The West and the Liberal International Order

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 Origins: War and the destruction of the European Imperial Order

 Geopolitics and the making of the Western Liberal International Order

• The Cold War, Western Developmentalism and Triumph

I War and the Destruction of the European Imperial Order

"War was a defining feature of the twentieth century. A vast percentage the last century were participants or victims in one way or another of the endless stream of civil and interstate wars that characterized this era......The twentieth century suffered through two enormously destructive world wars "

Ned Lebow, Why Nations Fight (2010)

1.1 WORLD WAR I: DEAD AND WOUNDED

The total number of military and civilian casualties in World War I was more than **38 million**: there were over **17 million** deaths and **20 million** wounded, ranking it among the deadliest conflicts in human history. The total number of deaths includes about 11 million military personnel and about 7 million civilians.

Total Deaths:

Russia – 3.31 m. France – 1.70m. British Empire – 1.25M (UK: 994,000)

Italy – 1.24m. Serbia – 720,000. Romania – 680,000. USA – 117,000.

German Empire – 2.47m. Austria Hungary – 1.57m. Ottoman Empire – 2.9m.

Europe in 1900



Europe in 1920: a world transformed



WORLD WAR I: INTERNATIONAL IMPACT

- World War I probably had more far-reaching consequences than any other proceeding war.
- Politically, it resulted in the downfall of four monarchies--in Russia in 1917, in Austria-Hungary and Germany in 1918, and in Turkey in 1922. I
- t contributed to the Bolshevik rise to power in Russia in 1917 and the triumph of fascism in Italy in 1922. It ignited colonial revolts in the Middle East and in Southeast Asia.
 - Economically, the war severely disrupted the European economies and allowed the United States to become the world's leading creditor and industrial power.
- The war also brought vast social consequences, including the mass murder of Armenians in Turkey and an influenza epidemic that killed over 25 million people worldwide.

The New Middle East after the Ottoman Empire



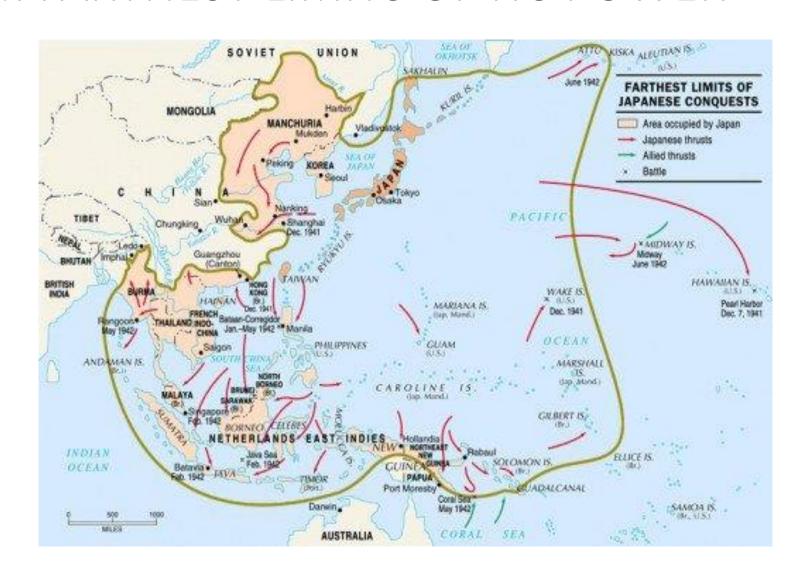
WAR IN ASIA: THE RISE OF JAPAN

- Meiji Restoration in 19th century started a revolution in Japan: outward embrace of industrialisation, militarisation and Westernisation in general to remake Japan into Asia's leading power.
- Notable was changing Japanese conduct in line w/ European imperial norms, Russo-Japan 1905 declared exemplary but despite that, the 'humiliation' of the treaties imposed by West on Tokyo in 1894-95 and 1905.
- By the 1890s, Japan had started pursuing her colonial ambitions. These ambitions were primarily directed at China and aimed at establishing Japanese supremacy in East Asia. Later, the object of the Japanese ambition encompassed the entire Asian continent and the Pacific.
- Having built up her armed strength, she went to war with China and defeated her in 1895. She annexed Formosa (Taiwan), which was a part of China, and forced China to recognise Korea, over which she claimed suzerainty, as an independent state.

JAPANESE EXPANSION: 1910-1942



JAPAN: FARTHEST LIMITS OF ITS POWER



GERMANY AND THE REMAKING OF EUROPE 1936-1939

Nazi Germany on the March, 1936-1939 Memel LITHUANIA DENMARK Baltic North Hamburg EAST Danzig PRUSSIA NETHERLANDS Berlin GERMAN Warsaw Cologne POLAND Dresden 4. BELGIUM RHINELAND Prague LUXEMBOURG CZECHOSLOVAKIA FRANCE Stuttgart Munich Vienna Germany, 1933 Rhineland Remilitarized, 1936 AUSTRIA HUNGARY SWITZERLAND Areas Annexed, 1938 Areas Annexed, 1939 ROMANIA ITALY Slovakia (Becomes German YUGOSLAVIA 100 150 miles Protectorate, March 1939)

1.2 THE COSTS OF WWII: Death and Destruction of Europe

- 55-60 million killed: USSR: 20-25 million; China: 15 million; European Jews: 6 million; Germany: 4 million; Poland (non-Jews): 3 million; Japan: 2.5 million; United States: 300,000.
- c24 million military dead but c35 million civilian dead
- Destruction of industrial capacity far exceeded WWI
- Aerial bombing destroyed 80% of German industrial areas
- France, Belguim and Holland equivalent; Britain 30%; Eeastern Europe even more so.
- Transportation systems in Europe destroyed, agricultural and food systems undermined.

1.2 Costs of WORLD WAR II: Decline of Europe and the Making of a Superpower

"In 1945 the US was the only major industrial power that had preserved its industrial plant intact, indeed greatly strengthened by wartime expansion. This meant that, for 15-20 years thereafter, the US was able to produce all the key industrial products so much more efficiently than other industrial nations that it could outsell producers located in these other countries in their home markets. Moreover, in the immediate aftermath of the war, the physical destruction in Europe and Asia was so massive that.. They needed urgent economic assistance of multiple kinds, and they looked to the United States to supply it." Immanuel Wallerstein. The Curve of **American Power**

1.3 WWII AND THE NEW EUROPE



WWII, COLD WAR AND THE DECLINE OF EUROPE

- Two European wars had not only resulted in the problems of reconstruction, but had substantially reduced the power and influence of the major European states with the exception of Russia, long perceived in western and central Europe as largely an extra-European power, but one whose armies had penetrated deep into Central Europe in 1945 much as they had done in 1815.
- As the Cold War developed, it became clear that only two powers in the world had emerged from the war with enhanced strength and that these two "super powers" were the USA and Soviet Union.

II Geopolitics and the origins of the Liberal International Order: Western Way of Development

2.1 Imagining a Liberal World

- FDR and Great Depression (context)
 - 4 Freedoms (speech, worship, want, fear) as development
- 1942 Atlantic Charter (ideas)
 - Wilsonian self-determination revived spelling end of colonialism, lowering trade barriers
- 1944-45 Dumbarton Oaks (institutions)
 - UN, esp UN Security Council and Eco-Soc Council
 - Bretton Woods (IBRD and IMF)
 - International Trade Organisation











BRETTON WOODS AND DUMBARTON OAKS

American
ECONOMIC
AND POLITICAL
POSTWAR
PLANNING
in the Summer

GEORG SCHILD

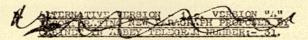


Paine This of the's meeting with President Rescuelt - Buy. 741 Drafts of Jour Declaration - COPY NO:

MOST SECRET

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PROPOSED DECLARATION



The President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, representing His hajesty's Government in the United Kingdom, being met together, deem it right to make known certain common principles in the national policies of their respective countries on which they base their hopes for a better future for the world.

First, their countries seek no aggrandisement, territorial or other:

Second, they desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned.

the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to sec self-government prestored to those Trans whom it have have has been forcibly removed the second whom it has

Fourth, they will endervour, with due respect to their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all peoples of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their occnomic prosperity.

Fifth, they support fullest collaboration between Nations in sconomic field with object of securing for all peoples freedem from want, improved lebour standards, economic advancement and social security.

Sixth, they hope to see established a peace, after the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny, which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in security within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance to all peoples that they may live out their lives in freedom from fear to the security within the country to the c

Seventh, they desire such a peace to establish for all win

Eighth, they believe that all of the nations of the world must be guided in spirit to the abandonment of the use of force. Because no future peace can be maintained if land, sea or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside of their frontiers, they believe that the disammment of such nations is essential pending the establishment of a wider and here permanent system of general security. They will further the adoption of all other practicable measures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armaments.

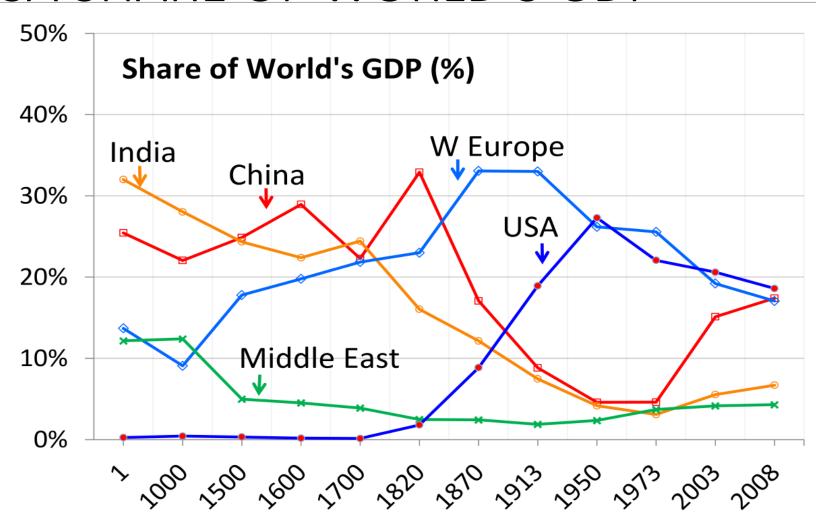
Private Office. August 12, 1941

II Geopolitics and the origins of Western Way of Development

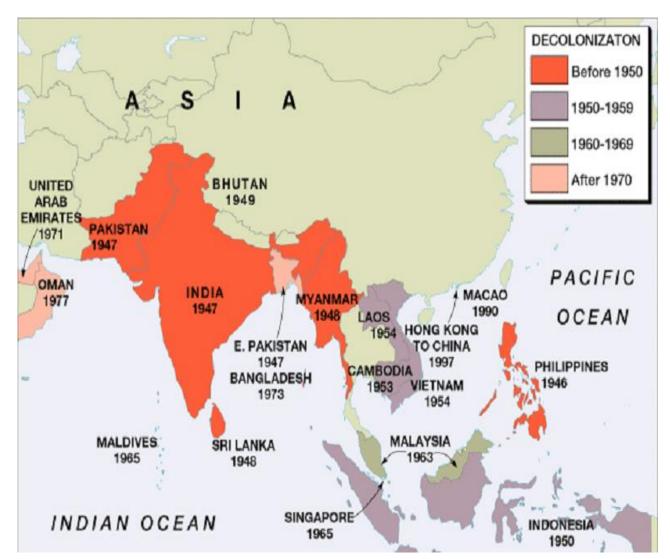
2.2 Cold War Liberalism

- Post WWII: Development as Reconstruction and Recovery (Marshall Plan/Dodge Plan)
 - Financing reconstruction of post-war W Europe
 - Supporting anti-communist parties
 - Building non-militarist Germany and Japan
- Europe: Development, Resistance and Decolonisation
 - Infrastructure, HR training and counter-insurgency
 - From accommodation to independence

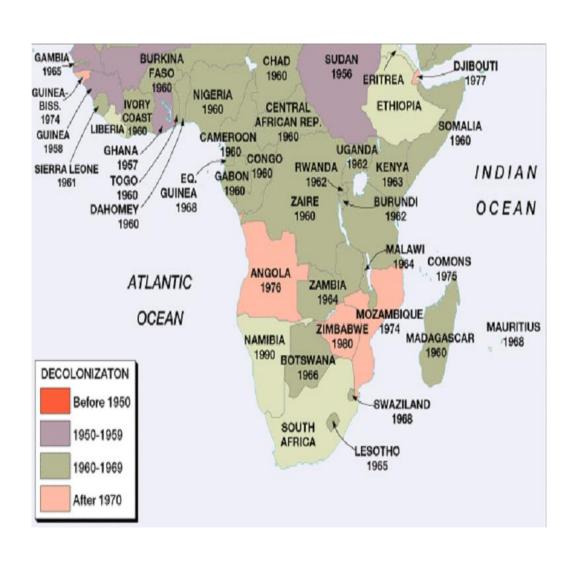
USA SHARE OF WORLD'S GDP



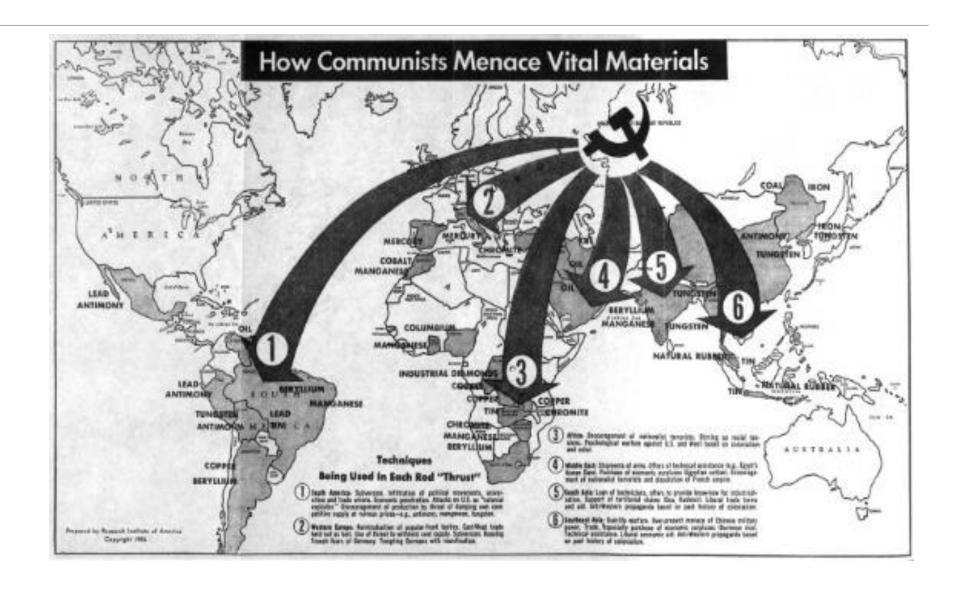
COLD WAR: (3) DECOLONIZATION ASIA



COLD WAR (3) DECOLONIZATION AFRICA



GLOBAL COMMUNIST THREAT



AMERICAN GLOBAL RESPONSE

MILITARY BASES AROUND THE WORLD



III The Cold War, Western Developmentalism and Triumph

- US: Post 1960 Development as Modernisation
 - Rostow's 5 stages of modernisation
 - Political development/state stability and counterinsurgency
 - OECD-DAC, Lome Convention, IBRD = 'World Bank'
- Geopolitics and 2nd Cold War
 - Failure in Indochina but seeds of export-oriented development in rest of SE Asia
 - Oil crisis 1973-79, turning focus to Middle East
 - Implications USAID tied to Israel-Egypt Peace Plan

III The Cold War, Western Developmentalism and Triumph

- 1981 Reagan-Thatcher, neo-liberalism and 'rollback'
- Debt Crisis in LatAm and Africa
- Brady Plan and IMF's Structural Adjustment 1982
- Western Aid Industry's 3 Strands
 - Rise of development technocrats and managers of neoliberalism in its various forms
 - Rise of INGOs and critique of SAPs
 - Globalising Humanitarian Intervention
 - Ethiopia 1984 as starting point

III The Cold War, Western Developmentalism and Triumph

2.3 Post Cold War Liberal 'Triumphantalism'

- East Asian Model success technocratic state intervention/market access...but Washington consensus downplays role of state
- Multilateralism Unbound
 - Agenda for Peace (1992)
 - Agenda for Development (1994)
- Interventionism as key policy instrument
 - WTO 1995 and financial liberalisation
 - Active donor intervention in developing economies through conditionalities
 - UN peace support (pko, building) predicated on setting up democracy and markets in post conflict settings
 - Codified as R2P in 2005

COLD WAR NOT SO "COLD" IN THIRD WORLD

- Vietnam: The Longest War: 1945-1975: 791,000 to 1,141,000 estimated war deaths between 1965-1975
- Algerian war of Independence: 1946-1962: hundreds of thousands to more than a million Algerian Muslims died in the war, with tens of thousands of French military and civilians perishing in the conflict
- **Southern Africa**: 1970s onwards. Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe, South Africa.
- Central America: Revolution and reaction: 1980s hundred of thousands of deaths

THIRD WORLD: WARS, COUPS, SECESSIONS

- Indian partition: 1947. 15m displaced c1.5 m dead
- China's Civil War: 1945-1949: 2.5 million deaths
- Korean War 1950-1953: 2.8 million casualties
- China v India war 1962
- India v Pakistan wars: 1965 and 1971
- Pakistan splits in two 1971. 300, 000 deaths.
- Indonesian coup d'etat 1965-1966. 500,000- 1m. people killed
- Biafran secession from Nigeria 1967-1970: 100,000 overall military casualties. 500,000- 2 million Biafran civilians died from starvation
- Congo: 1960-1965. 100,000 deaths. Katanga seceded

COSTS OF THE COLD WAR

- 1. 25 million died in various 'peripheral' conflicts in Third World
- •
- 2. Various US and Soviet interventions
- 3. Costs of arms races and military spending
- 4. Present danger of nuclear war
- 5. Human rights sacrificed on alter of Cold War expediency
- 6. Division of Europe and Germany

COLD WAR (2) THE BALANCE OF NUCLEAR TERROR

Balance of Nuclear US/SU Nuclear Forces: 1990

- United States
 - 1903 launchers (air, sea, ground)
 - 12,477 strategic
 warheads

- Soviet Union
 - 2,500 launchers (air and ground)
 - 10,271 strategic
 warheads

GREAT POWER PEACE

"For centuries, the threat of major war has loomed over humanity." Defined as protracted struggles among the leading powers of the international system that tend to have significant geopolitical consequences, major wars have often been viewed as inevitable, albeit infrequent, calamities whose existence has played an important role in interstate relations. And yet, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, in the wake of the relatively peaceful end to the Cold War, this once prominent institution appears to be on the wane. Direct conflict among the great powers has been absent for more than half a century, and an unprecedented period of peace seems to have enveloped the developed world".

BUT NO END TO CONFLICT....

- 1. "New Wars"/failed states Afghanistan, Yugoslavia, Libya, Syria
- 2. War on terror/terror as war
- 3. Nuclear proliferation remains a key source of instability/Iraq, Iran.
- 4. India/Pakistan stand off continues
- 5. Potential conflict between China and Usa?

Conclusion