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Office Hours: Wed 2-5:00; Fri 2:15-3:15; 5-6:00
(or by appointment)

SIS-653/419
Wednesday
Ward 5
5:30-8:00PM

Homeland Security

Homeland security occupies a unique place at the interface of national and international security as well as domestic and foreign policy decision-making. It has many dimensions, ranging in diversity from vaccine development, to border fence building, and efforts to secure air travel, sea containers and critical infrastructures. Homeland security responsibilities and jurisdictions are divided among federal, state and local governments, in addition to the private sector. The purpose of the course is to help students develop a better understanding of the complex set of actors, institutions, processes and issues that constitutes the realm of homeland security.

The syllabus is divided into three main sections. The first part focuses on the nature of the threats to homeland security, especially those posed by Jihadi terrorists with potential access to weapons of mass destruction. The second part examines how the federal government reorganized its homeland security capacities after the 9/11 attacks in an attempt to strengthen both interagency (across one level of government) and intergovernmental (across all levels of government) coordination mechanisms. The third part looks at homeland security from a functional perspective, focusing on preventive and protective measures against terrorist attacks as well as emergency preparedness for catastrophic incidents (including natural disasters). Throughout the course, particular emphasis will be put on how political decision-making structures and cultures have influenced and shaped homeland security responses in the United States and other Western liberal democracies.

Learning Objectives:

- 1) Understanding of homeland security definitions, trends, and issues, as well as scholarly and policy debates about them.
- 2) Assessment of natural and man-made threats to U.S. homeland security.
- 3) Knowledge of key actors, institutions, and processes involved in homeland security decision-making and implementation.
- 4) Analysis of contemporary homeland security policy issues using knowledge of legal contexts, practical challenges (e.g. allocation of finite resources), and understanding of political processes and cultures.

Learning Outcomes:

Students will be able to:

- ✓ Describe, analyze and evaluate the relationship between the executive and legislative branch, in addition to other key actors (e.g. state and local, bureaucratic), in the homeland security realm.
- ✓ Conduct research on and critically examine contemporary homeland security issues applying knowledge of political processes and practical restraints; synthesize relevant literature; present the varying perspectives and issue policy recommendations.
- ✓ Identify, define/describe, and explain prominent homeland security concepts, themes, theories, and issues, and critically compare and contrast them.

Books available at the Campus Bookstore:

Michael D'Arcy et al, ed., *Protecting the Homeland 2006/2007*, 2nd edition (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2006).

Donald Kettl, *System Under Stress: Homeland Security and American Politics*, 2nd edition (Washington DC: CQ Press, 2007).

Michael Chertoff, *Homeland Security: Assessing the First Five Years* (University of Pennsylvania, 2009).

Clark Kent Ervin, *Open Target* (Palgrave MacMillan, 2007).

Case Studies: Cases are available via the John F. Kennedy School of Government case program website at <http://www.ksgcase.harvard.edu/> and the Georgetown University Institute of the Study of Diplomacy website at <http://www.guisd.org/>

Note: All other readings listed on the syllabus will be available on Blackboard.

Grading Policy and Standards:

Attendance is mandatory. If you miss a class due to an illness you are expected to inform the professor before class and provide a note. All students are expected to participate actively in class sessions.

Graduate Students

Participation: 20%

Policy Memo/Issue Analysis Assignments (2-3 pages):* 35%

Briefing: 15%

Research Paper (18-20 pages): 30% (**due April 28, 2010, at 10:00 pm, email to hellmuth@american.edu**)

Undergraduate Students:

Participation: 15%

Short Case Study Assignments:* 30%

Longer Paper (10-15 pages): 30% (due April 14, 2010, at the beginning of class)

Final Exam: 25% (April 28, 2010, 5:30-8:00pm)

*Late assignments and papers will be assessed a penalty.

Case Study/Policy Analysis Assignments: All students will submit five case study/policy memo assignments during the course of the semester. These will serve as a basis for in-class discussions and are due at the beginning of class. Assignments will be emailed by the professor the week before they are due.

Instructions for Research Papers: All paper topics must be approved by professor. A list of suggested topics will be provided.

Instructions for Graduate Briefings: Each graduate student will brief the class on a homeland security- related issue/argument. Oral presentations are supposed to last 15 minutes. Further details will be posted on Blackboard. Topics will be chosen on Wednesday, January 20, 2010.

ACADEMIC INTEGRITY CODE:

All students must adhere to the Academic Integrity Code (<http://www.american.edu/provost/registrar/regulations/reg80.cfm>). As the code states, “By enrolling at American University and then each semester when registering for classes, students acknowledge their commitment to the Code. As members of the academic community, students must become familiar with their rights and their responsibilities. In each course, they are responsible for knowing the requirements and restrictions regarding research and writing, examinations of whatever kind, collaborative work, the use of study aids, the appropriateness of assistance, and other issues. Students are responsible for learning the conventions of documentation and acknowledgment of sources. American University expects students to complete all examinations, tests, papers, creative projects, and assignments of any kind according to the highest ethical standards, as set forth either explicitly or implicitly in this Code or by the direction of instructors.”

DISABILITIES:

If you experience difficulty in this course for any reason, please don't hesitate to consult with me. In addition to the resources of the department, a wide range of services is available to support you in your efforts to meet the course requirements. If you qualify for accommodations because of a disability, please notify me in a timely manner with a letter from the Academic Support Center or Disability Support Services so that we can address your needs.

Academic Support Center (x3360, MGC 243) offers study skills workshops, individual instruction, tutor referrals, and services for students with learning disabilities. Writing support is available in the ASC Writing Lab or in the Writing Center, Battelle 228.

Counseling Center (x3500, MGC 214) offers counseling and consultations regarding personal concerns, self-help information, and connections to off-campus mental health resources.

Disability Support Services (x3315, MGC 206) offers technical and practical assistance with accommodations for students with physical, medical, or psychological disabilities.

EMERGENCY PREPAREDNESS

In the event of a declared pandemic (influenza or other communicable disease), American University will implement a plan for meeting the needs of all members of the university community. Should the university be required to close for a period of time, we are committed to ensuring that all aspects of our educational programs will be delivered to our students. These may include altering and extending the duration of the traditional term schedule to complete essential instruction in the traditional format and/or use of distance instructional methods. Specific strategies will vary from class to class, depending on the format of the course and the timing of the emergency. Faculty will communicate class-specific information to students via AU e-mail and Blackboard, while students must inform their faculty immediately of any absence due to illness. Students are responsible for checking their AU e-mail regularly and keeping themselves informed of emergencies. In the event of a declared pandemic or other emergency, students should refer to the AU Web site (www.prepared.american.edu) and the AU information line at (202) 885-1100 for general university-wide information, as well as contact their faculty and/or respective dean's office for course and school/ college-specific information.

Homeland Security Challenges: Definitions, Strategy, and Threats

WEEK 1: Introduction and Overview

Wednesday, January 13, 2010

- D'Arcy et al, Chapter 1.
- Kettl, Chapter 1.
- Kent Ervin, Chapter 1.
- Christopher Bellavita, "Changing Homeland Security: What is Homeland Security?" *Homeland Security Affairs* (June 2008).
- Derek Riecksts, "Letter to the Editor," (in response to Bellavita) *Homeland Security Affairs* (October 2008).
- White House, *Homeland Security Strategy*, October 2007.

AT ISSUE: What is Homeland Security?

WEEK 2: The Nature of the Terrorism Threat

Wednesday, January 20

- Chertoff, Chapters 1 and 2.
- D'Arcy, Chapter 8.

- Bruce Hoffman, “Defining Terrorism,” in *Inside Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006).
- Marc Sageman, “The Normality of Global Jihadi Terrorism,” *The Journal of International Security Affairs* (Spring 2008).
- Ahmed Hashim, “Al-Qaida: Origins, Goals, and Grand Strategy,” in David Kamien, ed., *The McGraw-Hill Homeland Security Handbook* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2006).
- Bruce Hoffmann, “The Logic of Suicide Terrorism,” *The Atlantic Monthly* (2003).
- Peter Zimmerman and Jeffrey Lewis, “The Bomb in the Backyard,” *Foreign Policy* (2006).
- John Parachini, “Putting WMD Terrorism Into Perspective,” *The Washington Quarterly* (2003).
- William Rose, Rysia Murphy, and Max Abrahms, “Correspondence: Does Terrorism Ever Work? The 2004 Madrid Train Bombings,” *International Security* (2007).

AT ISSUE: What are the challenges posed by Jihadi Islam, suicide and WMD terrorism?

ORGANIZING FOR HOMELAND SECURITY

WEEK 3: The Department of Homeland Security

Wednesday, January 27

- Kettl, Chapter 3.
- Chertoff, Chapters 6 and 13.
- I.M. Destler and Ivo Daalder, “Advisors, Czars, and Councils: Organizing for Homeland Security,” *The National Interest* (2002).
- Charles Perrow, “The Disaster After 9/11: The Department of Homeland Security and the Intelligence Reorganization,” *Homeland Security Affairs* (2006).
- Christopher Shays, “Congressional Oversight over Homeland Security and the Dynamics of Appropriation,” in Kamien, *The McGraw-Hill Homeland Security Handbook* .
- Norman Ornstein and Thomas Mann, “When Congress Checks Out,” *Foreign Affairs* (2006).
- Susan Glaser and Michael Grunwald, “Department’s Mission Was Undermined From Start,” *Washington Post*, December 22, 2005.
- Stephen Flynn, “Homeland Insecurity,” *The American Interest* (May/June 2009).
- Jacob Shapiro and Dara Kay Cohen, “Color Blind: Lessons from the Failed Homeland Security Advisory System,” *International Security* (2007).
- “Department of Homeland Security” in *Encyclopedia of Global Terrorism and the War on Terror* (Nashville, TN: Diversion Press, Forthcoming Winter 2010).
- Dorle Hellmuth, “The Creation of the Department of Homeland Security,” National War College Case Study (2004)

AT ISSUE: Did inter-branch power struggles undermine homeland security coordination? What is the most effective coordination model?

WEEK 4: Intelligence Reform

Wednesday, February 3

- *The 9/11 Commission Report*, excerpts.
- Amy Zegart, “Our Clueless Intelligence System,” *Washington Post*, July 8, 2007.
- Paul Pillar, “Intelligent Design? The Unending Saga of Intelligence Reform,” *Foreign Affairs* (2008).
- “Transcript of Speech Delivered by Richard Posner,” *Washington Post*, March 30 2006.
- Uri Bar-Joseph and Rose McDermott, “Change the Analyst and Not the System,” *Foreign Policy Analysis* (2008).
- Charles Perrow, “The Disaster After 9/11: The Department of Homeland Security and the Intelligence Reorganization,” *Homeland Security Affairs* (April 2006).
- Richard Posner, “Intelligence: The Job the FBI Can’t Do,” *Hoover Digest* (2006).
- John Arquilla, “It Takes a Network,” *Los Angeles Times*, August 25, 2002.
- Stewart Baker, “Wall Nuts: The Wall Between Intelligence and Law Enforcement Is Killing Us,” *Slate.com*, December 31, 2003.
- Richard Falkenrath, “The 9/11 Commission Report,” *International Security* (2004).
- Dorle Hellmuth, “Intelligence Reform,” National War College Case Study (2005).
- Kirsten Lundberg, “Credible Warnings or False Alarms: What the US Knew on September 10, 2001,” Kennedy School of Government Case Program (2002).

AT ISSUE: How well did organizational reforms address the perceived failures that led to the 9/11 attacks?

PREVENTION OF TERRORIST ATTACKS

WEEK 5: Patriot Act, NSA Surveillance Program, and FISA Reform

Wednesday, February 10

- Stephen Schulhofer, *Rethinking the Patriot Act* (Washington, DC: Century Foundation, 2005), chapters 2 and 3.
- Senate Judiciary Committee, “National Security Letters: The Need for Greater Accountability and Oversight,” Statement of Gregory Nojeim, April 23, 2008.
- Charles Stimson and Andrew Grossman, “National Security Letters: Three Important Facts,” *Heritage Foundation WebMemo*, March 14, 2008.
- Patrick Radden Keefe, “Five Myths About the New Wiretapping Law,” *Slate.com*, June 25, 2008.
- Daniel Prieto, “War About Terror,” *Council on Foreign Relations Working Paper* (February 2009), chapter 2 (“Framing the Debate: Civil Liberties and National Security”)
- Yale University School of Law Symposium, “Warrantless Wiretaps,” in Loch Johnson and James Wirtz, ed., *Intelligence and National Security* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).
- Louis Fisher, “NSA Eavesdropping: Unchecked or Limited Presidential Power,” in Ralph Carter, ed., *Contemporary Cases in U.S. Foreign Policy* (Washington, DC: CQ, 2008).

AT ISSUE: Civil Liberties under fire? Benjamin Franklin famously noted that, “those who are willing to trade civil liberties for temporary security, deserve neither.” What is the appropriate balance between civil liberties and security powers? How can/should executive power be checked?

WEEK 6: Border, Container, and Transportation Security

Wednesday, February 17

- D’Arcy et al, Chapters 5 and 7.
- Chertoff, Chapter 3.
- Kent Ervin, Chapters 2-5.
- James Giermanski, “Container Security: Is the Layered Approach Working?” *CSOonline*, June 25, 2008.
- David Peterman, Bart Elias, and John Frittelli, “Transportation Security Issues for the 110th Congress,” *CRS Report for Congress*, January 22, 2008.
- Jens Hainmueller and Jan Lemnitzer, “Why Do Europeans Fly Safer?” *Terrorism and Political Violence* (October 2003).
- Anthony Fainberg, “The Terrorist Threat to Inbound U.S. Passenger Flights: Inadequate Government Response,” *Homeland Security Affairs* (January 2009).
- Government Accountability Office, “Supply Chain Security: Challenges to Scanning 100 Percent of U.S. Bound Cargo Containers,” Testimony (June 2008).
- Bert Tussing, “New Requirements for a New Challenge: The Military’s Role in Border Security,” *Homeland Security Affairs* (October 2008).

AT ISSUE: How efficient and effective are US border security initiatives?

WEEK 7: Homegrown Terrorism

Wednesday, February 24

- Alan Krueger, “What Makes a Terrorist,” *The American* (November/December 2007).
- Robert Leiken, “Europe’s Angry Muslims,” *Foreign Affairs* (2005).
- Peter Bergen, “Safe at Home,” *New York Times*, December 13, 2008.
- Alexander Ritzmann, “The Fairytale of the Poor and Angry Terrorists,” *AICGS Advisor*, May 25, 2007.
- James Jay Carafano, “U.S. Thwarts 19 Terrorist Attacks Against America Since 9/11,” *Heritage Foundation Backgrounder* No. 2085, November 13, 2007.
- NYPD, “Radicalization in the West: The Homegrown Threat,” (New York: NYPD, 2007).
- Tom Maley, “The London Terrorist Attacks of July 7, 2005,” in James Forest, ed., *Countering Terrorism and Insurgency in the 21st Century* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007).
- Rogelio Alonso, “The Madrid Attacks on March 11: An Analysis of the Jihadist Threat in Spain and Main Counterterrorism Measures,” in Forest, *Countering Terrorism and Insurgency in the 21st Century*.

- Aaron Danis, “Al Qaeda’s Surveillance Offensive Against America, 2000-2003: Implications for US Homeland Countersurveillance,” in Forest, *Countering Terrorism and Insurgency in the 21st Century*.

AT ISSUE: Why do Bergen and Ritzmann reach such different conclusions?

WEEK 8: Guantanamo

Wednesday, March 3

- Stephanie Cooper Blum, “Preventive Detention in the War on Terror: A Comparison of How the United States, Britain, and Israel Detain and Incapacitate Terrorist Suspects,” *Homeland Security* (October 2008).
- Harvey Rishikof, “A National Security Court,” *PPI Memo to the New President*, January 15, 2009.
- Nigel Inkster et al., “Europe, Guantanamo, and the War on Terror: An Exchange,” *Survival* (June/July 2008).
- “Taking Sides: Has the U.S. Detention and Trial of Accused Foreign Terrorists Been Legally Unsound?” in John Rourke, ed., *Clashing Views in World Politics* (New York: McGraw Hill, 2010).
- Daniel Kempton and Matthew Rossow, “The Extraordinary Rendition of Abu Omar: Ethics and the War on Terror,” Georgetown University Case Study (2008).
- Daniel Prieto, “War About Terror,” *Council on Foreign Relations Working Paper* (February 2009), chapter 3 (“Detention and Interrogation”).
- Linda Cornett and Mark Gibney, “The Rights of Detainees: Determining the Limits of Law,” in Carter, *Contemporary Cases in U.S. Foreign Policy* (2008).

AT ISSUE: Are U.S. detention and interrogation policies legally unsound?

WEEK 9: NO CLASS

Wednesday, March 10

PROTECTION: REDUCING VULNERABILITIES

WEEK 10: Protecting Critical Infrastructures

Wednesday, March 17

- D’Arcy et al, Chapter 4.
- Chertoff, Chapters 7 and 8.
- Kent Ervin, Chapters 6 and 9.
- John Moteff, “Critical Infrastructures: Background, Policy, and Implementation,” CRS Report for Congress, updated October 10, 2008.
- Philip Auerswald et al., “The Challenge of Protecting Critical Infrastructure,” *Issues in Science and Technology* 22:1 (2005).

- Richard Love, “Cyberthreat Continuum,” in Maryann Cusimano Love, ed., *Beyond Sovereignty: Issues for a Global Agenda* (Belmont: Thomson Wadsworth, 2007).
- Larry Wortzel, “Securing America’s Critical Infrastructures: A Top Priority for the Department of Homeland Security,” in Russell Howard et al., ed., *Homeland Security and Terrorism* (New York: McGraw Hill, 2006).
- Veronique de Rugy, “What does Homeland Security Spending Buy?” *AEI Working Paper #107*, October 29, 2004 (updated April 1, 2005).

AT ISSUE: How vulnerable are critical infrastructures to physical and cyber attacks? What is the status of public-private sector coordination? How are critical assets identified and resources allocated?

EMERGENCY PREPAREDNESS AND RESPONSE

WEEK 11: The Role of State and Local Governments

Wednesday, March 24

- D’Arcy et al, Chapter 6.
- Kettl, Chapter 4.
- Kent Ervin, Chapter 8.
- Paul Stockton, “Beyond the HSC/NSC Merger: Integrating States and Localities into Homeland Security Policymaking,” *Homeland Security Affairs* (January 2009)
- Martin O’Malley, “Preparing a City for Terrorism,” in David Kamien, ed., *The McGraw-Hill Homeland Security Handbook* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2006).
- William Finnegan, “The Terrorism Beat: How is the NYPD Defending the City?” *The New Yorker*, July 25, 2005.
- Ashton Carter, Michael May and William Perry, “The Day After: Action Following a Nuclear Blast in a U.S. City,” *The Washington Quarterly* (2007).
- Kevin D. Eack, “State and Local Fusion Centers: Emerging Trends and Issues,” *Homeland Security Affairs* (2008).
- W.C. Banks, “Troops Defending the Homeland: The Posse Comitatus Act and the Legal Environment for a Military Role in Domestic Counter Terrorism,” *Terrorism and Political Violence* (January 2002).

AT ISSUE: How well do the different levels of government coordinate their homeland security efforts? Do state and local governments have access to enough resources and information to get the job done?

WEEK 12: Hurricane Katrina

Wednesday, March 31

*** Tentative: Guest Speaker from the U.S. Coast Guard ***

- Arnold Howitt, “Hurricane Katrina (C): Responding to an “Ultra-Catastrophe” in New Orleans,” John F. Kennedy School of Government Case Program (2008).
- Michael Grunwald and Susan Glasser, “Brown’s Turf Wars Sapped FEMA’s Strength,” *Washington Post*, December 23, 2005.

WEEK 13: Pandemics

Wednesday, April 7

- Chertoff, Chapter 12.
- Michael Osterholm, “Unprepared for a Pandemic,” *Foreign Affairs* (March/April 2007).
- Government Accountability Office, “Influenza Pandemic,” Report (June 2008).
- George Avery et al., “Planning for Pandemic Influenza: Lessons from the Experiences of Thirteen Indiana Counties,” *Journal of Homeland Security and Emergency Management* (2009).
- Edward Liu, “Would an Influence Pandemic Qualify as a Major Disaster under the Stafford Act?” CRS Report for Congress, October 20, 2008.
- Michael Wilkerson, “Back to School with Swine Flu,” *Foreign Policy* (August 2009).
- Dark Winter Exercise, Excerpts.
- White House, *National Strategy for Pandemic Influenza*, November 1, 2005.

AT ISSUE: Are federal, state and local governments prepared for a global pandemic?

WEEK 14: International Cooperation and Best Practices

Wednesday, April 14

- Chertoff, Chapter 13.
- D’Arcy, Chapter 3.
- Jeremy Shapiro and Daniel Byman, “Bridging the Transatlantic Counterterrorism Gap,” *Washington Quarterly* (Autumn 2006).
- Wyn Rees and Richard Aldrich, “Contending Cultures of Counterterrorism: Transatlantic Divergence or Convergence,” *International Affairs* (2005).
- Dana Priest, “Help from France Key in Covert Operations,” *Washington Post*, July 3, 2005.
- “Overt Difficulties for the Police,” *Economist*, September 11, 2008.
- Michael Jacobsen, *The West at War* (Washington DC: Washington Institute of Near East Policy, 2006), excerpts.
- Dorle Hellmuth, “German and U.S. Domestic Counterterrorism Responses: Only Half a World Apart,” *AICGS Transatlantic Perspectives* (Washington, DC: American Institute for Contemporary German Studies, June 2009).

AT ISSUE: Are US and European threat perceptions and homeland security approaches vastly different or similar? What is the status of international homeland security cooperation?

WEEK 15: Assessment and Conclusion

Wednesday, April 21

- Kettl, Chapter 7.
- Timothy Noah, “Why No More 9/11s?” *Slate.com* (Feb 25 - March 5, 2009), all eight essays, available at <http://www.slate.com/id/2208971/>
- John Mueller, “Is There Still a Terrorist Threat? The Myth of the Omnipresent Enemy,” *Foreign Affairs* (September/October 2006).
- Stephen Flynn, “America the Resilient,” *Foreign Affairs* (2008).
- Paul Light, “The Homeland Security Hash,” *The Wilson Quarterly* (2007).
- Clark Kent Ervin, “The Status of U.S. Counterterrorism and Homeland Security,” *Foreign Policy Research Institute E-Note*, March 2007.
- Dorle Hellmuth, “Taking Stock of Terrorism: The Bush Counterterrorism Legacy and Remaining Challenges for Obama,” (with Frank Gadinger) *AICGS Policy Report #41* (Washington, DC: AICGS, December 2009).

AT ISSUE: Has the terrorist threat diminished eight years after the 9/11 attacks? If so, is there is a direct correlation between the terrorist threat and homeland security practices?

*******FINAL RESEARCH PAPER DUE: WEDNESDAY, APRIL 28, 2009, 10:00 PM
EMAIL TO HELLMUTH@AMERICAN.EDU*******