



PubPol 495.003: Counterterrorism Strategy and Policy

Fall 2023

Instructor:	Javed Ali, Associate Professor of Practice alimust@umich.edu (email) 3227 Weill (office location) 1220 Weill (class location)
Instructor Office Hours:	Mondays, Wednesdays 10:30am-12:30pm ET
Course Term:	Mondays, Wednesdays: 1:00pm-2:20pm ET 15-week session 28 August 2023 – 6 December 2023

Introduction/Description. Counterterrorism strategy and policy in the United States has ebbed and flowed over the last several decades as a result of changes in the terrorist threat landscape, the development of new counterterrorism tools, resources, and capabilities, and the introduction of counterterrorism authorities and legislations. Still, there are gaps and seams in the existing US counterterrorism architecture, and new threats emerge, old ones recede, and other national security priorities rise in prominence.

This class is designed to provide a foundational overview of US counterterrorism policy and strategy stretching back thirty years contrasted with an ever-changing threat environment over distinct stretches beginning with the Clinton administration. **As a result, it does not focus exclusively on a particular terrorist threat nor one particular policy or counterterrorism approach.** Rather, it provides a more holistic perspective that looks across the combination of threats and US policy choices so students can appreciate the tough choices made at particular moments, and the short- and long-term implications that resulted.

Joan and Sanford Weill Hall, 735 South State Street
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48109-3091

T: 734 764-3490 F: 734 763-9181
www.fordschool.umich.edu





Course Learning Objectives. The course has four key objectives and students will: a) assess the features of the US counterterrorism enterprise, key definitions and authorities, and legal foundations; b) examine the complex terrorist threat phenomenon to the United States and compare and contrast different terrorist adversaries; c) evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of different counterterrorism approaches over the last thirty years; and, d) develop practical analytic, writing, and oral presentation skills relevant to national security career fields.

Course Grading: This class encompasses several graded components to include: two policy memos of various style and format; four summaries of course themes and materials; a class presentation that involves teamwork and collaboration with other students; and, in-class participation and engagement.

Class participation	10%
Summary memos	20%
Policy assessment panels	20%
Policy memos	<u>50%</u>
	100%

Class participation, engagement, and attendance: Given the seminar-based format for the class, active student participation is essential in order to: a) express comprehension of assigned reading and lecture material; b) offer perspectives, comments, and questions guest speakers; and c) engage in cross-student discussion and reflection. This component of the class grade (10%) will be based on my assessment of student engagement in these criteria, which may include “cold-calling” on students. Instructor-directed questions to students based on submitted questions for panels, or questions about administrative or syllabus-related details, **will not be counted as participation activity under** this framework.

In addition, I will be paying close attention to individual levels of engagement and focus. **Signs of a lack of student focus or distractions with electronics are observable and noticeable.** If patterns persist early in the semester **I reserve the option to institute an electronics ban** that will affect the entire class outside of when necessary for presentations. Such a ban will then only be lifted if a noticeable improvement occurs subject to my assessment.

While attendance is not formally part of the participation grade, absences in class eliminate opportunities to learn, participate, and develop bonds with fellow classmates, and is something students will have to consider when not attending. **In addition, the following schema sets forth grade deductions for attendance absences without prior notification to me in writing via email.** This is a professional standard that is common in workplace environments.

0-1 unexcused absences No grade deduction



2-3 unexcused absences	5% grade deduction
4-5 unexcused absences	10% grade deduction
6-7 unexcused absences	15% grade deduction
8-9 unexcused absences	20% grade deduction
10-11 unexcused absences	25% grade deduction
12-13 unexcused absences	30% grade deduction

Summary memos: Four summary memos that answer questions provided in the syllabus for different themes and topics will be required at 9am on modules 3, 5, 8, and 12. **Each memo will be worth 5% individually for a total of 20% of the class grade.** Memos will be submitted in Canvas and should consist of at least 500-600 words and answer questions based on a comprehension of assigned readings, lecture material, and any outside research. Memos will not be reviewed for grammar, style, and punctuation but rather on the basis of substantive comprehension. **Memos submitted after 9am until 12pm will be docked 25%; memos submitted after 12pm will not receive a grade since the purpose of this assignment is to think critically about relevant themes in advance and be prepared to discuss them during class.**

Summary memo #1 due 9am, Monday September 11
Summary memo #2 due 9am, Monday September 25
Summary memo #3 due 9am, Wednesday October 18
Summary memo #4 due 9am, Monday November 13

Student Panels: Five student panels will be convened during **modules 7, 10, 12, 14, and 15** that explore the counterterrorism approaches adopted by each administration starting with Clinton in 1993 and ending with Biden in the current time frame. Students on each panel will provide oral presentations and take either a “pro” or “con” position on a particular administration’s counterterrorism approach. Students should examine which counterterrorism tools—such as large-scale military operations, surgical ground raids, airstrikes, law enforcement disruptions, intelligence activities, foreign aid and training, renditions, detention programs, economic sanctions, or travel restrictions—that were applied in each administration and why they were or were not successful. Non-panel participants will propose questions for the panelists and submit a one-paragraph pro or con summary on their views for each administration. **These submissions are due by 9am the day of each class** to corresponding weekly Student Panel assignment files that will be created in Canvas.

The size of the pro and con teams will depend on the overall number of students in the class, and students will be assigned to the different panels and pro/con teams in each panel based on an ordinal distribution. ***As a result, students will not have a choice on which panel or which side of the pro/con debate they ultimately fall but each student will only be on one panel during the semester.***



Student panel dates:

Panel #1: Wednesday, October 11 (Clinton Administration 1993-2001)

Panel #2: Wednesday, November 1 (Bush Administration 2001-2009)

Panel #3: Wednesday, November 15 (Obama Administration 2009-2017)

Panel #4: Wednesday, November 29 (Trump Administration 2017-2021)

Panel #5: Wednesday, December 6 (Biden Administration 2021-)

Timing: Each student will have up to five to seven minutes individually to present their position via a powerpoint presentation within the pro or con team, with a maximum of 15 to 20 minutes total for each team collectively. The instructor will then pose questions to the panelists based on student submissions and other sources.

Grading: Students operating in teams will be evaluated on their oral presentation skills, adherence to the recommended presentation format, and research and preparation for their “pro” or “con” assessment. Following the panel presentations, other students in class will engage in a question-and-answer session with the assembled student panel. Approximately 15% of this grade will be determined by the student’s performance on their assigned panel and 5% (4 panels x 1.25%) will be based on preparation as audience members on the non-assigned panels. As an audience member, each student will submit in advance a one paragraph summary (three to four-sentences) of their “pro” or “con” position for the selected administration and at least one question via the assigned panel-specific files in Canvas at 9am the day of each panel. **Summaries submitted after 9am until 12pm will be docked 25%; those submitted after 12pm will not receive a grade since the purpose of the summaries and questions is to think critically about panel themes in advance and be prepared to discuss them during class.**

Policy Memos: Two different writing assignments will be required, with different formats, structures, and grading requirements. Collectively these will equal 50% of the total grade (25% + 25%). These memos will be due at the beginning of class on October 4 and December 8 submitted via memo-specific files created in Canvas. **Absent a medical or family emergency that is communicated in writing, or a documented medical accommodation form, no extensions will be granted prior the due date.** Substantively, there is no “right or wrong answer” regarding the selected topics in these two assignments. **However, students will be evaluated in their ability to: write cogently and concisely; present a logical argument within a coherent memo structure that will be provided two weeks in advance; and minimize grammatical or spelling errors and avoid colloquial expressions.** Students will be expected to conduct research to support their assessments beyond the material listed in the course readings, and details on all the potential issues are available through Internet-based sources from major newspapers like the *New York Times* and *Washington Post*; a variety of national security-related periodicals and websites; academic and research organizations; and US government publications and documents.



Memos will be singled-spaced in 12-point Times New Roman font, in MS Word .doc format (not Adobe .pdf format) with bolded text to designate headers between key sections and footnotes or endnotes to support factual references.

- Policy Memo #1 (Due at the beginning of class, Wednesday, October 4): Conduct an in-depth assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of a US department or agency involved in counterterrorism efforts (e.g., DoD, FBI, DHS, State Department, Treasury Department, CIA, ODNI, etc.) and provide a single policy recommendation that can enhance its approach in the future.
- Policy Memo #2 (Due at the beginning of class, Friday December 8): Compare and contrast the counterterrorism strengths and weaknesses within a single administration's four-year term beginning with Clinton in 1993 and provide a bottom-line evaluation of that administration's track record.

Required Texts: There are no required textbooks for the course. However, required material is provided for each class based on publicly available documents via the Internet, and some weeks include additional readings that can supplement the main ones. Required readings will also be provided in Canvas a week before each class so students can access them through that platform. In addition, students can familiarize themselves with a rich history of literature on US national security decision-making and counterterrorism via recommended bibliographies for both topics, and a comprehensive list of PBS *Frontline* documentaries. Those lists are provided at the end of the syllabus.



Ford School Inclusivity Statement: Members of the Ford School community represent a rich variety of backgrounds and perspectives. We are committed to providing an atmosphere for learning that respects diversity. While working together to build this community we ask all members to:

- share their unique experiences, values and beliefs
- be open to the views of others
- honor the uniqueness of their colleagues
- appreciate the opportunity that we have to learn from each other in this community
- value one another's opinions and communicate in a respectful manner
- keep confidential discussions that the community has of a personal (or professional) nature
- use this opportunity together to discuss ways in which we can create an inclusive environment in Ford classes and across the UM community

Ford School Public Health Protection Policy: In order to participate in any in-person aspects of this course--including meeting with other students to study or work on a team project--you must follow all the public health safety measures and policies put in place by the State of Michigan, Washtenaw County, the University of Michigan, and the Ford School. Up to date information on U-M policies can be found [here](#). It is expected that you will protect and enhance the health of everyone in the Ford School community by staying home and following self-isolation guidelines if you are experiencing any symptoms of COVID-19, have been exposed to someone with COVID-19, or are awaiting a test result because of symptoms. If you do not have a verified COVID-19 vaccine report in the U-M vaccination report system, you are required to participate in [weekly testing](#) if you intend to come to campus for any reason.

Student Mental Health and Wellbeing: The University of Michigan is committed to advancing the mental health and wellbeing of its students. We acknowledge that a variety of issues, both those relating to the pandemic and other issues such as strained relationships, increased anxiety, alcohol/drug problems, and depression, can directly impact students' academic performance and overall wellbeing. If you or someone you know is feeling overwhelmed, depressed, and/or in need of support, services are available.

Kristen Carney, LMSW is an embedded counselor within the Ford School. She is available to meet with Ford School students in-person or via remote access using Zoom. You may reach her at krisca@umich.edu. In addition, you may access other counselors and urgent services at [Counseling and Psychological Services \(CAPS\)](#) and/or [University Health Service \(UHS\)](#). Students may also use the Crisis Text Line (text '4UMICH' to 741741) to be



connected to a trained crisis volunteer. You can find additional resources both on and off campus through the [University Health Service](#) and through [CAPS](#).

Accommodations for Students with Disabilities: If you believe you need an accommodation for a disability, please reach out to U-M [Services for Students with Disabilities \(SSD\)](#) office to help determine appropriate academic accommodations and how to communicate about your accommodations with your professors. Any information you provide will be treated as private and confidential.

Academic Integrity: The Ford School academic community, like all communities, functions best when its members treat one another with honesty, fairness, respect, and trust. We hold all members of our community to high standards of scholarship and integrity. To accomplish its mission of providing an optimal educational environment and developing leaders of society, the Ford School promotes the assumption of personal responsibility and integrity and prohibits all forms of academic dishonesty, plagiarism and misconduct. Academic dishonesty may be understood as any action or attempted action that may result in creating an unfair academic advantage for oneself or an unfair academic advantage or disadvantage for any other member or members of the academic community. Plagiarism involves representing the words, ideas, or work of others as one's own in writing or presentations, and failing to give full and proper credit to the original source. Conduct, without regard to motive, that violates the academic integrity and ethical standards will result in serious consequences and disciplinary action. The Ford School's policy of academic integrity can be found in the [MPP/MPA](#), [BA](#), and [PhD Program](#) handbooks. Additional information regarding academic dishonesty, plagiarism and misconduct and their consequences is available at: <http://www.rackham.umich.edu/current-students/policies/academic-policies/section11#112>

Use of Technology: Students should follow instructions from their instructor as to acceptable use of technology in the classroom, including laptops, in each course. All course materials (including slides, assignments, handouts, pre-recorded lectures or recordings of class) are to be considered confidential material and are not to be shared in full or part with anyone outside of the course participants. Likewise, your own personal recording (audio or video) of your classes or office hour sessions is allowed only with the express written permission of your instructor. If you wish to post course materials or photographs/videos of classmates or your instructor to third-party sites (e.g. social media), you must first have informed consent. ***Without explicit permission from the instructor and in some cases your classmates, the public distribution or posting of any photos, audio/video recordings or pre-recordings from class, discussion section or office hours, even if you have permission to record, is not allowed and could be considered academic misconduct.***



**Please review additional information and policies regarding academic expectations and resources at the Ford School of Public Policy at:
<https://intranet.fordschool.umich.edu/academic-expectations>**



SYLLABUS

Module #1 – August 28 & 30

Class Overview and Counterterrorism Prioritization

Summary: This module involves student and instructor introductions and explores the class schedule, grading schema and assignments, and instructor expectations. It then examines legacy and historical challenges for US counterterrorism, and how where this mission now fits within the overall US national security landscape.

Assignments: (none)

Questions:

1. How would you evaluate strengths and weaknesses of US counterterrorism efforts since 9/11?
2. What has been the US focus on counterterrorism relative to other national security priorities?
3. Do you think counterterrorism has become more or less important under the Biden administration?

Readings: Graff, Garrett. “After 9/11, the US Got Almost Everything Wrong.” 8 September 2021. 12 pages.
<https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2021/09/after-911-everything-wrong-war-terror/620008/>

Module #2 – September 6

Terrorist Threats and Adversaries

Summary: This module examines the variety of different terrorist threats the United States has confronted since the 1970s. It compares and contrasts different groups and their ideologies, motivations, and intent, and capabilities.

Assignments: (none)

Questions:

1. How has the terrorist threat to the United States evolved over the past fifty years?
2. What terrorist threats have endured and which diminished over time?
3. What terrorist threat is currently the most concerning and why?



Readings: Kraft, Michael. "Chapter 1: Overview of the Terrorist Threat from Nixon to Trump." *US Counterterrorism*. First Edition, Boca Raton: CRC Press. 2018. 18 pages.
(Instructor will provide .pdf)

Rappaport, David. "The Four Waves of Rebel Terrorism and 9/11." *Journal of Generative Anthropology*, Vol 7, No 1. Spring/Summer 2002. 20 pages.
<http://anthropoetics.ucla.edu/ap0801/terror/>

Module #3 – September 11 & 13

Counterterrorism Authorities and Tools

Summary: This module examines how terrorism is defined under US law. It then explores various US legal authorities that proscribe terrorist activity or allow US government counterterrorism action.

Assignments: Summary memo #1 due 9am, Monday September 11

Questions:

1. Before 9/11, how would you describe the evolution of US counterterrorism authorities?
2. In the post-9/11 era, what do you think has been the most far-reaching or effective counterterrorism authority (e.g., legislation, executive order, internal White House document, etc.)?
3. In the post-9/11 era, what do you think has been the most far-reaching or effective counterterrorism tool (e.g., special operations raids, drone strikes, intelligence collection, economic sanctions, etc.)?

Readings: Kraft, Michael. "Chapter 2: Terrorism Definitions, Sanctions, and Legislation." *US Counterterrorism*. First Edition, Boca Raton: CRC Press. 2018. 34 pages.
(Instructor will provide .pdf)

Module #4 – September 18 & 20

Counterterrorism Roles and Responsibilities



Summary: This module provides a broad overview of the US counterterrorism enterprise, different roles and responsibilities across the Federal government, and the financial implications of counterterrorism spending.

Assignments: (none)

Guest speaker: TBD, Monday September 18

Questions:

1. How would you best describe the current orientation of US counterterrorism?
2. In your opinion, which department has the most important role in US counterterrorism?
3. What aspect of US counterterrorism do you find most controversial and why?

Readings: Levitt, Matthew. "Rethinking US Efforts on Counterterrorism." *Washington Institute for Near East Policy*. 9 March 2021. 22 pages.
<https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/rethinking-us-efforts-counterterrorism-toward-sustainable-plan-two-decades-after>

Module #5 – September 25 & 27 Role of the National Security Council

Summary: This module examines how counterterrorism policy has been managed in the National Security Council (NSC) both before and after the 9/11 attacks. It provides a comparative overview of the different individuals who have held the senior role coordinating and developing counterterrorism policy and strategy in the NSC. It also compares/contrasts the different counterterrorism strategy documents produced across since the 1990s.

Assignments: Summary memo #2 due 9am, Monday September 25

Questions:

1. What are your main observations of the Trump-era 2018 counterterrorism strategy?
2. What are your main observations of the Biden-era 2022 international terrorism strategy?



3. Do you agree with the Biden administration's decision not to publish a public-facing counterterrorism strategy similar to the ones from Bush, Obama, and Trump?

Readings: National Strategy for Counterterrorism. *White House*. October 2018. 34 pages.
(Instructor will provide .pdf)

National Security Memorandum 13. *White House*. October 2022. 18 pages.
(Instructor will provide .pdf)

Module #6 – October 2 & 4

Clinton Administration Counterterrorism, 1993-1997 (*Policy Memo #1 due)

Summary: This module examines counterterrorism strategy and policy during the Clinton Administration from 1993-1997. Case studies involving the 1993 World Trade Center bombing and the 1995 Bojinka plot will be highlighted.

Assignments: Policy memo #1, due 1pm Wednesday, October 4

Questions:

1. What were the key features of the Clinton Administration's counterterrorism policies during this first term?
2. What was the single most significant counterterrorism success and setback?
3. Who were some of the key individuals involved in jihadist attack plots in the mid-90s?

Readings: "Chapter 3 – Counterterrorism Evolves." *9/11 Commission Report*. 2004. 37 pages.
(Instructor will provide .pdf)

"Chapter 4 – Responses to al Qaeda's Initial Assaults." *9/11 Commission Report*. 2004. 36 pages.
(Instructor will provide .pdf)



Module #7 – October 9 & 11

**Clinton Administration Counterterrorism,
1997-2001 (Student panels begin)**

Summary: This module examines counterterrorism strategy and policy during the Clinton Administration from 1997-2001. Case studies involving the 1998 East Africa Embassy bombings and the 2000 *USS Cole* attack will be highlighted.

Assignments: **Clinton Administration 1993-2001 panel, Wednesday October 11**
(pro/con summary responses and questions due 9am October 11)

Questions:

1. What were the key features of the Clinton Administration's counterterrorism policies during its second term?
2. What was the single most significant counterterrorism success and setback?
3. What was the administration's approach to al-Qa'ida prior to 9/11?

Readings: Badey, Thomas. "US Anti-Terrorism Policy: The Clinton Administration." *Contemporary Security Policy*. Vol 19, No 2. 1998. 22 pages.
(Instructor will provide .pdf)

Falkenrath, Richard. "Problems of Preparedness: US Readiness for a Domestic Terrorist Attack." *International Security*. Vol 25, No 4. Spring 2001. 41 pages.
(Instructor will provide .pdf)

"Hunting al Qaeda." *PBS Frontline*. 4 November 1999. (70 minutes)
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rOtZJ00KLIs>

Module #8 – October 18

9/11 Plot Case Study

Summary: This module examines the series of events overseas and inside the United States from the late 1990s to the al-Qa'ida attacks on 9/11.

Assignments: Summary memo #3 due 9am, Wednesday October 18

Questions:

1. Who were some of the key individuals involved in the 9/11 plot, and what were their backgrounds and motivations?



2. What were some of the policy gaps and seams in the US national security enterprise that were exploited on 9/11?
3. Given the state of US counterterrorism at the time, should 9/11 have been prevented?

Readings: "Chapter 5 – Al Qaeda Aims at the Homeland." *9/11 Commission Report*. 2004. 26 pages.
(Instructor will provide .pdf)

"Chapter 8 – The System Was Blinking Red." *9/11 Commission Report*. 2004. 24 pages.
(Instructor will supply .pdf)

Module #9 – October 23 & 25

Bush Administration Counterterrorism, 2001-2005

Summary: This module examines counterterrorism strategy and policy during the Bush Administration from 2001-2005. It explores the dilemmas the administration faced following the 9/11 attacks, and some of the policy decisions including the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, the creation of the Department of Homeland Security, intelligence community reforms, and other counterterrorism-related topics.

Assignments: (none)

Guest speaker: TBD, Monday October 23

Questions:

1. What were the key features of the Bush administration's 2003 national counterterrorism strategy?
2. Do you agree with the document's emphasis on promoting democracy as a key element of US counterterrorism at the time?
3. Were the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan an extension of that strategy, and do you think this was an overly broad interpretation of counterterrorism?

Readings: National Strategy for Combating Terrorism. *White House*. February 2003. 32 pages.
(Instructor will provide .pdf)



“In Search of al Qaeda.” *PBS Frontline*. 21 November 2002. (55 minutes)
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BlhQ1cc3EbQ>

**Module #10 – October 30 & November 1 Bush Administration Counterterrorism,
2005-2009**

Summary: This module examines counterterrorism strategy and policy during the Bush Administration from 2005-2009. It explores how the administration changed direction on key issues like the global fight against al-Qa’ida, and the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan based the lessons learned and setbacks from the previous four years.

Assignments: **Bush Administration 2001-2009 panel, Wednesday November 1**
(pro/con summary responses and questions due 9am November 1)

Questions: 1. What were the noticeable differences between the administration’s national counterterrorism strategies between 2003 and 2006?
2. What were some of the key features of the 2006 national counterterrorism strategy?
3. Do you think the United States was overly focused on Iraq and less focused on Afghanistan during Bush’s second term?

Readings: National Strategy for Combating Terrorism. *White House*. September 2006. 29 pages.
(Instructor will provide .pdf)

“Bush’s War – Part One.” *PBS Frontline*. 24 March 2008. (2 hours, 25 minutes).
<https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/film/bushswar/>

**Module #11 – November 6 & 8 Obama Administration Counterterrorism,
2009-2013**

Summary: This module examines counterterrorism policy and strategy during the Obama Administration from 2009-2013. It compares the key differences between the administration’s approach to counterterrorism from the previous administration. It also examines the impact of the death of



former al-Qa'ida leader Usama bin Laden on that group and US counterterrorism strategy overall.

Assignments: Summary memo #4 due 9am, Monday November 6

Questions:

1. What did you think was the biggest accomplishment with the raid that killed former al-Qa'ida leader Usama bin Laden in May 2011?
2. What do you think was the biggest political, diplomatic, intelligence, or operational risk with that raid?
3. What were the key features of the administration's counterterrorism strategy published in June 2011?

Readings: Graff, Garrett. "I've Never Been Involved in Anything as Secret as This." *Politico*. 30 April 2021. 25 pages.
<https://www.politico.com/news/magazine/2021/04/30/osama-bin-laden-death-white-house-oral-history-484793>

National Strategy for Counterterrorism. *White House*. June 2011. 28 pages.
(Instructor will provide .pdf)

"Kill/Capture." *PBS Frontline*. 6 July 2011. (53 minutes)
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Q7VMSSkPV1g>

Module #12 – November 13 &15

Obama Administration Counterterrorism, 2013-2017

Summary: This module examines counterterrorism policy and strategy during the Obama Administration from 2013-2017. It also explores how the administration confronted the rise of ISIS and what approaches were used to combat the group. It concludes with the policy panel that examines the Obama Administration's counterterrorism track record.

Assignments: **Obama Administration 2009-2017 panel, Wednesday November 15** (pro/con summary responses and questions due 9am November 15)

Questions:

1. What were the noticeable differences between the Obama Administration's counterterrorism strategies between the first and second terms?



2. What was the single most significant counterterrorism success and setback?
3. How did the administration react to the Arab Spring and the rise of ISIS?

Readings:

Johnsen, Dawn. "When Responsibilities Collide: Humanitarian Intervention, Shared War Powers, and the Rule of Law." *Houston Law Review*. Vol 53, No 4. 2016. 48 pages.
(Instructor will provide .pdf)

"The Secret History of ISIS." *PBS Frontline*. 17 May 2016. (53 minutes)
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2wY_URYzvw8

Module #13 – November 20

**Obama Administration Counterterrorism,
2009-2017**

Summary:

This module will examine Obama-era counterterrorism case studies like ISIS directed or inspired attacks in Europe and the United States during 2015.

Assignments:

(none)

Readings:

The Attacks on Paris: Lessons Learned. Quinn Williams LLC. June 2016. 32 pages.

https://publicpolicy.pepperdine.edu/hsac/content/hsac-paris-lessons-learned_whitepaper.pdf

Finnegan, William. "Last Days—Preparing for the Apocalypse in San Bernardino." *The New Yorker*. 14 February 2016. 21 pages.

<https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2016/02/22/preparing-for-apocalypse-in-san-bernardino>

Questions:

1. What were the differences and similarities between 2015 Paris and San Bernardino attacks?
2. What were some of the missed signs and clues in the run-up to those attacks?
3. What were some of the policy implications from them?



Module #14 – November 27 & 29

**Trump Administration Counterterrorism,
2017-2021**

Summary: This module examines counterterrorism strategy and policy during the Trump Administration beginning in 2017. It compares the key differences between the administration's approach to counterterrorism from the Bush and Obama Administrations. It explores how the administration confronted the ISIS threat following the Obama Administration's earlier efforts. It ends by assessing the challenges posed by domestic terrorism in the last two years of the administration.

Assignments: **Trump Administration 2017-2021 panel, Wednesday November 29** (pro/con summary responses and questions due 9am November 29)

Questions:

1. What were the key features of the administration's 2018 national counterterrorism strategy?
2. How do you think this document addressed the issue of domestic terrorism in the United States during Trump's presidency?
3. Do you think this strategy was more of a continuation of the themes and approaches in the Bush and Obama documents or completely different?

Readings: National Strategy of Counterterrorism for the United States of America. *White House*. October 2018. 34 pages.
(Instructor will provide .pdf)

"Documenting Hate." *PBS Frontline*. 31 July 2018. (54 minutes)
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jPLvWO_SOgM

Module #15 – December 4 & 6

**Biden Administration Counterterrorism,
2021 - (Policy Memo #2 due)**

Summary: This module examines counterterrorism strategy and policy for the Biden administration and will explore key personalities in different counterterrorism positions with the US government. It will end with the last policy panel exploring the Biden administration's counterterrorism track record.



Assignments: **Biden Administration 2021- panel, Wednesday December 6; Policy memo #2, due 1pm Friday December 8**
(pro/con summary responses and questions due 9am December 6)

Questions:

1. How has the Biden administration focused on counterterrorism relative to other national security priorities?
2. What are some of the major differences in counterterrorism policy and strategy from past administrations?
3. Do you agree or disagree with the President's decision to end the US combat mission in Afghanistan on September 11, 2021?

Readings: National Strategy for Countering Domestic Terrorism. *White House*. June 2021. 32 pages.
<https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/National-Strategy-for-Countering-Domestic-Terrorism.pdf>

National Security Memorandum 13. *White House*. October 2022. 18 pages.
(Instructor will provide .pdf)

"Taliban Takeover." *PBS Frontline*. 12 October 2021. (53 minutes)
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=geiDI4Fjigg>



SUPPLEMENTARY COURSE MATERIAL

Counterterrorism

Benjamin, D and Simon, S. *The Age of Sacred Terror*, First Edition, Edinburgh: Floris Books, 2002.

Bergen, P. *Holy War, Inc.*, First Edition, New York: Free Press, 2001.

Bergen, P. *The Longest War*, First Edition, New York: Free Press, 2011.

Bergen, P. *Manhunt*, First Edition, New York: Crown, 2012.

Bergen, P. *The United States of Jihad*, First Edition, New York: Crown, 2016.

Bergen, P. *The Rise and Fall of Osama bin Laden*. First Edition, New York: Simon & Schuster, 2021.

Byman, D. *Road Warriors*, First Edition: London: Oxford University Press, 2019.

Coll, S. *Ghost Wars: The Secret History of the CIA, Afghanistan, and Bin Laden, from the Soviet Invasion to September 10, 2001*. First Edition, New York: Penguin Books, 2004.

Coll, S. *Directorate S: The CIA and America's Secret Wars in Afghanistan and Pakistan*. First Edition, New York: Penguin Books, 2018.

Clarke, R. *Against all Enemies*, Reprint Edition, New York: Free Press, 2004.

Crenshaw, M. and Lafree, G. *Countering Terrorism*. First Edition, Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2017.

Cronin, A. *How Terrorism Ends*, First Edition, New York: Princeton University Press, 2009.

Donati, Jessica. *Eagle Down*. First Edition, New York: Public Affairs, 2021.

Graff, G. *The Only Plane in the Sky: An Oral History of 9/11*. First Edition, New York: Avid Reader Press, 2019.

Harnden, Toby. *First Casualty*. First Edition, New York: Little, Brown, and Company. 2021.

Hoffman, B. *Inside Terrorism*, Revised Edition, New York: Columbia University Press, 2006.

National Commission on Terrorist Attacks. *The 9/11 Commission Report*, First Edition, New York: W W Norton & Company, 2004.

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