is the international dimension in the homeland security policy area?
6. Compare the public visibility of homeland security-related international cooperation to more traditional foreign policy interactions, such as the decision to invade Iraq, the NATO alliance, counterproliferation, and trade disputes.
7. How does the overall state of the US' relations with another country affect homeland security-related cooperation on specific issues?
8. What aspects of security cooperation within North America (i.e. with Canada and Mexico) are unique? What are the unique challenges of working bilaterally or trilaterally?

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29 Mar 06

Watchlisting and Screening

Readings:

1. National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States. “Staff Statement No. 2: Three 9-11 Hijackers: Identification, Watchlisting, and Tracking” in *Staff Statements of the 9/11 Commission*. (New York, NY: Public Affairs, 2004): 17-31.
2. National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States. *The 9/11 Commission Report: Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States*. (New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2004): 176-182; 353-357; 383-395.
3. FBI, *Fact Sheet: Terrorist Screening Center*, September 16, 2003. (2 pages)
4. George W. Bush, *Homeland Security Presidential Directive-6 (HSPD-6)*, September 16, 2003.
5. Skim: Attorney General, Secretary of State, Secretary of Homeland Security, Director of Central Intelligence, *Memorandum of Understanding on the Integration and Use of Screening Information to Protect against Terrorism*, September 16, 2003. (6 pages)
6. Skim: George W. Bush, *HSPD-11: Comprehensive Terrorism-Related Screening Procedures*, August 27, 2004. (2 pages)

Study Questions:

1. What is “watchlisting?” What is “screening?” What are different methods of screening?
2. The 9-11 Commission makes a variety of recommendations related to screening on pages 383 to 395. What sorts of issues or problems do those recommendations address?
4. What opportunities exist to screen persons? Which of these opportunities are appropriate for such screening?
4. What are the potential downsides of watchlisting and screening? What are the weaknesses and limits of watchlisting and screening as a method of identifying and apprehending terrorists?
5. What do HSPD-6, the MOU on the Integration of Screening Information to Protect Against Terrorism, and HSPD-11 do?
6. Understand the following terms: “US person,” “Terrorist Information,” “Purely Domestic Terrorist Information,” and “Terrorist Related Screening.” Why are these definitions, and particularly the distinctions among them, important?
7. What is the Terrorist Screening Center (TSC)?

8. What effect do the following have on the watchlisting and screening challenge:

- Information sharing
- Agency legal authorities (and associated agency policies) to gather, share, use, and maintain information
- Information technology
- Secure identification
- Biometrics
- Civil liberties
- Efficiency of flows of people
- International cooperation
- Culture

8. What role do biometrics play in watchlisting and screening? What are the challenges associated with biometrics?

9. What are the benefits of international cooperation in watchlisting and screening? What concerns or constraints make such cooperation difficult?

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31 Mar 06

BTS IV: Congressional Hearing on Immigration Policy

See guidance under graded requirements.

27

4 Apr 06

Domestic Counterterrorism I: Evolution of US Counterterrorism Policy & "The Wall"

Readings:

1. National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States. *The 9/11 Commission Report: Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States*. (New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2004): 71-107, 198-214.

2. PBS Frontline, "*The Tools of Counterterrorism*", posted October 16, 2003. Review the laws and policies on this webpage, then read the document linked on the right entitled "*The Role of the Judiciary in the War on Terrorism*."

3. Electronic Privacy Information Center (EPIC), *Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act*, updated 10 Nov 2005: read the section entitled "*Overview of FISA*."

4. Richard A. Falkenrath, *Europe's Dangerous Complacency* in *Financial Times*, July 2004.

Study Questions:

1. How did the US Government's espionage and domestic surveillance authorities and practices change in the early 1970s, and why?
2. What is "The Wall?" What were its causes? Its effects? To what degree were the concerns that contributed to the wall legitimate and important?
3. How did US counterterrorism policy evolve through the 1960s, 70s, 80s, and 90s?
4. What is the CIA Counterterrorist Center (CTC) and what does it do?
5. How has the White House managed counterterrorism policy over time? What is the Counterterrorism Security Group (CSG) and what does it do?
6. How did the George W. Bush Administration approach the terrorist threat prior to 9/11?
7. What is the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act, and what does it do?
8. What is the FISA Court, and how does it function?
9. How important is it to align US counterterrorism law and counterterrorism law in other countries?

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6 Apr 06

Domestic Counterterrorism II: Tools of Counterterrorism

Readings:

1. John S. Pistole, Executive Assistant Director for Counterterrorism & Counterintelligence, FBI, *Statement Before the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States*, 14 Apr 04.
2. George W. Bush, *National Strategy for Homeland Security*: chapter entitled "Domestic Counterterrorism," pp. 25-28.

Study Questions:

1. What sorts of initiatives has the FBI implemented since 9/11 to improve its ability to prevent terrorist attacks?
2. What tools help the FBI and other law enforcement agencies gather information and develop intelligence?
3. What tools help the FBI and other federal, state, and local agencies share information?

4. What tools, policies, and programs enable the FBI's ability to conduct analysis?

9-11 Apr 06 - Trip Section to Boston, MA

29 - 10 Apr 06 - Drop

30 - 12 Apr 06 - Drop

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14 Apr 06

Domestic Counterterrorism III: The USA PATRIOT Act of 2002

Readings:

1. The Century Foundation, *The USA PATRIOT Act: Guide to the Issues* (Washington, DC: The Century Foundation, 2004).

2. US Department of Justice, *The USA PATRIOT Act: Preserving Life and Liberty* on USDOJ's PATRIOT Act website, www.lifeandliberty.gov (Washington, DC: USDOJ, July 2004).

3. Chang, Nancy. "The USA PATRIOT Act: What's So Patriotic About Trampling on the Bill of Rights?" in Howard, Forest, Moore, *Homeland Security and Terrorism*, Chapter 24.

Study Questions:

1. What is the USA PATRIOT Act, and what is it intended to do?
2. What is the rationale, as articulated by the Department of Justice, behind the PATRIOT Act's major provisions?
3. What sorts of secret searches does Section 213 authorize? What is a "sneak and peak" search?
4. What activities does Section 215 authorize? What is a "gag order?"
5. How does the PATRIOT Act update which devices the government is authorized to tap?
6. What is a "roving wiretap?"
7. How does the PATRIOT enable information sharing and break down "the wall?"
8. What are the implications of the Act's changing the standard for search warrants from "the primary purpose" to "a significant purpose" of the investigation?
9. What impact does the Act have on non-US persons?

10. Are there ambiguities in the act that should justifiably cause concern?
11. What are the major civil liberties concerns regarding the Act?
12. What are the "sunset provisions," and should the Congress renew them?

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18 Apr 06

Domestic Counterterrorism IV: Domestic Intelligence and Civil Liberties

Readings:

1. National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States. *The 9/11 Commission Report: Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States*. (New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2004): 423-427.
2. Philip B. Heyman, *Terrorism, Freedom and Security* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2003): 87-90, 133-157.
3. Richard A. Posner, *Preventing Surprise Attacks: Intelligence Reform in the Wake of 9/11* (New York, NY: Rowman and Littlefield, 2005): 163-186; 196-197.
4. US Department of Justice, *The NSA Program to Detect and Prevent Terrorist Attacks: Myth v. Reality*, 27 Jan 06
5. American Civil Liberties Union, *Top Ten Myths About the Illegal NSA Spying on Americans*, Jan 06.

Study Questions:

1. Using the chart on page 88 of the Heyman reading, consider to which regions of the chart you would assign the various domestic counterterrorism measures and policies we've discussed in the border and domestic counterterrorism lessons. Where are the difficult tradeoffs?
2. What are the feasible options for how the United States organizes for domestic intelligence?
3. How did the 9/11 Commission recommend we accomplish the domestic intelligence mission. Why did the Commission reject the MI-5 model?
4. Fill out the chart of government information-gathering authorities on page 144 of the Heyman reading. Be prepared to turn-in your chart.
5. How does Heyman propose to limit the dangers inherent in domestic intelligence gathering?
6. What are the key elements of Posner's argument that the 9/11 Commission should have more closely examined and seriously considered a domestic intelligence agency?

7. In your opinion, is the President's authorization to allow the interception of communications between American citizens at home and terrorist suspects abroad justifiable and necessary?

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20 Apr 06

Terrorist Financing

Readings:

U.S. Department of State, The Global War on Terrorist Finance, Economic Perspectives, Volume 9, Number 3, September 2004. Accessible at: <http://usinfo.state.gov/journals/journals.htm>

Study Questions:

1. What kinds of financial activities and transactions do terrorists carry out in order to fund their operations?
2. How do terrorists use their funds? How much does it cost to finance terrorist activities?
3. How do terrorists raise money?
4. How do terrorists move money? What are hawalas and how do they work?
5. How do terrorists store money?
6. What specific challenges do governments face in combating terrorist financing?
7. What laws, policies, and agencies does the US Government use to combat terrorist financing (including but not limited to Executive Order 13224, Section 341 of the USA PATRIOT Act)
8. What tools does the international community use to combat terrorist financing?
9. What is the private sector's role in combating terrorist financing, and what is the impact of government policies on the private sector?
10. How effective have been US government and international efforts to combat terrorist financing?

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24 Apr 06

Intelligence and Warning (I&W) I: Warning Signs?

Readings:

1. National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States. *The 9/11 Commission Report: Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States*. (New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2004): 254-277.

Study Questions:

1. What elements of data did the US intelligence community gather and analyze in the months leading up to the 9/11 attacks? What types of sources generated this intelligence?
2. To what degree was the data specific? Corroborated? Credible?
3. Characterize how the volume and frequency of threat reporting changed over time.
4. How did senior intelligence officials characterize this intelligence? In what form was the intelligence presented to the President?
5. What actions could the US Government take based on the intelligence it possessed? What actions did the US Government take? What sorts of actions did "domestic" agencies take?
6. What are the PDB, the SEIB, and the CSG? Who has access to or participates in each?
7. How compelling or specific was the 6 August 2001 PDB?
8. Characterize the activity of the CSG in coordinating the government's response.
9. Characterize the coordination between and the actions of the CIA and FBI.
10. What factors impeded information sharing?
11. Reflecting on the entire reading, how difficult is it for the US Government to uncover specific terrorist plots and take action to prevent them? What things needed to go right for the US Government to have prevented 9/11?

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26 Apr 06

Intelligence and Warning (I&W) II: How Intelligence Works

Readings:

1. Richard A. Posner, *Preventing Surprise Attacks: Intelligence Reform in the Wake of 9/11* (New York, NY: Rowman and Littlefield, 2005): 99-125.
2. Review the *US Intelligence Community official website*.

Study Questions:

1. What agencies comprise the "US Intelligence Community?" What are their respective missions?
2. Describe the various types of intelligence used to combat terrorism. What are the sources and collection methods for terrorism intelligence? Describe some of the difficulties in collecting terrorism intelligence.
3. Describe each step in the intelligence cycle.
4. What is the difference between "analysis" and "operations," and why or why not separate the two?
5. What are some of the factors that inhibit information sharing among intelligence agencies, and between intelligence agencies and other agencies?
6. Describe the lulling effect of false alarms.
7. What are some of the difficulties in evaluating the performance of intelligence agencies and intelligence officers?
8. What factors erode the ability and/or willingness of intelligence agencies and officers to provide specific warnings?
9. Characterize the interaction between career intelligence officers and officials at the policymaking levels of government?
10. Describe the effect that cognitive limitations and "group thinking" can have on intelligence analysis.
11. What are the some of the suggestions Posner offers to address the above?

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28 Apr 06

Intelligence and Warning (I&W) III: Preventing Surprise Attacks

Readings:

1. National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States. *The 9/11 Commission Report: Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States*. (New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2004): 339-360.

2. Richard A. Posner, *Preventing Surprise Attacks: Intelligence Reform in the Wake of 9/11* (New York, NY: Rowman and Littlefield, 2005): 73-97 (you may skim the denser mathematical discussions, but exercise care to find and read the conclusions and implications, interspersed with the math, that Posner draws from these discussions).

Study Questions:

1. Both of this lesson's readings refer to Pearl Harbor. Reflecting on the exercise we did in lesson 5, what is applicable from the comparison of 9/11 to Pearl Harbor, and what is not? Implications?
2. Examine the 9/11 Commission reading through the lens of Posner's analysis. What do you think?

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2 May 06

Intelligence and Warning (I&W) IV: 9-11 Commission & the Intelligence Reform Act

Readings:

1. National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States. *The 9/11 Commission Report: Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States*. (New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2004): 399-419.

2. Skim: George W. Bush, *Executive Order 13354: National Counterterrorism Center* (Washington, DC, 27 Aug 2004).

3. Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Government Affairs, *Summary of S.2485, The Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act of 2004* (Washington, DC: THOMAS, 7 Dec 04): pp. 1-4 (Title I through end of Subtitle F); Title VI, Sections 6001, 6002, Subtitles G, I, and J; Title VII, Subtitle B.

Study Questions:

1. What does the 9-11 Commission say are the key flaws in the US intelligence system prior to the Intelligence Reform Act?

2. What are the major recommendations, and the rationale for those recommendations, that the 9-11 Commission makes regarding intelligence?
3. What managerial or organizational principles inform the Commission's analysis?
4. What does Executive Order 13354 accomplish?
5. What does the Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act of 2004 accomplish?
6. What are the key differences between the Intelligence Reform Act and the 9-11 Commission recommendations?
7. How effectively does Title VII, Subtitle B of the Act address the issues we discussed in lesson 25?

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5 May 06

Intelligence and Warning V: Prospects for Implementing Intelligence Reform

Readings:

1. Richard A. Posner, *Preventing Surprise Attacks: Intelligence Reform in the Wake of 9/11* (New York, NY: Rowman and Littlefield, 2005): 25-50; 62-69; 199-208.
2. PBS Online NewsHour, *Margaret Warner Interview with Phil Zelikow and John Deutch* (8 Dec 04) and *Margaret Warner Interview with Phil Zelikow and Robert Gates* (23 Jul 04).

Study Questions:

1. What sorts of difficulties should we anticipate, and what pitfalls and dangers should we guard against, in implementing the Intelligence Reform Act and other institutional reforms discussed in the domestic counterterrorism and intelligence lessons?
2. What are the potential benefits and the potential risks of centralizing intelligence?
3. Evaluate the differing views in this lessons' readings. Which do you find compelling?

Block 6: Course Conclusion

Block 6 ties the course together by considering how best to integrate the issues and policies we have explored throughout the course into a coherent and effective strategy that best protects the nation from terrorism. In block 6, we assess the status of the national effort to date, and consider the way ahead.

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9 May 06

Status of the National Effort and The Way Ahead

Readings:

1. 9/11 Public Discourse Project, *Final Report on 9/11 Commission Recommendations*, (5 Dec 05).
2. 9/11 Public Discourse Project, *Prepared Statement by Thomas H. Kean and Lee H. Hamilton*, (5 Dec 05).
3. Richard A. Falkenrath, *9/11 Commission: A Review of the Second Act* (6 Dec 05).
4. Richard A. Falkenrath, *Grading the War on Terrorism* in *Foreign Affairs* (Jan 06).
5. Michael d'Arcy, Michael O'Hanlon, Peter Orszag, Jeremy Shapiro, and James Steinberg, *Protecting the Homeland 2006/2007* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2006): pages to be assigned.

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11 May 06

Course Conclusion

Graded Requirements

<u>Requirement</u>	<u>Due</u>	<u>Points</u>
Policy Memo 1	15 Feb 06	100
Policy Memo 2	7 Mar 06	150
Congressional Hearing Group Exercise	31 Mar 06	150
Guest Lecture Synopses	TBD	50
Trip Section Synopsis	14 Apr 06	50
Final Paper	28 Apr 06	250
Classroom Participation	N/A	100
Take-Home Term End Exam (TEE)	9 May 06	150
<hr/>		
	Total	1,000

Policy Memo 1

100 points, due 15 Feb 06

Assignment:

You are an advisor in the Secretary of Homeland Security's policy planning staff.

In the wake of Katrina, the Homeland Security Advisor and National Security Advisor are convening a joint Homeland Security Council (HSC)/National Security Council (NSC) Principals Committee (PC) meeting next week, to discuss the appropriate role of military forces in responding to domestic incidents of national significance, and on the appropriate coordinating structures between the Department of Defense and the Department of Homeland Security. The purpose of the PC is to achieve consensus among the HSC and NSC principals on their recommendations to the President, or, if consensus cannot be achieved, to limit the points of disagreement and frame the available options for the President's consideration.

The Secretary asks you for an analysis of the issue and recommendations. This memo is your response to the Secretary's request.

Administrative Requirements:

2-3 pages; single spaced; Times New Roman; one inch margins; no cover page; don't number paragraphs; no page number on page one; include page numbers on pages 2 and up, centered at the bottom of the page. For matters of style, refer to William Strunck, Jr. and E.B. White, *The Elements of Style*, Fourth Edition (Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon, 2000).

Follow the format and guidance in the policy memo format posted on the website (similar to memos prepared in the White House and many government agencies, most of which are usually about three pages, though sometimes longer if appropriate). The website also includes an example of a policy memo written in graduate school. You can include a lot of analysis in 2-3 pages. Your memo should provide analysis and recommendations, not simply summarize facts or issues.

Some Pointers on Writing Effective Policy Memoranda:

You don't necessarily need to satisfy every one of these pointers in your submission, but this list is based on experience and should prove helpful):

- Make it clear why the official is reading the memo.
- State your main point clearly up front.
- Use an effective title.
- Provide up front a "roadmap" for the rest of the memo.
- Use sub-headings that reinforce the "roadmap" and main argument.
- Make your memo as readable and quickly digestible as possible, while still including whatever level of detail and analysis are necessary -- don't oversimplify complex issues.
- Don't just dissect the problem -- provide solutions.
- Show how your recommendations will improve the current situation.
- Don't assume more or less familiarity with the issue than the official is likely to have.
- Think about the full dimensions of the problem.
- Think beyond the present . . . consider the future.
- Don't neglect the politics. Consider opposition.
- Discuss implementation.
- Be wary of adjectives, especially "clearly" and "obviously," which can backfire at the expense of your credibility. What if it's not clear or obvious to the official? If you say that "clearly, action is needed," and the official doesn't act, then you've (a) questioned their judgment, and/or (b)

impugned the quality of your advice. Similarly, rare are the circumstances that you should tell an official that they "must" do something, though there are times when strong recommendations are necessary.

- Consider the consequences of non-action, if appropriate.
- Provide alternatives, if appropriate.

Policy Memo 2

150 points, due 7 Mar 06

Assignment:

You are a staffer in the Emergency Preparedness and Critical Infrastructure Protection Directorate in the Homeland Security Council.

Terrorists successfully execute nearly simultaneous attacks against two privately owned U. S. industrial chemical facilities (using high yield explosives) and a Monday night football game (three suicide bombers). Total casualties approach 5,000 dead and wounded, of which 140 dead and 210 wounded were a result of the suicide bombings. As facts about the attacks emerge, it quickly becomes clear that the key steps that would have had the greatest chance of preventing, deterring or mitigating the attacks would have required action by the private sector owners, not the government.

The President has asked the Homeland Security Advisor to report to him within seven days, and provide specific recommendations on how to compel, require, and/or provide incentives and disincentives to ensure necessary private sector action in the future. The President asks you to do so in a way that will limit significant long-term harm to the domestic economy, nor significantly erode America's global competitiveness.

The Homeland Security Advisor asks you to prepare a memo providing your recommendations, with supporting analysis, for her consideration prior to her meeting with the President.

Administrative Requirements:

3 pages; single spaced; Times New Roman; one inch margins; no cover page; don't number paragraphs; no page number on page one; include page numbers on pages 2 and up, centered at the bottom of the page. For matters of style, refer to William Strunck, Jr. and E.B. White, *The Elements of Style*, Fourth Edition (Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon, 2000).

Follow the format and guidance in the policy memo format posted on the website (similar to memos prepared in the White House and many government agencies, most of which are usually about three pages, though sometimes longer if appropriate). The website also includes an example of a policy memo written in graduate school. You can include a lot of analysis in 2-3 pages. Your memo should provide analysis and recommendations, not simply summarize facts or issues.

Coordinating Requirement:

Since this question involves important economic issues, you need to coordinate your memo with the President's Council of Economic Advisors and the National Economic Council.

For the purpose of this assignment, "coordination" entails contacting an Economics instructor of your choice in the Department of Social Sciences (in person, via phone, or via email), asking them to briefly review your recommendations and provide feedback (in person or via email), and then incorporating their feedback into your final submission. You must effect such coordination not later than 3 March 06. A portion of your grade will reflect the Economic instructor's assessment of how well you incorporated their feedback.

Group Exercise
Congressional Hearing on Immigration Policy

150 points, 31 Mar 06

Assignment:

The Senate Committee on Homeland Security is holding a hearing entitled "Immigration Policy to Secure the Northern and Southern Borders," and has invited four persons to testify: (1) the Assistant Secretary of State for Consular Affairs; (2) the Commissioner of Customs and Border Protection with the Department of Homeland Security; (3) a member of an interest group that favors strict control of illegal immigration through improved physical security along the border, increased interior enforcement, increased penalties and deportations of illegal immigrants, and no temporary worker programs or amnesty programs; (4) a member of an interest group that favors control of the physical border coupled with a temporary worker program, controls over the preventive detention and deportation of non-US persons in violation of their visas, among other policies.

We will divide class into four groups of four to five students each. We will determine the groups on 9 Mar 06. Each group will collectively represent one of the witnesses above. The remaining students will serve as Democratic or Republican members of the Committee. Professor Margaret Stock, Assistant Professor in the Department of Law and an expert on immigration law, will chair the committee.

We will hold the hearing in class on 31 Mar 06. The Chairman will call the hearing to order promptly at the beginning of class. Each group should select one spokesperson to give a 90-second (firm time limit) opening statement, however all members of the group (not just the spokesperson) must participate during the hearing. The Chair will then open the hearing for Committee members to question the witnesses.

Administrative Requirements:

Each group will email a written statement for the record, not longer than 4 pages single-spaced, to the Committee (the instructor, any other faculty members, and students serving as Committee members) not

later than 1500 on 29 Mar 06. You should follow the format of testimony assigned as readings in this course, or may download written testimony from the internet as a guide to format.

We will conduct an "after action review" of the hearing at the start of class on 4 April 06.

Handling Questions and Answers in a Congressional Hearing:

- Show openness and enthusiasm for the chance to answer questions and express your views.
- Anticipate the most obvious and difficult questions and prepare careful answers in advance.
- If possible, refer to your questioner by name or by title (e.g., Madam Secretary, Mr. Chairman, Senator Doe).
- Listen actively with nonverbal cues (nods, smiles, frowns, etc.)
- Pause before answering.
- Be brief, direct, and concerned.
- Always answer honestly.
- Try to restate your key points within your response. While being responsive to the question, make a smooth transition to the main message you want to get across.
- Use concrete examples and brief anecdotes in your answer.
- Don't bluff if you don't know (but keep to a minimum).
- If the answer to a question is classified, or would invade someone's privacy, it's OK to say so. Then bridge to one of your messages.
- Ask for clarification when necessary (but keep to a minimum).
- Protect the record. If a questioner asks you a question based on false data, be sure to protect and, if necessary, correct the record.
- Interrupt rarely and always tactfully.
- Avoid engaging too long with one person.
- Avoid making more than three points at a time.
- Show respect for hostile opposition, but respond with cordial confidence.
- Don't argue, though there are times when a questioner is confrontational and you must "step up" to the situation to maintain control.

- End on a high note, maintaining control.

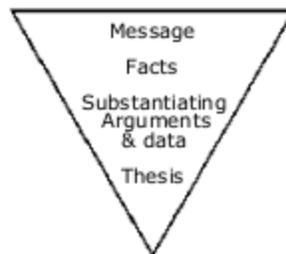
Preparing for a Congressional Hearing or Media Interview:

(The following excerpts are drawn from the US Air Force's media training program.)

Your success is directly tied to the quality of your preparation, your ability to articulate your messages, and the level of control you exercise during the hearing or interview. Don't think that a hearing or interview is a conversation and that you can "wing it." View it instead as an opportunity for you to make a well-developed presentation reflecting research, preparation, and enthusiasm.

Messages. You should never enter a hearing room or do an interview unless you know exactly what you want to say and how you want to say it. You should anticipate the issues and questions and be equipped with short, memorable, positive and relevant messages with which to respond.

Use the "inverted pyramid" to structure your answers:



Tools. Here are some basic techniques you can use to get your messages across:

Bridging is smoothly transitioning from the question asked to your messages. A direct question deserves a direct answer. But then, after briefly touching upon the answer, bridge to your messages and your agenda.

Hooking is taking advantage of opportunities to help focus on what you want to talk about. The idea is to entice the questioner into your agenda.

Flagging is simply a way to underscore, verbally and nonverbally, what's important within your answers. You can use voice inflection, a hand gesture, eye contact, body language or a phrase like, "What is really critical to know about this issue. . . ." to ensure the questioner and audience have a clear understanding of what you think is important.

Personal credibility is never forgetting that you are the expert - that's why the committee has invited you to testify, or the media has come to you for an interview. Use your personal knowledge and experience to avoid speaking in the abstract. If you can say "I've talked to the men and women manning our southwest border . . ." or "I have personal experience within my family with the difficulty of legally immigrating to the United States" ... do it. Critics will never be shy about their credentials - neither should you.

Guest Lecture Synopses

You will complete two 2-3 page guest lecture synopses during the semester. Your instructor will determine which lectures you synopsise, with consideration of your preferences. Each is worth 25 points.

Follow the [guest lecture synopsis format](#), below, which includes guidance on the intent and substance of the assignment. This format is similar to that for policy memos prepared in the National Security Council and Homeland Security Council.

Email me your synopses prior to the next class following the guest lecture, and provide me a paper copy in class.

22 March 2005

Memorandum for: MAJ Chris Hornbarger
From: Student name
Subject: **Guest Lecture Synopsis: Dr. John Doe,
Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Consular Affairs**

Dr. John Doe, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Consular Affairs, gave a guest lecture to a joint assembly of SS493: Homeland Security, SS376: Bureaucratic Politics, and SS473: American Foreign Policy, from 1245-1340 on Tuesday, 22 March 2005 in Robinson Auditorium. Dr. Doe, MAJ Smith, and MAJ Hornbarger and approximately 40 cadets attended the lecture.

Overview of Lecture and Classroom Discussion

Provide a reasonably comprehensive summary of the guest's lecture or presentation and classroom discussion, highlighting the key points and issues.

This section should be about one half to two-thirds of a page. Normal conventions of style apply – in particular, if your overview should appropriately be divided into several paragraphs, then do so! (Common student tendency is to assume that because this is one section, then it should be one endless, unstructured paragraph). As with all writing, substance and readability drive format, not the other way around. Assume that you are writing this memo for a senior official, and he or she is quickly reviewing your memo in the sedan on the way to a meeting with the guest lecturer. Therefore, while your analysis should be thoughtful and compelling, your prose and format should be rapidly digestible.

Analysis

Analyze (don't summarize!) the lecture and class discussion, relating it to the readings, other guest lecturers, and previous lessons in the course. It may be worthwhile to articulate how the guest lecturer's perspective or comments complemented or differed from other views we've considered or discussed. The intent of the analysis section is for you to synthesize and think critically about the guest lecture within the context of everything we have learned in the course so far.

This section should be no more than two pages long. It is frequently useful to divide this section into subsections with headings. For instance, if you wish to highlight three key issues, you may structure your analysis around three sections formatted as follows.

A Bioterrorist Attack Will Not Be Localized Like Katrina. Provide your analysis, which could be several paragraphs.

Significant Danger that "Copy Cat" Attacks Will Increase Over Time. Provide your analysis.

While Technology May Provide Solutions, Current Research Efforts are Insufficient. Provide your analysis.

Conclusion

Do not merely summarize what you just said (i.e. a redundant, "throw away" conclusion). The following questions may be appropriate, though others may be more appropriate depending on the substance of the lecture and your analysis: What are the implications or broader significance of the lecture and your analysis? What does your analysis say about current policy? What are the implications of your analysis for how we should shape or change policy moving forward? If you were to make recommendations to senior officials or to the public based on your analysis, what would they be?

Trip Section Synopsis

Administrative Requirements: You will complete a 2-3 page synopsis of the trip section. Prepare your synopsis in Army memorandum format. Unlike the guest lecture synopses, you may structure the substance of your synopsis in any manner you wish, the guiding principle being that you should adopt the structure that best communicates what you want to say. While you may find it necessary to provide a summary overview of the events and officials we visited, keep it very succinct (perhaps bulletize). I'm going on the trip too, so I will know where we went, who we saw, and what we discussed. As with the guest lecture synopsis, I want to read your analysis, synthesized with everything you have learned in the course to date.

Email me your synopsis prior to the due date, and provide me a paper copy in class.

Final Paper

Administrative Requirements: 7-9 pages, Times New Roman, 12-pitch (no less than 11 pitch), one inch margins, double spaced (no less than 1.5 line spacing). Normal Academy standards (cover page, name in header, etc.), except don't bind your paper in a "brown bomber. "

Additional guidance to be announced.

Classroom Participation

This course is organized as a seminar, which means that daily participation is essential to understanding the readings and developing your knowledge of homeland security policy. A seminar requires involvement from all participants, and you are expected to attend class and speak regularly. Careful reading will be necessary for informed participation. If you keep up with the syllabus, then you will find this course both educational and enjoyable.

Take-Home Term End Exam (TEE)

Format and guidance to be announced on 2 May 06