#### The New Wars?

The Cognitive Turn and Its Implications

TOSA Hiroyuki
Kobe University

#### The "New Wars" Debate

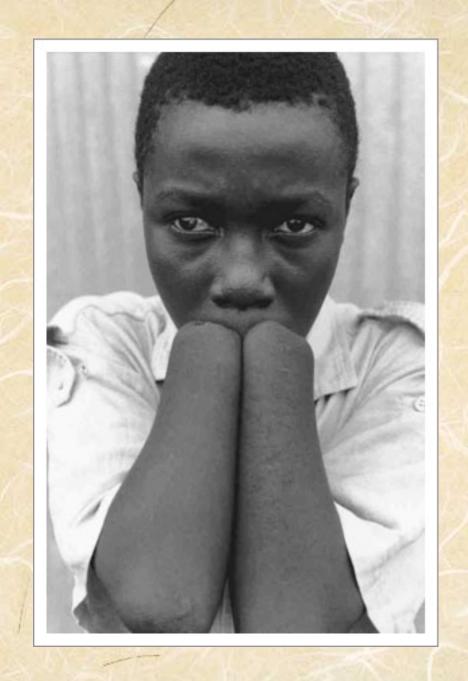
(F'Oa) Bijelina, Bosnia in the Spring of 1992.

(by Ron Haviv)

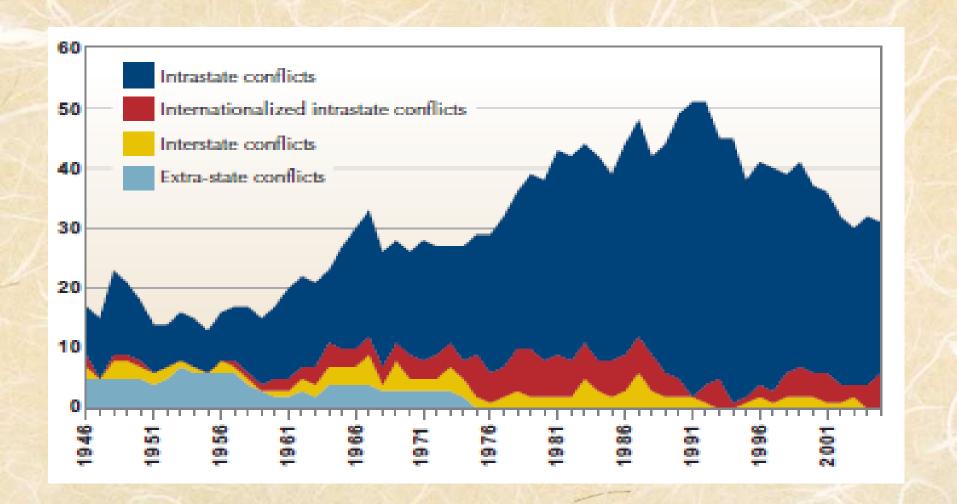


The "New Wars" Debate (F0b) This seventeen-yearold lost both hands to rebels's machetes.

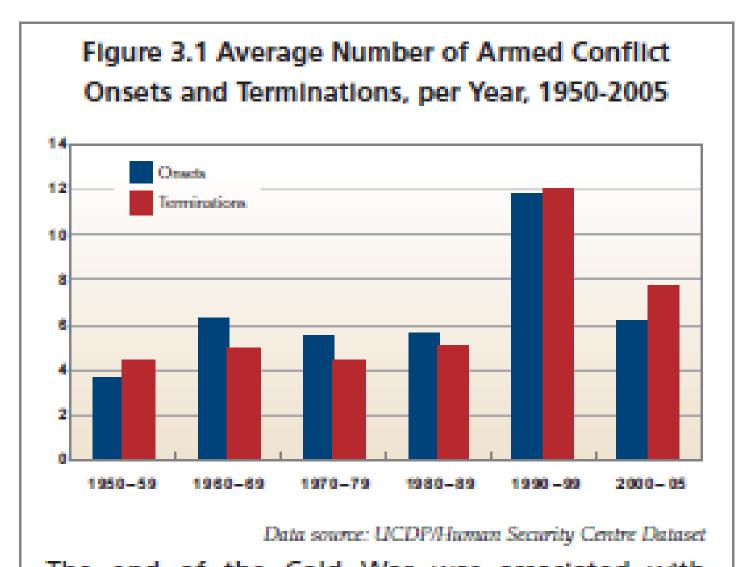
Waterloo camp, Sierra Leone, 1998. UNICEF / HQ96-0566 / Giacomo Pirozzi



# (F1) Number of State-based Armed Conflicts by Type, 1946-2005 (Source: Lotta Habom and Peter Wallensteen, "Armed Conflict, 1989-2006," *Journal of Peace Research* 44(5), 2007, pp.623-634.)



(F2) Average Number of Armed Conflict Onsets and Terminations, per Year, 1950-2005.



# (F3) Numbers of State-based Armed Conflict Terminations, 1946-2005.

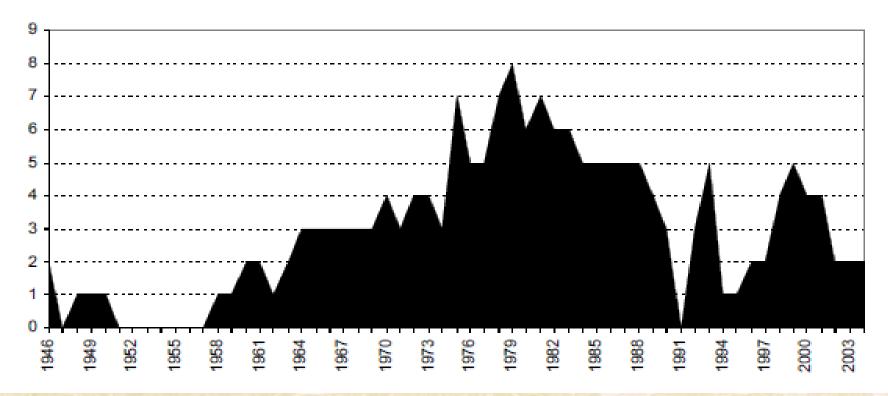
	Victories			Negotiated settlements*			Other			Total terminations		
Years	Total No.	Number restarted In under 5 years	% restarted In under 5 years	Total No.	Number restarted in under 5 years	% restarted In under 5 years	Total No.	Number restarted In under 5 years	% restarted In under 5 years	Total No.	Number restarted In under 5 years	% restarted In under 5 years
1946-49	13	1	7.7	3	0	0.0	7	0	0	23	1	4.3
1950-59	16	3	18.8	11	0	0.0	13	5	38.5	40	8	20.0
1960-69	22	2	9.1	11	3	27.3	17	3	17.6	50	8	16.0
1970-79	22	6	27.3	12	3	25.0	11	0	0	45	9	20.0
1980-89	20	4	20.0	8	1	12.5	26	15	57.7	54	20	37.0
1990-99	23	2	8.7	42	18	42.9	55	32	58.2	120	52	43.3
Total 1946-1999	116	18	15.5	87	25	28.7	129	55	42.6	332	98	29.5
2000-2005**	4	1	25.0	17	2	11.8	19	10	52.6	40	13	32.5
Total 1946-2005	120			104			148			372		

Data source: UCDP/Human Security Centre Dataset

#### (F4) Internationalized Armed Conflicts

(Source: Lotta Harbom & Peter Wallensteen, "Armed Conflict and Its International Dimensions, 1946-2004," *Journal of Peace Research* 42(5), 2005, pp.623-635.)

Figure 2. Internationalized Armed Conflicts, 1946–2004



#### (F5) Battle Deaths World Wide, 1946-2002

(Source: Bethany Lacina et al. "Monitoring Trends in Global Combat," European Journal of Population 21 (2005), pp.145-166.)

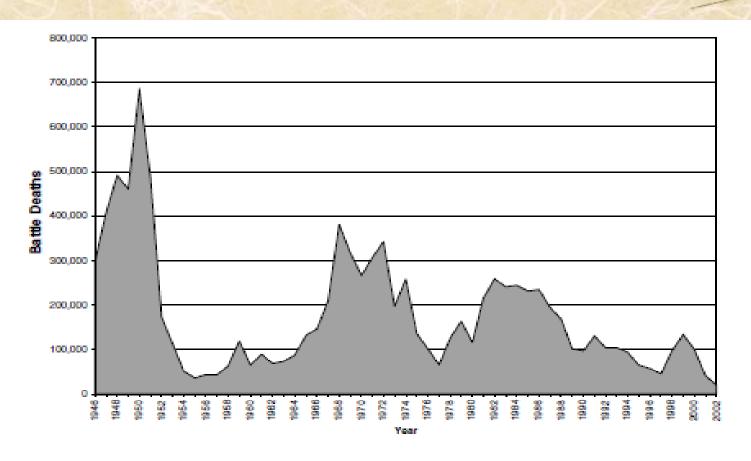


Figure 2. Battle deaths worldwide, 1946-2002.

#### (F6)Conflicts with the Largest Battle Death Totals

Table 1. Conflicts with the largest battle death totals

Conflict	Years	Best estimate of battle deaths*				
Vietnam War	1955-1975	2,097,705*				
Korean War	1950-1953	1,254,811*				
Chinese Civil War	1946-1949	1,200,000				
Iran-Iraq War	1980-1988	644,500				
Afghan Civil War	1978-2002	562,995*				

<sup>\*</sup> The precision of these figures is due to exact accounting of Western losses; the accuracy should be regarded as spurious.

# (F7)Battle Deaths Worldwide, 1946-2002.

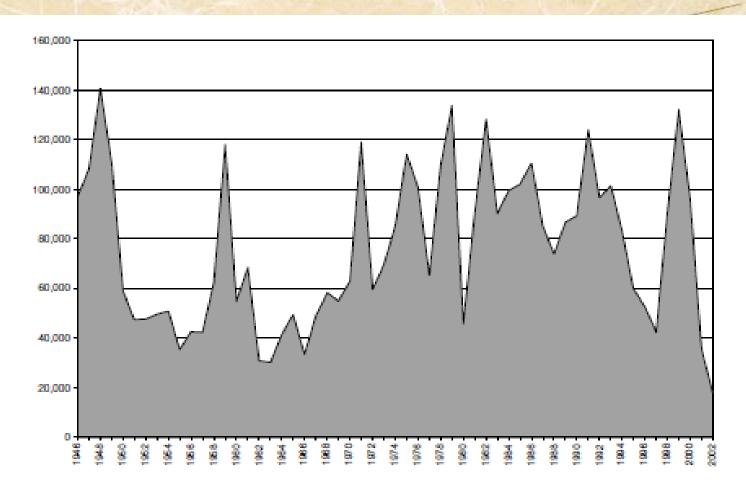


Figure 3. Battle deaths worldwide, 1946-2002, removing the five largest conflicts.

# (F8) Share of Battle Deaths that Occurred in Internal Conflicts(%)

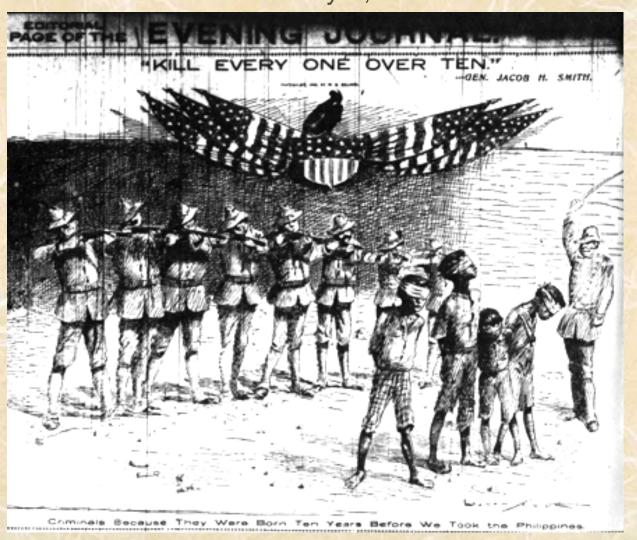
Table 3. Share of battle deaths that occurred in internal conflicts (%)

Years	Battle deaths in internal conflicts*
1946-1949	87
1950s	8
1960s	29
1970s	43
1980s	67
1990s	92
2000-02	93
1946-2002	52

<sup>\*</sup>Includes internationalised internal conflicts.

#### (F9) Philippine-American War(1899-1902/1913)

"Kill every one over ten." - Gen. Jacob H. Smith.Bottom caption: "Criminals Because They Were Born Ten Years Before We Took the Philippines"New York Journal -- May 5, 1902.



### The Lineage of the Irregular Wars

Asymmetrical Conflicts and Absolute Antagonism (F10) The Third of May 1808. Francisco Goya



### (F11) The Same thing

(from The disasters of War Goya, 1810-15.)



### (F12) And are like wild beasts

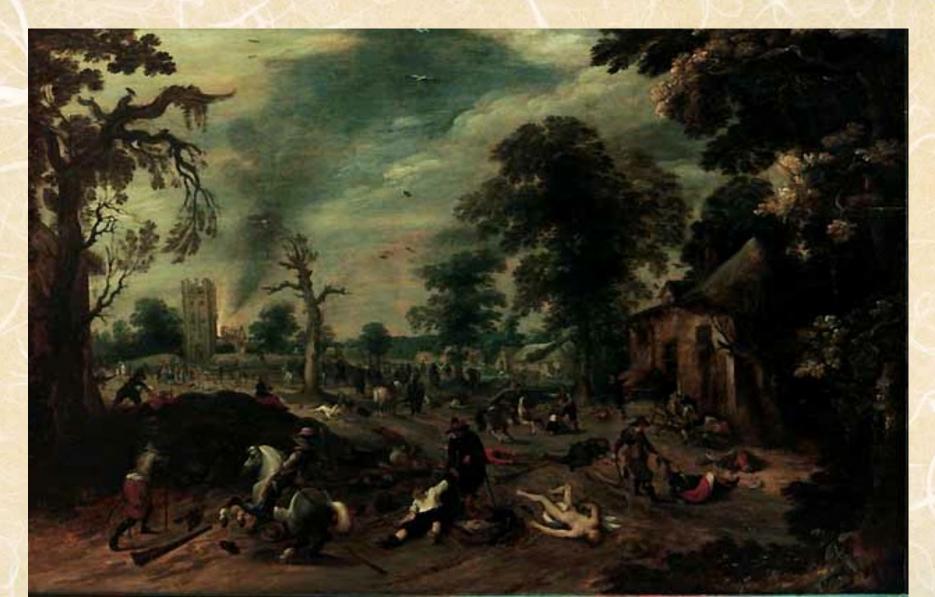
(from The disasters of War Goya, 1810-15.)



## (F13) Soldiers Plundering a Farm House (Sabastian Vrancx[1573-1647], 1620)



### (F14) Pillage of Village (Sebastian Vrancx, 1620)



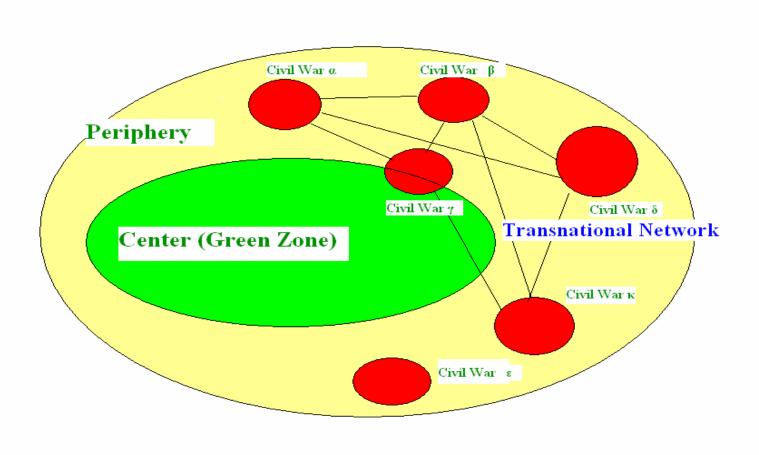
(F15) Ambush (Sebastian Vrancx, 1630)



# (F16)Peasants Killing a Soldier (Hans Ulrich Franck[1573-1647], 1643)



# Global Civil War/ Global Civil Society?

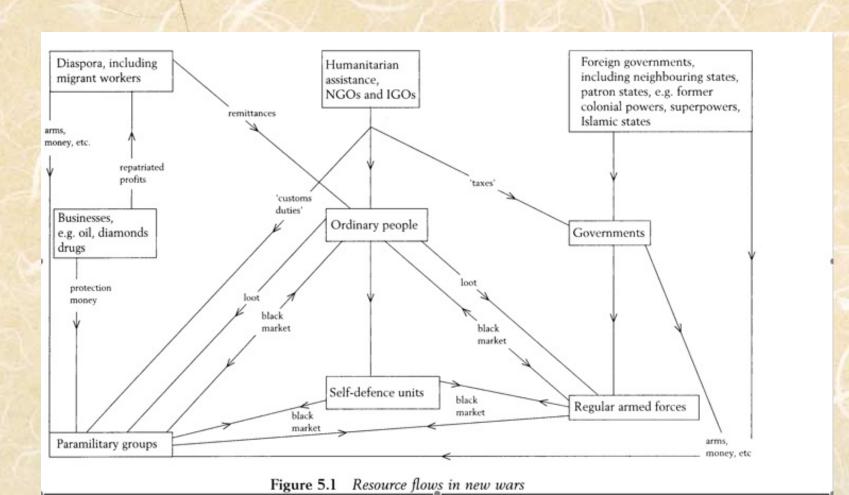


#### Neo-liberal Global Governance

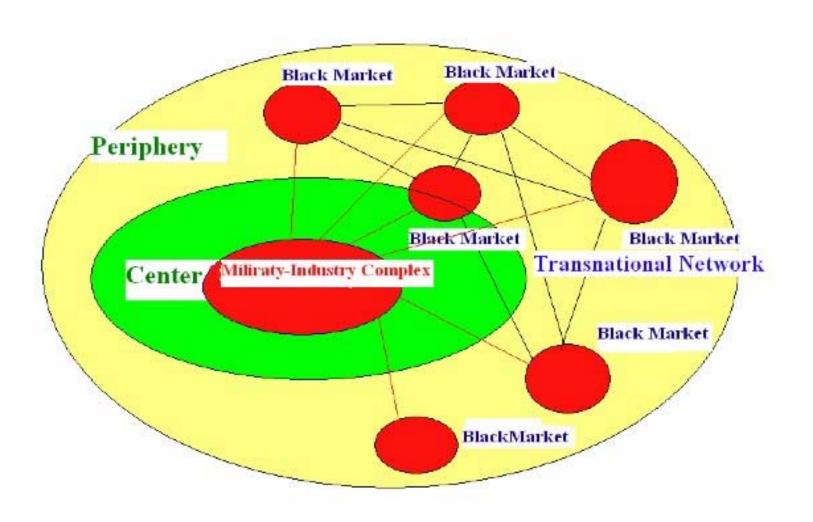
#### and the "New Wars"

(F18)

Resource Flows in New Wars (Source: M.Kaldor, New & Old Wars.)



#### (F19) Shadow Globalization



## Deconstruct Absolute Enmity & Correct Absolute Asymmetries

