



# What is civil war?

## POL 126

Prof. Juan Tellez  
Spring 2022

# TODAY

What is civil war?

The cold war

Terrorism

# What is a civil war?

# Definition wars

coded as having started in that year only if cumulative deaths in the next 3 years reach

- (j) A cease-fire, truce, or simply an end to fighting can also mark the end of a civil war if they result in at least 2 years of peace.<sup>46</sup> The period of peace must be longer than what is required in the case of a peace agreement because we do not have clear signals of the parties' intent to negotiate an agreement in the case of a truce/cease-fire.<sup>47</sup>
- (k) If new parties enter the war over new issues, a new war onset should be coded, subject to the same operational criteria.<sup>48</sup> If the same parties return to war over the same issues, we generally code the continuation of the old war, unless any of the above criteria for coding a war's end apply for the period before the resurgence of fighting.

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of the war.<sup>44</sup> Because civil war is understood as an armed conflict against the government, continuing armed conflict against a new government implies a new civil war.<sup>45</sup> If the government wins the war, a period of peace longer than 6 months must persist before we code a new war (see also criterion k).

# Definitions shape our answers

TABLE 3  
Summary of Parameter Estimates from Table 2

| <i>Model 1 Variables</i> | <i>Observations</i> | <i>Mean</i> | <i>Standard Deviation</i> | <i>Minimum</i> | <i>Maximum</i> |
|--------------------------|---------------------|-------------|---------------------------|----------------|----------------|
| GDP coefficient          | 12                  | -0.084      | 0.024                     | -0.114         | -0.039         |
| GDP <i>SE</i>            | 12                  | 0.029       | 0.006                     | 0.018          | 0.040          |
| Growth coefficient       | 12                  | -0.031      | 0.550                     | -1.218         | 0.816          |
| Growth <i>SE</i>         | 12                  | 0.776       | 0.152                     | 0.542          | 1.026          |
| Instability coefficient  | 12                  | 0.273       | 0.066                     | 0.131          | 0.382          |
| Instability <i>SE</i>    | 12                  | 0.136       | 0.016                     | 0.104          | 0.154          |
| Anocracy coefficient     | 12                  | 0.217       | 0.048                     | 0.082          | 0.287          |
| Anocracy <i>SE</i>       | 12                  | 0.127       | 0.014                     | 0.089          | 0.147          |
| Oil coefficient          | 12                  | 0.177       | 0.104                     | -0.060         | 0.371          |

Depending on definition  
of civil war...

 -> **less**  
war

 -> **more**  
war

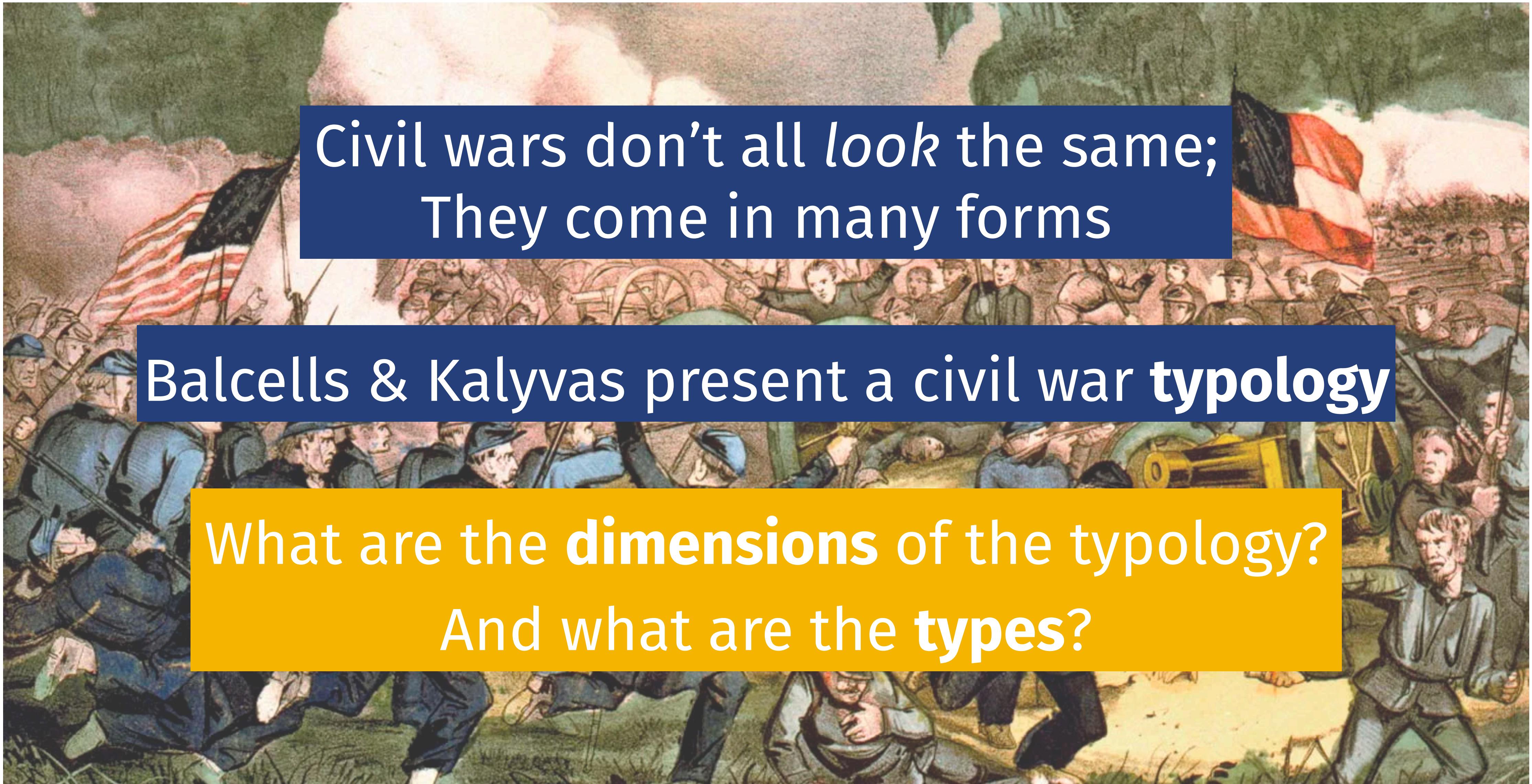
# For us...

Organized violence,  
where at least one actor is *not a state*

Rebel(s) = the non-state actor(s)

The state = government/military

# Civil war, in many forms



Civil wars don't all *look* the same;  
They come in many forms

Balcells & Kalyvas present a civil war **typology**

What are the **dimensions** of the typology?  
And what are the **types**?

# The Cold War

*Che (2008, Soderbergh)*  
intermission

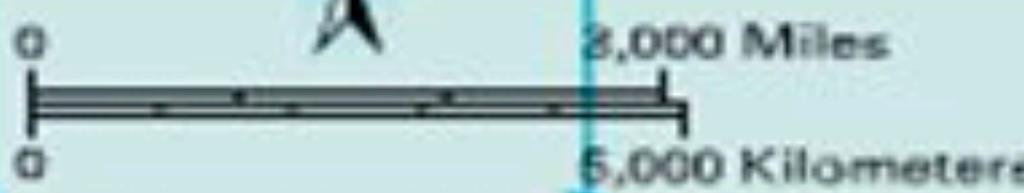
## Cold War Hot Spots, 1948–1975

# The Cold War

US and USSR boost capacity of their allies (and their enemies' enemies); how?

Material support, revolutionary beliefs, military doctrine

Result: *Increased* insurgency;  
but why?



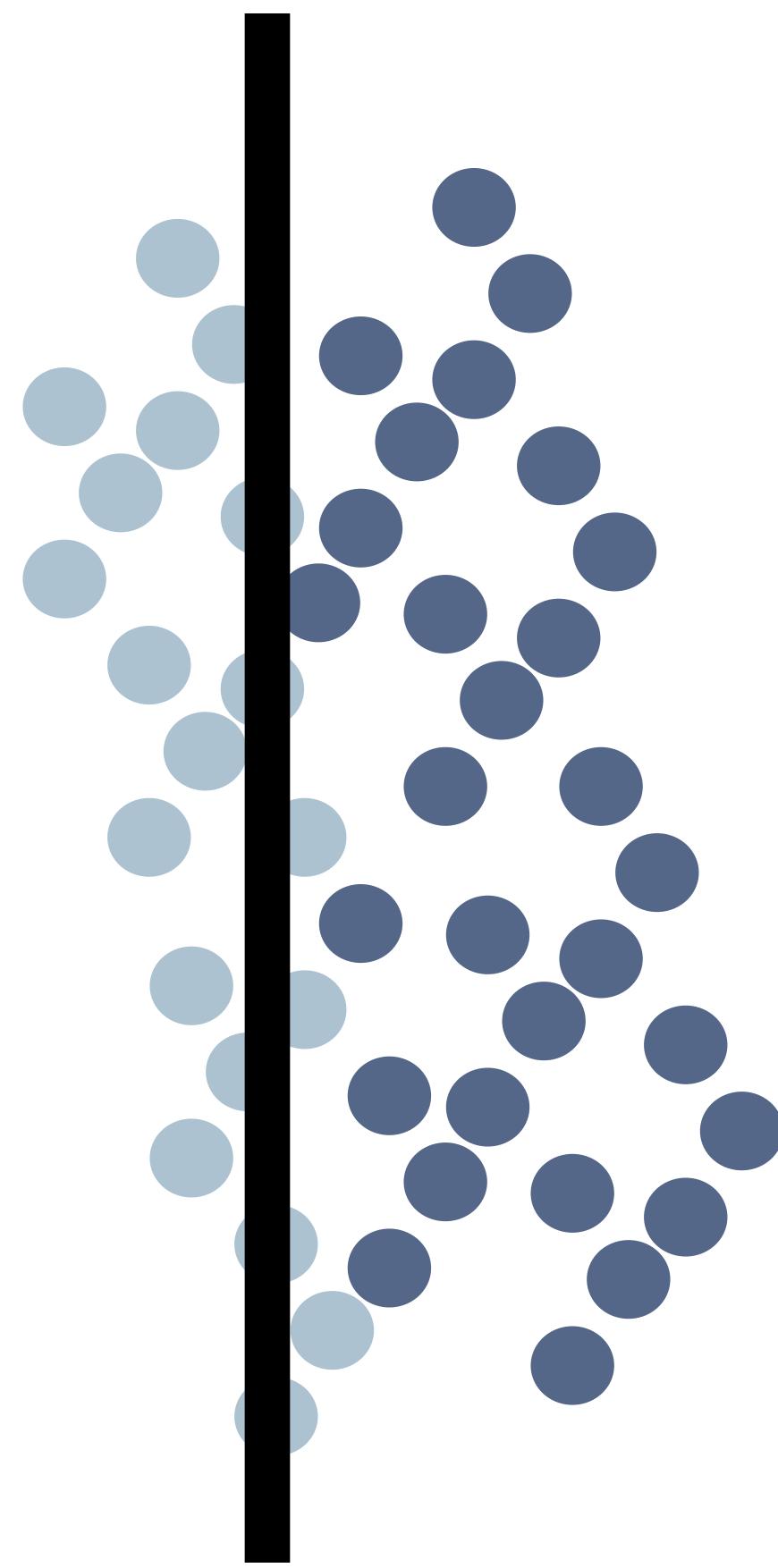
# Before the Cold War



**Threshold to  
wage war**

**Threshold to  
maintain order**

# During the Cold War

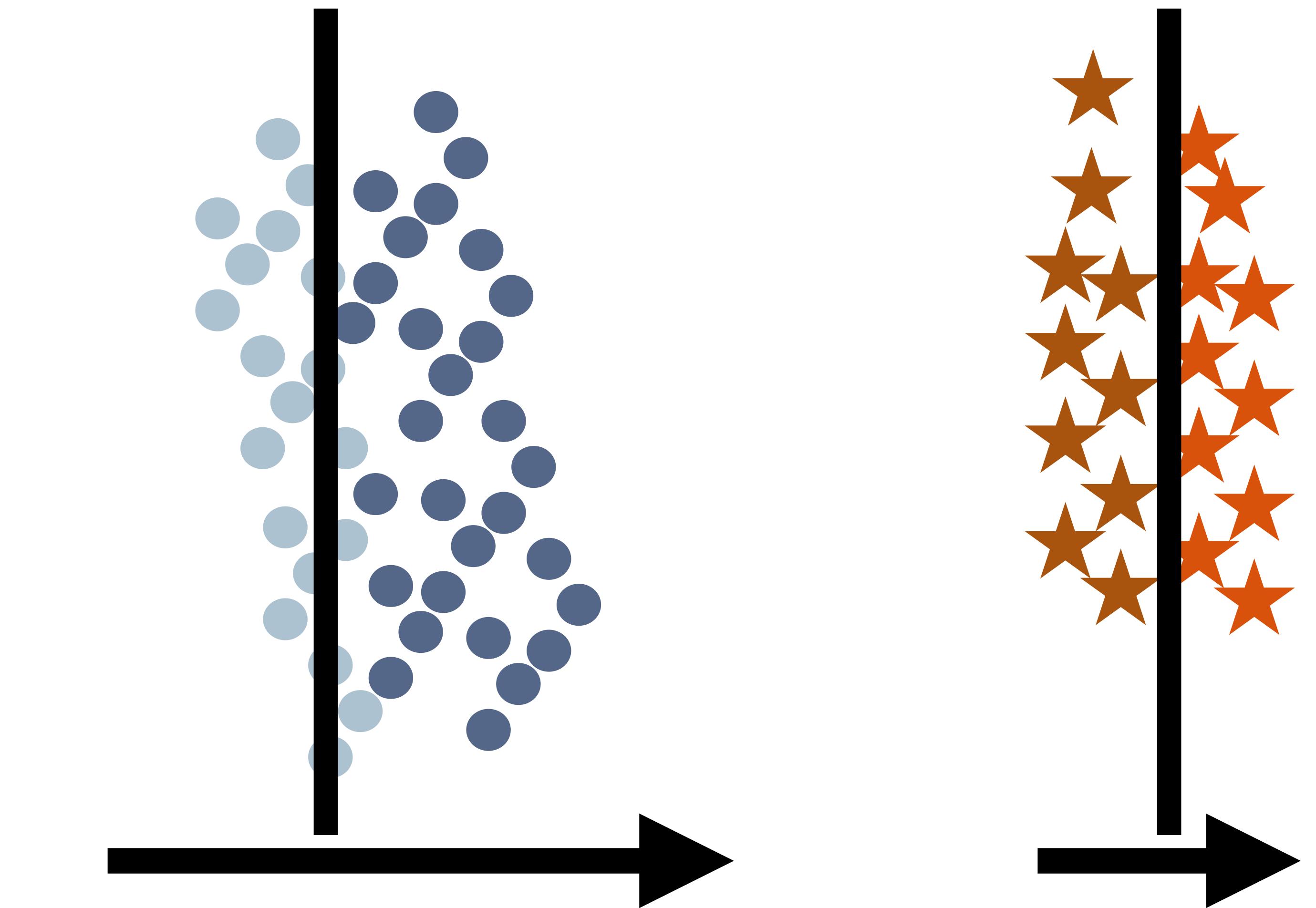


Threshold to  
wage war



Threshold to  
maintain order

# Offensive advantage



CW effect on rebels **bigger**; why?

# Irregular war is cheap

Moving would-be rebels over the threshold much easier than getting states to maintain order

**'Toyotas of War' is the photo archive we never knew we needed**

By [Sarah Sicard](#)

Dec 2, 2021



# End of the Cold War

Sharp drop in superpower support for both rebels and states

Leads to **diversification** of war,  
away from *insurgency*



Reagan and Gorbachev

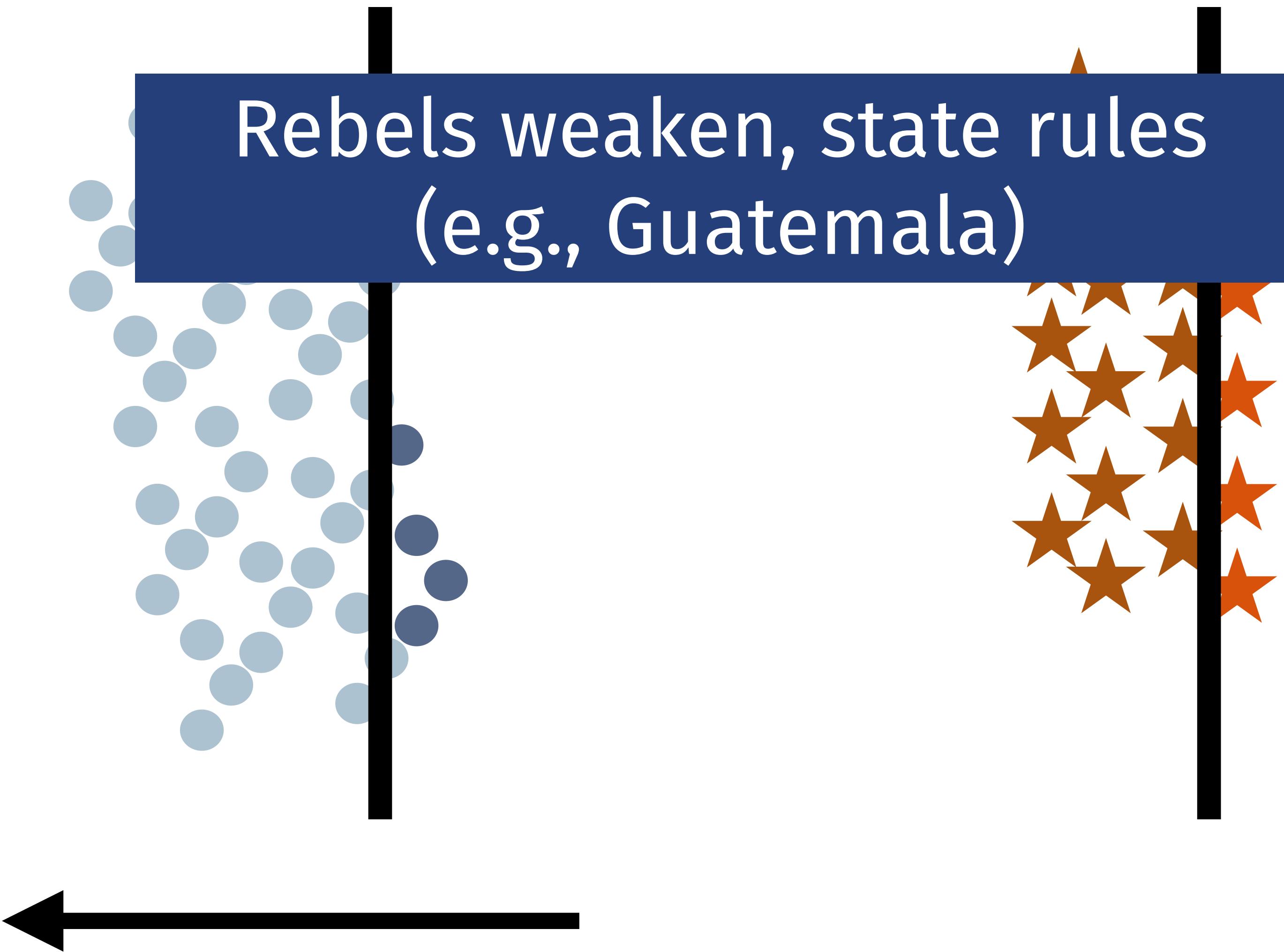
# Changing patterns of war

**TABLE 2. Civil War Onsets, by Technology of Rebellion (1944–2004)**

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

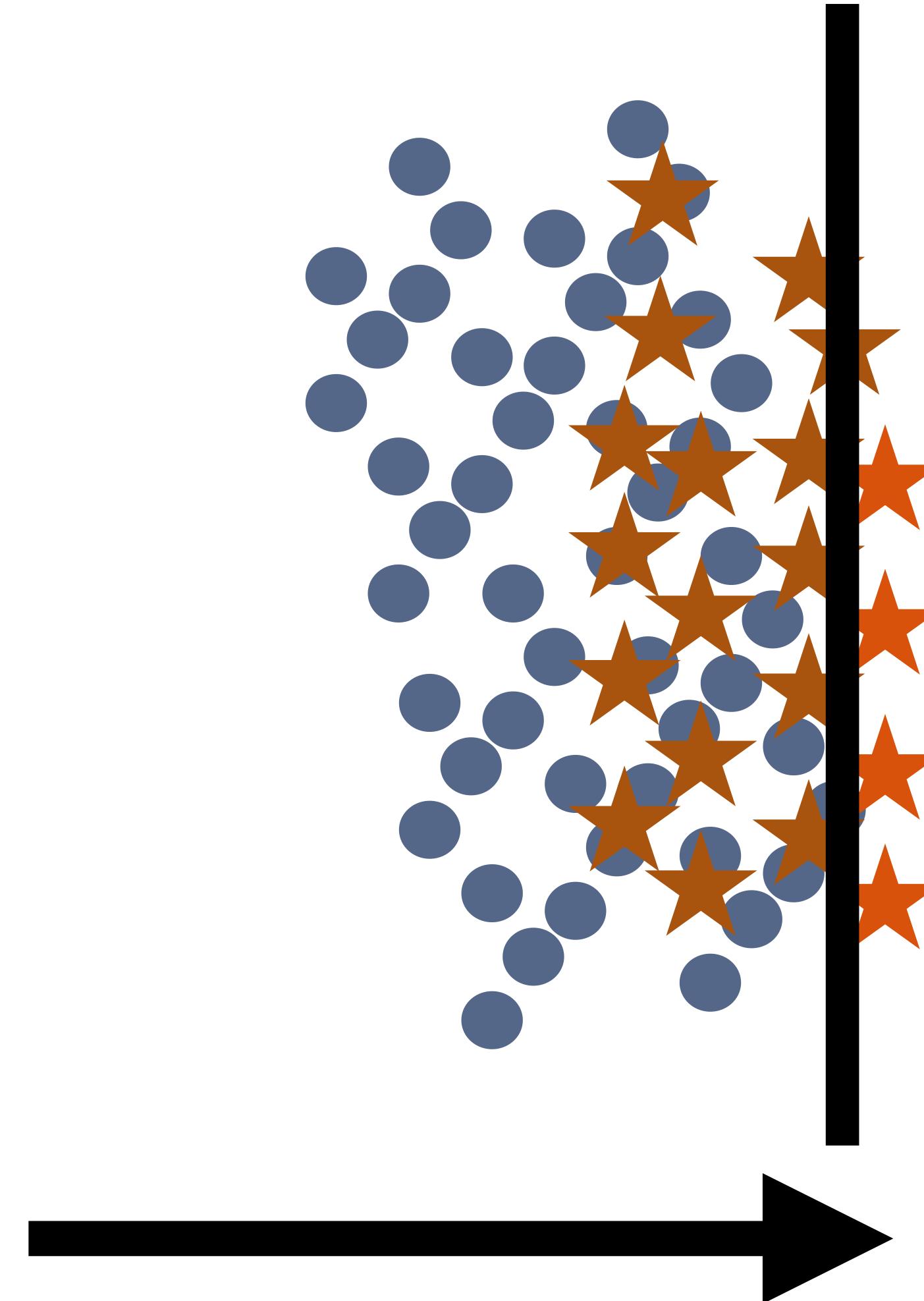
Why diversification? Why not just less war?

# Three scenarios: State rule (“peace”)



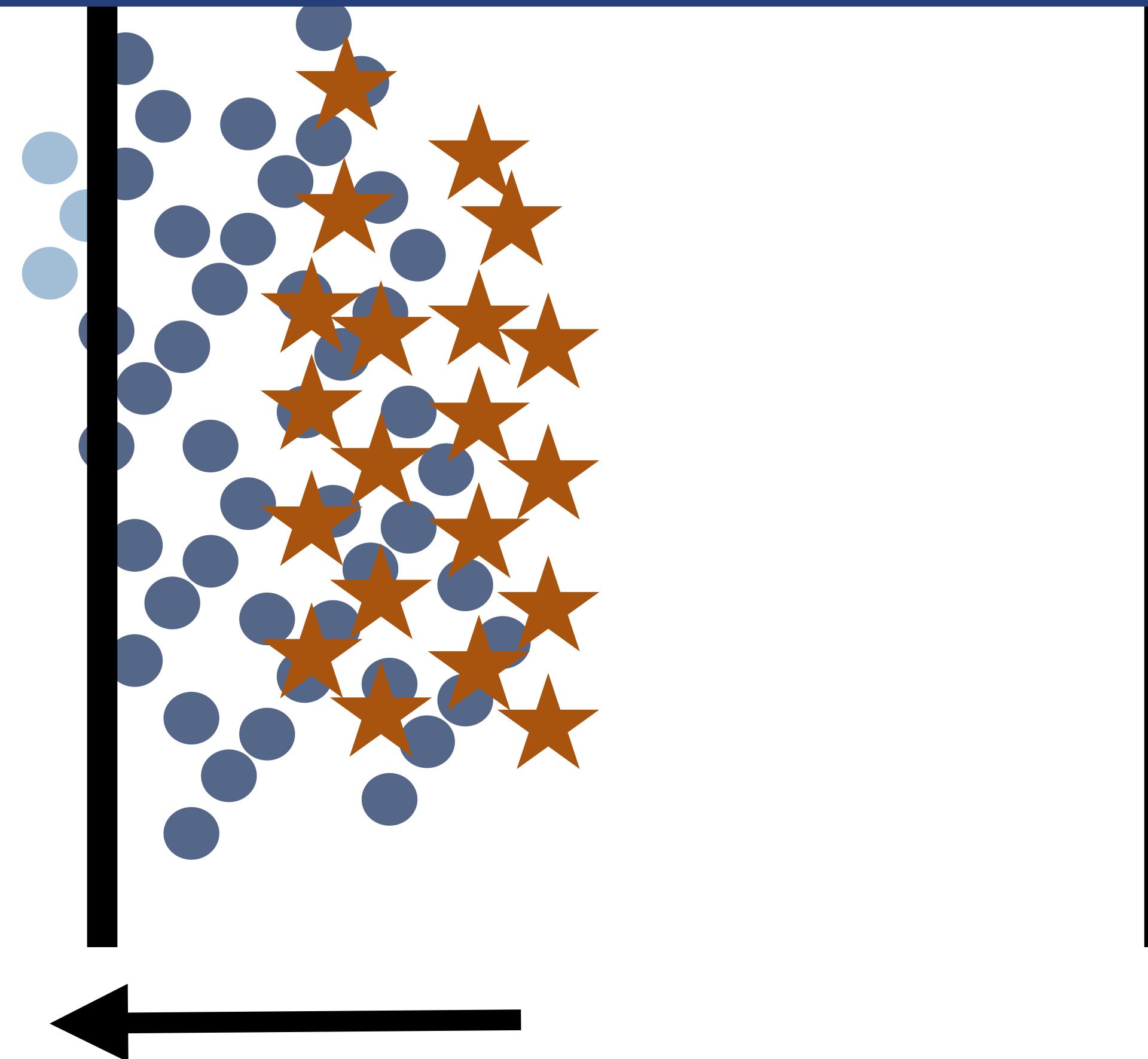
# Three scenarios: Conventional

Weakening of **strong** states  
= rebel strength  
(e.g., Yugoslavia, Rwanda)



# Three scenarios: SNC

Collapse of **weak states** (e.g., Haiti, Somalia)



# Do we buy this?

Is the Cold War so unique? How might the international system be influencing warfare today?

# Terrorism

"All the News  
That's Fit to Print"

# The New York Times

Late Edition

New York: Today, sunny, a few afternoon clouds. High 77. Tonight, slightly more humid. Low 65. Tomorrow, sun then clouds. High 81. Yesterday, high 81, low 63. Weather map, Page C19.

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Beyond the greater New York metropolitan area

75 CENTS

# U.S. ATTACKED

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## *HIJACKED JETS DESTROY TWIN TOWERS AND HIT PENTAGON IN DAY OF TERROR*

A CREEPING HORROR

Buildings Burn and Fall  
as Onlookers Search  
for Elusive Safety

By N. R. KLEINFELD

It kept getting worse.

The horror arrived in episodic bursts of chilling disbelief, signified first by trembling floors, sharp eruptions, cracked windows. There was the actual unfathomable realization of a gaping, flaming hole in first one of the tall towers, and then the same thing all over again in its twin. There was the merciless sight of bodies helplessly tumbling out, some of them in flames.

Finally, the mighty towers themselves were reduced to nothing.

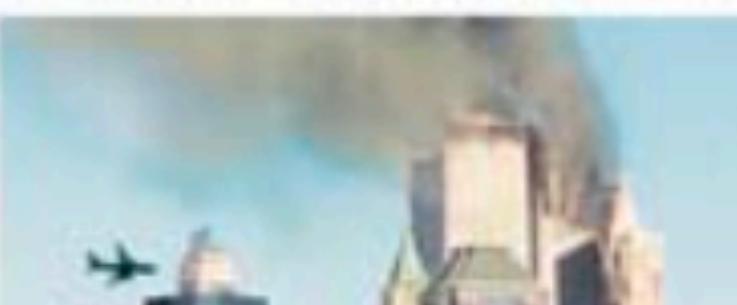


***President Vows to Exact  
Punishment for 'Evil'***

By SERGE SCHMEMANN

Hijackers rammed jetliners into each of New York's World Trade Center towers yesterday, toppling both in a hellish storm of ash, glass, smoke and leaping victims, while a third jetliner crashed into the Pentagon in Virginia. There was no official count, but President Bush said thousands had perished, and in the immediate aftermath the calamity was already being ranked the worst and most audacious terror attack in American history.

The attacks seemed carefully coordinated. The hijacked planes were all en route to California, and therefore gorged with fuel, and their departures were spaced within an hour and 40 minutes. The first, American Airlines Flight 11, a Boeing 767 out of Boston for Los Angeles, crashed into the north tower at 8:46 a.m. Eighteen minutes later, United Airlines Flight 175, also headed from Boston to Los Angeles, plowed into the south tower.



# Growth of terrorism studies

D. F. C. S. and  
On Terrorism and Electoral Outcomes



Big interest from scholars + policymakers in  
understanding terror as such

RAND Corporation

ESTEBAN F. KLOR

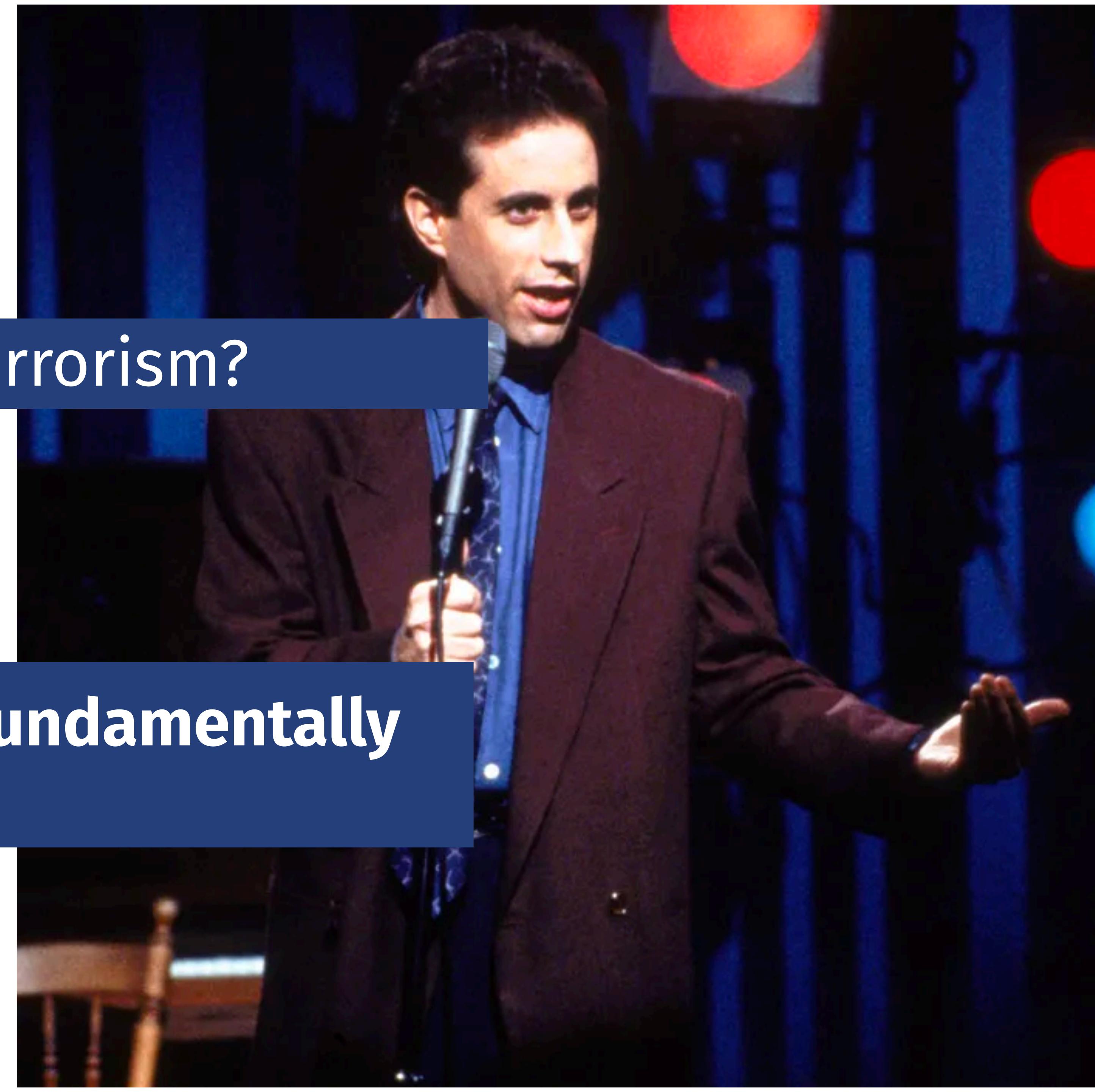
Department of Economics

Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel and Centre for Economic Policy Research

Claude Berrebi\*

So what's up with terrorism?

Are rebels and terrorists **fundamentally** different?





# Your turn



With person next to you:

Come up with a two-sentence argument for why terrorists and rebels are fundamentally different

*Form: men (rebels) are from mars, women (terrorists) are from Venus*

Post on Slack; winner gets infinitely small extra credit

# Violent jihadism

Kalyvas focuses on **violent jihadism** – the focus of the world in 2000s-2010s

Attempt to clear up conceptual confusion with “regular” rebel actors

What differences does he identify?  
Similarities?



Al-Zarqawi  
Al Qaeda in Iraq

# Similarities?

Kalyvas argues for these similarities:

Ideology (utopian, anti-colonial)

Revolutionary vanguard

Safe havens

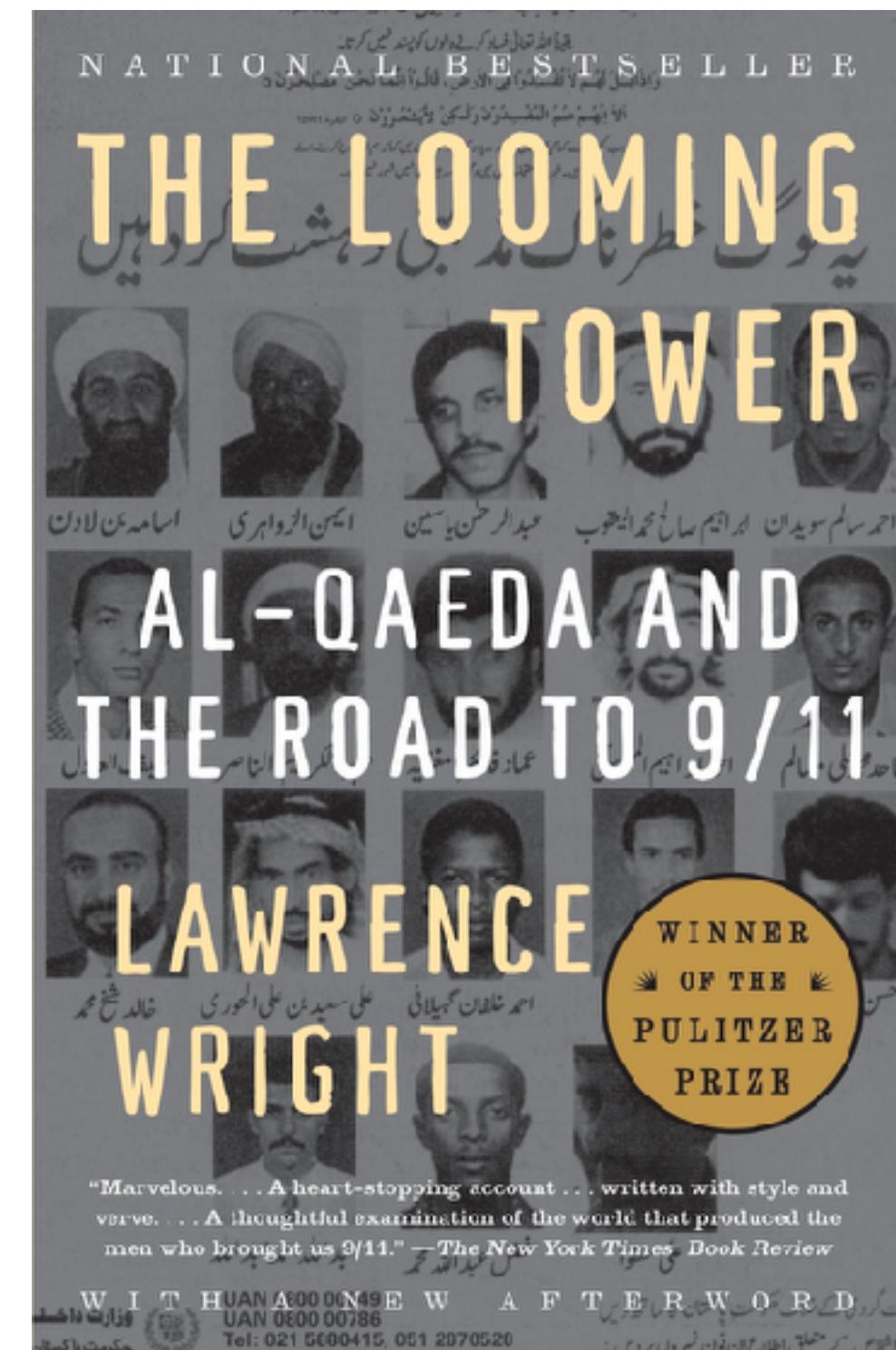
Weak/bad counterinsurgents

# Ideology

[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



# Differences?

Geography

Cold War

Transnational

# Closest kin?



# Do we buy this?

The ideologies (Marxist vs. jihadi) are so different; shouldn't this matter for group behavior?

Jihadi groups *do* receive external support (e.g., Saudi Arabia, USA in Syria)