

#### IV. SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND REPRESSION

Apr	07	State responses to social movements Read ch. 4 in Johnston, <i>States and Social Movements</i> , "Repressive States and Protest." Six questions due
	09	The repressive repertoire. Read "Social Movements in Authoritarian States," in the section IV subfolder, documents section of Bb.
	14	The Policing of Protest. Read Soule and Earl, "Seeing Blue." In Bb Six questions due.
	16	Read McCarthy and McPhail, "Places of Protest," in Bb.
	21	Revolutions. Read ch. 5 in Johnston, <i>States and Social Movements</i> , "Revolutions and States." Six questions due.
	23	
	28	Class lecture on theories of revolutions (not on quiz 4, on quiz 5). No questions due.
	30	<b>FOURTH QUIZ. NO MAKE-UPS, NO RESCHEDULING, NO EXCEPTIONS.</b>

Figure 1. "Commemorating Children's Day" at Tiananmen Square  
Tiananmen - massacred students in the democracy movement

#### I. Introduction to Protest in Repressive States

##### A. What is a repressive state?

###### 1. Recall the CERP variables

- (a) Different dimensions that democracies can vary upon
  - i) Variation by social groups
- (b) Citizenship
- (c) Equality of influence
  - i) Campaign finance laws in US fall short
- (d) Representativeness
- (e) Protection of law, Rule of law

###### 2. Also, there is variation by social group

###### 3. Media freedom is an essential ingredient of an open system

###### 4. Even in highly repressive societies, there are "islands of freedom" that can exist (or "free spaces, the scholarly term")

###### a) See Burmese music article

##### B. Types of Repressive states

###### 1. Totalitarian regimes--N. Korea

- a) State control penetrates deeply into daily lives of citizens
- b) Fear is used as a tool to control the population--state terror
  - (1) N. Korea is likely the most repressive state
    - (a) Even in the most repressive, totalitarian state, there have been some protest
    - (b) Probably crushed pretty severely
  - (2) East Germany was pretty close to a totalitarian regime
    - (a) German's known for automobiles and efficiency
    - (b) East German police force was immensely efficient

- (c) Archives of secret police - *Stazi* - 1 in 10 East German citizens were informers on other people, that's unsettling
- (d) Spouses reporting on each other and they don't even know
- (3) You can't know who you can and can't trust?
- (4) Russia - not exactly a totalitarian regime
- (5) Saudi Arabia - yes, especially if you're a woman. Repressive in terms of what's permitted and not.

## 2. Authoritarian states

a) These offer somewhat more freedom to their citizens

b) Examples are Russia (today) and China

c) There are several characteristics of modern high-capacity authoritarian regimes

(1) One party rule (or where other parties are permitted, they rarely get 10% of the vote). These are facade parties.

(a) China does not have façade parties

i) Except that the Internet says they have 8 nationally recognized parties....

(1) No longer an assured test questions, but interesting

ii) State capacity: competence and power in controlling it's territory

iii) Most modern states are high capacity

iv) Instability and insurgency is lower

v) Facade parties: show parties, window dressing parties

vi) Russia: there are other parties, often they are organized by the central party, to show that we're democratic

vii) The existence of another party confers legitimacy on the ruling party

(1) "They don't have to vote for us"

viii) There are NO OTHER PARTIES IN POWER IN COMMUNISM

(1) Communist China does not accept other parties

(2) "We as leaders know what's best for you"

(2) Extensive social control apparatus

(3) highly centralized state functions

(a) Federalized governments are not often found

(b) Centralized chain of command that's very clear

(4) Media control

(a) Example - figure 1 mentioned above

(5) Clientalism--this is a major source of state power

(a) Because the state is all powerful, the state controls jobs

(b) The state gives jobs to people who are then beholden to the state, lest they lose their jobs

(6) Corruption

(a) Authoritarian regimes are highly corrupt

(b) Because they answer to nobody

(7) Vigilantes and thugs as enforcers

## C. Models of Repression and Protest

### 1. Rational Choice Model

a) As repression increases, protests decrease

(a) Graphic

(b) Y- Protest level, X-Repression

### 2. Frustration-aggression model

- a) **Here the relationship is flipped**
    - (a) As the police get more aggressive and violent, protesters get more aggressive and violent
  - b) Both models make their own kind of sense
  - c) **The thinking is that as repression increases the frustration and aggression of the protesters increases too --> more intense protest**
    - (a) The reading due today said, it's nice to have lofty theories, but when you hit the ground they often don't work
    - (b) In Hong Kong, riots and protests were kind of going down, and then when the police had tear gas and violence, the riots went back up again
    - (c) These portrayal of linear relationships are at best they are thought experiments, an ideal relationship
  - d) **In actuality, the true relationships between protest and repression is more complex that the simplified relationships that these linear models portray**
    - (a) At the "point of proportionality" (tear gas and batons) the protests then begin to increase, U-shaped graph, downward then upward
    - (b) Reflects moral outrage
  - 3. Inverted U-shape, deterrence
  - 4. **Moral outrage model--this portrayed by a U-shaped curve**
  - 5. **Deterrence model**
    - (a) There were graphic representations of the inverted U and U combined that is combined
    - (b) As repression increased, protests increase, then down, then people don't put up with it... in the reading!
- D. Unobtrusive protest in repressive states**
- 1. **The most basic and most microscopic form of protest in repressive states is "oppositional speech situations"**
    - a) **The participants in these recognize that others are trusted, and know the rules**
      - (a) Very small, people getting together with trusted friends
      - (b) Jokes were a way to make these oppositional statements
    - b) **Joking is a way to criticize the state but with deniability, which makes telling jokes a way to test people's trustworthiness**
      - (1) **It also functions as a psychological safety valve to help navigate the double life of authoritarian living**
  - 2. **Duplicitous groups--it is common that some groups that are officially recognized often function as centers of oppositional talk**
    - a) **There are :official" oppositional speech situations where the vert goal is benign but the covert reason is to meet and talk prohibited talk**
  - 3. **Dissidence--these are groups that risk a lot, usually formed around well-known intellectuals**
    - a) **A distinguishing characteristic is that dissident actions push into the public forum in ways that duplicitous groups do not**
      - (a) Intellectuals themselves are often safe, but the lower-class people are in great danger
  - 4. **A further step into the public space is with hit-and-run protests**
    - a) **The key here is the limited public resonance--it touches an audience that would not have received a political message otherwise**
      - (a) Example) Lenin statue with an outstretched hand

- i) University kids would put a shit in his hand and bread behind his back  
- offering the public shit and keeping the bread for himself
    - ii) Hit and run protest/placement
    - iii) Some police would just laugh and move on, others grumble and take care of it
  - b) Clandestine placements, graffiti, event seizures**
    - (a) Seizure- event planned for one group, overt objective with covert objective
    - (b) Funerals of people killed by the police - turned into political statements
    - (c) Concerts
  - c) Example of Lenin's statue: the pile of BS in his outstretched hand, and bread loaf behind his back**
  - d) Example of event seizures: concerts where prohibited songs are sung, soccer matches**
    - (1) The 'grass-mud horse' handout, a seizure of children's songs
- 5. Finally, the paper, "The Game's Afoot" mentions the concept of repertoire transition**
  - a) Here movements in repressive regimes take up the modern repertoire, but with a difference**
  - b) There is a kind of "double-speak" that enters here because they are about proxy issues**
    - (a) In the opposition to communism in East Germany, began in the women's movement and in the church
- E. The key ideas regarding these kinds of unobtrusive protests**
  - 1. They are collective actions that are not within the modern modular repertoire-- hence the term "repressive repertoire"**
  - 2. They break the "veil of silence" (or "pass") in repressive societies**
    - a) This lets others know that there are other dissenters out there too**
  - 3. Repressive regimes are not monoliths of control and "preference falsification," which has been used to explain the durability of authoritarian regimes**
    - a) Timur Kuran, Private Truths, Public Lies**
  - 4. Albert Hirschman analyzes the rational choices regarding protest. There are three options available**
    - a) Pass--or preference falsification, where you just don't speak up**
    - b) Exit--if you are unhappy with the regime ... leave**
  - 5. The "Game's Afoot" reading stresses the field of play in authoritarian regimes -- the opposition *and* the state are both players, mutually affecting each other**
    - a) The key point is that the state is not a monolith of repression with no gaps and free spaces**
      - (1) As we saw in the video: Agnieszka had a relationship with a CP boss; also her son was a member of the militia**
        - (a) BTW, in real life the woman was Ann Walentznowicz**
        - (b) The security apparatus is never a monolith of repression with no free spaces**
    - b) There is complexity on the side of the movement when we are talking about anti-authoritarian oppositions**
      - (1) In Poland, it was the workers movements**
      - (2) Also, the role of the Roman Catholic Church in Poland and in the Philippines; in E. Germany evangelical church (Lutheran).**

- (1) There was a dictator named Marcos in the Philippines, there was a people's movement
    - (2) Church was strongly on the side of the opposition
    - (3) Catholic church in Poland and Philippine
  - (3) There is also ideological diversity in the opposition, especially when it looks like the regime is precarious**
    - (a) E.g., the social democrats vs. the communists, who hated each other**
      - (1) Socialists wanted to work through elections, communists wanted to overthrow the states
      - (2) The communist party will take reign of the elections and lead us to communism
      - (3) Authoritarian regimes often let people practice their religions, they see it as safe
        - (a) But it's not controlled by the state, free ground for religious faith and political ideas
    - ii) Even though they were all on the left, they hated each other due to minor ideological differences
  - c) This view also shifts emphasis away from the creativity of the repressive repertoire**
    - (1) Duplicity -- especially the "double-talk quality" of authoritarian life**
    - (2) Creativity -- as in the clandestine placements**
    - (3) Triggering -- as in breaking Kuran's notion of "preference falsification"**
      - (1) The emperor has no clothes, and nobody speaks up about it
      - (2) So nobody talks about how they're NOT okay with the regime, so everyone thinks everyone else is okay with the regime
- 6. Factors on the state side of the equation**
- a) Elite diversity --> elite interest shift**
    - (1) The term that was used in the paper was that the "protection pact" that gave rise to the regime in the first place breaks down**
    - (2) This often is given impetus by global pressures**
      - i) International condemnation to the Apartheid in South Africa, business investments were being pulled out, they oppressed 80% of the population
  - b) In authoritarian regimes we mentioned clientalism**
    - (1) This often gets translated into "kleptocracy" regimes of theft and self-enrichment**
      - (1) Cadre - term for (communist) party members
    - (2) This imparts stability in the short term, but in the long term there is a seething illegitimacy of the leadership, as in China**
      - i) Call them Little Princes, Princings - raised in privilege
  - c) Numerous levels of security and enforcement**
    - (1) National army or police vs. local police and security**
      - (a) The national police are always seen as more ruthless
- 7. A police-centered approach or "blue approach" fits the fine-grained perspective developed in the paper**
- a) One approach is the "political elite model" that the police protect the interests of the ruling classes**

- (1) The findings were that the most radical challenging groups were not necessarily the ones most violently repressed
  - i) Police are really interested in LOSS OF CONTROL
- b) The key factors in police violence were:
  - (1) Loss of control of the situation
    - (a) If they think they're losing control, there will be police violence and repression
    - (b) Dirty Harry: police beating people with batons, crossing the line
  - (2) Reducing personal risk
  - (3) Large numbers of demonstrators
  - (4) The presence of counter-demonstrators --> Dirty Harry tactics
    - (a) The "calling-all-cars" approaches
  - (5) Violent tactics, property damage, missile throwing

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## STRIKE - movie

Shipyard workers.

POLAND 70s

Socialist party? Workers

Agnieszka - works 270% wins an award and TV set - heroine of labor

She's got a son Krystian

Shipyard's party committee - the Union is very big brother, hitler, controlling evil -isj

She complains about lunch break not being long enough

Canteen is 30 minutes walk away, has soup and women's bathrooms, lunch is 30 minutes

Wants to switch to crane shift, doesn't know how to read, son and new trumpet-neighbor teach her

Apple pie apparently means sex

Switches to crane shift, throws up because of heights... nope she's got cancer! And is going to die

Trumpet-neighbor says kid is his son, will take care of him

She buys her own gravestone

They get married and it's a gorgeous wedding photo

Friends give them a honeymoon trip to the sea

"Drink away all your bitter sorrows so your life will be sweet as honey."

Trumpet-neighbor/Kazimierz has some heart problem and needs his pills

He dies and gets the gravestone she bought

Shipyard gets renamed after Lenin (?)

Her tumor left

Guys who work in the lower parts of the ship, covered in soot and smoke, they work a ton overtime, need sleep, can barely make a deadline, so much work

Agnieszka refuses to tell the workers to get back to work, party leader pushes

Some oil spoiled, guy lit a cigarette and threw the match, people on fire and in major trouble,

Agnieszka pulls two guys out with her crane, people jumping in the water

21 dead people, one of them is her drunk friend

Accident, "just write human error"

Wives of the dead don't get any money from their dead husbands work

The "so-called union"

Agnieszka confronts the union leader, "beware the leader Bochnak"  
She gets a bonus for overtime, has to do with the timecards, just forget about the time card lies you saw  
Bochnak comes to give her money to keep silent, then she threatens him and is awesome  
"you'll die like a dog"  
Returns the TV "I don't want presents from you"  
Her son is super tall, he did well on his exams and wants to go to university at Warsaw  
She threatens his college acceptance  
Widow's pension arrived for the wives whose husbands died in the fire  
Henryk the party/union leader is her son's father! He's never met him  
Removed from the list of Women's brigade delegates - she was elected to it and they removed it  
Son enlisted, then he can go to polytechnics school  
She gets people to go to the Party Committee, because they actually have wage power (?), they break through the gates that keep them in the shipyard  
Met with a lil tank and a line of military  
She and her friend try to get all the workers to stop, they've got pipes and rocks, provoking the police (there's only like 20 of them)  
Rioting in the city, fires, police violence  
Jail - striped, given thin PJ-like clothing  
"You can rehabilitate yourself if you give us information...names"  
Beaten, released  
She tells her son who his father is  
He goes to see him, just wanted to know what he looked like  
Gdnasnk  
She gets fired because of pamphlets  
She helps write for them  
Big support for Agnieszka, at the political party/union meeting for negotiations  
Strike - solidarity with her  
Her friend settles for 1,500 zloty  
Monument erected for 1970 fire victims  
She wants to stop them from leaving the strike, "we can achieve so much more"  
We have to support them, like they supported us - the other shipyards  
She talks in a mic, gets them to stop, strike goes on, they start singing song about Poland  
Demands a free workers union  
No army of tanks can change my mind  
Approved 21 points - gov't from Warsaw  
Her friend Leszek is the leader for their negotiations  
By winning, they lost their solidarity, being divided meant they couldn't fix what came

Movement in Poland called Solidarity  
Poland was communist  
Party rules on behalf of the workers - communist party  
Strike was about an independent workers union - gave their lives to a union that was independent of the communist state  
Polish state was an inadequate of workers' interests

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**Chapter 5** of *States & Social Movements* re: Revolutions will not be on Quiz 5. Quiz 5 is postponed to next Tuesday, April 28th! No questions due on the 28th due to this shift.

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### **MOVIE: "The Wall: A World Divided"**

Berlin wall

Ordinary journalists (?)

Make a revolution without a shot being fired

It's now or never, ordinary people brought the wall down

As the wall came down, world leaders came together to end 30 years of cold war hostility

Brought one-time enemies together to change the course of history

Soviet Union - East Germany occupied

Americans, British, French - West, Democrat, Federal

City was deep within Soviet Occupied Berlin, the capital

Berlin divided among the victors

Eastern half controlled by the Soviets, Western half by the allies

West Berlin - non communist island within a communist nation

Many people crossed the border, east to west

East Germany had lost millions of its citizens to West Berlin, then you could be resettled

1945-46 - if they didn't like communist, lack of political freedom, lack of prospects

1 refugee out of east Germany every minute

East Germany's loss of labor force threatened its economic status

Needed to physically stop East Germans from crossing

Hubert (guy in charge) - "No one has any intention of building a wall"

Young ambitious politician was in charge of the wall - summer Saturday night, sprain the trap - barbed wire and cement, wooden planks

By 6 AM in the morning it was all done

In the North side, some apartments front doors opened onto West Berlin, then they were no longer allowed to use their front doors, they were East Berliners - running across the street before the police could catch them

Lucky they left when they did, and lived on the first floor

Many people lost their lives because of the strange situation

All the windows and doors on the street were bricked over

City cut through its center

1961 SEPTEMBER - wall went up

Checkpoint Charlie - American and Soviet tanks head to head

News correspondent stands in the middle, and saw a great picture

Watched Berlin for 48 hours - both sides backed down - stand off - last time US openly opposed the Soviets

Took 28 years to knock the barrier down

Platforms built on either side so families could see each other

Father - working in West Berlin when the border closed, kids and wife were in the East

Father built a tunnel with friends and family to get his family back, dug for 3 weeks

East German Border guards challenged them - may have been betrayed - other couple he was helped may have been agents of the secret police - Father guy was armed, his brothers were on



the other side of the wall, sent his wife on, guard raised his machine gun - "you have to shoot, or he shoots your family"

Guard died or from hail of bullets let lose by other guards

Escaping through barbed wire, homemade bombs and trucks

Beefed up the wall - higher, broader, longer - surrounded west Berlin, 12 feet tall

From East Berlin - there's a little wooden wall, then you're in 60-90 yards from West Berlin,

Security Border Fence - wired fence, 8 ft high, set off alarm when you climb it, automatic search light

Watch towers every 200 meters, with heavily armed guards

Then the death strip, no mans' land, dogs, automatic machine guns on trop wires, sand

Then the "border marker," the 12 ft high concrete barrier, smooth cement on the top, impossible to grip

Hardly anybody got through the wall fortifications

Cross via truck or plane, etc.

The Berlin wall was like 5 walls

East Berlin claimed it was to keep others out, but it actually made it a prison

Political realities was very difficult free speech severely limited, state youth groups for youth, traveling outside the country

East German - had some brothers in West Berlin, on the official watch list, the Secret Police caught wind of his Woodstock posters - shtazi had 300 page file on him and a specific plan to infiltrate his private life and prevent him from ever going to university

Shtazi = secret police

900 agents, 200,000 informants

Had information on 1/3rd of the population - hella tons of files

Prison

Isolated, interrogated for hours every day, led to believe his family and friends had all turned on him; cracked him when one of the soldiers looked and acted like his father - he would have told them anything they'd asked

Standard of living as high as the west, but the reality was different, everyday items were often not available

Organized religion was allowed a degree of freedom - ruler's intention was to show that the churches would dry up in a modern society

Young people invited into a church to pray for peace - only protected place in the GDR - only place police and authorities would come inside - early 1980s

Groups of people interested in reform (duplicious groups), not necessarily Christian

East Germany was realizing that it was the most polluted countries in Europe - people dying of issues that were common in Victorians

Peace organizations, feminist groups, anti-nuclear groups

Church became a really attractive place to be

Opposition movement began to form

New secretary of USSR

GHW Bush (?) the VP went to predecessor funeral and met Gorbachev

1987 - Reagan, 1st US president to come to Berlin, to directly confront the Russians about the wall

Reagan's challenge reminded the world the wall was still divided

GHW Bush became president

Whole & Free = reunify the nation that had been divided after WWII

Bush wanted to get to know Gorbachev - afraid that something might happen, be ready, do our homework

Low key meeting with Gorbachev in the future - the world would then be very different  
Austria to the West, to Hungary - open borders - people taking down the barbed wire fence  
East Germans had to leave - they couldn't have their lives  
Forced to flee - abandon their families and property  
East Germans took refuge in the West Berlin consulate thing  
Enormous changes and dramatic shifts could be starting  
1980s  
Developments in Hungary were signaling an end  
October 1989 Gorbachev visited West Berlin  
40th Anniversary of the GDR  
Gorby - Young East Berliners started chanting  
Felt like they were saying "it's now or never"  
Gorbachev - warning to east Berlin regime - "of those who come too late, will be punished,  
punished by history"  
Gorbachev immediately left, then the things began to happen  
Peace praying in churches became a movement  
Woman volunteered for environmentalist for the church, had no idea it made her an enemy of  
the state  
Provided safe haven for a mimeograph machine - printing!!!!  
State had monopoly on distribution of information  
By September - Monday meetings at church were too large for the building  
Carried a banner calling for freedom  
Shtazi agents - enforced the ban on free speech - plain clothed secret agents  
2 days later she was arrested  
Tiananmen Square Beijing - hundreds of youth shot down by police  
East Germany commended the governments action  
Prepare for casualties  
October 9th Showdown  
"The China Option"  
October 9th - 8,000 people in the local churches, left the church, whole square packed with  
people, 70,000 people had shown up  
Church leaders and a famous director called on authorities to NOT attack protestors  
70,000 east Germans had been allowed to criticize their government in public  
No one was talking about taking down the Berlin wall, that would happen by accident  
Incremental step in lifting travel restrictions - when does it take effect - immediately? Not the  
answer the regime meant for him to give - East Germans had opened the wall  
People will be able to move through freely  
Crowd gathered  
Guards had no orders - 28 years of prison came crashing down  
Border guards just opened the wall  
November - craziest day  
It was a huge FLOOD, not one shot was fired  
DC - admin officials tried to nail down the details  
Demonstrators or what?  
AND THEN WHAT  
CHANGE

***Will not be on Test 4, but will be on Test 5***

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