THE THIRD WORLD'S WAR

London School of Economics
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45. The Third World's War: soldiers training in Guatemala to fight the Guerrilla Army of the Poor. Although notionally a war between capitalists and Communists, on close inspection the Guatemalan civil war was as much an ethnic conflict between Ladinos and Mayans.

A 'Long Peace'?

- '... it is the case that the post-World War II system of international relations, which nobody designed or even thought could last for very long, which was based not upon the dictates of morality and justice but rather upon an arbitrary and strikingly artificial division of the world into spheres of influence, and which incorporated within it some of the most bitter and persistent antagonisms short of war in modern history ... survived twice as long as the far more carefully designed World War I settlement.' – John Gaddis (1986)

Why no Third World War?

- Cold War as a 'self-regulating system'
    1. Bipolarity: Reflects power realities, simple
    2. Dependence not interdependence: Less contact, less friction
    3. Domestic restraints: Non-violent 'Open Door' / 'corporatist' model of American policy, Soviet sense of weakness
    4. Deterrence: 'paranoia and prudence can co-exist' in a nuclear world
    5. 'Reconnaissance revolution': Greater certainty
    6. Ideological moderation: No unconditional surrender
    7. Rules of the game: Respect spheres of influence, avoid direct confrontation, avoid use of nuclear weapons, accept anomalies, do not undermine other side's leadership

15 crises without wars

- Iran, 1946
- Greece, 1947
- Berlin and Czechoslovakia 1948
- Korea, 1950
- East Berlin, 1953
- Hungarian uprising, 1956
- Berlin, 1958-59
- U-2 incident, 1960

- Berlin, 1961
- Cuban missile crisis, 1962
- Czechoslovakia, 1968
- Yom Kippur war, 1973
- Afghanistan, 1979
- Poland, 1981
- Korean airliner incident, 1983

Or the 'Third World's War'?

- 'The Cold War was a continuation of colonialism through slightly different means. ... Superpower interventions ... helped put a number of Third World countries in a state of semipermanent civil war ... against the peasantry.' – Westad, *Global Cold War* (2005)

- 'The real and bloody Third World War was in fact fought ... in the Third World itself ... where the strategic stakes (though not the human costs) were lower.' – Ferguson, *War of the World* (2009)

Guatemala, 1966-1984

Civil war between capitalists and communists but between Ladino *latifundista and* Mayan peasant tribes like the Ixil and Kekchı´: When the civil war was finally brought to an end, the total death toll had reached around 200,000.

East Pakistan, 1971

Mohammad Ayub Khan waged an authentically genocidal campaign against the people of East Pakistan in a vain attempt to prevent their secession by 'reducing this majority into a
minority'

Cambodia, 1975-1979

Estimated number of victims of Khmer Rouge c. 1.5-2.0 million.

Angola, 1975-1991

September 1987: Battle of Cuito Cuanavale, nr Namibian border: Angolan government forces were equipped with Soviet-made T-55 tanks and MiG fighters, but the tank crews and pilots were mainly Cuban. 8,000 UNITA troops were supported by around 3,000 South Africans including 61st Mechanized Battalion Group.

Kurdistan, 1988

Saddam Hussein launched the so-called Anfal (Spoils) campaign against the Kurds, using (among other weapons) poison gas to wipe out whole villages.

So how peaceful was the Cold War?

The Third World's War
Biggest conflicts of the Cold War era

		Estimated deaths
Korean War	1950-1953	2,950,000
Rwanda and Burundi Civil Wars	1959-1995	1,150,000
Indochina	1960-1975	1,900,000
Ethiopian (Ogaden and Eritrean)	1962-1992	250,000
Nigerian Civil War	1966-1970	2,000,000
Bangladesh War of Independence	1971	1,500,000
Cambodia: Khmer Rouge	1975-1978	1,600,000
Mozambique	1975-1993	1,000,000
Afghanistan	1979-2001	1,400,000
Iran-Iraq War	1980-1988	500,000
Sudan	1983-2005	1,300,000

Correlates of War

	Estimated battle deaths			
	Interstate	Extrastate	Intrastate	TOTAL
1900-1949	27,042,259	391,214	3,027,560	30,461,033
1950-1999	3,323,669	101,500	6,924,893	10,350,062

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	Average duration of wars			
	Interstate	Extrastate	Intrastate	TOTAL
1900-1949	445	865	556	622
1950-1999	511	2523	1351	1462

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Correlates of War

	Number of wars			
	Interstate	Extrastate	Intrastate	TOTAL
1900-1949	28	23	47	98
1950-1999	21	12	95	128

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Would violence have happened anyway?

- How far were the Cold War conflicts post-colonial civil wars that would have happened anyway?

- How big a contribution did the superpowers actually make to fomenting and prolonging wars?

The Soviet contribution

- April 1950: Stalin authorized the North Korean leader Kim Il Sung to invade the Republic of Korea ...
- Soviets assist Cubans, and seek to deploy nuclear weapons there
- Soviets assist North Vietnamese
- Also Cubans in Angola and Mozambique

- Also: The *appearance* of Soviet moves
- Guatemala 1952 (Arbenz)
- Chile 1970 (Allende)
- 'The world was going our way.'

The American response

- U.S. had treaties of alliance with no fewer than 48 different countries

- 168 instances of American armed intervention overseas between 1946 and 1965

- Only around 2 out of 32 major interventions delivered growth and democratization (South Korea, Taiwan) – Westad

- But why so unsuccessful? Too much or too little intervention? – Ferguson (2004)

U.S. National Defense budget as percentage of GDP, 1947-1989

Average: 7.5%
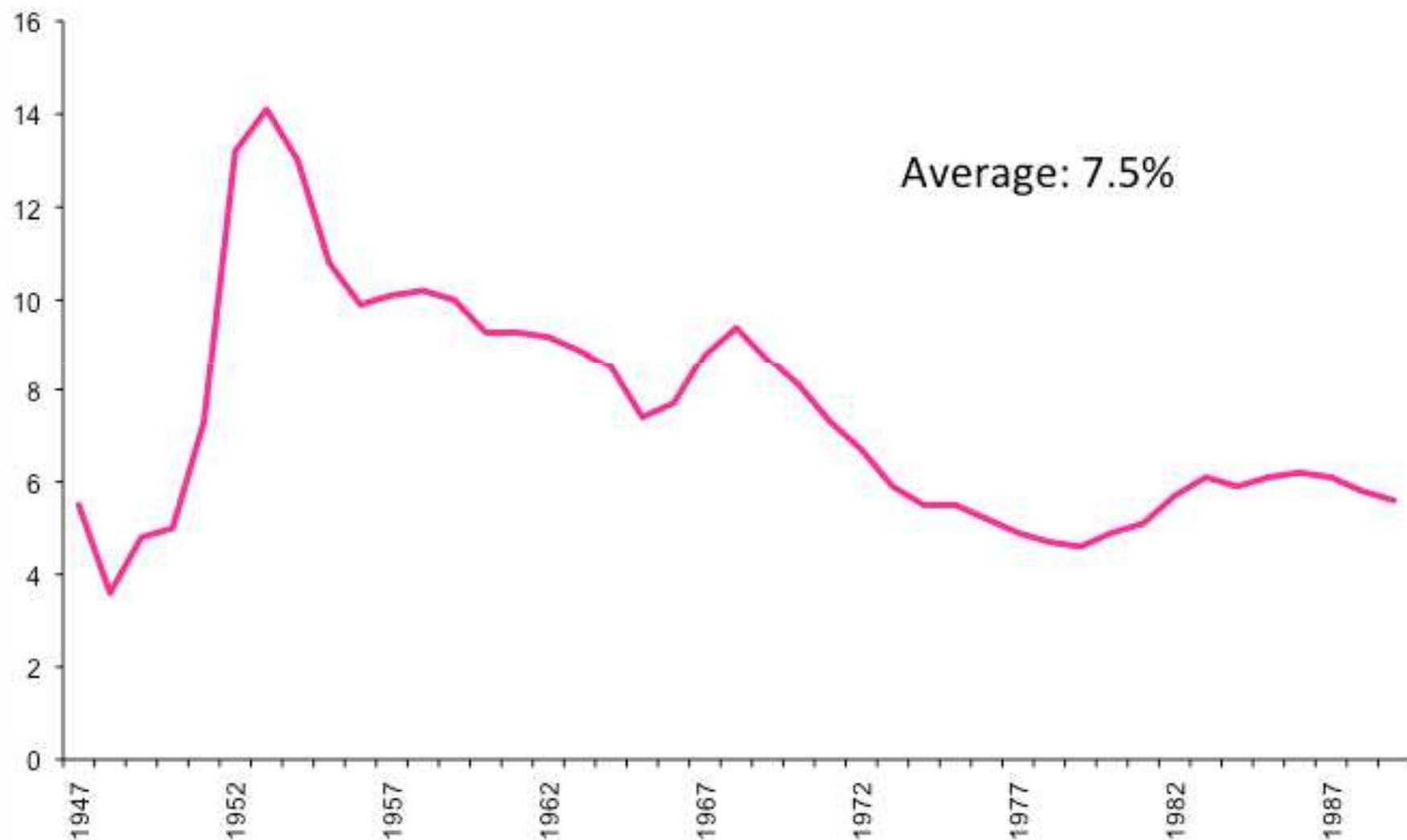
U.S. Economic and Military Aid as % GDP, 1946-1989
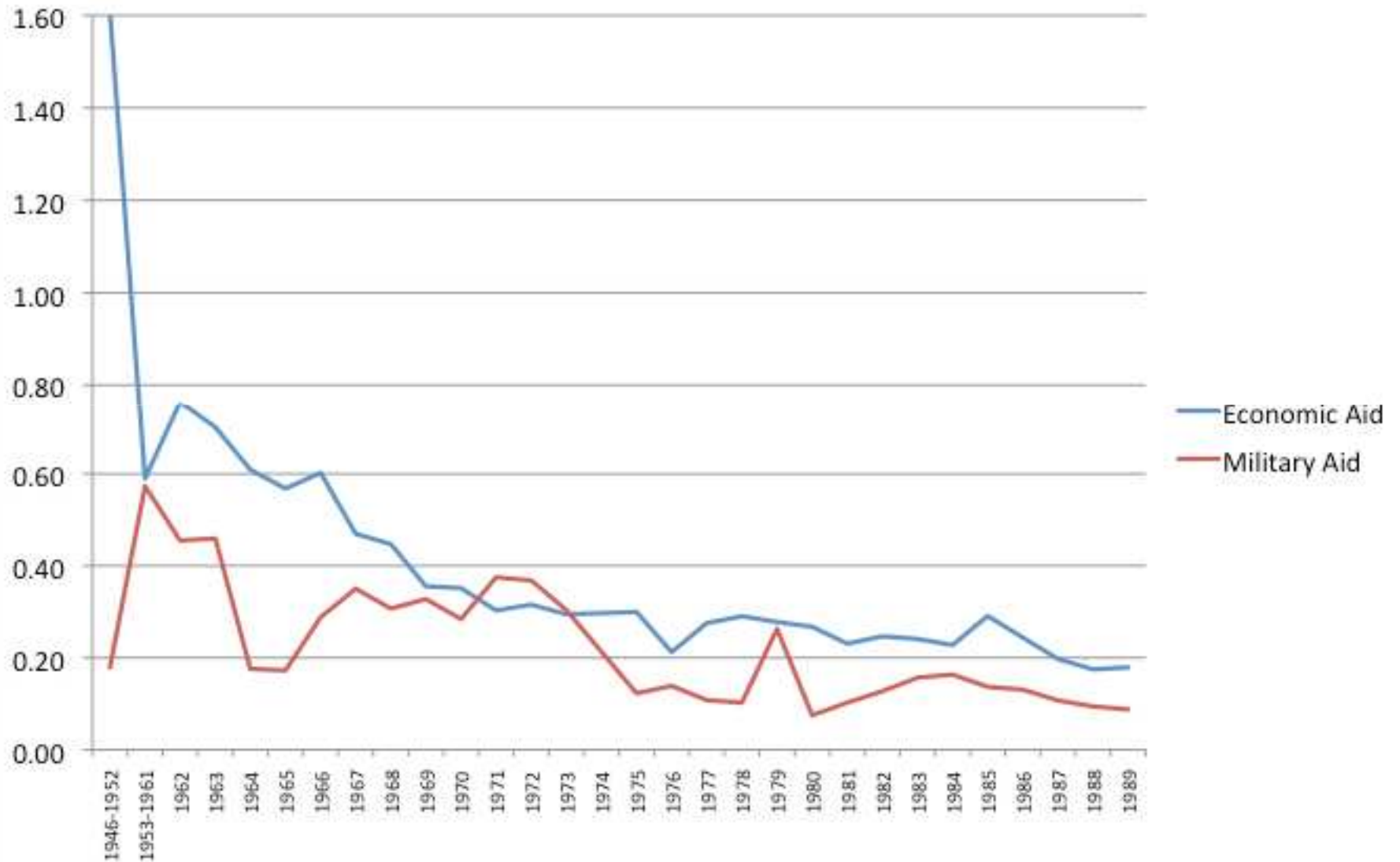
Source: Statistical Abstract

The problem

[Pyle] was talking about the old colonial powers—England and France, and how you couldn't expect to win the confidence of Asiatics. That was where American came in now with clean hands.

'Hawaii, Puerto Rico,' I said. 'New Mexico.'

… He said … there was always a Third Force to be found free from Communism and the taint of colonialism—national democracy he called it; you only had to find a leader and keep him safe from the old colonial powers …

Graham Greene, *The Quiet American* (1955)

The problem

'I've been in India, Pyle, and I know the harm liberals do. We haven't a liberal party any more – liberalism's infected all the other parties. We are all either liberal conservatives or liberal socialists: we all have a good conscience. ... We go and invade the country: the local tribes support us: we are victorious: but ... [in Burma] we made peace ... and left our allies to be crucified and sawn in two. They were innocent. They thought we'd stay. But we were liberals and we didn't want a bad conscience.'

Graham Greene, *The Quiet American* (1955)

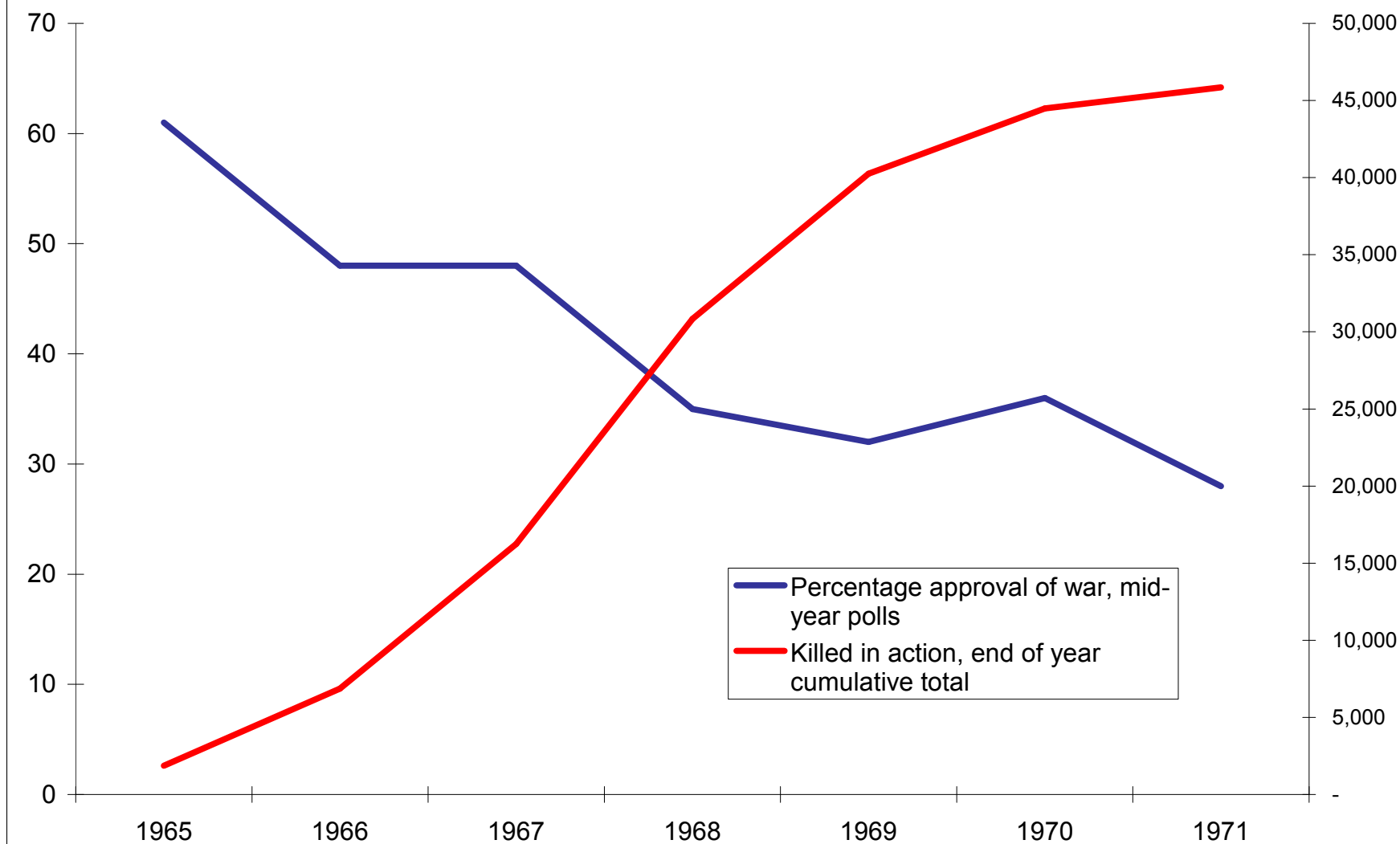**Per capita income today and duration of U.S. occupation**
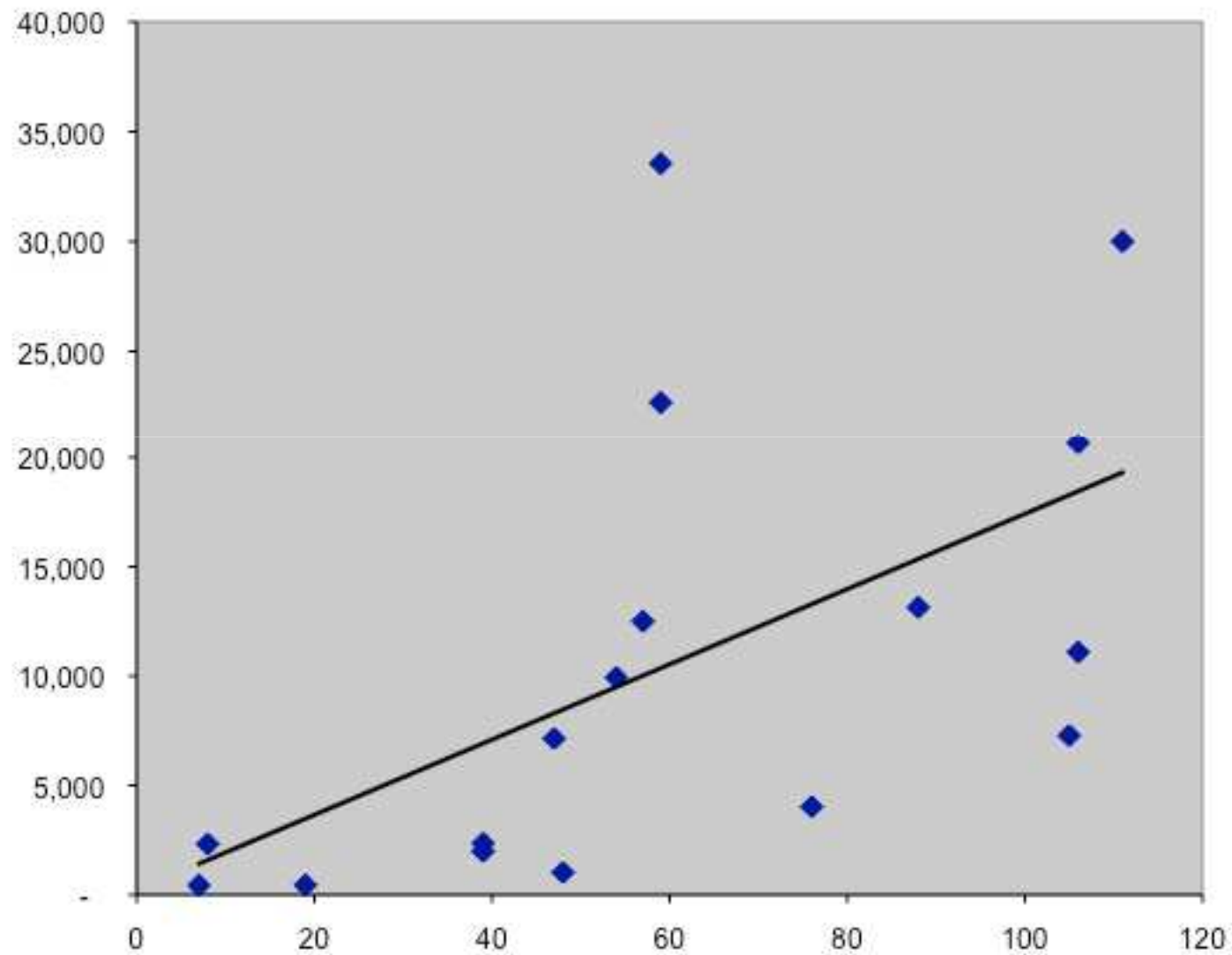
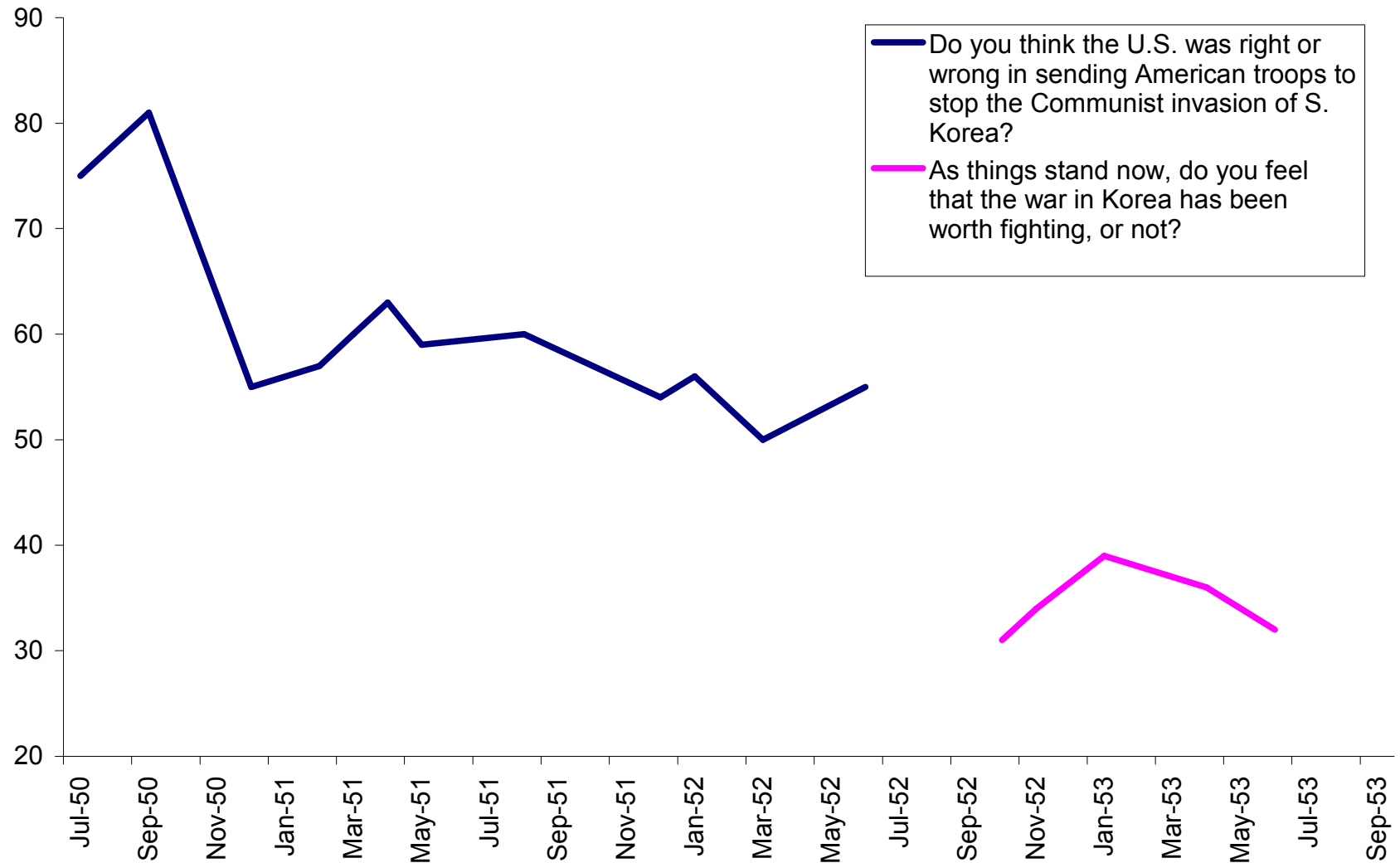Source: Ferguson, *Colossus*

When was the Cold War most hot?

The Vietnam War: Casualties and popularity

Legend:
- Percentage approval of war, mid-year polls
- Killed in action, end of year cumulative total

Source: Gallup

Support for the Korean War, 1950-1953

Legend:
- Do you think the U.S. was right or wrong in sending American troops to stop the Communist invasion of S. Korea?
- As things stand now, do you feel that the war in Korea has been worth fighting, or not?

Source: Gallup

Geopolitical crises

1. Expulsion of the Palestinians from Jordan, 1970
2. Secession of East Pakistan (Bangladesh), 1971
3. Killings of Israeli athletes at the Munich Olympics, 1972
4. Military coup in Chile, 1973
5. The Middle Eastern crisis, 1973
6. Revolution in Ethiopia, 1974 (also Ogaden War, 1977)
7. Fall of South Vietnam, 1975
8. Khmer Rouge take Phnom Penh, 1975
9. Civil war in Lebanon, 1975
10. Angolan Civil War, 1975 (also Mozambique, 1977)
11. Invasion of East Timor, 1975
12. Iranian Revolution, 1979
13. Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, 1979

Heads of state assassinated

1. Richard Ratsimandrava, President of Madagascar, Feb. 11, 1975
2. François Tombalbaye, President of Chad, April 17, 1975
3. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, President of Bangladesh, Aug. 15, 1975
4. General Murtala Ramat Mohammed, Nigeria, Feb. 13, 1976
5. Marien Ngouabi, Congo, March 18, 1977
6. Lieutenant-Colonel Ibrahim el-Hamdi, Yemen, Oct. 11, 1977
7. Mohammed Daoud Khan, Afghanistan, April 28, 1978
8. Ali Soilih, Madagascar, May 29, 1978
9. Ahmad al-Ghashmi, Yemen, June 24, 1978
10. Park Chung-hee, Republic of Korea, Oct. 26, 1979
11. Hafizullah Amin, Afghanistan, Dec. 27, 1979

How much war per decade?

	Number of wars			
	Interstate	Extrastate	Intrastate	TOTAL
1950s	3	6	11	20
1960s	6	3	16	25
1970s	7	3	25	35
1980s	4	0	19	23

	Estimated deaths				World population	
	Interstate	Extrastate	Intrastate	TOTAL	At mid-decade	War deaths
1950s	917,056	68,000	98,900	1,083,956	2,757,399,000	0.04%
1960s	1,057,224	14,500	1,018,857	2,090,581	3,337,974,000	0.06%
1970s	66,901	19,000	2,621,254	2,707,155	4,073,740,000	0.07%
1980s	1,256,145	-	1,742,132	2,998,277	4,843,947,000	0.06%

How much terror, how many coups?

	Fatalities and injuries due to international terrorism	Coups d'etat
1960s		119
1970s	5,000	135
1980s	13,206	140
1990s	23,205	137

Why the Seventies looked so bad

- The wars within: A generational conflict within the two Blocs (and China)
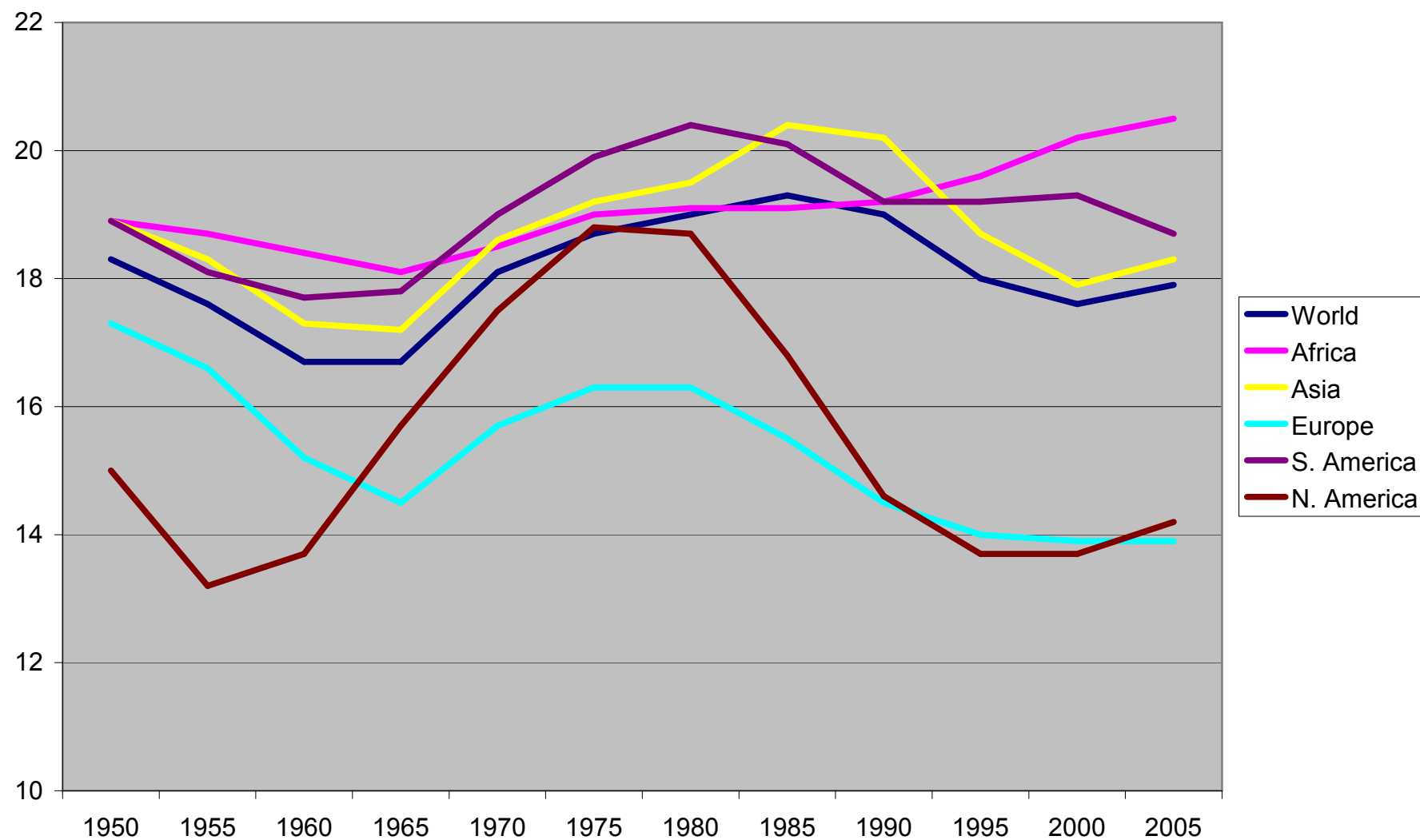
Prague, 1968

August 20-21: 'Prague Spring' crushed by 200,000 Warsaw Pact troops and over 2,000 tanks
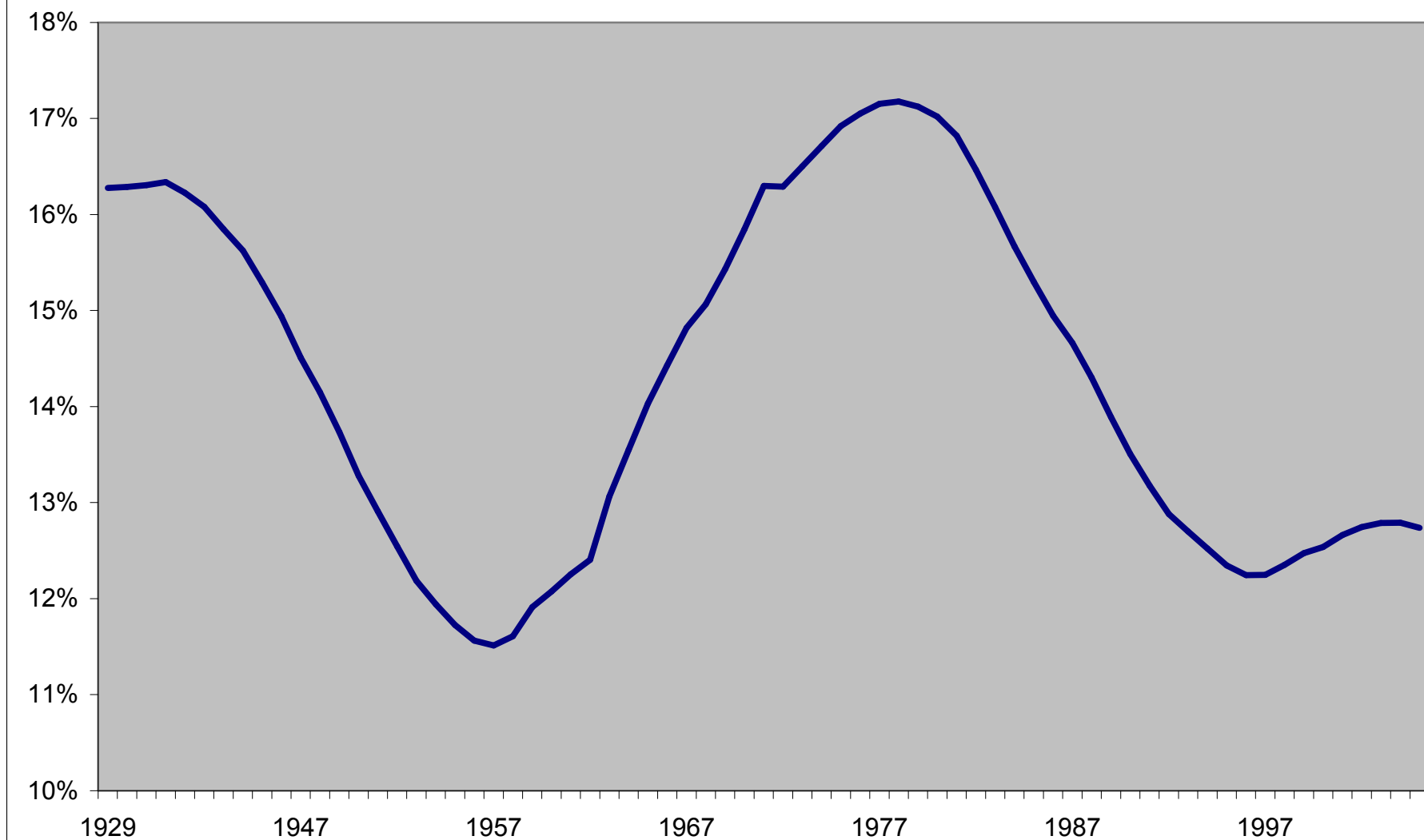
Chicago, 1968

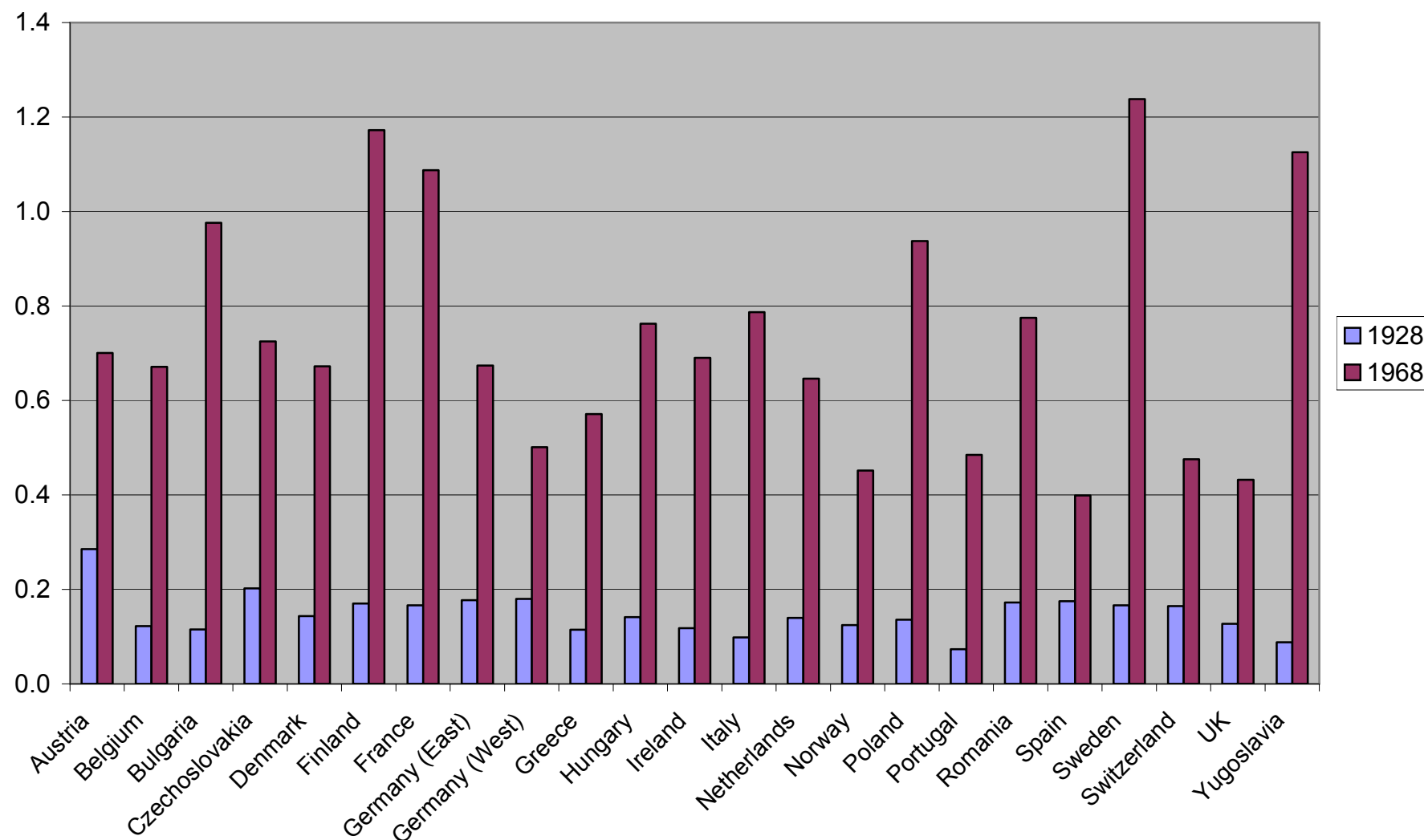The battles of Lincoln Park during the Democratic Party's National Convention, August 16-29, 1968
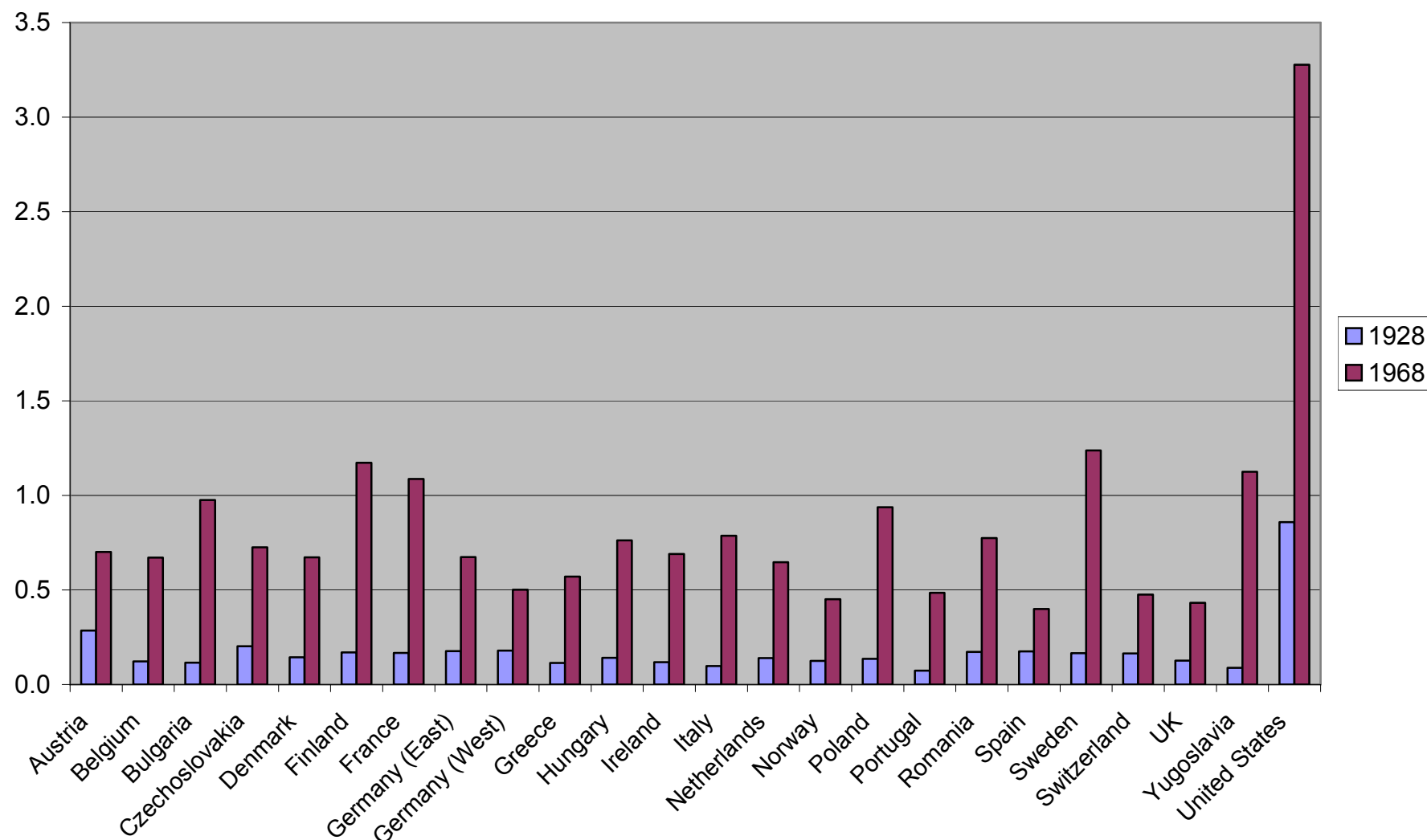
Population aged 15-24 (% of total), 1950-2005

Percentage of the U.S. population aged 16-24, 1929-1997

University students as a percentage of the population, 1928 and 1968

Legend:
- 1928
- 1968

X-axis categories: Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany (East), Germany (West), Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, UK, Yugoslavia

Y-axis: 0.0, 0.2, 0.4, 0.6, 0.8, 1.0, 1.2, 1.4

University students as a percentage of the population, 1928 and 1968

Legend:
- 1928
- 1968

Countries (x-axis): Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany (East), Germany (West), Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, UK, Yugoslavia, United States

Y-axis: 0.0, 0.5, 1.0, 1.5, 2.0, 2.5, 3.0, 3.5
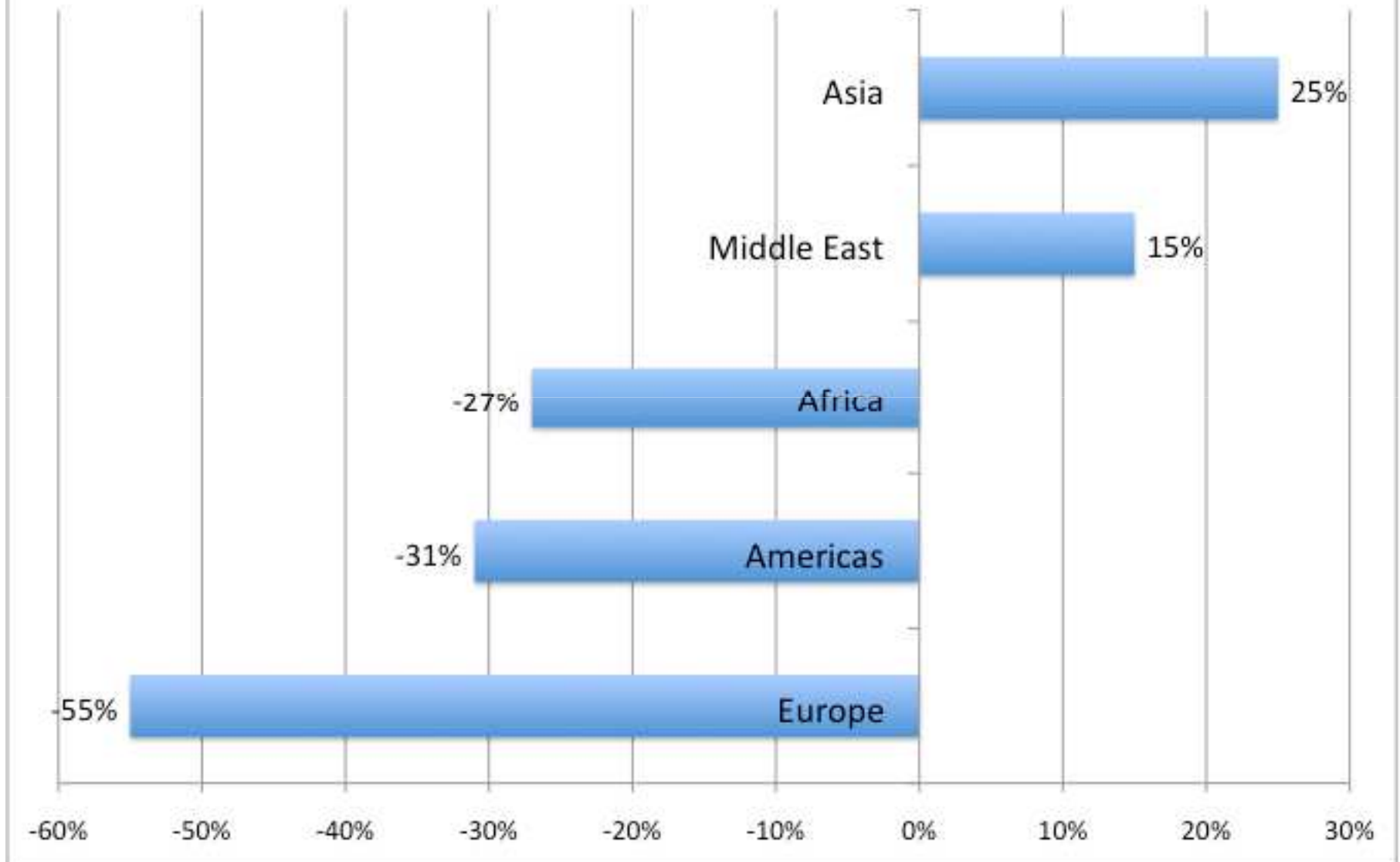
U.S. crime rates (1960=100)

Legend:
- Violent crimes
- Property crimes

Was there a post-war peace dividend?

- Not everywhere …

Percentage change in real defence spending, 1989-98

Region	Percentage change
Asia	25%
Middle East	15%
Africa	-27%
Americas	-31%
Europe	-55%

Source: SIPRI Yearbook (1998)

A conclusion

- The Cold War may have increased the amount and duration of conflict in some parts of the world (Africa and Latin America)
- But it is not clear that it can be blamed for violence in Asia and the Middle East

Next term

Détente Revisited