

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



# TODAY'S AGENDA

- 1 Legacies of war
- 2 What comes after war? More war
- 3 Trauma, justice, and rebuilding
-

# Housekeeping

Thursday is review for final

Answer whatever questions/doubts  
you have

Update website tonight/tomorrow

# Worlds collide

[https://www.reddit.com/r/CombatFootage/comments/bfpd8q/  
los\\_angelesarea\\_gangsters\\_fighting\\_for\\_assad\\_in/](https://www.reddit.com/r/CombatFootage/comments/bfpd8q/los_angelesarea_gangsters_fighting_for_assad_in/)

بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِيْمِ

# OF FATHERS AND SONS



Many wars eventually  
come to an end

What comes after?

More war

Trauma and  
rebuilding





War begets war. It produces outraged and humiliated and furious people. That is almost invariably the case.

— *Judith Butler* —

AZ QUOTES

By 2000s, 90% of all civil wars  
were “repeat” civil wars

Same actors, at war again, after  
some peaceful duration

Yet many conflicts just end (El  
Salvador, Peru, Northern Ireland)

Why do so many conflicts recur?  
Or spur new wars?

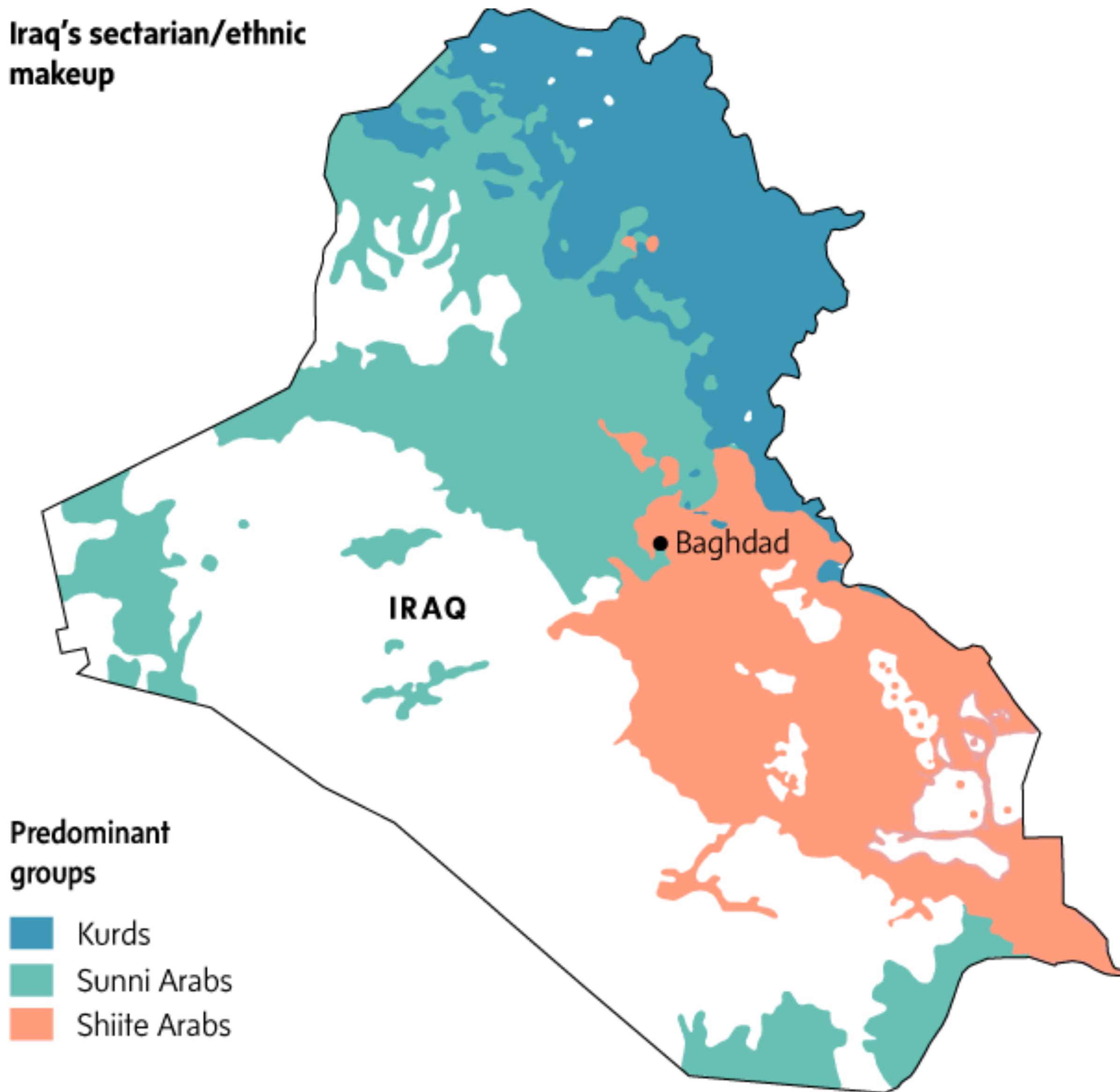
Post-US invasion elections bring Shi'a to power, led by **Maliki**

Creates Shi'a-only coalition, excludes Sunni from power

Lethal repression of peaceful Sunni protests, torture, mass arrests

Cooperated with (paramilitary) Shi'a militias

Iraq's sectarian/ethnic makeup



Monkey Cage

# How can the U.S. help Maliki when Maliki's the problem?



Fighters from the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) stand guard at a checkpoint in the northern Iraqi city of Mosul on June 11. (Reuters)

By **Marc Lynch**  
June 12, 2014

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ISIS capitalized on these tensions by making calls to **sectarian war**

As the dimensions of the assault began to become clear, it was evident that a number of militant groups had joined forces, including Baathist military commanders from the Hussein era, whose goal is to rout the government of Prime Minister Nuri Kamal al-Maliki. One of the Baathists, [Izzat Ibrahim al-Douri](#), was a top military commander and a vice president in the Hussein government and one of the few prominent Baathists to evade capture by the Americans throughout the occupation.

“These groups were unified by the same goal, which is getting rid of this sectarian government, ending this corrupt army and negotiating to form the Sunni Region,” said Abu Karam, a senior Baathist leader and a former high-ranking army officer, who said planning for the offensive had begun two years ago. “The decisive battle will be in northern Baghdad. These groups will not stop in Tikrit and will keep moving toward Baghdad.”

What did “the hell after ISIS” say about this?

Sometimes war recurs because  
**winners abuse the losers**

This fear of abuse is why negotiations  
are so difficult in the first place

Given war recurrence is very costly,  
why do this?

Misguided expectations

Fear, unsteady hold on power

Weak control of security forces

## ***Maliki Agrees to Relinquish Power in Iraq***



With uncertain hold on power, Maliki takes from Hussein playbook

“ ‘In short, Maliki’s one-man, one-Dawa-party Iraq looks a lot like Hussein’s one-man, one-Baath Party Iraq.’ ”

Prime Minister Nuri Kamal al-Maliki of Iraq agreed to end his legal challenge to the nomination of his replacement, Haider al-Abadi. APTN, via Associated Press

By [Tim Arango](#)

Aug. 14, 2014



BAGHDAD — Prime Minister Nuri Kamal al-Maliki said Thursday night that he had agreed to relinquish power, a move that came after days of crisis in which his deployment of extra security forces around the capital had raised worries of a military coup.

Mr. Maliki’s decision held out the prospect of a peaceful transition of power, based on democratic elections and without the guiding hand of American military forces, which would be a first in modern Iraq’s troubled history of kings, coups and dictatorships.

His decision to step aside came after heavy pressure from the United States, which has deployed warplanes in Iraq to target

Uncertainty and fear of retaliation or challenge can spur post-conflict violence

Relevant actors must have **security guarantees**

These might be provided by **third parties** (short run)

Or **institutional** arrangements, such as power-sharing agreements or decentralization (long-run)

# Civil Society

Some evidence that bringing **civil society** into peace processes can help reduce conflict resurgence

Involvement of churches, political parties, social organizations, etc., increases **legitimacy and trust** in post-conflict government

Civil society organizations can **constrain** people who support warring sides

# Civil Society

Basic idea: have civil society representatives at peace talks to represent their constituents interests

Growing interest in this idea, but there are problems



**Faith-based Interventions in  
Peace, Conflict and Violence:  
A Scoping Study**

# Colombia's peace process

Women's groups, minority groups bring language promoting **inclusion/protection/promotion of women's LGBT issues**

Apoyar, mediante asistencia legal y técnica, la creación y el fortalecimiento de las organizaciones y movimientos sociales, incluyendo las organizaciones de mujeres, de jóvenes y de población **LGBTI**. Sin perjuicio del principio de igualdad, se apoyará con medidas extraordinarias a las organizaciones de mujeres y los más vulnerables.

*Subrayando que el Acuerdo Final presta especial atención a los derechos fundamentales de las **mujeres**, los de los grupos sociales vulnerables como son los pueblos indígenas, las niñas, niños y adolescentes, las comunidades afrodescendientes y otros grupos étnicamente diferenciados; los derechos fundamentales de los campesinos y campesinas, los derechos esenciales de las personas en condición de discapacidad y de los desplazados por razones del conflicto; los derechos fundamentales de las personas adultas mayores y de la población **LGBTI**;*

# Evangelicals not on board

“The agreement violates evangelical principles like that of family values when it equates respect for women with these [LGBT] groups”

Evangelicals (~10 million) vote “NO” in high proportions

Rewritten agreement **removes** sensitive passages

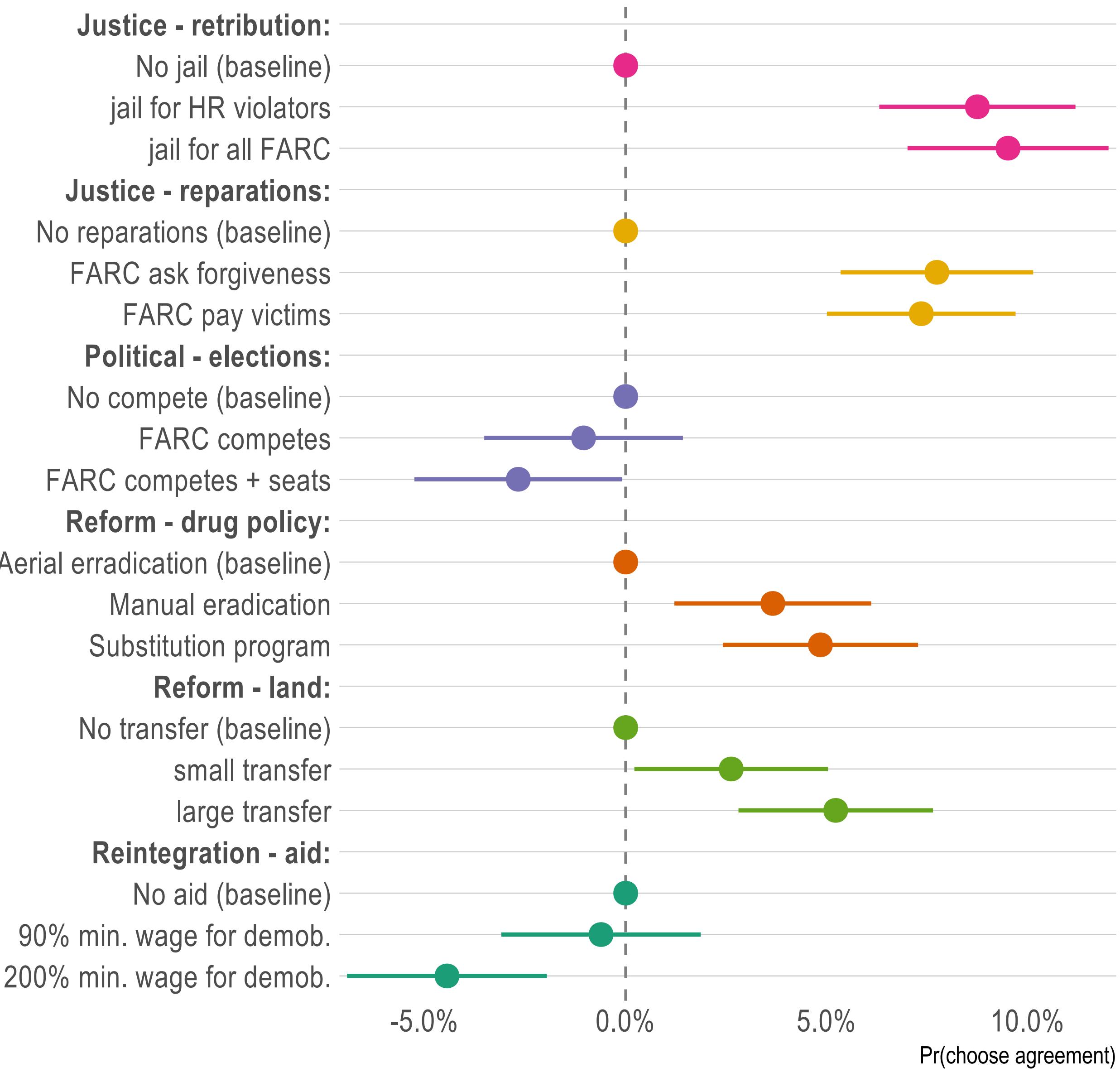


The whole referendum idea was to bring public in to peace process

Experiment right during referendum

Two agreements →  
Choose one  
(repeat over and over)

	A	B
<b>Victimas-Reparacion</b>	FARC no hacen reparacion de victimas	FARC no hacen reparacion de victimas
<b>FARC-Elecciones</b>	Ex-combatantes desmovilizados pueden competir en elecciones	Ex-combatantes desmovilizados no pueden competir en elecciones
<b>Victimas-Justicia</b>	Miembros de FARC no van a la carcel	Todos los miembros de las FARC van a la carcel
<b>Tierras</b>	Mucha tierra es distribuida a campesinos sin tierra	Alguna tierra es distribuida a campesinos sin tierra
<b>Reinsercion</b>	Ninguna ayuda del gobierno	Un sueldo mensual equivalente a dos veces la cantidad de un salario minimo por dos anos
<b>Estupefacientes-Politica</b>	Fumigacion aerea	Programa de substitucion de cultivos

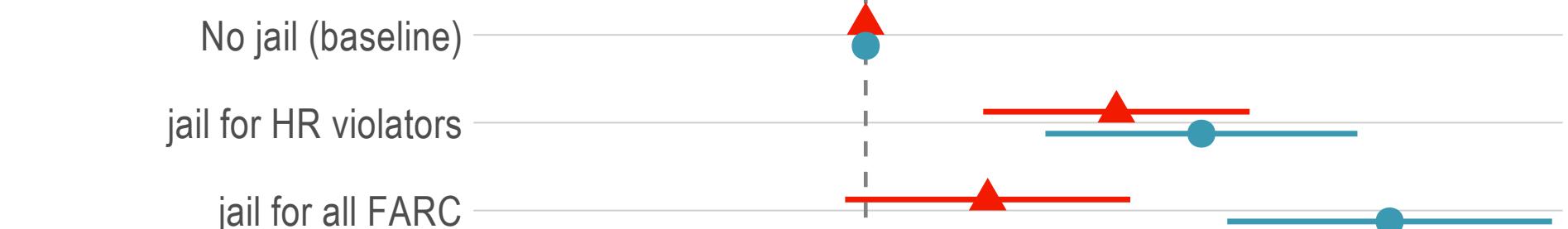


Voters very divided on questions of **punishment**

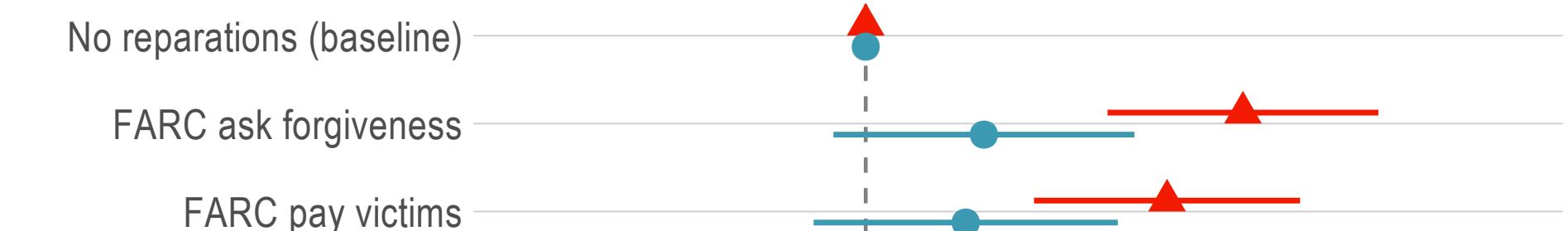
NO voters wanted more punishment most of all

● Voted no ↑ Voted yes

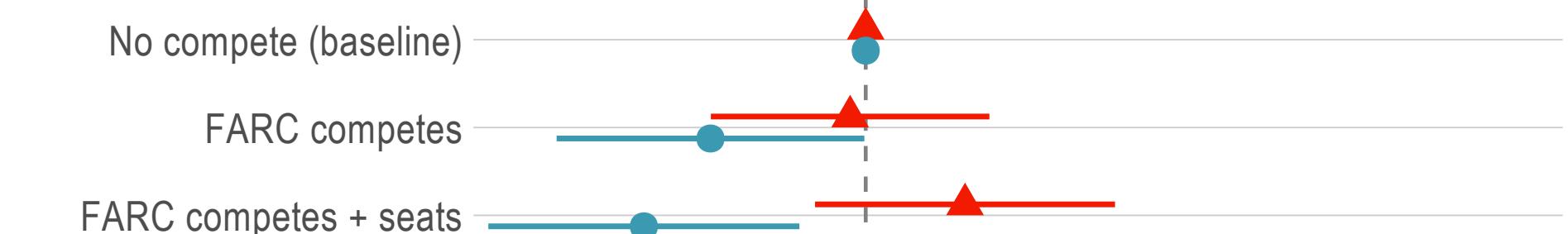
**Justice - retribution:**



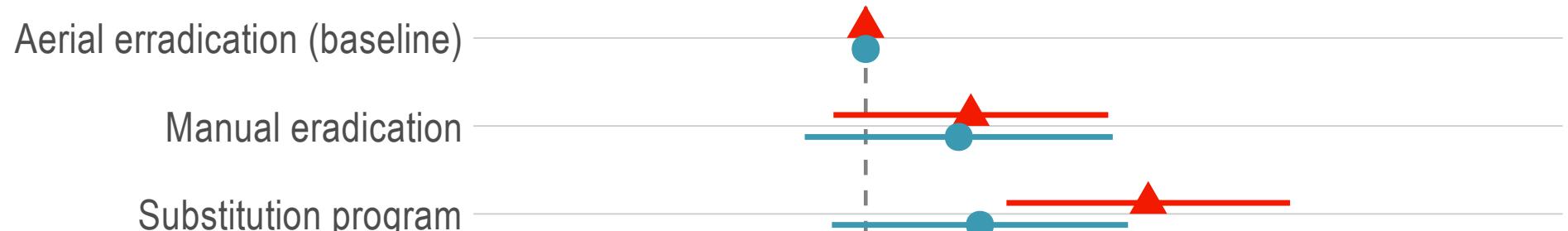
**Justice - reparations:**



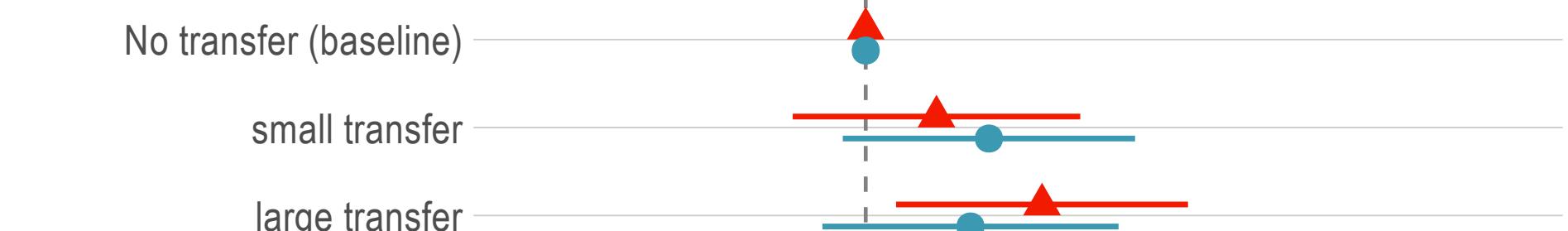
**Political - elections:**



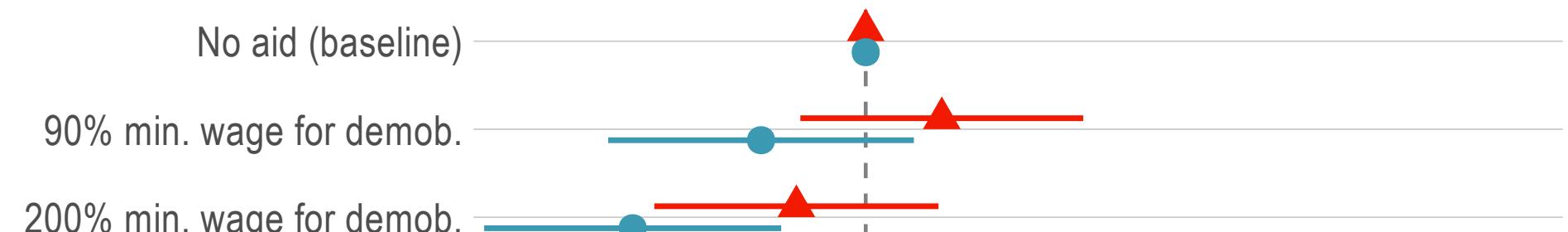
**Reform - drug policy:**



**Reform - land:**



**Reintegration - aid:**



-10.0% 0.0% 10.0% 20.0%  
Pr(choose agreement)

# Civil society

Bringing in civil society might strengthen agreements

But also brings more people to the table who can **veto** agreements

Might also bring (tangential) societal conflicts into peace building