



POL 481/CRJ 481/PPOL 581 Terrorism and U.S. National Security Winter 2018
Prof. Frank Wayman [Jan 6, 2017, crn 22381&22330 180106]
Class meets in 1150 Admin. Bldg., 6 PM-8:45 PM Monday
Office: 2164 SSB; Office Hours Mon.&Wed. 12:15-12:45 PM, and Tues. 4:45-5:15 PM
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website: <http://www-personal.umich.edu/~fwayman> has my curriculum vitae, syllabi, etc.

Terrorism is the killing of a relatively small number of civilians to intimidate a larger group. National security is the survival of our people with our institutions and way of life intact. These words are useful in setting out the boundaries of the course. Since 9/11, those keeping up with the course of human events are familiar with the current scene and what would seem to merit inclusion in such a course -- everything from particular terrorist attacks that have killed people, to travel bans and plans to wall off Mexico. I am taking a broader sense of the topic than that, since terrorism in the U.S. and against the U.S. did not start on 9/11, and deeper historical understanding flavors everyone's interpretations of today's events -- at least, everyone I've talked to.

Readings:

Hoge and Rose, *Understanding the War on Terror* (ISBN 978-0876093474, 400 pp.), NY: W.W. Norton 2005 for *Foreign Affairs*.

Brigitte L. Nacos, *Terrorism and Counterterrorism*.
(ISBN 978-1-138-19014-6, 430 pp.) N.Y.: Routledge (Taylor & Francis Group), 2016

Michael V. Hayden, *Playing to the Edge: American Intelligence in the Age of Terror*.
(ISBN 978-0-14-310998-3, 300 pp.) N.Y.: Penguin Books, 2016

Steven Pinker, *The Better Angels of Our Nature*
(ISBN 978-0-670-02295-3 hardback, or paperback is fine, too; 700 pp.) N.Y.: Viking, 2011.

Plus some additional articles noted in the weekly assignments.

Grading:

The grade will be based on four written inputs: first exam (20%), second exam (20%), third exam (35%), term paper (25%). Class participation will be considered as a lesser matter, to affect the grade up or down a little bit.

Grading Scale:

Grading of the multiple choice tests is curved, to roughly correspond to the historic average University grade, in the B to B- range. Grading of the essay portion of the exam and of the term papers is on a basis of absolute quality rather than a curve. Grades of A correspond to a GPA of 4.0, B is a 3.0, C is a 2.0, and so on down through D (1.0) and E or F (0).

THERE WILL BE NO MAKE UP EXAMS EXCEPT UNDER THE MOST EXTENUATING CIRCUMSTANCES AND WITH PROOF.

On occasion, there will be a few points extra credit offered for an event that is relevant to this course. However, some of you will not be able to take advantage of these because of time restrictions, so don't count on getting extra credit.

Course Week by Week:

Part I: The Attack of 9/11 2001

Readings: Hoge and Rose, *Understanding the War on Terror*

By Jan. 13th, read pp. vii-115 ("The Enemy")

By Jan. 20th, read pp. 116-222 (finish "The Enemy"; go on to start "The War")

Readings: Nacos, *Terrorism and Counterterrorism*

By Jan. 27th, read Nacos, first 100 pages

By Feb. 3rd, read Nacos pp. 101-200

Lecture and Class Discussion Topics for Part I:

Terrorism, definitions of:

Uses of force, and threats to use force, which together Hobbes calls war, are what we might call a "threat environment." The threats include

war itself (e.g., World War II, or the current civil war in Syria),

genocide (such as Hitler against the Jews, or the 1994 genocide in Rwanda), which is the extermination of a group of people,

slavery,

rape,

nuclear bombardment (as at Hiroshima),

or even some counter-terrorism efforts (such as government over-reactions that harm the innocent).

It is important to keep a definition of terrorism in mind, while examining all these threats to our safety. Not everything bad is "terrorism". Some bad things (such as launching a war of aggression that turns into a world war) are even worse than terrorism, because they kill more people!

Terrorism, a subset of all this threat environment, *is* killing a relatively small number of civilians to intimidate a larger group; or doing something awful to them short of killing (kidnapping, maiming, etc.) that has similar ability to intimidate. Terrorism does this by "terrorizing," or frightening the people.

This definition is different than

a. Daniel Ellsberg's definition of terrorism (killing civilians), which fails because it is a bit too broad, by including genocide and democide.

b. Patrick Morgan's definition (in his book *International Security*), which says that terrorism is the warfare of the weak against the strong. There are many ways the weak fight the strong which have nothing to do with terrorism. Consider the reading: Mao, "Report on the Peasant Movement in Hunan" and other writings on the 3 stages of guerrilla war (which is too self-serving -- Mao may have been worse than a terrorist in his killing of almost 100 million people -- but nonetheless makes a good point: a war of those initially weak, in the period of 1927-1949, which is 22 years, may not be mostly about fighting, but rather may mostly be about winning popular support for a just cause).

Moreover, states, including totalitarian ones such as Hitler's, Stalin's, and Mao's regimes, wage terrorist campaigns, yet they are hardly the weak!

Things to consider include: Douhet's Theory of Aerial Bombardment:
Terror by the Strong -- Bernard Brodie reading
nuclear attack on Hiroshima

The Sept. 11th attack and al Qaeda

Term Paper Assignments

These assignments have to do with research on particular countries' terrorist groups and the wars that often produce terrorism. Therefore, we will be looking into recent (mostly 21st century, some 20th century) wars, and . . .

Links of Terrorism to War:

This concerns especially intra-state war and extra-state war.

A reading will be a Paper at the ISA Annual Meeting in Baltimore 2017 (by K. Gleditsch) on civil war and terrorism frequencies, and their connection -- on line at ISA webiste? to be distributed in class, in summary form.

War in Afghanistan against the Taliban and al Qaeda, 2001-

War over Iraq, 2003-

The Nation -- a definition (our course being "terrorism and *national* security"):

Who are we defending, to protect against terrorism, in national security efforts? The nation is the largest group of people to which one can feel kinship, as distinct from other large groups of people (namely, the other nations).

Homeland Security -- a definition (our course being "terrorism and *national security*"):

Homeland security is protecting the territory where the people live, from potential terrorist attacks.

Of note, the National Security Council was created in 1947 by an act of Congress to integrate "domestic, foreign, and military policies relating to national security." The National Security Council's self-defined mission was "to preserve the United States as a free nation with our fundamental institutions and values intact."

There will be an exam on Monday, Feb. 5th

Part II. The Age of Intelligence and Terrorism -- the early 21st century

Readings:

Lasswell and Russett on the garrison state (handouts)

Readings: Nacos, *Terrorism and Counterterrorism*

By Feb. 10th, read Nacos pp. 201-300

By Feb. 17th, read Nacos pp. 301-400

By Feb. 24th, read Nacos, remainder of book

Michael Hayden, *Playing to the Edge: American Intelligence in the Age of Terror*.

SPRING BREAK IS FEB. 24TH TO MARCH 4TH

By Mar. 3rd, read pp. 1-112

Lecture and Class Discussion Topics for Part II:

The Intelligence Community in Washington; its link to allies' intelligence services; secrecy (the terrorist's incentive to be secret to surprise attack; counter-measures to this including spying; but governments and their citizens have tensions with secrecy, which the government can use to shape public opinion); **anticipating and stopping terrorist attacks; terrorist financial networks and supporters; ransoms and terrorist funds; foreign countries with terrorist networks; partisan infighting among Washington leaders and factions;**

The Garrison State:

One consequence of terrorism is the garrison state (Harold Lasswell)
Reading: Bruce Russett preface to Nils Petter Gleditsch's book *R.J. Rummel*

There will be an exam on Monday, Mar. 5th

Part III. A Broader Look at Terrorism

Readings:

New York Review of Books essays by David Brion Davis and Bryan Stevenson (accessible through the UM library electronic access)

Stephen Pinker, *The Better Angels of Our Nature*:

By Mar. 10th, read pp. 1-128

By Mar. 17th, read pp. 129-199

By Mar. 24th, read pp. 200-294

By Mar. 31st, read pp. 295-393

By April 7th, read pp. 394-496

By April 14th, read pp. 497-591

By April 21st, read pp. 592-696

Lecture and Class Discussion Topics for Part III:

Threats to personal security of civilians:

David Brion Davis, slavery, from *NY Review of Books*

Bryan Stevenson, lynchings, Wallenberg Medal website, Wallenberg Lecture; *NY Review of Books* 2017

Dr. Mukegwe, rape, Wallenberg Medal website, Wallenberg Lecture

R.J. Rummel, democide (think of the term 'genocide' to get an initial sense of this term), PowerKills website, U. of Hawaii -- state power and terrorism (note Arendt even defines

totalitarianism in its essence as terrorism, as noted in Ben Barber chapter in his co-authored book on *Totalitarianism in Perspective*.)

Domestic Terrorism in the U.S.

Terrorism in history, globally

The relation of terrorism to other forms of violence, such as genocide and mass killing.

Miscellaneous other topics to be covered:

Robert Pape hypothesis on withdrawal from territory as a strategy to end terrorism.

Ideologies and Terrorism:

1. Class warfare and terrorism: the 1960s
2. Politicized religion and terrorism -- the 21st century

Terrorism and Immigration:

border fences (*International Security* article on 40 fences)

immigrants and terrorism
second and third generation residents and terrorism

chapters on homeland security from CQ Press textbook (*200 pages*)

nativist terrorism (S. Poverty Law, etc.)

Which Countries Are Targeted?

Terrorism in the U.S., Israel, France, Germany, Canada, Russia:

Which Countries Do Terrorists Come From?

Trends in Terrorism and Glimpses of the Future of Terrorism:

Finally, the question of whether and to what degree and in what ways we are becoming more civilized and less violent.

(April 21st is UM-D Study Day)

Third Exam is Monday, April 23rd, 6:30 PM

OTHER RESPONSIBILITIES AND POLICIES:

Those missing class should have a legitimate excuse, and should speak to me the week before if possible. Also, UM-D makes reasonable accommodations for persons with documented disabilities. Students should register with the Disability Resource Services Office within the first few weeks of the semester to be eligible for services that semester.

I have been asked by the Provost to include the following statement (which should go without saying) --

Code of Conduct from the office of the Provost:

The University of Michigan values academic honesty and integrity. Each student has a responsibility to understand, accept, and comply with the University's standards of academic conduct as set forth by the Code of Academic Conduct, as well as policies established by the schools and colleges. Cheating, collusion, misconduct, fabrication, and plagiarism are considered serious offenses. Violations will not be tolerated and may result in penalties up to and including expulsion from the University.

Any incidences of the above will be reported to the Social Science Department Chair, the CASL Deans office, and the Student's unit and/or school.

DISABILITIES:

The University will make reasonable accommodations for persons with documented disabilities. Students need to register with Disability Resource Services (DRS) every semester they are enrolled for classes. DRS is located in Counseling & Support Services, 2157 UC. To be assured of having services when they are needed, students should register no later than the end of the add/drop deadline of each term.

CLASS POLICIES:

1. No make-up exams will be given except under documented circumstances.
2. RESPECT. We are all to respect others opinions, beings, comments, and habits. This does not mean we cannot disagree, nor does it mean we cannot have fun. However, we each need to respect the diversity of our fellow students. There are also topics discussed that may challenge you either intellectually or emotionally; while we try to be sensitive, a university is also a place for inquiry and discovery. More about this in class.
3. Students arriving late should do so as quietly and unobtrusively as possible.
4. In the event that I am aware of a major accident on the road or a weather problem, I may delay class start by five to ten minutes.
5. ON E-MAIL: E-MAIL IS THE MAIN VEHICLE WE WILL USE TO STAY IN TOUCH OUTSIDE OF CLASS. For example, if school is canceled, I will send you an email with some attached materials. Anyone without access to the Internet at home should see me the first week of class to have alternative plans in place. While e-mail has become a very important means of communication between students and faculty, there is so much trouble for all of us from hackers and viruses, that it is good to observe appropriate norms of behavior. Because of the threat from viruses and similar plagues, I do not open emails that do not have your name as the sender, or emails that do not have a subject heading that indicates a topic related to you and the course. We should all also be cautious about opening e-mail attachments. This means, for example, your e-mail must actually be readable by me when I click on it; in other words, when I open an e-mail and there is no text because all the text has been placed in an attachment, I do not open the attachment out of caution. I look forward to hearing from you; on the whole, this email system is a blessing.
6. Class discussion and participation is an integral part of this class. If you are within two or three points of a higher grade, your participation and attendance will be taken into account. (I do not count you as present if you are sleeping, carrying on personal discussions, or otherwise “tuned out.”)
7. **As a general rule, use of laptop computers and cell phones is not permitted in class, but there are reasonable exceptions for portable computers for class purposes. Please step up to the podium area and notify me, in the first week of class, if you are wish to use a laptop computer.**
Put your pagers on vibrate and turn off your cell phones. (In the event that you are on stand-by to be asked by President Obama to be a liaison in secret meetings with the Syrian rebels, or Donald Trump has asked you to be his on-call foreign policy advisor, or some critical personal reason, let me know ahead of time). **If your pager or cell phone**

goes off, or if you read or answer a text, YOU LOSE 5 POINTS. If you get up and leave to be on the phone, you lose five points. If mine goes off, you get five points.

8 The use of a laptop in class is acceptable ONLY FOR CLASS PURPOSES. Game playing, emailing, and web surfing, unless approved by instructor, are not acceptable. This has become a problem and students have complained privately that it is distracting and annoying. If you feel a need to keep emailing your friends, surfing the web, or playing games, you probably should not come to class. It is your choice. If you have a laptop, I will, on occasion, ask you to look up something we are discussing.

9. I reserve the right to make minor changes to the syllabus, and we may fall behind or surge ahead, but any changes to exam dates (due to school closure, falling behind because we had a speaker, etc.) will be decided by the class by vote.

10. UM-Dearborn's official attendance policy states that, "a student is expected to attend every class and laboratory for which he or she has registered. Each instructor may make known to the student his or her policy with respect to absences in the course. It is the student's responsibility to be aware of this policy. The instructor makes the final decision to excuse or not to excuse an absence. An instructor is entitled to give a failing grade (E) for excessive absences or an Unofficial Drop (UE) for a student who stops attending class at some point during the semester." If you are absent, you must get notes from a fellow student. I will not go over what we covered in class, nor will I excuse you from any assignment or new information unless a real (documented) emergency occurred.

11. I will make every effort to meet with any student so requesting. You need to build relationships with your instructors so when it is time for a recommendation for a scholarship or something else, your instructors will know you. Try to come up and see me at least twice during the semester. I am around many other times than my official hours indicate; just ask. Using my email fwayman@umich.edu is definitely the BEST way to contact me.

Safety:

All students are encouraged to program 911 and UM-Dearborn's Public Safety phone number (313) 593-5333 into personal cell phones. In case of emergency, first dial 911 and then if the situation allows call UM-Dearborn Public Safety. The Emergency Alert Notification (EAN) system is the official process for notifying the campus community for emergency events. All students are strongly encouraged to register in the campus Emergency Alert System, for communications during an emergency. The following link includes information on registering as well as safety and emergency procedures information: <http://umdearborn.edu/emergencyalert/>. If you hear a fire alarm, class will be immediately suspended, and you must evacuate the building using the nearest exit. Please proceed outdoors to the assembly area and away from the building. Do not

use the elevators. It is highly recommended that you do not head to your vehicle or leave campus since it is necessary to account for all persons and to ensure that first responders can access the campus. If the class is notified of a shelter in place requirement for a tornado warning or severe weather warning, your instructor will suspend class and shelter the class in the lowest level of this building away from windows and doors. If notified of an active threat (shooter) you will Run (get out), Hide (find a safe place to stay) or Fight (with anything available). Your response will be dictated by the specific circumstances of the encounter.