

Poli-416:
**REVOLUTION
& POLITICAL
VIOLENCE**



TODAY'S AGENDA

1

Current events: FARC back to war?

2

What is a civil war? What counts as a rebel group?

3

Changing trends and technologies of war

What happened?

(some) FARC leaders **go into hiding, take up arms** again

Why?

Cite death of 400+ social leaders
150 dead demobilized fighters

New administration

But...

Other demob. call for continuing peace
Hint at peace via constitutional assembly



Pinned Tweet

FARC @PartidoFARC

Más del 90% de exguerrilleros seguimos comprometidos con el proceso de paz. [@TimoFARC](#)

Translated from Spanish by Google

More than 90% of former guerrillas remain committed to the peace process. [@TimoFARC](#)

8:10 AM · Aug 29, 2019 · Twitter for Android





Señor, Presidente
Colombia en Paz, PERO

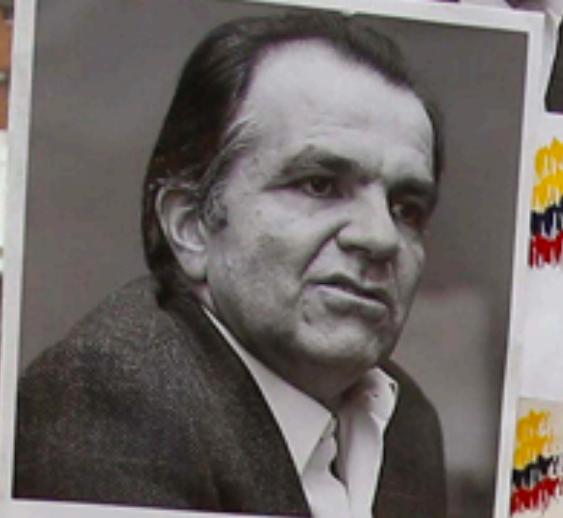
con justicia!!



NO+
Persecución
política



NO+
Persecución
política



NO+
Persecución
política



SANTIAGO URIBE

Detención arbitaria

Víctima de persecución

Colombia está de luto



Diego Palacio
Preso Político

Perseguido por
Corte Suprema de Jus
Politicizada y Prevaricata



The big post-conflict issues

Power vacuum left by FARC

Paramilitaries, drug cartels, and others **“settling old debts”**

New Duque administration **“renegotiating”** agreement

Santrich and special **war tribunals controversy**



2

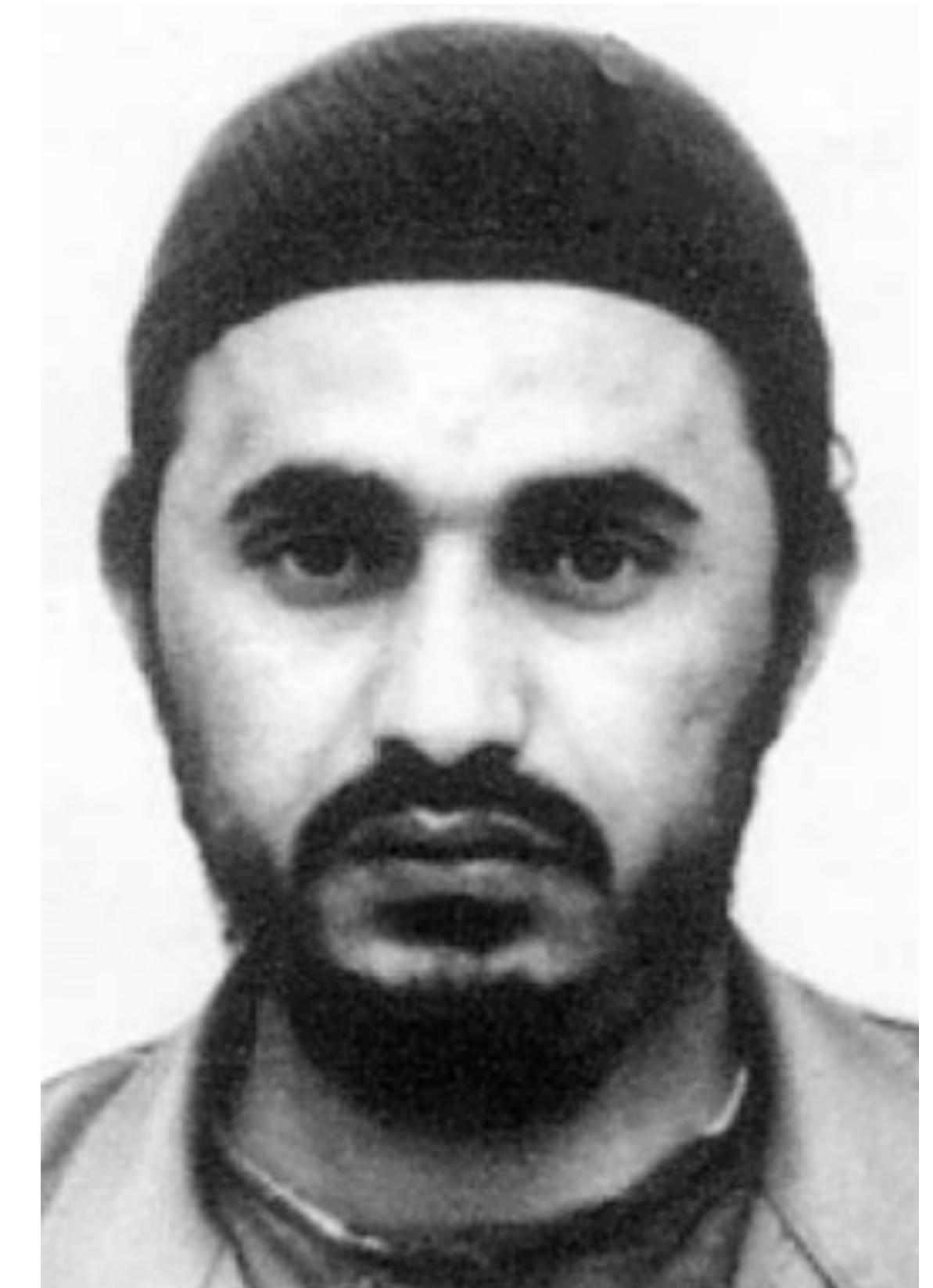
Who counts as a rebel?

Why “violent jihadism”?

9/11 and advent of “War on Terror” shifts focus to violent Islamists/jihadists

Shift in conflict discourse from “rebels” or “militants” to “terrorists”, often “Islamic terrorists”

Are post-9/11 “terrorists” just “rebels”?

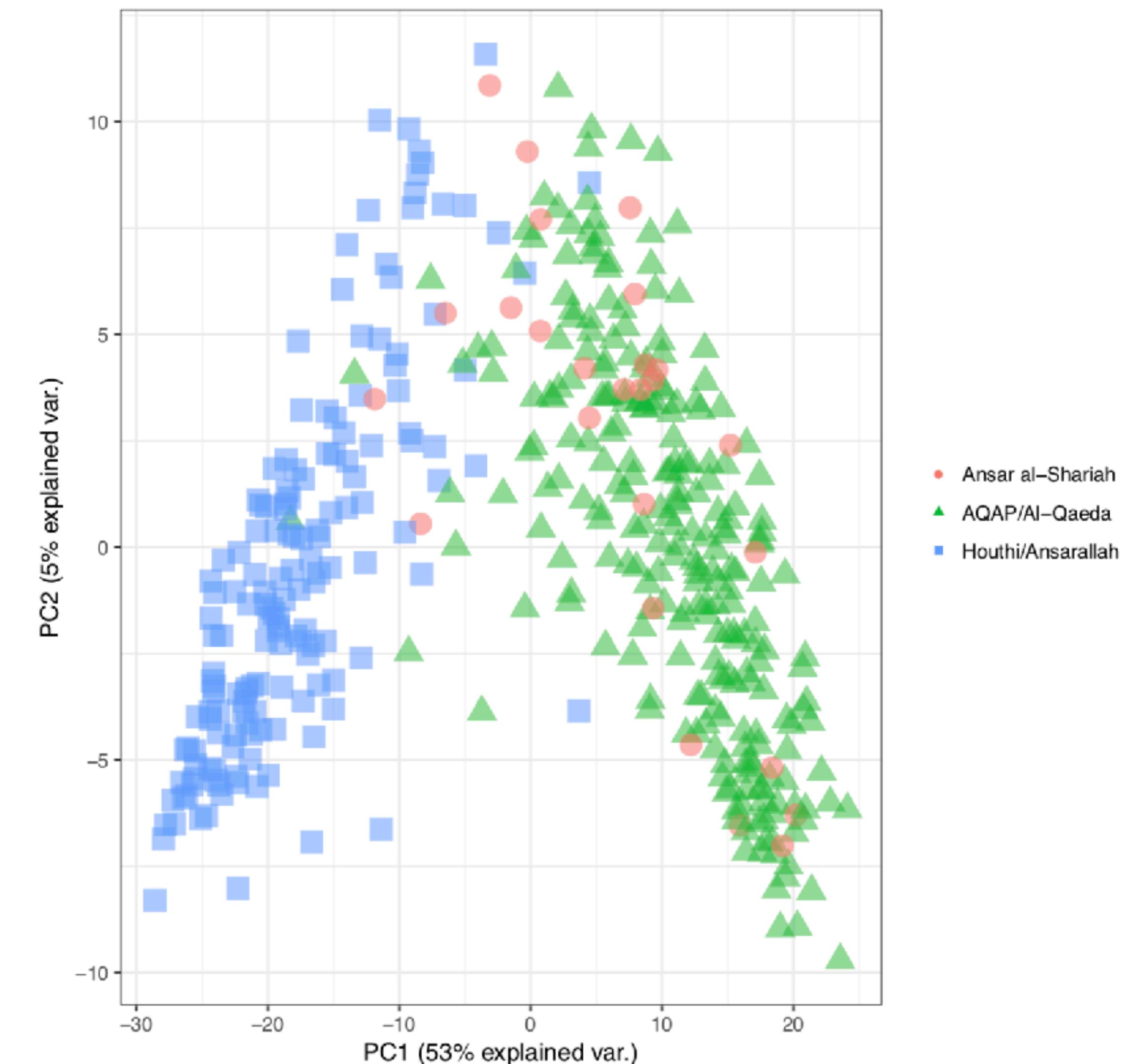


Al-Zarqawi
Al Qaeda in Iraq

News coverage

Foster (2019) uses machine-learning on English-language **news reports** of Al Qaeda in the Arab Peninsula and Houthi groups, both in Yemen

Houthis → “rebels”
AQAP → “militants”



How are they similar?

Kalyvas (2018) argues for lots of similarities between jihadists and “ordinary” rebels:

Ideology (utopian, anti-colonial, flexible)

Revolutionary **vanguard**

Safe **havens** in neighboring countries

Weak, heavy-handed **counter-insurgency**

Terrorism is a **tactic, not an attribute (?)**

How are they different?

**Geographic distinctiveness =
MENA, SE Asia, wider spread**

**Temporal distinctiveness =
Only after end of Cold War**

**Transnational =
Foreign fighters, lone wolves**

Closest kin: Marxist rebels

Marxist rebels

Jihadi groups

Beliefs/ideology

State-building

Ebb and flow of local support

External state support

Rise of Islamism & decline of Marxism

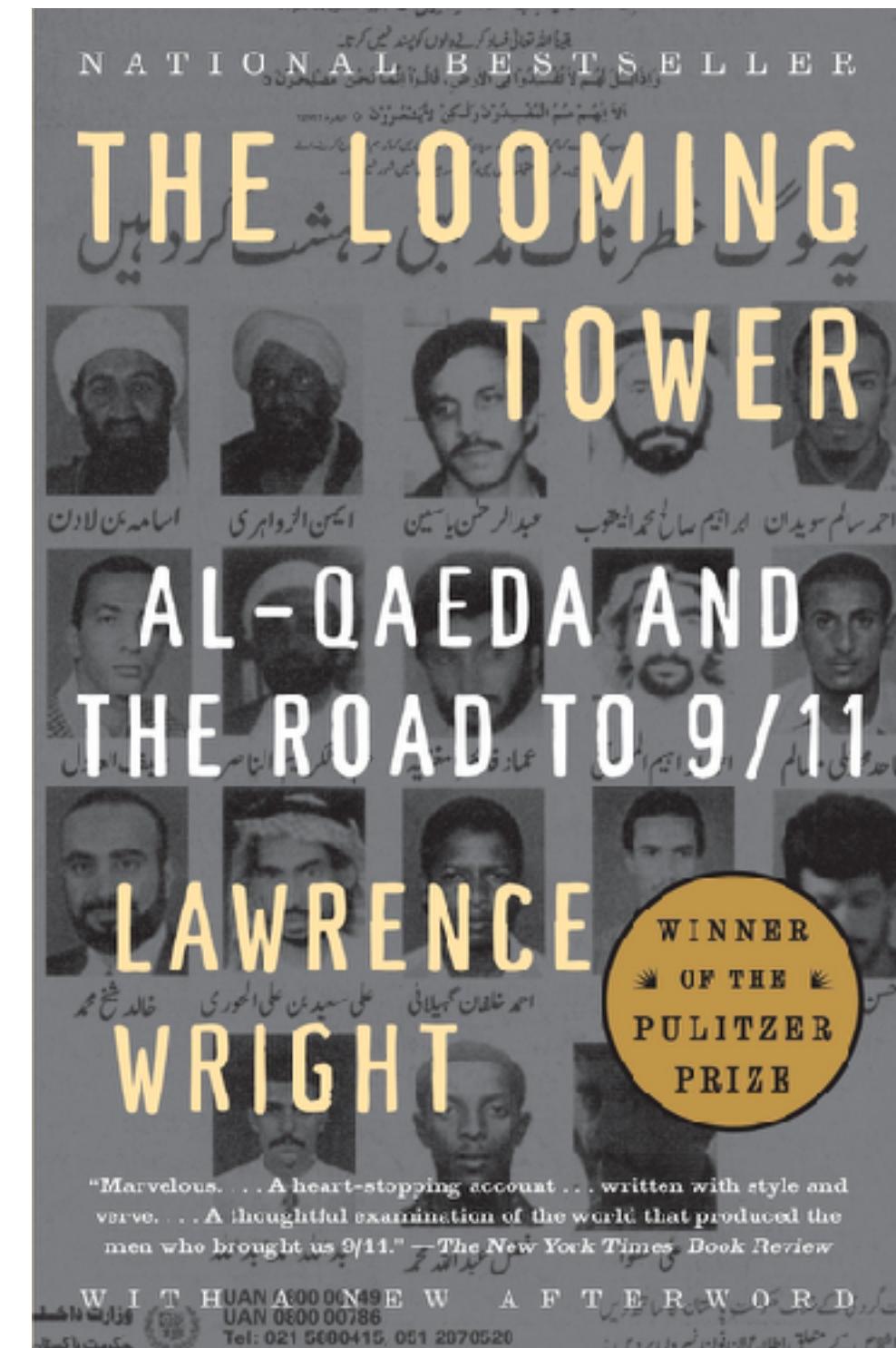
[The West's] social theories, foremost among which is Marxism, in the beginning attracted a large number of people from the East...But now **Marxism is defeated on the plane of thought**, and if it is stated that not a single nation in the world is truly Marxist, it will not be an exaggeration. On the whole **this theory conflicts with man's nature and its needs**. This ideology prospers only in a degenerate society or in a society which has become cowed as a result of some form of **prolonged dictatorship**...

Russia, which is the leader of the communist countries, is itself suffering from **shortages of food**...The main reason for this is the failure...of a **system which is against human nature**



Sayyid Qutb

(1906 - 1966), Egyptian author and theorist



US proxy wars and rise of Islamism

USA direct and indirect strategic support for Islamist groups

Mujahideen in Afghanistan

Free Syria Army (FSA) and Jabhat al-Nusra



But ideology also matters

Groups vary a lot in what **tactics** they use, and this is in part a function of ideology

For example, groups vary a lot in their **propensity to use sexual violence** (Cohen, 2013), even otherwise very violent groups (Tamil Tigers)

Shouldn't Marxist rebels and jihadist groups be quite different then?



Implications

Jihadi groups not so different from rebel groups, and they are especially similar to Marxist insurgencies

Implications:

Wars with jihadi groups less likely to end in negotiations (*next week*)

Jihadi groups unlikely to succeed long-term (**why?**)

Big Picture

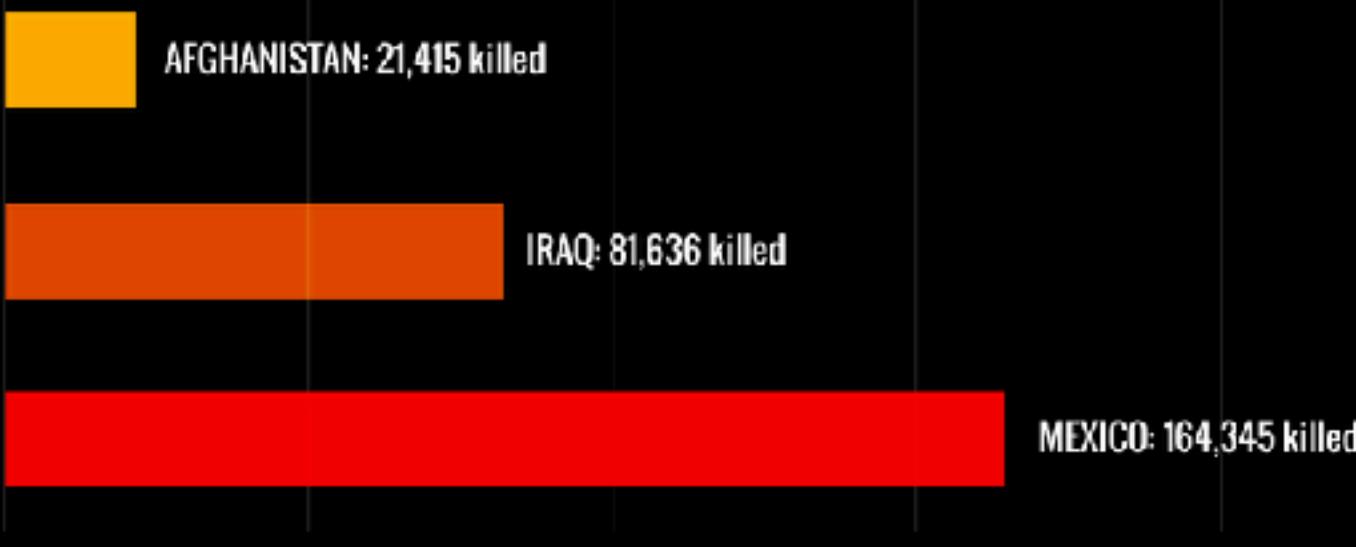
What would you tell someone you learned from
this article?

What about DTOs?

**Are drug-trafficking organizations “rebels”?
Is large scale drug violence = “civil war”?**



Killings in Mexico v. Civilian Deaths in Afghanistan & Iraq Since '07



Sources: Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Geografía e Informática (Mexico); Iraq Body Count; United Nations.



3

Changing Technologies of War

Technologies of rebellion

Irregular wars much more common during Cold War (66%) vs.
after (26%)

Why are civil wars decreasing?

Wars in all shapes and sizes

Strong association between “civil war” & “irregular warfare” but this is wrong



TABLE 1. Technologies of Rebellion in Civil War

		Military Technologies of the State	
		High	Low
Military Technologies of the Rebels	High	Conventional [Successful military coup]	
	Low	Irregular	Symmetric nonconventional



The Diversification of War

Not just **decrease** in irregular war, but a **shift** towards **other kinds** of warfare

Technology of Rebellion	Cold War		Post–Cold War	
	N (1944–90)	% (1944–90)	N (1991–2004)	% (1991–2004)
Conventional	28	27.72	22	47.83
Irregular	67	66.34	12	26.09
Symmetric nonconventional	6	5.94	12	26.09
Total	101	100	46	100

Why the shift?

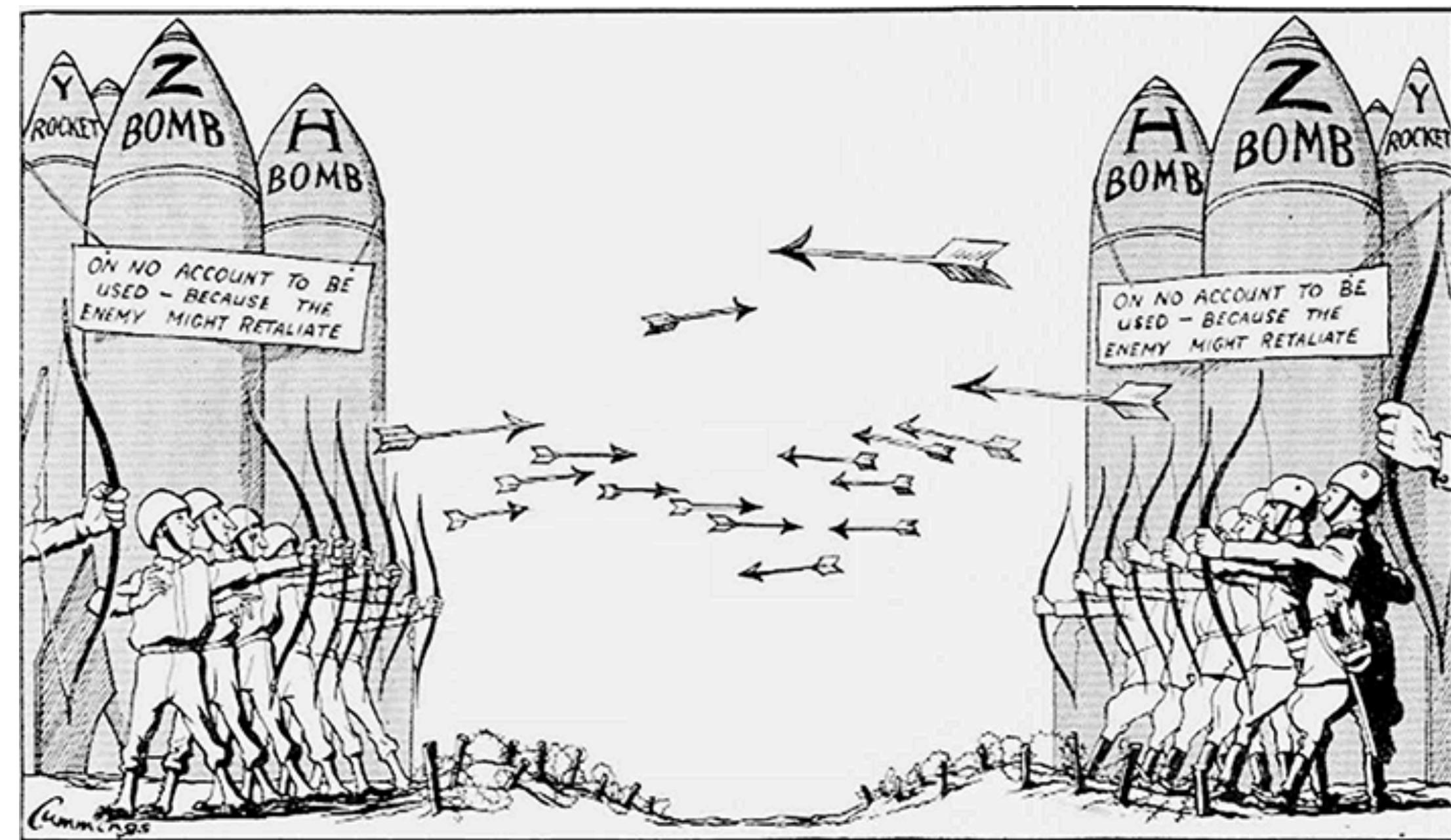
During the Cold War

Cold War provided technology boost to both states and rebels, but rebels benefited most

What did rebels get?

- Material support
- Revolutionary beliefs
- Military doctrine

Why does this asymmetry result in insurgency?



End of Cold War

Three effects

Weaker rebels
Lack of superpower support, weapons

Weaker states
Lack of superpower support

New states
(state collapse, independence)

Why the diversification of war?

Why does end_cold_war -> diversity of war?

**Rebels too weak to mount contest -> “peace”
(Latin America)**

**Weak states become weak enough for SNC
(Sub-Saharan Africa)**

**Dissolution of states
(Yugoslavia)**

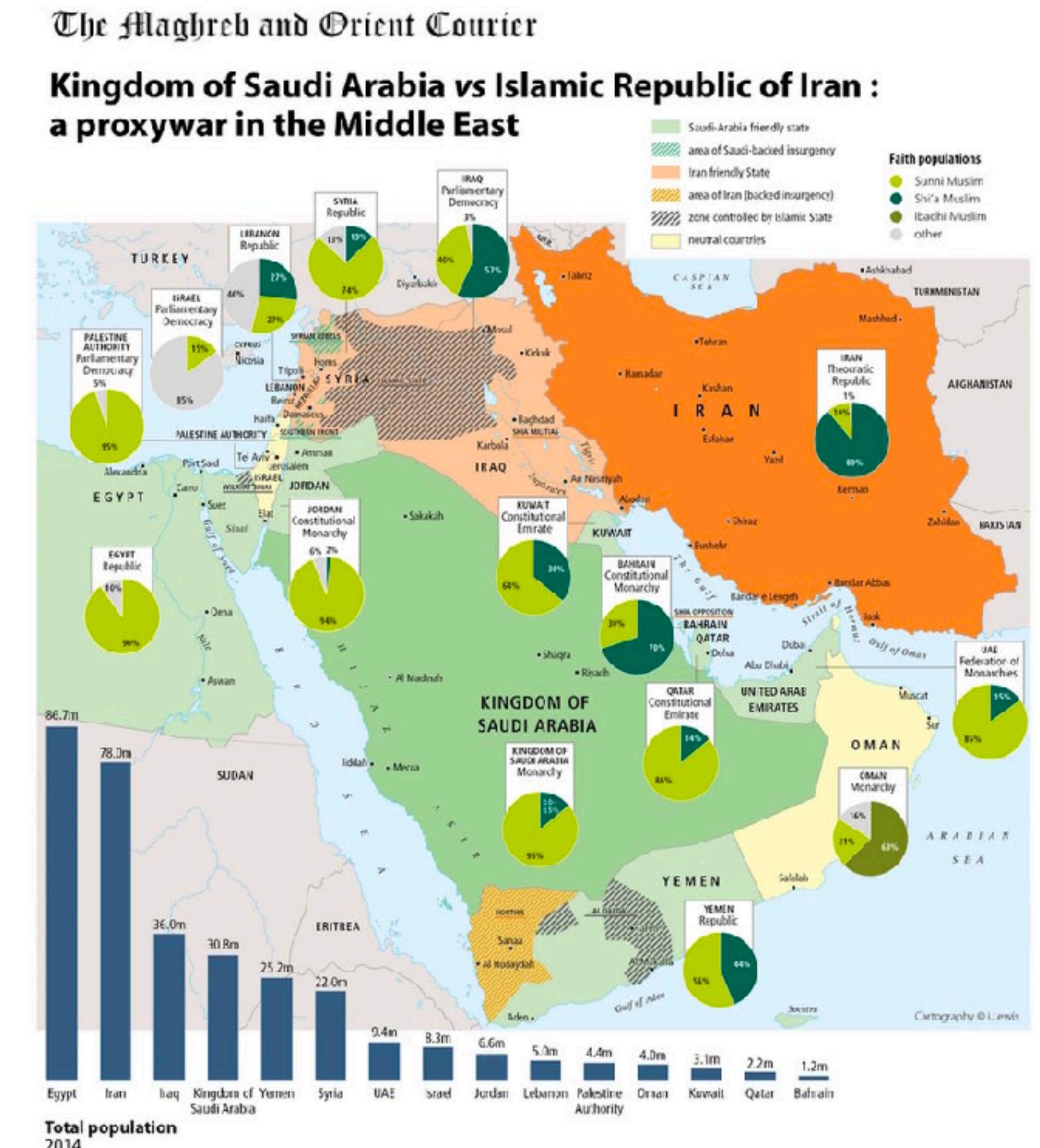
Questions and Implications

Is large-scale state sponsorship really over?
*Russia vs. USA in Syria
Iran vs. Saudi in Yemen*

How do groups finance today vs. the past?

What implications does shift in financing
Have for behavior, organization?

What effect does Cold War have
on how conflicts end? (*thursday*)



Big Picture

What would you tell someone you learned from
this article?