

Poli-416: REVOLUTION & POLITICAL VIOLENCE

DÉDIE
AU GOUVERNEMENT
de la
CONFÉDÉRATION GRENAIDINE.
HOMMAGE de L'AUTEUR

TODAY'S AGENDA

- 1 The graveyard of empires
- 2 Norms in conflict-termination

Who does this sound like?

Country feels threatened by developments in Afghanistan,
decides to invade

Easily takes control of capital BUT

Quickly faces insurgency, hit-and-run attacks

Huge casualties, loss of civilian life

Decade plus of war

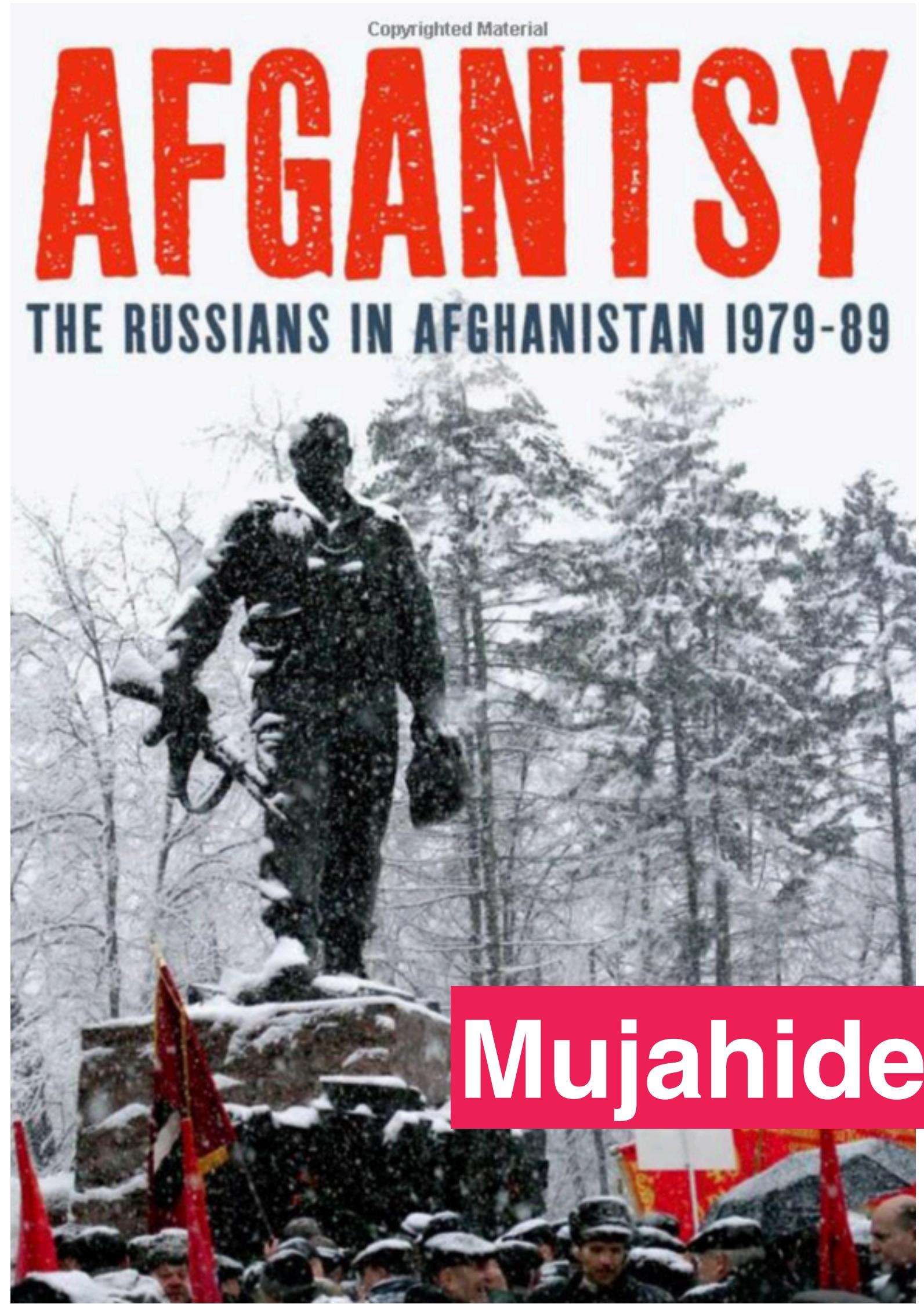
War unpopular at home, seen as hopeless “quagmire”



Who is it?



It's the Soviets!



In 1979!
Withdraw in 1989



15k casualties



Mujahideen victory highly influential



Soviet Navy Propaganda



Prohibited! Do not enter into unauthorized communications or acquaintances

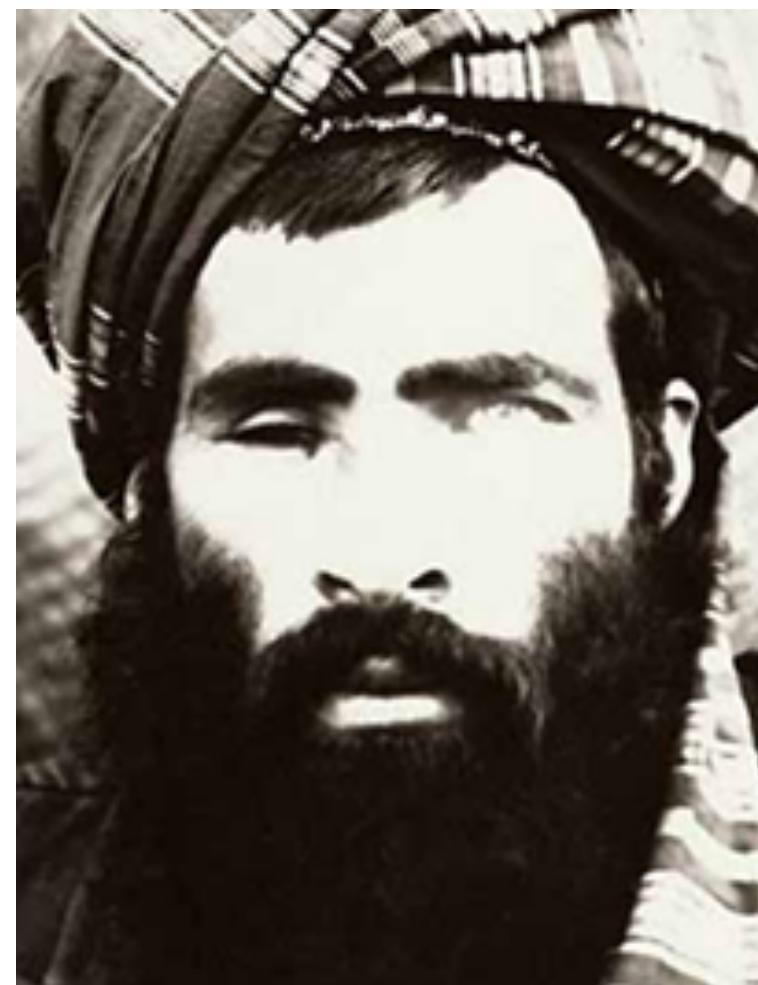
*Prohibited!
Do not patronize Afghan stores,
shops or markets whether
government or private. Do not
obtain from there or from private
people any sort of item, food, liquor
or drugs*

*Do not undress to sunbathe or
swim in the sight of local
population or near houses since
such behavior is not in keeping
with national and religious
customs of the Afghans and are
considered offensive.*

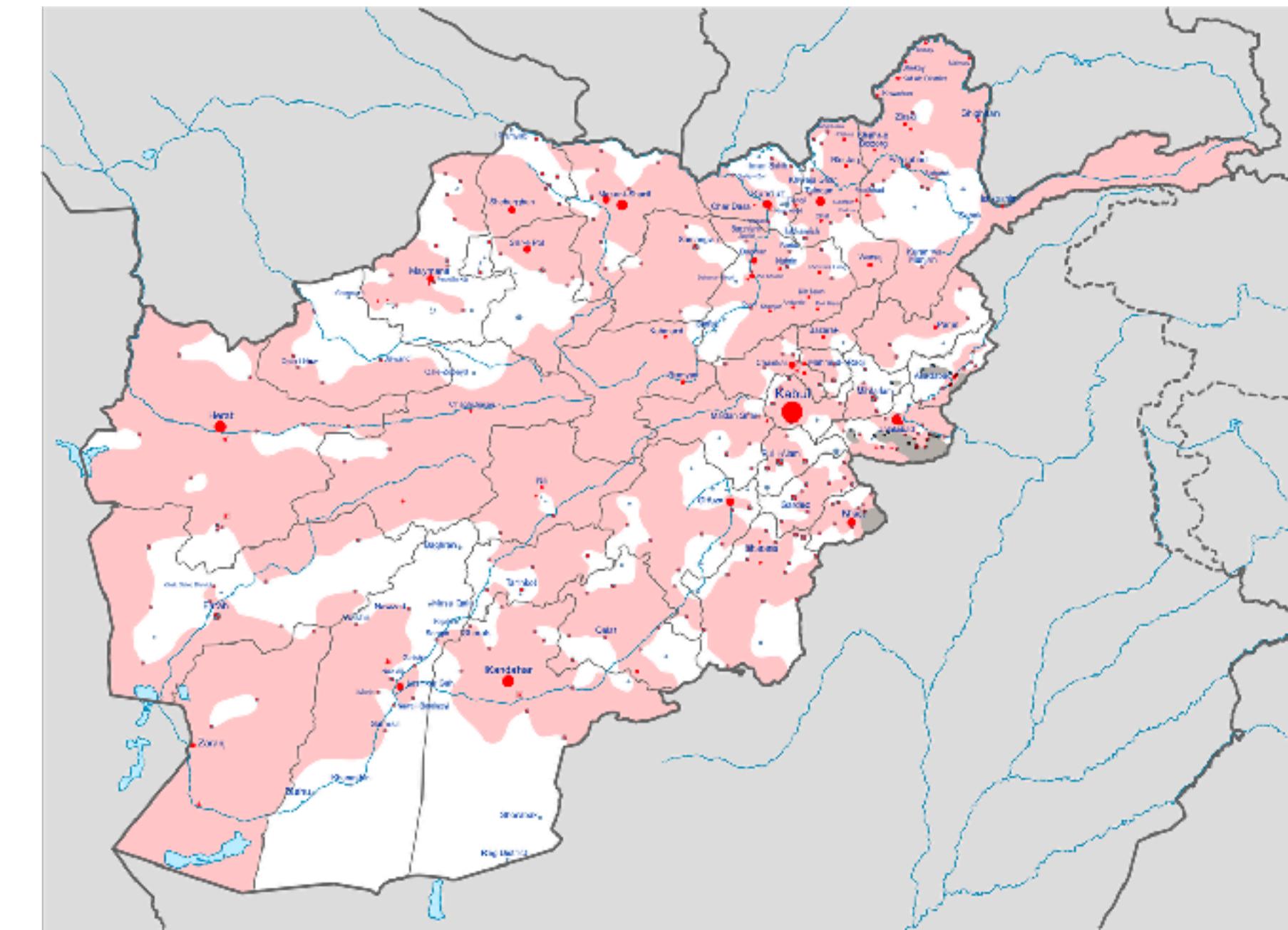
The Graveyard of Empires

The US in Afghanistan

- 2001 — ???
- Quick “victory” over Taliban
- Insurgency begins 2003
- 70k killed (US side)
- Obama withdrawal (2014)
- Taliban re-re-re-resurgence
- Expansive territorial control
- Trump admin. negotiating US withdrawal with Taliban



Mullah Omar,
Ex-mujhaideen



2019, red = state control

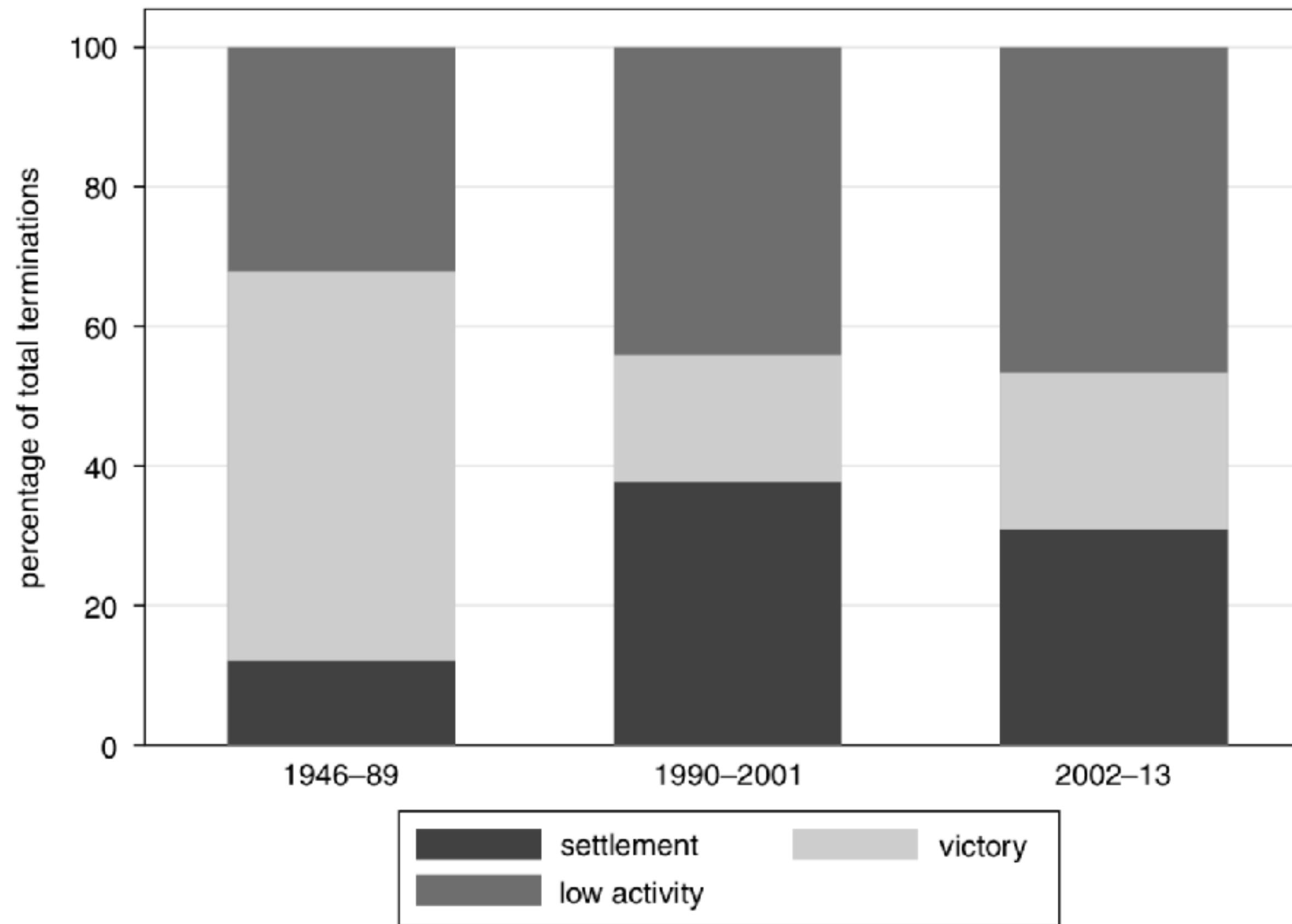
The Daily

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Conflict-Termination and the International System

The Puzzle

Figure 1. Type of Civil War Termination as a Percentage of Total, by Time Period



Why is this happening?

The International System Across Time

Pre-Cold War

Post-Cold War

9/11

Victory

Settlement/negotiations

“Stabilization”?

Competition,
Proxy wars

Uni-polarity,
International orgs,
Peacekeepers

Non-state actors,
Terrorism,
Contagion

The Power of Norms

What are “norms”?

“Clusters of ideas of appropriate behavior”

**“Causes” in international politics
(according to constructivism)**

Actor beliefs

Material conditions

Perspectives

Power balance

**Rational/Objective
Decision-making**

Popular ideas or narratives

Norms do seem to matter

Micro-lending



▲ A woman poses with her microfinance "loan recovery" book at her shop in Hyderabad, India. Photograph: Noah Seelam/AFP/Getty Images

Hundreds Of Suicides In India Linked To Microfinance Organizations

AP Feb. 24, 2012, 8:18 AM

MUMBAI, India (AP) — First they were stripped of their utensils, furniture, mobile phones, televisions, ration



Six Randomized Evaluations of Microcredit: Introduction and Further Steps[†]

By ABHIJIT BANERJEE, DEAN KARLAN, AND JONATHAN ZINMAN*

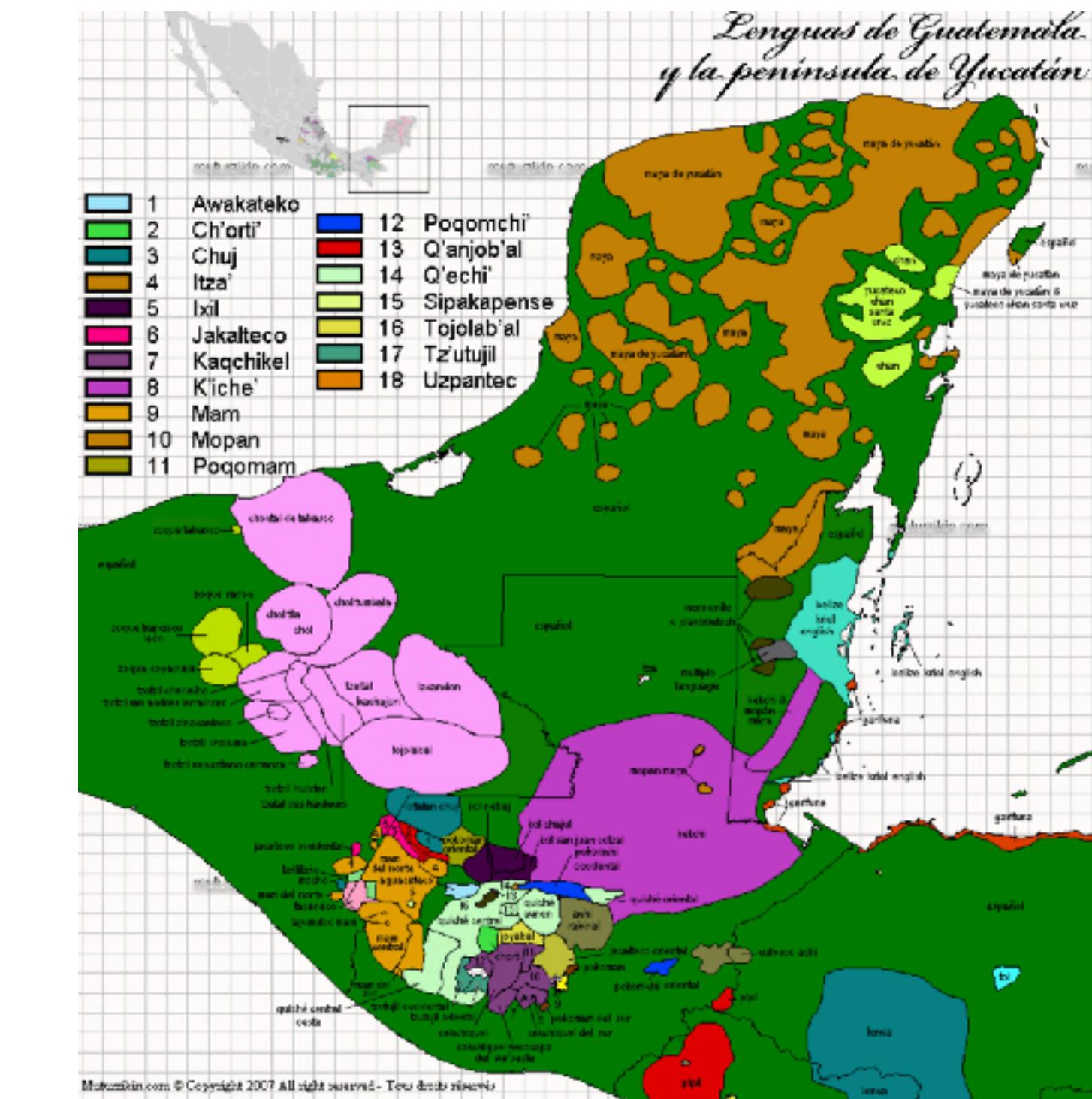
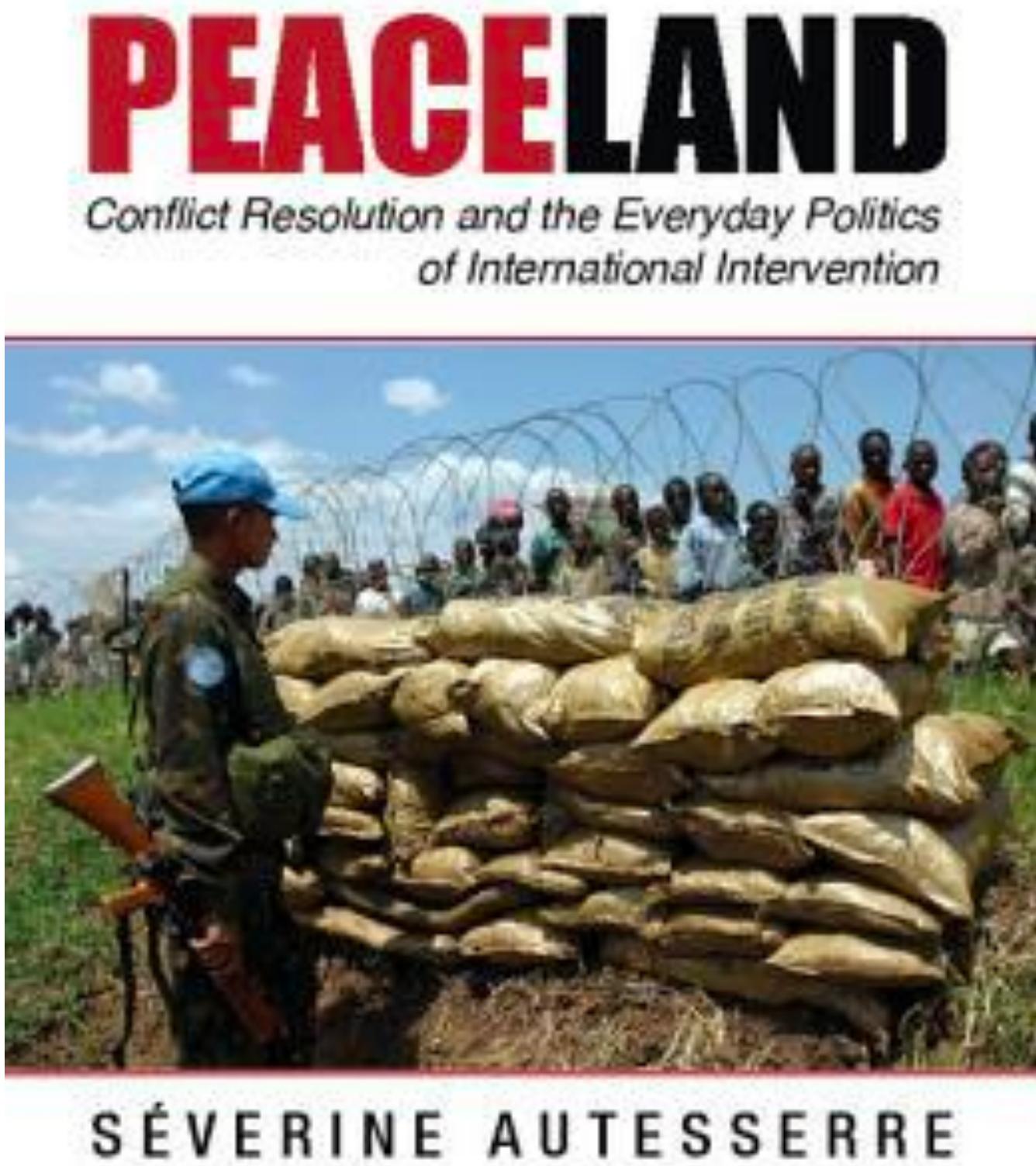
Causal evidence on microcredit impacts informs theory, practice, and debates about its effectiveness as a development tool. The six randomized evaluations in this volume use a variety of sampling, data collection, experimental design, and econometric strategies to identify causal effects of expanded access to microcredit on borrowers and/or communities. These methods are deployed across an impressive range of locations—six countries on four continents, urban and rural areas—borrower characteristics, loan characteristics, and lender characteristics. Summarizing and interpreting results across studies, we note a consistent pattern of modestly positive, but not transformative, effects. We also discuss directions for future research. (JEL D14, G21, I38, O15, O16, P34, P36)

Norms in warmaking

Are the FARC
“combatants” or
“terrorists”?



Peaceland and Survey Work



Aid workers ->
no local knowledge

Navigating terrain, language
as an outsider

How did norms shift?

Pre-Cold War

Zero-sum beliefs

Spread of capitalism/communism

Belief in total victory

Bipolarity

Post-Cold War

“End of History”

Belief in democratization

Optimism about deliberation

Unipolarity

9/11

“World Police”

Total defeat of other side

Pessimism (?) about deliberation

Failed experiments

Counter-explanations

**What if local conditions got worse?
More poverty, ethnic tension,
grievances, etc.**

**What if bargaining got easier?
Difficulty communicating,
Easier to turn back on agreements**

**“These are
all constants”**

**What if peacekeepers got better?
Stronger IOs,
Better conflict-mediation methods**

How well does the story fit?

Iraq War → instability in MENA

Proxy conflicts in Syria

Negotiations with the Taliban

International orgs?

Figure 3. Democ* and Stabilization

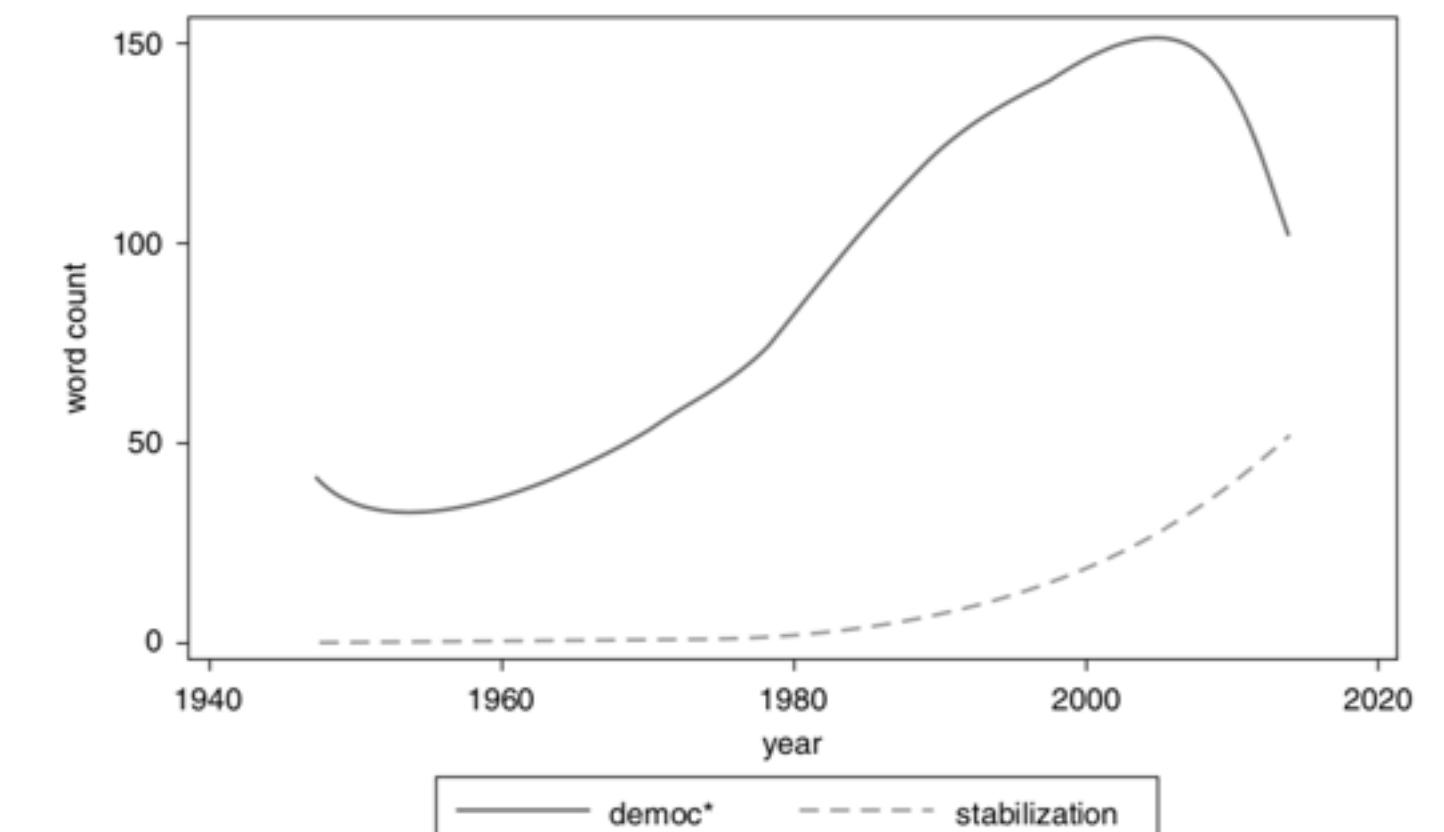
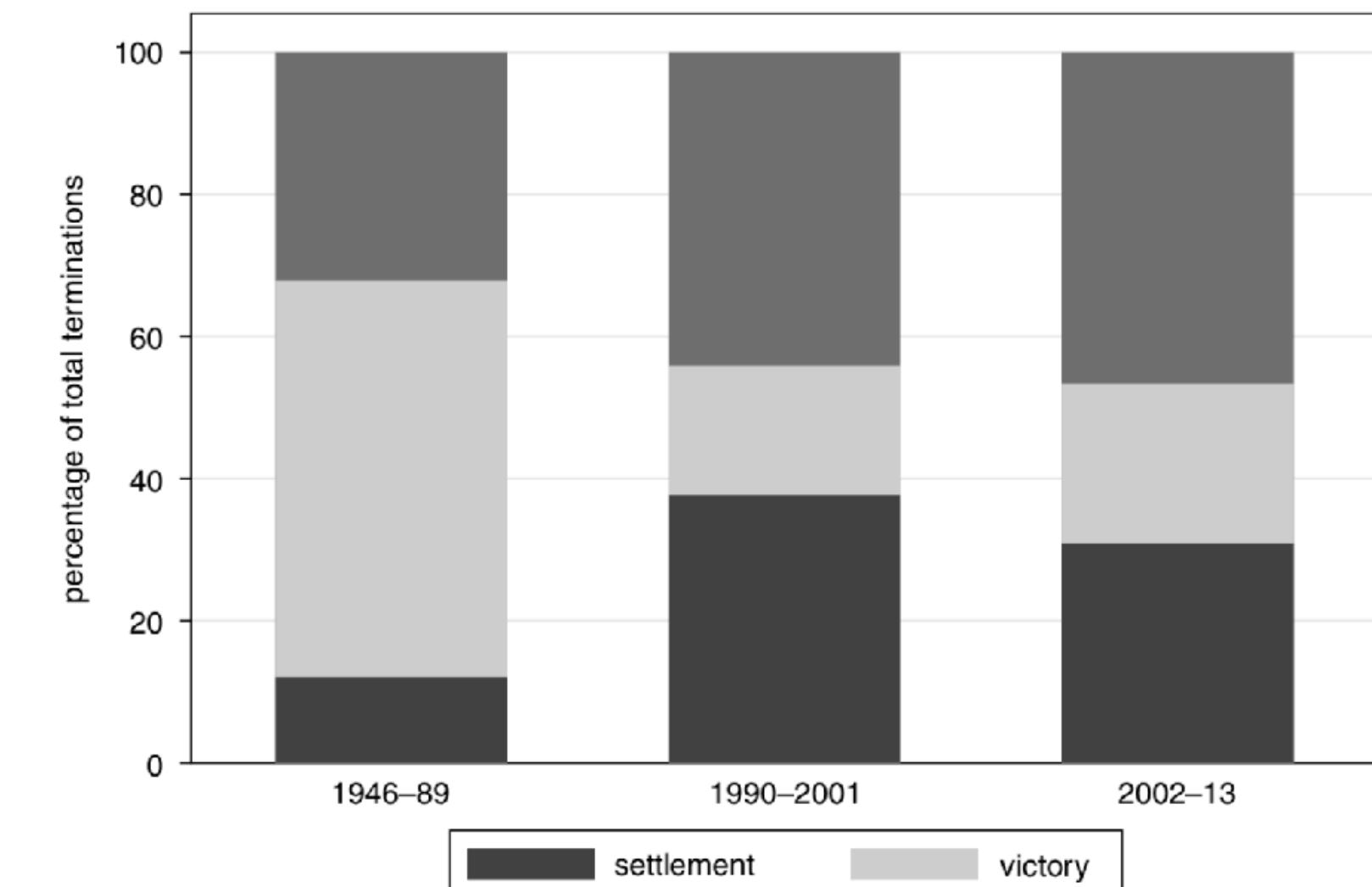


Figure 1. Type of Civil War Termination as a Percentage of Total, by Time Period



How different are t₂ and t₃, really?

Implications

**Norms are flexible,
We can advocate for better norms**

External actors can influence civil war outcomes

Our analysis points in a more pragmatic direction. Wars end differently in different time periods, but given that they are susceptible to normative trends, it is possible to change those norms in favor of greater pragmatism: the pursuit of negotiation above all other options is not always prudent, but neither is the unfettered pursuit of military victory or non-negotiation with terrorists. Each civil war is different, and each case ought to be considered on its own merits.

Big Picture

What would you tell someone you learned from
this article?