

GOVERNMENT 90ps: THE POLICE STATE: POWER, POLITICS, AND AUTHORITY

Instructors:

Cosette Creamer

Office: 1730 Cambridge Street, Room S311

e-mail: creamerc@fas.harvard.edu

Fall 2011

Mondays 1-3 p.m.

Location: CGIS South 040

Sparsha Saha

Office: 1737 Cambridge Street, Room K263

e-mail: saha@fas.harvard.edu

The term ‘police state’ is often used to describe states that exhibit elements of totalitarianism and exercise rigid controls over the social, economic and political life of their population. Police states are best recognized by the policies they enact and the effects of these policies on citizens, more so than any given characteristic of the government structure itself. Under police state policies, citizens experience restrictions on their mobility and liberty, and on their freedom to express or communicate political or other views. Policies that can be characterized as ‘police state policies’ emerge within all types of regimes, democratic and non-democratic. In this course, we are not concerned with identifying what is or is not a police state; rather the motivation for the course is to develop an analytical framework for understanding *why* different regime types adopt policies that could be characterized as repressive, totalitarian or ‘police state policies.’ In particular, the course will explore: the conditions under which states adopt these types of practices; what explains the durability or fragility of these policies; the international and domestic limitations to their adoption; and how these policies spread globally.

During the first four weeks of the course we will establish an analytical framework for understanding the conditions under which police state practices are adopted. We will then turn to examining in depth three categories of police state policies: detention regimes; clean torture and enhanced interrogation techniques; and strategies of repression in response to non-violent or violent forms of protest and insurgency. For each policy-category, we will spend one week discussing the adoption of such practices within democratic states and one week discussing their adoption within non-democratic states. Consideration will also be given to how such policies diffuse or spread trans-nationally. The last two weeks of the course will entail in-depth case studies of police state policies in two countries – the U.S. and Iran.

Course requirements:

We have made a considerable effort to ensure that the amount of reading assigned for each week is reasonable, and that no extraneous reading is required. For this reason, it is your responsibility to carefully complete the reading prior to class and come well prepared to discuss the topic for that week. We will provide discussion questions at least one week prior to each class in order to help guide and structure your reading. Your active participation in discussion is absolutely essential to the success of the seminar, and discussion participation constitutes a substantial portion of your final grade.

During the course of the semester we will be holding three in-class simulations (on 10/17, 10/31 and 11/14). The purpose of these simulations is to encourage active learning and give you the opportunity to incorporate current, real-world events with the theoretical framework of the course. You will be expected to be thoroughly prepared for the simulation, participate enthusiastically, and follow all directions carefully. Following the completion of each simulation, you will be required to write a brief (2-3 page double-spaced) reflection paper on the experience: What did you learn from the simulation? How did you evaluate your arguments and those of your classmates? Did you find the simulation useful in the context of the overarching themes of the course? These reflection papers should be e-mailed to both instructors by 5 p.m. on the Sunday following the simulation (10/23, 11/6, and 11/20).

The final paper for this course will be due on **December 12th by 5 p.m.** via e-mail to both instructors. Please also leave two hard copies of your paper in Sparsha Saha's folder in the main office of CGIS North, 1st Floor. The final paper should be 10–15 pages in length (double-spaced). You should pick one country and analyze its police state practices as defined and conceptualized in the course: What are the conditions or factors that best explain the adoption and/or retention of “police state practices” in this state? Does the actual practice of this country diverge from your expectations in anyway? Be sure to frame your analysis around the three policy categories covered in the course: protest, detention, and interrogation. You will be graded on the quality of your paper's content, your use of outside research and how well you synthesize this information with the theoretical concepts and analytical framework introduced in the course.

Grades will be determined on the basis of:

- Discussion participation – 25%
- Three in-class simulations – 10% each
- Three reflection papers on in-class simulations – 5% each
- Final Paper – 30%

Course Website:

The course website is at:

<http://isites.harvard.edu/icb/icb.do?keyword=k80483>

All required readings will be posted on the course website or will be available on reserve at Lamont library. Discussion questions intended to help frame and focus the readings will be posted on the course website one week ahead of time.

SCHEDULE OF CLASSES:

PART I: ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

August 31 – Introduction

Brian Chapman, *Police State*, “The Origins of the Term” and “The Police State in Transition,” pp. 11-19; 33-41 ONLY.

September 12 – Conceptualizing the Police State

Brian Chapman, *Police State*, pp. 77-80 (“The Modern Police State”); Chapter 6 (“Police Methods”), pp. 81-94; pp. 111-115 (“The Totalitarian Police State”); and skim thoroughly pp. 116-138 (“Conclusion”).

Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, Chapter XVIII, “Of the rights of sovereigns by institutions,” and Chapter XXI, “Of the Liberty of Subjects.”

Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the College de France*, Lectures from 29 March 1978 and 5 April 1978, pp. 311-316; 319-328; 333-341.

Recommended: Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, Chapter XIV, “Of the First and second natural laws, and of contracts.”

September 19 – Reasons to Repress

Raymond D. Duvall and Michael Stoll, “Governance by Terror,” in Michael Stohl (ed.), *The Politics of Terrorism*, 3rd ed. (1988): pp. 231-236; 251-264 ONLY.

S.E. Finer, *The Man on Horseback: The Role of the Military in Politics*, Chapter 2 (“The Political Strengths of the Military”), pp. 5-11; Chapter 3 (“The Political Weaknesses of the Military”), pp. 12-19; and Chapter 12 (“The Past and Future of Military Intervention”), pp. 188-191 ONLY.

Christian Davenport, *State Repression and the Domestic Democratic Peace* (2007), Introduction, pp. 9-15; 22-28 ONLY; Chapter 1 (“Repression and the Search for Peace”), pp. 33-44; Chapter 2 (“Disaggregation and Contextualization”), pp. 45-50 ONLY.

Paul Slovic, Melissa Finucane, Ellen Peters and Donald G. MacGregor, “The Affect Heuristic,” in T. Gilovich, D. Griffin, & D. Kahneman, (Eds.), *Intuitive Judgment: Heuristics and Biases* (2003): pp. 21-24 ONLY.

Martin Reimann and Philip G. Zimbardo, “The Dark Side of Social Encounters: Prospects for a Neuroscience of Human Evil,” 3 *Journal of Neuroscience, Psychology and Economics* (2011): pp. 1-7.

Optional (recommended): Daniel Kahneman, “A perspective on judgment and choice: mapping bounded rationality,” 58(9) *American Psychologist* (2003): pp. 702-706 ONLY.

September 26 – Policing the Police State

Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights. [Basic Principles on the Use of Force and Firearms by Law Enforcement Officials](#). (Havana: September, 1990). SKIM.

David J. Smith, "Chapter 3: The Foundations of Legitimacy," in Tom R. Tyler (ed.), *Legitimacy and Criminal Justice: International Perspectives* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2007): pp. 34-51 ONLY.

Emilie M. Hafner-Burton and Kiyoteru Tsutsui, "Human Rights in a Globalizing World: The Paradox of Empty Promises," 110(5) *American Journal of Sociology* (2005): 1373-1389; 1401-1402 ONLY.

Dominique Wisler and Marco Giugni, "Under the Spotlight: The Impact of Media Attention on Protest Policing," 4 *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* (1999): pp. 171-187 SKIM.

Donatella Della Porta and Olivier Fillieule, "Policing Social Protest," in David Snow, Sarah Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi (eds.), *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements* (2010): pp. 230-231 ONLY.

Watch:

Rochester, NY Police Controversy – [Video 1](#) and [Video 2](#)

PART II: TYPES OF POLICE STATE PRACTICES

October 3 – Strategic Responses to Protest and Insurgency in Democratic Regimes

Donatella Della Porta and Olivier Fillieule, "Policing Social Protest," in David Snow, Sarah Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi (eds.), *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements* (2010): pp. 217-241.

Patrick M. Regan and Errol A. Henderson, "Democracy, Threats and Political Repression in Developing Countries: Are Democracies Internally Less Violent?," 23(1) *Third World Quarterly* (2002): pp. 1-10 ONLY.

Radley Balko, "Overkill: The Rise of Paramilitary Police Raids in America," Cato Institute (2006): pp. 7-15 ONLY.

Optional (recommended): Kathryn Zeitz, Heather M. Tan, and Christopher J. Zeitz, "Crowd Behavior at Mass Gatherings: A Literature Review," 24(1) *Prehospital and Disaster Medicine* (2008).

Case Study: London Summer 2011 Riots

Landon Thomas, "London Riots Put Spotlight on Troubled, Unemployed Youths in Britain," *The New York Times*, 9 August 2011.

Al Jazeera Live [Blog](#)

Rebekah Delsol, ["England Riots: Time for a Public Inquiry, with Policing on the Agenda,"](#) Open Society Foundations Blog, 15 August 2011.

Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Constabulary. 2009. "Adapting to Protest." 1-10 (SKIM).

October 10 – Columbus Day – NO CLASS

October 17 – Strategic Responses to Protest and Insurgency in Non-Democratic Regimes

Ruth Kricheli, Yair Livne, and Beatriz Magaloni, "Taking to the Streets: Theory and Evidence on Protests under Authoritarianism," *American Political Science Association Working Paper Series* (2011): pp. 1-10; pp. 23-32 suggested.

Michael MacKuen, Jennifer Wolak, Luke Keele and George E. Marcus, "Civic Engagements: Resolute Partisanship or Reflective Deliberation," 54(2) *American Journal of Political Science* (2010): pp. 440-443; 452-454 ONLY.

James Glanz, ["How Mubarak Shut Down Egypt's Internet,"](#) *The Age*, 17 February 2011.

Craig Kanalley, ["Egypt's Internet Shut Down, According to Reports,"](#) *The Huffington Post*, 27 January 2011.

Jason Mick, ["China Blocks Web Searches in an Attempt to Halt Protests,"](#) *The Daily Tech (Blog)*, 15 June 2011.

Jim Sidanius and Felicia Pratto, *Social Dominance: An Intergroup Theory of Social Hierarchy and Oppression* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1999): pp. 31-49.

Jonathan Panter, ["Life Among Syria's Not-So-Secret Police,"](#) *The Wall Street Journal*, 13 July 2011.

David Smith, ["Has Gaddafi Unleashed a Mercenary Force on Libya?"](#), *The Guardian*, 22 February 2011.

Sabina Amidi, [" Hamas Helping Iran Crush Dissent,"](#) *The Jerusalem Post*, 17 June 2009.

David Gollust, ["US Says Iran Helping Syria Quell Protests,"](#) *Voice of America*, 14 April 2011.

Saba Imtiaz, ["Fauji Foundation headhunts for Bahrain's security units,"](#) *The Express Tribune*, 11 March 2011.

Simulation 1 instructions and readings to be distributed

October 24 – Deprivation of Liberty and Detention in Democratic Regimes

International Limitations (SKIM)

[Body of Principles for the Protection of All Persons under Any Form of Detention or Imprisonment, G.A. Res. 43/173, U.N. Doc. A/RES/43/173 \(Dec. 9, 1988\).](#)

Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners, ECOSOC Res. 663 C (XXIV), 31 July 1957 and ECOSOC Res. 2076 (LXII), 13 May 1977.

Alfred de Zayas, "Human rights and indefinite detention," 87(857) *International Review of the Red Cross* (2005): pp. 15-21 ONLY.

Immigration and Political Asylum

Alice Bloch and Liza Schuster, "At the extremes of exclusion: Deportation, detention and dispersal," 28(3) *Ethnic and Racial Studies* (2005): pp. 491-493; 497-503 ONLY.

States of Emergency and Terrorism

John Ferejohn and Pasquale Pasquino, "The law of the exception: A typology of emergency powers," 2 *International Journal of Constitutional Law* (2004): pp. 228-237 ONLY.

Linda Camp Keith and Steven C. Poe, "Are Constitutional State of Emergency Clauses Effective? An Empirical Exploration," 26(4) *Human Rights Quarterly* (2004): pp. 1071-1078; 1096-1097 ONLY.

Stephanie Cooper Blum, "Preventive Detention in the War on Terror: A Comparison of How the United States, Britain, and Israel Detain and Incapacitate Terrorist Suspects," IV(3) *Homeland Security Affairs* (2008): pp. 1-3; 12-13; 21-22 ONLY.

Psychiatric Detention

S.M. White, "Preventive detention must be resisted by the medical profession," 28 *Journal of Medical Ethics* (2002): pp. 95-98.

Katherine Pouba and Ashley Tianen, "Lunacy in the 19th Century: Women's Admission to Asylums in the United States of America," 1 *Oshkosh Scholar* (2006): pp. 95-103. SKIM

Optional Film Screening (Time/Date to be arranged) of *The Changeling*. For further information on the case, see:

Rachel Abramowitz, ["The Other Son,"](#) *Los Angeles Times*, 19 October 2008.

October 31 – Deprivation of Liberty and Detention in Non-Democratic Regimes

Jim Sidanius and Felicia Pratto, *Social Dominance: An Intergroup Theory of Social Hierarchy and Oppression* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001): pp. 205-221 ONLY.

Disappearances in Latin America

Howard M. Kleinman, "Disappearances in Latin America: A Human Rights Perspective," 19 *NYU Journal of International Law and Politics* (1986-1987): pp. 1033-1042 ONLY.

Maureen R. Berman and Roger S. Clark, "State Terrorism: Disappearances," 13 *Rutgers Law Journal* (1981-1982): pp. 531-547 ONLY.

Concentration and Internment Camps in Bosnia: Detention as a State-Building Strategy

PBS, *Frontline*, "[Mapping the Serbian Concentration Camps](#)" and "[The Horrors of a Camp Called Omarska and the Serb Strategy](#)."

Quarantine: Detention as a Public Health Strategy

Paul Farmer, "Pestilence and Restraint: Guantanamo, AIDS, and the Logic of Quarantine," in *Pathologies of Power: Health, Human Rights and the New War on the Poor* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005): pp. 51-54; 69-79 ONLY.

Detention and "Reeducation Camps" in China

Harry Wu, "[Labor camps reinforce China's totalitarian rule](#)," *CNN Specials*, 1999.

Watch: "[China: Concentration Camps are Exposed](#)."

Watch: "[Soft Detention Keeps Free Chinese Dissidents Imprisoned](#)," *NTD Television*.

Danny Vincent, "[China used prisoners in lucrative internet gaming work](#)," *The Guardian*, 25 May 2011.

["Farmers Sent to Reeducation Camp."](#) *Radio Free Asia*, 15 August 2011.

Tania Branigan, "[Chinese police 'to detain suspects without telling families'](#)," *The Guardian*, 26 August 2011.

Simulation 2 instructions and readings to be distributed

November 7 – Clean Torture Techniques in Democratic Regimes

Darius Rejali, *Torture and Democracy*, "Introduction"; Chapter 1 ("Modern Torture and its Observers"); and Chapter 2 ("Torture and Democracy"), pp. 1-63.

Torture in Germany: The "Ticking Bomb" Scenario

Richard Bernstein, "Kidnapping has Germans Debating Police Torture," *The New York Times*, 10 April 2003.

Torture and Ethnic Minorities in Europe

"Turkish man killed under Dutch police torture," *World Bulletin*, 8 July 2011.

Torture and TV

Watch: http://www.newyorker.com/online/video/2007/02/19/070219_Mayer

November 14 – Clean Torture Techniques in Non-Democratic Regimes

Darius Rejali, *Torture and Democracy*, Chapter 9 (“Singing the World Electric”), pp. 201-224 ONLY; Chapter 20 (“Supply and Demand for Clean Torture”), pp. 414-419 ONLY.

Simulation 3 instructions and readings to be distributed

PART III: COUNTRY CASE STUDIES

November 21 – Iran

Hossein Aryan, “[Iran’s Basij Force: The Mainstay of Domestic Security](#),” *Radio Free Europe*, 7 December 2008.

Documentary (clips): “[Iran Militia Man: I Hope God Forgives Me](#).” Channel 4 News, 16 December 2009. WATCH VIDEOS ON PAGE.

Omar Sial, “[A Guide to the Legal System of the Islamic Republic of Iran](#),” Read “The Judiciary” and “The Court System.” SKIM the rest.

Frances Harrison, “[Iran Police move into fashion business](#),” BBC News, 2 January 2007.

Anthony Cordesman, “[US and Iranian Strategic Competition: Iran’s Perceptions of its Internal Development](#),” CSIS, 17 May 2011. Read pp. 1-8.

Darius Rejali, *Torture and Democracy*, Chapter 8 (“Convictions into Prisons”), pp. 113-132.

November 28 – United States of America

Gabriella Blum and Philip B. Heymann, “Introduction” (pp. xi-xv ONLY) and “The Complicated Relationship between Counterterrorism and Legality” (pp. 7-25) in *Laws, Outlaws, and Terrorists: Lessons from the War on Terrorism* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2010).

Kenneth Roth, “After Guantanamo: The Case Against Preventive Detention,” *Foreign Affairs* (May/June 2008).

Thomas R. Eddlem, “[McCain Proposes Indefinite Detention Without Trial for Citizens](#),” *The New American*, 18 April 2010.

Matthew Waxman, “[9/11 Lessons: Terrorist Detention Policy](#),” *Council on Foreign Relations: First Take*, 26 August 2011.

Don Mitchell and Lynn A. Staeheli, “Permitting Protest: Parsing the Fine Geography of Dissent in America,” 29(4) *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* (2005): pp. 796-813.

Dahlia Lithwick, “[You Say Torture, I Say Coercive Interrogation](#),” *Slate*, 1 August 2011.

Massimo Calabresi, ["The U.S. Committed Torture. Was It Worth It?"](#), *Time Magazine*, 2 August 2011.

Leonard Rubenstein, ["An End to Psychologists' Role in Interrogation?"](#), *Huffington Post*, 16 August 2011.