

POLS 625: Extremist Groups and Government Response

Fall 2016

Section 26129

Department of Political Science

University of Kansas

Professor Haider-Markel

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Office Hours: MWF 2:00-3:30 pm
and by appointment

MW 12:30-1:45

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Purpose and Goals of the Course

This course examines the rise and fall of political extremist and terrorist groups from the 19th to 21st century and how government has responded to these groups. The course stakes out a position that terrorism develops from within broader political extremist movements and that government actions and policies may foster or inhibit extremism. Special attention will be given to the public policy process regarding extremists and terrorists, including many elements of counter-extremism counterterrorism, and whether government overreacts to extremist groups. Issues and themes will include groups such as left-wing terrorism in the 1960s and 1970s, right-wing and anticommunist groups, hate crime, environmental extremists, citizen militia groups, Jihadist groups, and anti-abortion groups, among others. Students will be assessed on their ability to understand the policy process, the elements of counterterrorism and its impact, and the causes of extremism and terrorism.

Grading and Responsibilities

Class Participation and Reading Assignments: Class Weeks will be a mix of lecture and seminar. *A student's grade will reflect his or her participation in class.* Participation not only includes showing up for class but also having completed the reading assignments and actively using this material to engage your fellow students (and myself) in discussion. If you miss class on a regular basis or for an extended period for *any* reason, you should contact me as soon as possible. Waiting to explain absences at the end of the semester will not suffice.

The reading assignments are listed below in the course outline. All students are expected to *complete the required readings for each class Week*. Usually the week's readings can be divided between session 1 and 2 for the week. Note that I will occasionally supplement our discussion with newspaper articles that will be sent to you via email; students are encouraged, but not required, to tie these articles into our discussion. I also strongly recommend that students regularly read and view national news.

Required Reading

The following books are **required reading** and are available for purchase in the bookstore:

George, John, and Laird Wilcox. 1996. *American Extremists*. Amherst, NY: Prometheus. 1-57392-058-4

Risen, James and Judy L. Thomas. 1998. *Wrath of Angels: The American Abortion War*. New York: Basic Books. 0-465-09273-X

Hoffman, Bruce. 2006. Rev. ed. *Inside Terrorism*. New York: Columbia University Press. ISBN 978-0-231-12699-1.

Martin, Gus. 2016. 5th ed. *Understanding Terrorism: Challenges, Perspectives, and Issues*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. ISBN 978148337898-5

In **addition** I have put together a **required reading packet** for the course. The packet is available for reading/photocopying in the Department of Political Science, 504 Blake Hall. If your financial situation makes it difficult for you to buy the books or photocopy the reading packet, please let me know as soon as possible.

Recommended Reading (not required and not in bookstore)

The 9/11 Commission. *The 9/11 Commission Report*. New York: W.W. Norton. 0-393-32671-3

(Short) Assignments: These are 2 short quizzes. ***If you miss even one of these assignments it could cost you a whole grade.***

Policy Paper: You will have one 6 page policy paper during the semester. You will be provided with detailed instructions on the memorandum later in the semester.

Exams: There are 2 main exams—a midterm and a final exam. The final exam will cover the material introduced following the Midterm exam. The dates are in the syllabus and the exams will be administered through the course **Blackboard** site.

Final Grades will be determined on the following basis (From A to F with pluses and minuses):

Class Participation/Attendance	10%
2 Short Assignments	10% (5% each)
Midterm Exam	30%
Final Exam	30%
Policy Paper	20%

Missing assignments, exams, etc. will normally be counted as zero. However, based on the situation, I may allow late assignments/papers to receive some credit. In such a case points will be deducted on an hourly basis. Only serious emergencies, such as a student or family long-term illness, constitute grounds for an incomplete. If you face a significant emergency during the semester you should contact me as soon as possible. You should also contact me as soon as possible if you think you will be late on an assignment for any reason.

Students with Disabilities

Any student who has a disability that may prevent him/her from fully demonstrating her/his abilities should contact me personally as soon as possible so we can discuss accommodations necessary to ensure full participation and facilitate the educational opportunity. Informing me of a disability two months into the semester will make it difficult for me to accommodate your needs.

Instructor Availability

Students wishing to meet with me can do so during office hours (listed at top of first page), or by appointment. Please schedule an appointment even if it during my office hours. I can arrange to meet with you on your schedule. Remember I am available to you as a resource--*take advantage of it*. Please be aware that the easiest way to reach me is via e-mail (top of page 1)--I check my e-mail several times a day.

Non Academic Misconduct

The scope and content of the material included in this course are defined by the professor in consultation with the political science department. Although the orderly exchange of ideas, including questions and discussions prompted by lectures, discussion sessions and laboratories, is viewed as a key part of the educational environment, the professor has the right to limit the scope and duration of these interactions. Students who engage in disruptive behavior, including persistent refusal to observe boundaries defined by the professor regarding inappropriate talking, discussions, and questions in the classroom may be subject to discipline for non-academic misconduct for disruption of teaching or academic misconduct, as defined in the Code of Student Rights and Responsibilities (CSRR), Article 22, Section C, and the University Senate Rules and Regulations, Section 2.4.6. Article 22 of CSRR also defines potential sanctions for these types of infractions.

Related Copyright Issues and Plagiarism: The issue of digital plagiarism has raised concerns about ethics, student writing experiences, and academic integrity. Please be aware that by enrolling in this class you are agreeing to submit any written assignments for this course to the professor through a specified electronic format. The professor has

permission to include your paper in databases such as Turnitin™ so that your paper can be checked against web pages and databases of existing papers. Although you may never have engaged in intentional plagiarism, many students do incorporate sources without citations; this program can alert me to your academic needs.

Intellectual Property Issues

Course materials prepared by the professor of this course, including the course syllabus, together with the content of all lectures and review sessions presented by the professor are the property of the professor. Lecture notes and PowerPoint slides will not be distributed. Video and audio recording of lectures and review sessions without the consent of the professor is prohibited. On request, the professor will usually grant permission for students to audio tape lectures, on the condition that these audio tapes are only used as a study aid by the individual making the recording. Unless explicit permission is obtained from the professor, recordings of lectures and review sessions may not be modified and must not be transferred or transmitted to any other person, whether or not that individual is enrolled in the course. Any individual or organization violating the professor's copyright on course materials and lectures could be subject to charges of academic misconduct and/or to civil action for copyright violations.

Pursuant to the University of Kansas' [Policy on Commercial Note-Taking Ventures](#), commercial note-taking is not permitted in POLS 625. Lecture notes and course materials may be taken for personal use, for the purpose of mastering the course material, and may not be sold to any person or entity in any form. Any student engaged in or contributing to the commercial exchange of notes or course materials will be subject to discipline, including academic misconduct charges, in accordance with University policy. **Please note:** note-taking provided by a student volunteer for a student with a disability, as a reasonable accommodation under the ADA, is **not the same** as commercial note-taking and is **not** covered under this policy.

Course Outline and Weekly Schedule

Week 1: Introduction to the Course

August 22 and 24

no readings

Week 2: Issues and Definitions; Public Policy and the Policy Process

August 29 and 31

Reading Packet

--Kraft and Furlong, 2007; pp. 2-23 and 62-91

--Birkland, Thomas A. ““The World Changed Today”: Agenda-Setting and Policy Change in the Wake of the September 11 Terrorist Attacks.” *Review of Policy Research* 21(2):179-200.

--Crenshaw, Martha. 2001. “Counterterrorism Policy and the Political Process.” *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 24:329-337.

-- Sinclair, Barbara. 2005, “Patriotism, Partisanship, and Institutional Protection: The Congressional Response to 9/11.” In *Transforming the American Polity*

-- Conley, Richard S. 2005, Presidential and Congressional Struggle Over the Formation of the Department of Homeland Security.” In *Transforming the American Polity* In *Transforming the American Polity*

Week 3: Issues and Definitions II; Extremism and Terrorism

Labor Day and September 7

--George and Wilcox (1996), pp. 7-94, 421-423.

-- Hoffman, Bruce. 2006., Chapter 1

-- Martin, Gus. 2016., Chapter 1 and Chapter 2

Reading Packet

Smith (1994), *Pipe bombs and Pipe Dreams*, pp. 1-52

Ruby, Charles L. 2002. “The Definition of Terrorism.” *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy*. 9-14.

Week 4: Causes of Extremism and Terrorism

September 12

No Class September 14

Examples include:

John Brown and the Abolitionists

Anti-Masons

Molly Maguire’s

Radical Environmentalists and Animal Rights (ELF &ALF)

Revolutionary Action Movement

International Workers of the World (IWW)

Communist Party

Socialist Workers Party

Progressive Labor Party

- Martin, Gus. 2016., Chapters 3 and 8
- Hoffman, Bruce. 2006., Chapters 2 and 3
- George and Wilcox (1996), pp. 7-94, 421-423 (review)

Reading Packet

- Crenshaw, Martha. 2002. "The Logic of Terrorism," pp. 54-66.

-- LaFree, Gary, and Gary Ackerman. 2009. "The Empirical Study of Terrorism: Social and Legal Research." *Annual Review of Law and Social Science* 5:347-74. (read pp. 347 to 363).

Week 5: Who Becomes an Extremist/Terrorist? Examples of Left Wing Extremists I:

No Class September 14

September 21

Some Examples include:

Weather Underground

SDS: Students for a Democratic Society

- Hoffman, Bruce. 2006., Chapter 4,
- Martin, Gus. 2016., Chapters 5 and 6
- Martin, Gus. 2016., Chapter 7
- George and Wilcox (1996), pp. 97-113, 147-152

Reading Packet

-- review, LaFree, Gary, and Gary Ackerman. 2009. "The Empirical Study of Terrorism: Social and Legal Research." *Annual Review of Law and Social Science* 5:347-74. (read pp. 347 to 363).

Bueno de Mesquita, Ethan. 2005. "The Quality of Terror." *American Journal of Political Science* 49(3):515-530.

Khalil, James. 2014. "Radical Beliefs and Violent Actions Are Not Synonymous: How to Place the Key Disjuncture Between Attitudes and Behaviors at the Heart of Our Research into Political Violence." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 37(2):198-211.

Week 6: The Logistics of Terrorism and Terrorism and the Media, Examples of Left Wing Extremists II:

September 26 and 28

Some Examples include:

Black Panther Party
African People's Party
Nation of Islam
Anarchists

- Martin, Gus. 2016., Chapter 12, Left-Wing, 328-346
- Martin, Gus. 2016., Chapters 10 and 11
- Hoffman, Bruce. 2006., Chapter 6
- George and Wilcox (1996), pp. 114-124, 156-158

Reading Packet

- Smith (1994), pp. 93-129

Week 7: Countering Extremists: Law Enforcement and Homeland Security; and Examples of Right-Wing (The Anti-Communists)

October 3 and 5

Some Examples include:

The Minutemen
Arizona Patriots
Secret Army Organization
Sheriff's Posse Comitatus

- Martin, Gus. 2016., Chapter 1 (review)
- Martin, Gus. 2016., Chapter 13
- George and Wilcox (1996), pp. 221-245

Reading Packet

-- LaFree, Gary, and Gary Ackerman. 2009. "The Empirical Study of Terrorism: Social and Legal Research." *Annual Review of Law and Social Science* 5:347-74. (read pp. 363 to 374).

Week 8: Racists:

No Class Oct. 10, Fall Break

October 12

Midterm begins October 13 (open period through Oct 18)

The four waves of the Ku Klux Klan

- George and Wilcox (1996), pp. 362-382.
- Martin, Gus. 2016., Chapter 12, Right-Wing, 347-372 & review Chapter 13
- Martin, Gus. 2016., Chapter 14

Week 9: Neo-Nazi's, Skinheads, and Hate Crime

October 17 and 19

Examples include:

The German-American Bund (federation)

American Nazi Party

The Black Legion

The Silver Shirts

Aryan Nations

Skinheads

- Martin, Gus. 2016., Chapter 12, Right-Wing, 347-372 (review)
- Martin, Gus. 2016., Chapter 14 (review)
- George and Wilcox (1996), pp. 323-353
- Hoffman, pp. 101-118

Reading Packet

Haider-Markel, Donald P. 1998. "The Politics of Social Regulatory Policy: State and Federal Hate Crime Policy and Implementation Effort." *Political Research Quarterly* 51(1):69-88.

Week 10: The Politics of Abortion: from the Right and Left

October 24 and 26

- review Martin, Gus. 2016., Chapter 12, Right-Wing, 347-372 (review)
- review Martin, Gus. 2016., Chapter 6
- review Hoffman, Chapter 4
- Risen and Thomas (1998), pp. 3-216, 217-378

Reading Packet

Seegmiller, Beau. 2007. "Radicalized Margins: Eric Rudolph and Religious Violence." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 19:511-28.

Week 11: Patriot and Militia Groups I

October 31 and November 2

--George and Wilcox (1996), pp. 246-274

--review Hoffman, pp. 101-118

Reading Packet

--Haider-Markel, Donald P. 2004. "Militia Movement." In *The Encyclopedia of American Social Movements*, Ed. Immanuel Ness. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharp, Inc.

--Haider-Markel, Donald P., and Sean P. O'Brien. 1997. "Creating a "Well Regulated Militia": Policy Responses to Paramilitary Groups in the American States." *Political Research Quarterly* 50(3):551-565.

--Chamberlain, Robert, and Donald P. Haider-Markel. 2005. "Lien On Me": State Policy Innovation in Response to Paper Terrorism." *Political Research Quarterly* 58(3):449-460.

--USDHS: Assessment: "Rightwing Extremism...." all

Week 12: Counterterrorism: Military Force and Intelligence Resources, Part 1; Examples of International Extremists

November 7 and 9

-- Hoffman, Bruce. 2006., Chapters 7 and 8

-- Martin, Gus. 2016., Chapter 8 (review)

-- Martin, Gus. 2016., Chapter 13 and 14, review

Reading Packet

--Humud, Carla E. 2016. *Al Qaeda and U.S. Policy: Middle East and Africa*. Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service. R43756.

--9/11 Commission, pp.47-70. (chapter 2) "The Foundation..."

Week 13: Counterterrorism: Military Force and Intelligence Resources, Part 2; Examples of International Extremists

November 14 and 16

-- Martin, Gus. 2016., Chapter 13 and 14 (review)

-- Martin, Gus. 2016., Chapter 15

Reading Packet

--9/11 Commission, pp.108-143. (chapter 4) "Responses to Al Qaeda's Initial Assaults."

--9/11 Commission, pp.325-338. (chapter 10) "Wartime"

-- Pfiffner, James P. 2005, "National Security Policymaking and the Bush War Cabinet." In *Transforming the American Polity*

--Miller, Gregory D. 2007. "Confronting Terrorisms: Group Motivation and Successful State Policies." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 19:331- 350.

Week 14: Counterterrorism: Military Force and Intelligence Resources, Part 3; Examples of International Extremists

November 21 (no class Nov. 23)

-- Martin, Gus. 2016., Chapter 13, 14, and 15 (review)

Reading Packet

--Vidino, Lorenzo. 2009. "Homegrown Jihadist Terrorism in the United States: A New and Occasional Phenomenon?" *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 32(1):1-17.

--Wilner, Alex S. 2010. "Targeted Killings in Afghanistan: Measuring Coercion and Deterrence in Counterterrorism and Counterinsurgency." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 33(4):307-329.

Week 15: Extremists, Terrorists, and Government Response: Final Thoughts

November 28 and 30

-- Hoffman, Bruce. 2006., Chapter 9

-- Martin, Gus. 2016., Chapter 15 (review)

Reading Packet

Hoffman, Bruce. 2009. "A Counterterrorism Strategy for the Obama Administration." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 21:359-77.

Groves, Bryan. 2013. "America's Trajectory in the Long War: Redirecting Our Efforts Toward Strategic Effects Versus Simply Tactical Gains." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 36(1):26-48.

**Week 16: Final Thoughts and Conclusion and Final Paper
(Catch-up Week)**

December 5 and 7

Policy Paper is Due December 7, start of Class,

Final Exam will be available on BB December 8 to 15