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# STATE CRIME

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State Crime Initiative

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# STATE CRIME

Journal of the International  
State Crime Initiative

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## **ABOUT US**

*State Crime* is administered by the International State Crime Initiative (ISCI). ISCI is a multi-disciplinary, cross-institutional and international initiative designed to collate, analyse and disseminate research based knowledge about criminal state practices and resistance to them. Launched in 2010 with an inaugural lecture by *The Independent's* Robert Fisk, ISCI actively develops and administers diverse spaces which enable state crime researchers to engage in meaningful dialogue with civil society in order to both understand and prevent illicit state practices. ISCI is institutionally supported by King's College London and partnered with Harvard University, the University of Hull and the University of Ulster. Further information on ISCI and its members can be found at the initiative's website: [www.statecrime.org](http://www.statecrime.org)

## **AIMS AND SCOPE**

*State Crime* is the first peer-reviewed, international journal that seeks to disseminate leading research on the illicit practices of states. The concept of state crime is not confined to legally recognised states but can include any authority that exerts political and military control over a substantial territory (e.g the FARC). The journal's focus is a reflection of the growing awareness within criminology that state criminality is endemic and acts as a significant barrier to security and development. Contributions from a variety of disciplinary and theoretical perspectives are welcomed. Topics covered by the journal include, torture; genocide and other forms of government and politically organised mass killing; war crimes; state-corporate crime; state-organised crime; natural disasters exacerbated by government (in)action; asylum and refugee policy and practice; state terror; political and economic corruption; and resistance to state violence and corruption.

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# CONTENTS

## ABSTRACTS

### **Changing Contours of World Order**

Noam Chomsky

### **Between Crime and Doxa: Researching the Worlds of State-Corporate Elites**

David Whyte

### **From the Horse's Mouth: Research on Perpetrators in Guatemala**

Jennifer Schirmer

### **Public Criminology, Victim Agency and Researching State Crime**

Mike Grewcock

### **Britain's Complicity in Genocide: Rwanda 1994**

Hazel Cameron

### **State Torture: Interviewing Perpetrators and Discovering Facilitators**

Martha K. Huggins, Ph.D.

### **Power, Resistance and State Crime – Researching through Struggle**

Kristian Lasslett

### **State Crime Research in West Africa**

Becca Franssen and Thomas MacManus

## AUTHOR BIOGRAPHIES

## CALL FOR PAPERS

## SUBSCRIPTIONS

# ABSTRACTS

## **Between Crime and Doxa: Researching the Worlds of State-Corporate Elites.**

David Whyte  
University of Liverpool

This paper presents a case study on the approach used to research state-corporate elites in post-Saddam occupied Iraq. It reflects on work that took place more than six years ago at three high profile 'reconstruction' meetings which brought together politicians and state officials from both the Iraqi government and the occupying ('Coalition') powers alongside the big business players and other firms interested in exploiting commercial opportunities in Iraq. Earlier papers that reported on the findings of this work concluded that the role of corporations in the occupation of Iraq was central to the occupation regime and the long term aims of the occupation. Corporations were encouraged to enter the Iraqi economy en masse with the lure of unprecedented levels of post-conflict reconstruction contracts. Those contracts were bankrolled by Iraqi oil revenue released for this purpose under UN authorisation. Those funds were distributed under a lax regime of permission in which the completion of work under those contracts were barely scrutinised. What emerged was a close symbiotic relationship between Coalition governments and businesses in post-invasion Iraq that led to the systemic corruption of the reconstruction economy and the creative destruction of the country's industrial infrastructure.

In order to establish a starting point for using those events as a resource for researchers, the paper reflects upon some key theoretical and practical lessons of the case study that might be more widely applied to researching the worlds of state-corporate elites. The paper begins by setting the scene for the research by describing the function of the corporate events that feature in this case study and outlining briefly how those conferences represent a relatively accessible source of data for understanding the worlds occupied by state-corporate elites, although those fora remain a relatively untapped source. The paper then revisits Cohen's groundbreaking work on the 'crimes of the powerful' to explore how such a research agenda in the current era might need to move beyond a framework of denial. The paper then proposes that Bourdieu's work on doxa and habitus may present researchers interested in state and corporate crime with useful tools to access and understand the worlds of the 'powerful'.

## **From the Horse's Mouth: Research on Perpetrators in Guatemala**

Jennifer Schirmer  
University of Oslo

In the early 1980s, Guatemala suffered extraordinary violence perpetrated by its army in which over a quarter of a million people were killed in a scorched-earth campaign. While interviewing relatives of the disappeared in Chile, Argentina, Guatemala and El Salvador in the 1980s, the author found they would often ask, "What leads these security forces to perpetrate such horrific violence?" Intrigued by their question, and dissatisfied with simplistic explanations that describe perpetrators as 'evil' or 'pathological', the author set out to interview those military and civilian elites in Guatemala responsible for shaping a doctrine based on forced disappearance and massacre in order to gain a sense of their mentalities, habits of mind, and justificatory narratives for such violence. This paper is based on the research conducted between 1986 and 1996 on the thinking of army officers and civilian elites responsible for this violence. It will focus on the approach used in gaining access to officers and elites, and in encouraging them to speak frankly through multiple interviews. Also discussed are more general lessons learned from this research.

## **Public Criminology, Victim Agency and Researching State Crime**

Mike Grewcock  
University of New South Wales

This paper engages with contemporary debates on the concept of public criminology to explore how, when researching state crime, criminologists should conceptualise victims. It is argued that what is missing from the debates about public criminology (and much state crime research) is a systematic discussion of victim agency. A number of questions will be addressed throughout the discussion: Can victims be the 'object' of 'neutral' research? Should detainees, for example, be seen primarily as passive victims of state abuse? What role is played by institutional ethics policies, especially those based on medical models? It will be argued that state crime research should acknowledge – if not emphasise – the potential subjective role played by victims; that there is a complex and dynamic inter-relationship between the researcher and the victim that confronts traditional perceptions of criminological research; and that victim resistance, combined with criminological research, can be crucial in designating particular state activities as criminal and constructing the social audience that rejects them.



## **Britain's Complicity in Genocide: Rwanda 1994**

Hazel Cameron  
University of St Andrews

This paper presents a synopsis of detailed research and analysis of British foreign policy in the Great Lakes region of Africa from 1990 and throughout the period of the genocide in Rwanda in 1994. The study under discussion evidences that the rebel guerilla force of the Rwandan Patriotic Front was supported militarily and ideologically by the United Kingdom prior to its 1990 attack on Rwanda from Uganda; throughout the ensuing civil war in Rwanda between the Rwandan Patriotic Front and the forces of the Government of Rwanda; and during the genocide and massacres of hundreds of thousands in Rwanda. The study confirms that the British government had a wealth of intelligence and knowledge of insecurity and violence in Rwanda yet took a positive decision not to act to prevent or stop the killings, thereby omitting to fulfill its obligations in terms of the United Nations Convention on Genocide and International Law. It is suggested herein that the decision-making of the UK government during the period of 1990-1994 was for the advancement of the interrelated goals of maintaining power status and ensuring economic interests in key areas, inferring a substantial degree of complicity in genocide by omission. The approach undertaken for this study illuminates the complexities of how modern politics conditions the institution of international law, a relationship of fascinating complexity and intrigue; a relationship that has evolved and finds expression in such diverse areas as complicity in genocide as captured in this brief insight into Britain's role in the Rwandan genocide.

## **State Torture: Interviewing Perpetrators, Discovering Facilitators, Connecting Dots, Theorizing Cross-nationally**

Martha K. Huggins, Ph.D.  
Tulane University

This paper is divided into six sections beginning with, ‘Studying Torturers but Missing State Torture,’ and asks whether studying torture perpetrators can lead to a theory of state-sponsored torture. The conclusion drawn is “no.” The second section, ‘Researching Perpetrators,’ identifies four research challenges in my study of Brazilian police who had tortured in the country’s authoritarian period (1964-1985). The paper’s third section, ‘From Micro- to Macro-Level: Theorizing Torture Facilitation,’ argues that torture facilitators are the key to understanding state-sponsored torture. Having the capacity to span systemic boundaries, facilitators operate among and within multiple state and non-state organisations. The paper’s fourth section, ‘Comparative Modeling,’ proposes an additional strategy for understanding state-sponsored torture, through comparative analysis – modern torture systems are global, their facilitators traverse national and cross-national boundaries so research and researchers must also. The fifth section, ‘Macro-Level Methodological Issues,’ identifies several research issues associated with globalising an analysis of torture systems. The paper concludes with a model—‘Torture 101’—it contains ten intersecting elements that have characterized state-sponsored torture in both authoritarian Brazil and the formally democratic post-9-11 United States in Guantanamo Bay(Cuba) and Abu Ghraib (Iraq).

## **Power, Resistance and State Crime – Researching through Struggle**

Kristian Lasslett  
University of Ulster

How state crime is recorded in the archives is often first decided on the streets. Indeed struggles of resistance not only constrain state criminals, they also constitute one of the most productive mediums for recording the practices and policies that underpin state crime. Consequently, from a moral and strategic perspective these are struggles from which scholars cannot remain aloof. To that end, generating analytical tools which researchers can use to strategically manoeuvre within such struggles is a pressing challenge for state crime studies. Accordingly the first part of this paper will present an analytical grid that helps sensitise researchers to the balance of forces which condition campaigns to expose state crime. In the second part of the paper this analytical grid will be applied to an empirical case study in an effort to demonstrate the practical research outcomes this shifting balance of forces can engender. It will be concluded that state crime researchers must work with the rhythm of struggle, using research methodologies which allow strategic action.

## **State Crime Research in West Africa**

Becca Franssen and Thomas MacManus  
King's College, London

This article seeks to engage with the methodological difficulties associated with data collection in the West African context and the application of state crime theory to that data. The article looks firstly at the increasingly clandestine nature of state crime in West Africa as a result of a drive for modernisation emanating from the international political and economic community. This article then discusses the post-colonial context and how this impacts on researchers' access to subjects and materials. Throughout, we also examine the epistemological concerns encountered in the attempted application of orthodox western state crime theory to the West African context. Two case studies are employed – Sierra Leone and Ivory Coast – to illuminate the caution researchers must adopt in tackling these issues. The article aims to investigate whether data collection problems can ultimately be overcome and discusses the difficulties associated with attempting to transpose a western theory of state crime to the West Africa.

# AUTHOR BIOGRAPHIES

## Hazel Cameron

Hazel Cameron was awarded a Doctorate at the University of Liverpool in December 2009 and has recently taken up the post of Lecturer in International Relations at the University of St Andrews where she is affiliated with the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies. Hazel is currently completing a monograph which examines the policies of the British and French Governments towards civil unrest in Rwanda throughout the 1990s, culminating in genocide in 1994. The monograph is entitled *Britain's Hidden Role in the Rwandan Genocide: The Cat's Paw* and will be published by Routledge. As well as being a Friend of ISCI, Hazel is also a member of the International Association of Genocide Scholars and Waging Peace

## Becca Franssen

Becca Franssen is a current PhD student at King's College London. After completing her undergraduate (BA Hons) in International Conflict Resolution and Medieval History in 2004 at Wilfrid Laurier University, Canada, Becca moved to the UK to undertake her LLM International Law at the University of Westminster. Becca graduated in 2006 with distinction. Her master's thesis, "Diamonds are a Warlord's Best Friend: State-Corporate Crime, Economic Violence and International Corruption in Sierra Leone", investigated occurrences of state-corporate crime and economic violence in the Sierra Leone diamond trade. It was this work that led Becca to her current research. Becca's PhD thesis: "Peace and Unquiet: Post-conflict Justice in Sierra Leone" looks at international and domestic peacebuilding initiatives in Sierra Leone and aims to understand if and how different forms of justice have operated separately and how they may be reintegrated.

## Mike Grewcock

Mike Grewcock teaches criminal law, criminology and penology at the University of New South Wales. Prior to commencing his PhD at UNSW in 2004, he worked as a solicitor and researcher in London for 13 years specialising in criminal, prison and immigration law. He also spent three years working as a legal and policy officer for the Howard League for Penal Reform, focusing mainly on teenagers in the criminal justice system. More recently, his research interests have shifted towards transnational policing and state crime. *Border Crimes: Australia's War on Illicit Migrants* (Federation Press, 2010) is Michael's latest release and he is co-author of the forthcoming 5th edition of David Brown et al, *Criminal Laws*.

## **Martha K. Huggins**

Martha K. Huggins is Charles A. and Leo M. Favrot Professor of Human Relations in Sociology at Tulane University and a core faculty member of Tulane's Roger Thayer Stone Center for Latin American Studies. A scholar of Brazil for thirty-five years, Martha has taught at three Brazilian universities and two in Europe, has published seven books (two of these also published in Brazil) and written numerous academic articles on South America's largest country. Martha's professional career has focused on state crimes for over three decades, beginning with *From Slavery to Vagrancy in Brazil: Crime and Social Control in the Third World* (Rutgers, 1984), followed by *Vigilantism and the State in Modern Latin America* (Praeger, 1991). Among Martha's books, two have each received two 'distinguished book' prizes--*Political Policing: The United States in Latin America* (Duke, 1998) and *Violence Workers: Torturers and Murderers Reconstruct Brazilian Atrocities* (with Haritos-Fatouros and Zimbardo, California, 2002).

## **Kristian Lasslett**

Kristian Lasslett graduated from the University of Technology, Sydney in 2004 with a First-Class honours degree in Law and a Bachelor of Arts in Communications. He then went on to complete a PhD at the University of Westminster. He is currently a Lecturer in Criminology at the University of Ulster and a Research Fellow at the International State Crime Initiative. Kristian's research focuses on the political economy of state crime and civil conflict. He has conducted extensive field work on the Bougainville conflict in Papua New Guinea, and has published papers on state crime, scientific method and criminological theory in leading international journals. Presently Kristian is carrying out research on land grabbing, corruption and civil society in Papua New Guinea.

## **Thomas MacManus**

Thomas MacManus is a PhD student at King's College London School of Law. He holds a BA in Law and Accounting from the University of Limerick (2002) – which included one year at Tilburg University – and an LLM (with distinction) in International Law from the University of Westminster (2005). Thomas was admitted to the New York State Bar in 2004 and the Role of Solicitors of Ireland in 2008. His doctoral research focuses on the role of the state in facilitating both corporate and organised crime in Ivory Coast. Thomas is Joint Editor of Amicus Journal and has been involved with Pro Bono projects, including Caribbean death row cases.

## **Jennifer Schirmer**

Jennifer Schirmer holds a Ph.D. in Political Anthropology and is Research Professor and Projects Director of the Program on Conflict Analysis and Peace Dialogues at the University of Oslo. In 1998, her book, *The Guatemalan Military Project: A Violence Called Democracy* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998 & 2000), based on over 50 interviews with Guatemalan military officers on the massacre campaign, won the PIOOM award for best human rights book from the Dutch Interdisciplinary Research Program on Root Causes of Human Rights Violations.

Jennifer has served as a special advisor on the Guatemalan military to the United Nations Historical Clarification Commission for Guatemala, and has received two John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation Research and Writing Grants in the Program on Global Security and Sustainability: one for research on “Protagonists of War: The Insurgents’ View: Memories and Justificatory Narratives of the Guatemalan Guerrilla Leaders and Cadre”, and another for research on the Female Relatives of the Disappeared in Latin America in Chile, Argentina, Guatemala and El Salvador. Her article “‘Those Who Die for Life Cannot be Called Dead’: Women and Human Rights in Latin America”, published in the *Harvard Human Rights Journal* of the Harvard Law School (1988), has been reprinted 3 times since its publication.

## **David Whyte**

David Whyte is Reader in Sociology at the University of Liverpool. David researches in the areas of state crime, state-corporate crime and crimes of the powerful, and human rights. His specific research interests include: the regulation of deaths and injuries at work; the private military industry; the role of corporations in conflict and post-conflict situations; and changing forms of regulation under conditions of globalisation. David is the co-author of *Safety Crimes* (Willan Press, 2007) and the editor of *The Crimes of the Powerful: A Reader* (Open University Press, 2008).

# CALL FOR PAPERS

## **State Crime – Journal of the International State Crime Initiative**

### **Editors in Chief**

Prof. Penny Green (*King's College London*)

Dr Tony Ward (*University of Hull*)

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We are delighted to announce the arrival of the first peer-reviewed journal dedicated to state crime scholarship. The journal is interdisciplinary and international and seeks to develop deeper understandings of state crime and institutional deviance. Topics on which articles are invited include: torture; genocide and other forms of government and politically organized mass killing; war crimes; state-corporate crime; state-organized crime; natural disasters exacerbated by government (in)action; asylum and refugee policy and practice; state terror; political and economic corruption; and resistance to state violence and corruption. The journal is keen to feature both empirical and theoretical studies.

The journal will be published twice yearly by Pluto Journals from April 2012. Details of the editorial and peer review arrangements can be found on the website of the International State Crime Initiative ([www.statecrime.org](http://www.statecrime.org)). Articles should be limited to 8,000 words and written and submitted in accordance with the guidelines for authors available on the website.

All queries should be directed to the editorial board at [journal@statecrime.org](mailto:journal@statecrime.org)

Books for review should be sent to Dr. Elizabeth Stanley at [elizabeth.stanley@vuw.ac.nz](mailto:elizabeth.stanley@vuw.ac.nz)



# SUBSCRIPTIONS

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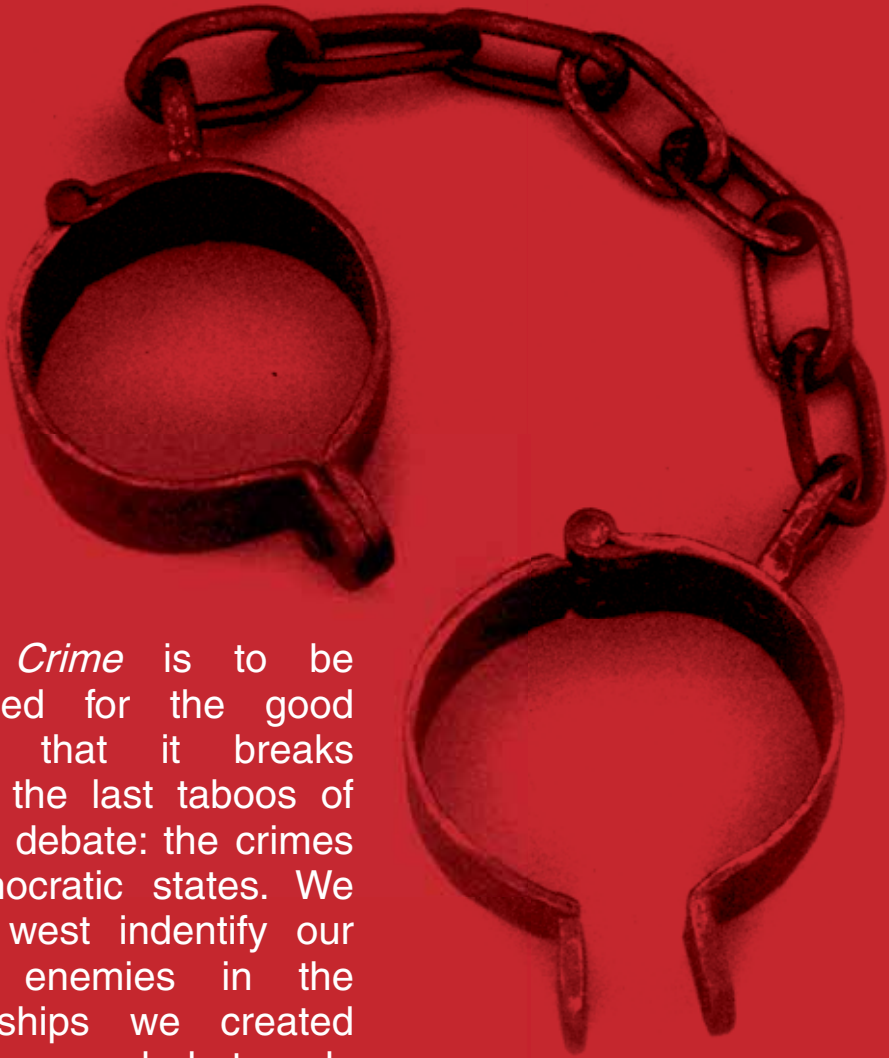
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*“State Crime* is to be welcomed for the good reason that it breaks one of the last taboos of political debate: the crimes of democratic states. We in the west indentify our official enemies in the dictatorships we created or encouraged but only when their usefulness expires. However, we rarely recognise the crimes of the political forces we elect and which are committed in our name.”



**John Pilger**

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