



**PubPol 750.003/475.003: The National Security Council and Counterterrorism**

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**Instructor Office Hours:** Tuesdays: 8:00am-9:30am

**Course Term:** 14-week session Tuesdays, 10:00 am – 11:20 am  
September 3 – December 9 (no class October  
15/December 17)

**Course Description:** In the immediate aftermath of the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, counterterrorism quickly became the most important national priority for the United States and dominated the security landscape for the rest of the decade. Even after the death of al-Qa'ida leader Usama bin Laden in 2011—which some experts thought might have signaled the potential demise of that group and the threat it posed to the United States, al-Qa'ida and other groups remained resilient even when faced with significant counterterrorism pressure. By the middle part of the 2010s, events such as the Arab Spring, the rise of the Islamic State in Iraq and al-Sham (ISIS), competition from China and Russia, and security threats from regimes like North Korea and Iran combined to force hard choices regarding the prioritization of counterterrorism and the U.S. focus on it. Over the last three decades, key decisions in the National Security Council (NSC) drove U.S. policy on counterterrorism, with different approaches adopted by different administrations.

This class will explore U.S. policy on counterterrorism before and after the September 11, 2001 attacks through the lens of NSC decision-making and some of the key personalities involved. It will first look at the NSC from a historical context and identify its key roles and functions, before transitioning into an examination of terrorist threats, and then the more specific aspects of NSC decisions and policy choices on counterterrorism. The course will also involve guest speakers, writing assignments geared toward NSC style and format, and simulated NSC meetings where students assume different interagency roles and examine potential courses of action on various counterterrorism issues.

## Course Objectives:

1. Recognizing key NSC functions, the organization's evolution since its creation in 1947, and how counterterrorism functions within it.
2. Identifying different terrorist threats the United States has confronted over the last three decades.
3. Evaluating the strengths and weaknesses of counterterrorism policy choices across different administrations.
4. Developing practical analytic, writing, and oral presentation skills relevant to national security career fields.

**Course Grading:** This class requires five graded assignments: three two-three page memos, and two simulated NSC policy meeting that will involve role-playing interagency perspectives. In addition, another aspect of the course that will be graded is class participation, which has two components and is explained in further detail below. Late work needs to be negotiated **before** the day the assignment is due (just like you would do on a job). I am always willing to negotiate a new deadline if you have a reasonable reason for needing an extension. However, assignments that are turned in late without prior discussion or approval will be docked one grade step for every day they are late. **Likewise, absent an emergency situation or unexpected illness, full participation is required for the simulated NSC meetings on 8 October and 16 December, and failure to attend will significantly impact the grade.**

Class participation and engagement	20%
Policy Memos (x3)	60%
NSC Simulations (x2)	<u>20%</u>
	100%

**Class Participation and engagement:** Half of the grade (10%) for this component will account for in-person attendance (any unexcused absence without prior notification will be docked one grade step). The other half (10%) will be based on my assessment of your participation in-class and virtually (Canvass, etc.) with questions, cross-student discussion, and reflection.

**Policy Memos:** Three policy memos (two to three pages each) are required for this component, with due dates of 24 September, 22 October, and 19 November; each will comprise 20% with all three equaling 60% of the total grade. In these assignments there is no "right or wrong answer" on different aspects of the NSC and counterterrorism policy.

**However, students will be evaluated in their ability to: write cogently and concisely; present a logical argument within a coherent memo structure; 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, U.S. government publications and documents. ***Memos should be singled-spaced in 12-point Times New Roman font, with bolded text to designate headers between key sections.***

- **Policy Memo #1:** Compare/contrast the leadership styles for two of the Assistants to the President for National Security Affairs (also known as the National Security Advisor) in the Clinton, Bush, Obama, or Trump Administrations, and argue which was more successful in achieving objectives or goals.
- **Policy Memo #2:** Assess the most significant terrorist threat to the United States and its future status in the next three to five years. Evaluate the intent and capability of the selected group to attack U.S. interests overseas or in the United States, and project whether the group will present more or less of a threat in the timeframe identified above.
- **Policy Memo #3:** Identify a strategic counterterrorism issue, provide three recommended courses of action/policy options and the pros and cons of each, and a final recommendation to address that issue.

**NSC Simulations:** Two simulated NSC meetings (8 October and 10 December) will comprise 20% of the course grade, with 10% for each. Students will provide inputs on their preferences regarding the governmental role they would like to assume; one of five potential crisis scenarios; and whether to simulate two different scenarios or one single one spread out over two different meetings. Students will be evaluated on the quality of each individual student/team presentation, and research and preparation for the role in each simulation.

Depending on the size of the class, students can act as individuals or small teams to represent roles from the: President, Vice President, or Chief of Staff; National Security Council (multiple positions); Central Intelligence Agency; Department of Defense and Joint Chiefs of Staff; Department of Homeland Security; Department of Justice; Department of State; Director of National Intelligence; and Treasury Department. Students will choose their preferences on one of five potential counterterrorism crisis scenarios (hostage recovery in the Middle East; airplane hijacking in Asia; terrorist attack in Europe; terrorist attack in the United States; and U.S. embassy attack in Latin America).

**Required Texts:** There are no required texts 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. In addition, students can familiarize themselves with a rich history of literature on U.S. national security decision-making and counterterrorism via recommended bibliographies for both topics, and a comprehensive list of PBS *Frontline* documentaries.

National Security Decision-Making

Demarest, H. and Borgard, E. *U.S. National Security Reform*. First Edition, London: Routledge, 2018.

Fishel, J. *American National Security Policy*. First Edition, Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017.

George, R. and Rishikof, H. *The National Security Enterprise: Navigating the Labyrinth*. Second Edition, Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2017.

Inderfurth, K and Johnson, L. *Fateful Decisions*. First Edition, London: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Prados, J. *Keeper of the Keys*. First Edition, William Morrow & Co, 1991.

Rothkopf, D. *Running the World*. First Edition, New York: PublicAffairs, 2006.

Rothkopf, D. *National Insecurity*. First Edition, New York: PublicAffairs, 2014.

Sparrow, Bartholomew. *The Strategist*. First Edition, New York: PublicAffairs, 2015.

Woodward, B. *Plan of Attack*. First Edition, New York: Simon & Schuster, 2004.

Woodward, B. *Obama's Wars*. First Edition, New York: Simon & Schuster, 2010.

Woodward, B. *Fear*. First Edition, New York: Simon & Schuster, 2018.

Counterterrorism

Ballack, B. *Modern American Extremism and Domestic Terrorism*. First Edition: ABC-CLIO, 2018.

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.

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

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

Coll, S. *Ghost Wars*. First Edition, New York: Penguin 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.

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.

Warrick, J. *Black Flags: The Rise of ISIS*. First Edition, New York: Doubleday, 2015.

Weiss, M. and Hassan, H. *ISIS: Inside the Army of Terror*. Paperback Edition, New York: Regan Arts, 2015.

### PBS Frontline Documentaries

“Looking for Answers.” 7 October 2001.  
<https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/terrorism/>

“The Man Who Knew.” 3 October 2002.  
<https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/knew/>

“In Search of al Qaeda.” 21 November 2002.  
<https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/search/>

“The War Behind Closed Doors.” 20 February 2003.  
<https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/film/showsiraq/>

“The Insurgency.” 21 February 2006.  
<https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/film/insurgency/>

“Gangs of Iraq.” 17 April 2007.  
<https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/film/gangsofiraq/>

“Endgame.” 19 June 2007.  
<https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/film/endgame/>

Wood, G. *The Way of Strangers: Encounters with the Islamic State*. Paperback Edition, New York: Random House. 2019.

Wright, L. *The Looming Tower*. First Edition, New York: Knopf, 2006.

Wright, L. *The Terror Years*, First Edition, New York: Knopf, 2016.

“Bush’s War.” 24 March 2008.  
<https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/film/bushwar/>

“Obama’s War.” 13 October 2009.  
<https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/film/obamaswar/>

“Kill/Capture.” 11 November 2011.  
<https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/film/kill-capture/>

“Al-Qaeda in Yemen.” 29 May 2012.  
<https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/film/al-qaeda-in-yemen/>

“Losing Iraq.” 29 June 2014.  
<https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/film/losing-iraq/>

“The Rise of ISIS.” 28 October 2014.  
<https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/film/rise-of-isis/>

“The Fight For Yemen.” 7 April 2015.  
<https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/film/fight-for-yemen/>

“American Terrorist.” 21 April 2015.

<https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/film/american-terrorist/>

“ISIS in Afghanistan but Who Are They Really?” 17 November 2015.

<https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/article/isis-is-in-afghanistan-but-who-are-they-really/>

“The Secret History of ISIS.” 17 May 2016.

<https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/film/the-secret-history-of-isis/>

“Confronting ISIS.” 11 October 2016.

<https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/film/confronting-isis/>

“Terror in Europe.” 18 October 2016.

<https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/film/terror-in-europe/>

“Targeting Yemen.” 19 January 2019.

<https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/film/targeting-yemen/>

## **FORD SCHOOL OF PUBLIC POLICY 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

**Accommodations for Students with Disabilities:** If you believe you need an accommodation for a disability, please let your instructor know at your earliest convenience. Some aspects of courses may be modified to facilitate your participation and progress. As soon as you make your instructor aware of your needs, they can work with the Services for Students with Disabilities (SSD) office to help determine appropriate academic accommodations. Any information you provide will be treated as private and confidential.

**Student Mental Health and Well-Being Resources:** The University of Michigan is committed to advancing the mental health and wellbeing of its students. We acknowledge that a variety of issues, such as strained relationships, increased anxiety, alcohol/drug problems, and depression, directly impacts students’ academic

performance. If you or someone you know is feeling overwhelmed, depressed, and/or in need of support, services are available. For help, contact [Counseling and Psychological Services](#) (CAPS) and/or [University Health Service](#) (UHS). For a listing of other mental health resources available on and off campus, visit: <http://umich.edu/~mhealth/>

**Class Expectations.** It is my intent to conduct the class along the following lines, so that it:

- 
- **Provides a practitioner's perspective** on counterterrorism through the lens of the NSC and other government agencies. Insights on the challenges and dilemmas faced by a diverse range of national security experts will sharpen understanding of readings and enhance classroom dialogue.
- **Prepares students for the rigors** associated with drafting products for senior executive consumption, with an emphasis on clarity of analysis, concise summation of complex counterterrorism topics, and well-structured formats.
- **Develops interpersonal and team bonds** since these are important attributes in the national security field. During the first class on 3 September, please come prepared to speak briefly regarding your academic and/or professional background, your interest in the course and motivation for taking it, and whether you hope to pursue a career in national security. I would also like to schedule 15-minute sessions with each student at least once during the course during normal office hours or other times as necessary. **This however is not required nor part of the class participation grade but more intended to give me a better sense of each student individually and our group as a whole.**
- **Expects punctuality.** We will start promptly at 10:00 a.m. and end promptly at 11:20 a.m. each session and **will not have** a break. Please refrain from going in and out of the room during class unless absolutely necessary.
- **Prefers that during class, you do not check** your cell phone to send text messages/tweets, or video/audio record the contents of each session. This request preserves the integrity of the discussion and eliminates distractions—and upholds the same standard applied in the national security arena. Note-taking via laptop is appropriate but also expect no sending of text or instant messages/tweets, social media posting, or video or audio recording of classroom dialogue.
- **Takes seriously academic misconduct, to include** cheating, misrepresenting one's own work, taking credit for the work of others without acknowledgement and without appropriate authorization, and the fabrication of information. Any form of misconduct will be taken very seriously. Academic dishonesty also includes using something you produced for another class for an assignment without permission. Information regarding academic dishonesty, plagiarism and misconduct and their consequences is available at: <http://www.rackham.umich.edu/current-students/policies/academic-policies...>

**Please review additional information and policies regarding academic expectations and resources at the Ford School of Public Policy at this link:** <http://fordschool.umich.edu/academics/expectations>

## SYLLABUS

### September 3, 2019      **Class Overview**

Guest:                      Dr. John Ciorciari, University of Michigan Ford School of Public Policy (confirmed)

*Link to Dr. Ciorciari's bio* <http://fordschool.umich.edu/faculty/john-ciorciari>

Summary:                      This module involves student and instructor introductions. Each student should explain their academic or professional interest in the class and what they hope to achieve over the semester. The class schedule, grading schema and assignments, and instructor expectations will also be provided. The guest speaker will provide his perspective on the NSC within the framework of U.S. national security and international relations overall.

### September 10, 2019      **Introduction to the NSC**

Guest:                      Ambassador Melvyn Levitsky, University of Michigan Ford School of Public Policy (confirmed)

*Link to Ambassador Levitsky's bio*  
<http://fordschool.umich.edu/faculty/melvyn-levitsky>

Summary:                      This module examines the origins of the NSC, how it has evolved over the last 70 years, and highlights some of its key functions. It also places the NSC in the broader framework of other key factors that shape national security decision-making. It then provides an overview of different approaches that drive the NSC process lifecycle. The guest speaker will provide his perspective on the NSC from his former experience as an U.S. Ambassador and senior State Department official.

#### Key Questions:

1. What are the origins of the NSC and why was it created?
2. How has the NSC evolved over time?
3. What are the key functions and roles of the NSC?
4. What are other important factors that drive national security decision-making?

#### Readings:

Hooker, R.D. *The NSC Staff: New Choices for a New Administration*. National Defense University. November 2016.

<http://ndupress.ndu.edu/Portals/68/Documents/strat-monograph/The-NSC-Staff.pdf?ver=2016-11-15-154433-837>



National Security Council. *White House*. Accessed 30 March 2019.

<https://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/>

National Security Presidential Memorandum-4. *White House*. 4 April 2017.

<https://www.whitehouse.gov/presidential-actions/national-security-presidential-memorandum-4/>

Office of the Historian, Bureau of Public Affairs, US Department of State. *History of the National Security Council: 1947-1997*. August 1997.

<https://fas.org/irp/offdocs/NSChistory.htm>

### Additional

Daalder, I. and Destler, I. "The Role of the National Security Advisors," *The National Security Roundtable*. Brookings Institution. October 1999.

<http://cisssm.umd.edu/publications/role-national-security-adviser-0>

Rothkopf, David. "Presidents and the National Security Council." *Council on Foreign Relations*. November 2008.

<https://www.cfr.org/interview/presidents-and-national-security-council>

## **September 17, 2019      NSC Approaches**

Guest:                      Megan Badasch, former Special Assistant to the President, NSC (confirmed)

Bio: forthcoming

Summary:                      This module provides an overview of how different approaches within the NSC and White House drive national security decision-making. It also examines an overview of the traditional NSC process lifecycle for how issues get considered, framed, and ultimately decided. The guest speaker will provide her perspective on the NSC based on her experience as the organization's Executive Secretariat and how the process works to prepare, review, coordinate, and disseminate policy papers for decision.

### Key Questions:

1. What key approaches influence NSC decision-making and why?
2. What personal, professional, academic attributes have National Security Advisors demonstrated?
3. What NSC organizational models have been most successful and why?
4. What are the unique features of the NSC process lifecycle?

## Readings:

Destler, I. "Towards a Smaller White House National Security Staff," *U.S. National Security Reform*. First Edition, London: Routledge. 2018.

<http://cisssm.umd.edu/publications/toward-smaller-white-house-national-security-staff>

DeYoung, Karen. "How the Obama White House Runs Foreign Policy," *Washington Post*. 4 August 2015.

[https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/how-the-obama-white-house-runs-foreign-policy/2015/08/04/2befb960-2fd7-11e5-8353-1215475949f4\\_story.html?noredirect=on&utm\\_term=.5cde9a7e3d04](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/how-the-obama-white-house-runs-foreign-policy/2015/08/04/2befb960-2fd7-11e5-8353-1215475949f4_story.html?noredirect=on&utm_term=.5cde9a7e3d04)

Rand, Dafna, Stokes, Jacob, Smith, Julianne and Brimley, Shawn. Enabling Decision - Shaping the National Security Council for the Next President. *Center for New American Security*. June 2015.

<https://www.cnas.org/publications/reports/enabling-decision-shaping-the-national-security-council-for-the-next-president>

## **September 24, 2019      Counterterrorism Overview\* (Policy Memo #1 due)**

Guest:                      COL Tom Faust, (USA, ret.) (confirmed)  
Bio: forthcoming

Summary:                      This module provides a broad overview of the variety of different terrorist threats the United States has confronted since the 1970s. It compares and contrasts the intent and capabilities of various groups to attack the United States. The guest speaker will provide his perspective on the counterterrorism mission based on his experience as a career special operations officer.

## Key Questions:

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

## Readings:

Crenshaw, Martha. "Counterterrorism in Retrospect." *Washington Post*. 21 June 2005.

[https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/cfr/international/20050701fareviewessay\\_v84n4\\_crenshaw.html?r=0](https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/cfr/international/20050701fareviewessay_v84n4_crenshaw.html?r=0)

Bergen, Peter. "Today's Terrorism Didn't Start with 9/11—it Started in the 90s." *CNN*. 5 October 2017.

<https://www.cnn.com/2017/08/02/opinions/nineties-terrorism-bergen/index.html>

Moore, Jack. "The New Era: How Terrorism Has Changed Since the 9/11 Attacks." *Newsweek*. 11 September 2017.  
<https://www.newsweek.com/new-era-how-terrorism-has-changed-911-attacks-661716>

Moore, John. "The Evolution of Islamic Terrorism." *PBS Frontline*. October 2001.  
<https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/target/etc/modern.html>

18 US Code 2331. Accessed 30 March 2019.  
<https://www.law.cornell.edu/uscode/text/18/2331>

### Additional

Gilsinan, Kathy. "Today's Terrorists Want to Inspire." *The Atlantic*. September 2015.  
<https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2015/09/history-terrorism-isis-9-11/405055/>

Moughty, Sarah. "The Essential 9/11 Bibliography." *PBS Frontline*. 11 September 2011.  
<https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/article/the-essential-911-bibliography/>

Savell, Stephanie. "America at War." *Smithsonian Magazine*. January 2019.  
<https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/map-shows-places-world-where-us-military-operates-180970997/>

## **October 1, 2019                      NSC and Counterterrorism**

Guest:                      (none)

Summary:                      This module examines how counterterrorism policy has been managed in the NSC both before and after the 9/11 attacks. It provides a comparative overview of the different individuals who have held the role of the Assistant to the President for Homeland Security and Counterterrorism (APHSCT) and how this position functions within the overall NSC structure. It also introduces the different counterterrorism strategy documents produced across the last five administrations that will be explored in more depth as the semester progresses.

### Key Questions:

1. What is the history of counterterrorism policy in the NSC?
2. How does the role of the Homeland Security/Counterterrorism Advisor contrast with the National Security Advisor?
3. What are the different backgrounds and experiences of those individuals who held that role?
4. What are the most effective strategies for combating terrorism?

Readings:

Green, Emily. "Do we need a new strategy to prevent terrorist attacks on the United States?" *Center for International and Strategic Studies*. December 2016.

<https://www.csis.org/analysis/do-we-need-new-strategy-prevent-terrorist-attacks-united-states>

Jenkins, Brian. "Bush, Obama, and Trump: The Evolution of U.S. Counterterrorist Policy Since 9/11." *International Institute for Counter-Terrorism*. November 2017.

<https://www.ict.org.il/Article/2079/BUSH-OBAMA-AND-TRUMP#gsc.tab=0>

Kean, Thomas and Hamilton, Lee. Assessing U.S. Counterterrorism Policy since 9/11 to ISIS. *Bipartisan Policy Center*. September 2017.

<https://bipartisanpolicy.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/BPC-National-Security-Defeating-Terrorist-Not-Terrorism.pdf>

Malley, Robert and Finer, Jonathan. "The Long Shadow of 9/11," *Foreign Affairs*. July/August 2018.

<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2018-06-14/long-shadow-911>

**October 8, 2019**

**NSC Simulation #1**

Summary:

This module involves the first simulated NSC meeting where students will assume interagency roles and examine potential courses of action in response to a terrorism crisis scenario. The meeting will evaluate the different options presented for consideration and seek to provide a formal recommendation for further action if consensus is reached.

**October 15, 2019**

**No Class, Fall Study Break**

**October 22, 2019**

**Clinton Administration Counterterrorism Policy\* (Policy Memo #2 due)**

Summary:

This module examines counterterrorism policy during the Clinton Administration from 1993-2001 through official documents on the topic. It also examines the dilemmas the administration faced in the run-up to the 9/11 attacks. The guest speaker will provide her perspective on different terrorist threats as a counterterrorism expert through her combined career in academia, public policy, and the U.S. government.

Key Questions:

1. What were the key features of the Clinton Administration's counterterrorism policies?
2. What did the terms crisis response and consequence management mean?
3. What was the single most significant counterterrorism success and setback?

4. What was the administration's approach to al-Qa'ida prior to 9/11?

Readings:

Daalder, Ivo. and Destler, I.M. "The Clinton Administration National Security Council," *The National Security Roundtable, Brookings Institution*. September 2000.  
<https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/20000927.pdf>

Johnston, David and Dwyer, Jim. "Threats and Responses: the Investigation." *New York Times*. 4 November 2004.  
<https://www.nytimes.com/2004/04/18/us/threats-responses-investigation-pre-9-11-files-show-warnings-were-more-dire.html>

National Security Council and National Security Council Records Management Office, "PDD-39 - U.S . Policy on Counterterrorism, 6/21/1995," *Clinton Digital Library*.  
<https://clinton.presidentiallibraries.us/items/show/12755>

National Security Council and National Security Council Records Management Office, "PDD-62, 5/22/1998," *Clinton Digital Library*.  
<https://clinton.presidentiallibraries.us/files/original/664f853cb04951ec88a71662c9b6a200d.pdf>

**October 29, 2019**

**Bush Administration Counterterrorism Policy**

Guest: (none)

Summary: This module examines counterterrorism policy and strategy during the Bush Administration from 2001-2005 through official documents. It also examines 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.

Key Questions:

1. What were the key features of the administration's national security and counterterrorism strategies?
2. Did the Bush administration continue the Clinton Administration's approach to counterterrorism and the threat from al-Qa'ida, and if not, what were the major differences?
3. What was the single most significant counterterrorism success and setback?
4. What counterterrorism challenges were confronted with the creation of the Department of Homeland Security and reforms in the U.S. intelligence community?

## Readings:

Eggen, Dan and Pincus, Walter. "Rice Defends Pre-9/11 Anti-Terrorism Efforts." *Washington Post*. 8 April 2004.

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A62740-2004Apr8.html?noredirect=on>

Executive Order 13354. National Counterterrorism Center. *White House*. 27 August 2004.

[https://www.dni.gov/files/NCTC/documents/RelatedContent\\_documents/eo13354.pdf](https://www.dni.gov/files/NCTC/documents/RelatedContent_documents/eo13354.pdf)

Public Law No: 108-458 - *Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act of 2004*.

Congress.gov. November 2004

<https://www.congress.gov/bill/108th-congress/senate-bill/02845>

National Security Strategy of the United States. *White House*. September 2002.

<http://nssarchive.us/national-security-strategy-2002/>

National Strategy for Combating Terrorism. *White House*. February 2003.

<https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/60172.pdf>

## Additional

Gregg, Gary. "George W. Bush: Foreign Affairs." *Miller Center, University of Virginia*.

<https://millercenter.org/president/gwbush/foreign-affairs>

Hayden, Michael. "Remarks before Permanent House Select Subcommittee on Oversight." *U.S. Congress*. 28 July 2005.

[https://www.dni.gov/files/documents/Newsroom/Testimonies/20050728\\_testimony.doc](https://www.dni.gov/files/documents/Newsroom/Testimonies/20050728_testimony.doc)

Miller, Steven. "After the 9/11 Disaster: Washington's Struggle to Improve Homeland Security." *Axess* (no. 2). February 2003.

<https://www.belfercenter.org/publication/after-911-disaster-washingtons-struggle-improve-homeland-security>

**November 5, 2019**

## **Bush Administration Counterterrorism Policy**

### Guest:

Tom Warrick, Department of Homeland Security (confirmed)  
 Steve Block, former National Geospatial Intelligence Agency (confirmed)

Bios: forthcoming

### Summary:

This module examines counterterrorism policy and strategy during the Bush Administration from 2005-2009 through official documents. It also examines 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. The guest speakers will provide their perspectives on counterterrorism

issues during the Bush Administration based on their combined experiences across several departments and agencies.

Key Questions:

1. What were the noticeable differences between the Bush Administration's national security and counterterrorism strategies between the first and second terms?
2. How did the Bush Administration's counterterrorism policies change from the first to the second term?
3. What was the single most significant counterterrorism success and setback?
4. How was the issue of homeland security and terrorism inside the United States changing during this time?

Readings:

Bellinger, John. "More Continuity than Change." *New York Times*. 14 February 2010.  
<https://www.nytimes.com/2010/02/15/opinion/15iht-edbellinger.html>

National Security Strategy of the United States. *White House*. March 2006.  
<http://nssarchive.us/NSSR/2006.pdf>

National Strategy for Combating Terrorism. *White House*. September 2006.  
<https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/nsc/nsct/2006/>

**November 12, 2019      Obama Administration Counterterrorism Policy**

Guest:                      (none)

Summary:                      This module examines counterterrorism policy and strategy during the Obama Administration from 2009-2013 through official documents. It also 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 U.S. counterterrorism strategy overall.

Key Questions:

1. What were the key features of the administration's national security and counterterrorism strategies?
2. What were the key differences and similarities with the Bush Administration on counterterrorism?
3. What was the single most significant counterterrorism success and setback?
4. What was the impact of the death of former al-Qa'ida leader Usama bin Laden on the group?

Readings:

Felbab-Brown, Venda. "The Implications of Osama bin Laden's Death for the War in Afghanistan and Global Counterterrorism Efforts." *Brookings Institution*. 2 May 2011.  
<https://www.brookings.edu/blog/up-front/2011/05/02/the-implications-of-osama-bin-ladens-death-for-the-war-in-afghanistan-and-global-counterterrorism-efforts/>

National Security Strategy. *White House*. May 2010.  
<http://nssarchive.us/national-security-strategy-2010/>

National Counterterrorism Strategy. *White House*. June 2011.  
[https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/sites/default/files/counterterrorism\\_strategy.pdf](https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/sites/default/files/counterterrorism_strategy.pdf)

Witt, Emily. "Bush and Obama: A Counterterrorism Comparison." *Propublica*. 10 September 2009.  
<https://www.propublica.org/article/chart-bush-and-obama-a-counterterrorism-comparison>

Additional:

Cohen, Michael. "The Counterterrorism Consensus." *Foreign Policy*. 13 February 2012.  
<https://foreignpolicy.com/2012/02/13/the-counterterrorism-consensus/>

DeYoung, Karen. "CIA Veteran John Brennan Has Transformed Counterterrorism Policy." *Washington Post*. 24 October 2012.  
[https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/cia-veteran-john-brennan-has-transformed-us-counterterrorism-policy/2012/10/24/318b8eec-1c7c-11e2-ad90-ba5920e56eb3\\_story.html?noredirect=on&utm\\_term=.da397404594a](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/cia-veteran-john-brennan-has-transformed-us-counterterrorism-policy/2012/10/24/318b8eec-1c7c-11e2-ad90-ba5920e56eb3_story.html?noredirect=on&utm_term=.da397404594a)

Foust, Joshua. "Osama bin Laden's Death and its Impact on U.S. Foreign Policy." *PBS*. 4 May 2011.  
<http://www.pbs.org/wnet/need-to-know/five-things/osama-bin-ladens-death-and-its-impact-on-u-s-foreign-policy/9057/>

Morrison, Trevor. "Bush vs Obama Counterterrorism Policy." *Lawfareblog.com*. 11 November 2012.  
<https://www.lawfareblog.com/obama-v-bush-counterterrorism-policy>

**November 19, 2019                      Obama Administration Counterterrorism Policy\* (Policy Memo #3 Due)**

Guest:                                      Katrina Mulligan, Center for American Progress (confirmed)

Bio: Katrina Mulligan is the managing director for National Security and International Policy at American Progress, where she supports the team's work on global security at a critical time for the United States. Previously, she served as an attorney adviser and director for



preparedness and response in the National Security Division at the U.S. Department of Justice, where she provided legal and policy advice on a broad range of national policies, including on foreign influence and election interference, immigration and watchlisting, and contributed to the 2017 National Security Strategy. Prior to joining the Department of Justice, Mulligan served on the NSC staff and in several roles within the office of the director of national intelligence, including as associate director for strategic communications initiatives, special adviser for detainee affairs, and chief of the mission management group. She also served as the assistant to the director of the National Counterterrorism Center during the response to Benghazi and the Boston Marathon bombings. Mulligan received her bachelor's degree in law, letters, and society from the University of Chicago and her Juris Doctor from the University of California, Los Angeles School of Law.

Summary:

This module examines counterterrorism policy and strategy during the Obama Administration from 2013-2017 through official documents. It also examines how the administration confronted the rise of ISIS and what approaches were used to combat the group. The guest speaker will provide her perspective on counterterrorism issues during the second term of the Obama Administration from her time at NSC and the National Counterterrorism Center.

Key Questions:

1. What were the noticeable differences between the Obama Administration's national security and counterterrorism strategies between the first and second terms?
2. How did the administration's counterterrorism policies change from the first term to the second term?
3. What was the single most significant counterterrorism success and setback?
4. How did the administration react to the Arab Spring and the rise of ISIS?

Readings:

Brands, Hal and Feaver, Peter. "Was the Rise of ISIS Inevitable?" *Survival* 59 (3): 7-54.  
<https://www.iiss.org/en/publications/survival/sections/2017-579b/survival--global-politics-and-strategy-june-july-2017-3a5f/59-3-02-brands-and-feaver-a7bf>

National Security Strategy. *White House*. February 2015.  
<http://nssarchive.us/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/2015.pdf>

Statement by the President on ISIL. *White House*. 10 September 2014.  
<https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2014/09/10/statement-president-isil-1>

Wood, Graeme. "What ISIS Really Wants." *The Atlantic*. March 2015.  
<https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2015/03/what-isis-really-wants/384980/>

Additional:

Connable, Ben, Lander, Natasha, Jackson, Kimberly. Beating the Islamic State – Selecting a New Strategy in Iraq and Syria. *RAND Corporation*. 2017.  
[https://www.rand.org/pubs/research\\_reports/RR1562.html](https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RR1562.html)

Jenkins, Brian. “Five Years After the Death of Osama bin Laden, Is the World Safer?” *RAND*. 5 May 2016.  
<https://www.rand.org/blog/2016/05/five-years-after-the-death-of-osama-bin-laden-is-the.html>

Leavitt, Matthew. The Rise of ISIL – Counterterrorism Lectures, *Washington Institute for Near East Policy*. 2016  
[http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/uploads/Documents/pubs/PolicyFocus148\\_CT7.pdf](http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/uploads/Documents/pubs/PolicyFocus148_CT7.pdf)

**November 26, 2019          Trump Administration Counterterrorism Policy**

Guest:                    (none)

Summary:                This module examines counterterrorism policy and strategy during the Trump Administration beginning in 2017 through official documents. It also compares the key differences between the administration’s approach to counterterrorism from the Bush and Obama Administrations. It also explores how the administration confronted the ISIS threat following the Obama Administration’s earlier efforts.

Key Questions:

1. What were the key features of the administration’s national security and counterterrorism strategies?
2. What were the key differences and similarities with the Bush and Obama Administrations on counterterrorism?
3. What was the single most significant counterterrorism success and setback?
4. How did the administration respond to the ISIS threat? How did it respond to far-right terrorism?

Readings:

German, Michael. “Why New Laws Aren’t Needed to Take Domestic Terrorism More Seriously.” *Brennan Center for Justice*. 14 December 2018.  
<https://www.brennancenter.org/blog/why-new-laws-arent-needed-take-domestic-terrorism-more-seriously>

McCord, Mary. “It’s Time for Congress to Make Domestic Terrorism a Federal Crime.” *Lawfareblog.com*. 5 December 2018.  
<https://www.lawfareblog.com/its-time-congress-make-domestic-terrorism-federal-crime>

Presidential Memorandum Plan to Defeat the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria. White House. 28 January 2017.

<https://www.whitehouse.gov/presidential-actions/presidential-memorandum-plan-defeat-islamic-state-iraq-syria/>

National Strategy for Counterterrorism. *White House*. October 2018.

<https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/NSCT.pdf>

National Security Strategy of the United States of America. *White House*. December 2017.

<https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/NSS-Final-12-18-2017-0905-2.pdf>

Additional:

Brignola, Jodi. "Fatal Flaws in the Trump Administration's Counterterrorism Strategy." *Georgetown Security Studies Review*. 10 November 2018.

<http://georgetownsecuritystudiesreview.org/2018/11/10/the-fatal-flaws-in-the-trump-administrations-counterterrorism-strategy/>

Cassidy, John. "It's Time to Confront the Threat of Right-Wing Terrorism." *The New Yorker*. 16 March 2019.

<https://www.newyorker.com/news/our-columnists/its-time-to-confront-the-threat-of-right-wing-terrorism>

Clark, Simon. "Confronting the Domestic Terror Right-Wing Threat." *Center for American Progress*. 7 March 2019.

<https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/security/reports/2019/03/07/467022/confronting-domestic-right-wing-terrorist-threat/>

Costa, Christopher and Geltzer, Joshua. "Here's What Trump Gets Right--and Wrong—About Defeating ISIS." *Politico*. 12 February 2019.

<https://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2019/02/12/donald-trump-isis-aftermath-224986>

Geltzer, Joshua, McCord, Mary, and Rasmussen, Nicholas. "The Christchurch Shooting: Domestic Terrorism Goes International." *Lawfareblog.com*. 19 March 2019.

<https://www.lawfareblog.com/christchurch-shooting-domestic-terrorism-goes-international>

Geltzer, Joshua. "Trump Administration's Counterterrorism Strategy is a Relief." *The Atlantic*. 4 October 2018.

<https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2018/10/trump-counterterrorism-strategy/572170/>

Monaco, Lisa. "The Next Front in the U.S. Fight Against ISIS." *New York Times*. 11 May 2017.

[https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/11/opinion/the-next-front-in-the-us-fight-against-isis.html?emc=eta1&\\_r=0](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/11/opinion/the-next-front-in-the-us-fight-against-isis.html?emc=eta1&_r=0)

Rosand, Eric. "When Fighting Domestic Terrorism, You Get What You Pay For." *Brookings Institution*. 2 November 2018.

<https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2018/11/02/when-fighting-domestic-terrorism-you-get-what-you-pay-for/>

Serwer, Adam. "The Terrorism That Doesn't Spark a Panic." *The Atlantic*. 28 January 2019.

[https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2019/01/homegrown-terrorists-2018-were-almost-all-right-wing/581284/?utm\\_content=edit-promo&utm\\_source=twitter&utm\\_medium=social&utm\\_campaign=the-atlantic&utm\\_term=2019-01-28T11:00:43](https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2019/01/homegrown-terrorists-2018-were-almost-all-right-wing/581284/?utm_content=edit-promo&utm_source=twitter&utm_medium=social&utm_campaign=the-atlantic&utm_term=2019-01-28T11:00:43)

Shapiro, Ari. "The Changing U.S. Strategy for Defeating ISIS." *NPR*. 8 March 2019.

<https://www.npr.org/2019/03/08/701671579/the-changing-u-s-strategy-for-defeating-isis>

**December 3, 2019**

**Counterterrorism Roundtable**

Guests: Ellen Nakashima, Washington Post (invited)  
Missy Ryan, Washington Post (invited)

Summary: This module attempts to project the future terrorist landscape by exploring potential drivers and factors that could shape how threats evolve. It will also assess how what U.S. government strategies and capabilities will be most effective in these possible scenarios. The guest speakers will provide their perspectives as journalists focused on different aspects of the counterterrorism mission.

Key Questions:

1. What does the counterterrorism landscape look in the future?
2. What are the most significant threats on the horizon?
3. What potential drivers can change the terrorism environment?
4. What should the United States do to anticipate and respond to future threats?

Readings:

Statement for the Record of Retired Vice Adm. Joseph Maguire Nominee for Director of the National Counterterrorism Center. *National Counterterrorism Center*. July 2018.

<https://www.dni.gov/index.php/nctc-newsroom/nctc-speeches-testimonies-and-interviews/item/1890-statement-for-the-record-of-retired-vice-adm-joseph-maguire-nominee-for-director-of-the-national-counterterrorism-center>

The Honorable Dan Coats. Annual Threat Assessment, Opening Statement. *Senate Select Committee on Intelligence*. 29 January 2019.

[https://www.dni.gov/files/documents/Newsroom/Testimonies/2019-01-29-ATA-Opening-Statement\\_Final.pdf](https://www.dni.gov/files/documents/Newsroom/Testimonies/2019-01-29-ATA-Opening-Statement_Final.pdf)

**December 10, 2019**

**NSC Simulation #2**

Summary:

This module involves the second simulated NSC meeting where students will assume interagency roles and examine potential courses of action in response to a terrorism crisis scenario. The meeting will evaluate the different options presented for consideration and seek to provide a formal recommendation for further action if consensus is reached.