Chapter 27 – The Cold War and the Third World

1. Introduction

On January 9, 1964, a riot erupted in the Panama Canal Zone, a U.S.-controlled territory in the heart of Panama. The trouble began when Panamanian students tried to raise Panama’s national flag at an American high school. American residents objected and fighting broke out. The riots continued over the next three days as thousands of Panamanians joined in. More than 20 people died in the unrest.

The riots in the Canal Zone reflected longstanding resentment of the U.S. presence in Panama. The United States had controlled the Canal Zone since 1903. A treaty signed that year gave the United States rights to the Panama Canal and the land around it “in perpetuity” (forever). Since then, the United States had viewed the canal as essential to international trade and American security.

President Lyndon Johnson blamed the riots on communist Cuba. He claimed that Cuba was “sending guns, money, and agents into Panama” to encourage revolution. For the people of Panama and the rest of Latin America, however, the riots were an expression of nationalism. They saw the Canal Zone as a symbol of American imperialism.

The riots did have one positive effect, though. The United States began negotiations to hand the canal over to Panama. It took many years, but in 1977 the United States and Panama finally signed the Panama Canal Treaties. On December 31, 1999, Panama gained full control over the canal.

The story of the Panama Canal riots is one example of the legacy of imperialism, which took on new life during the Cold War. In this lesson, you will learn more about that legacy and how it affected nations and people around the world.

Themes

Cultural Interaction A clash of ideas and beliefs occurred during the Cold War. Nations struggled with the effects of imperialism and colonial rule.
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Political Structures  Wars and revolutions upset old political structures. Many, but not all, were replaced by democratic governments.

Economic Structures  Poor countries faced tough economic challenges. Aid from rich nations and international agencies influenced their choices.

Social Structures  Social classes in poor nations suffered from deep economic inequality. Class divisions sometimes gave rise to social unrest.

Human-Environment Interaction  Rich nations developed new means to obtain natural resources. Wars damaged the environment in many regions.

2. Challenges for Poor Nations

In the decades after World War II, many nations in Africa and Asia gained independence from European colonial rule. These new nations faced many challenges as they tried to overcome the legacy of imperialism. Their futures were affected by the Cold War, as competing superpowers sought to extend their power and influence throughout the world.

Three Worlds  During the Cold War, the two sides in the superpower struggle were sometimes referred to as separate “worlds.” The capitalist nations of the West were known as the First World, while the communist countries of Eastern Europe were the Second World. Both sets of countries had advanced industrial economies and great economic and political power. In economic terms, they were considered developed countries.

Most countries, however, fell into another category, called the Third World. Because these countries were in less advanced stages of economic development, they were known as developing countries. It was among the developing countries of the Third World that most Cold War conflicts took place.

The Third World Dilemma  Many Third World nations were caught in the middle of the superpower struggle. Some had clear ties to one side, but did not fully belong to either camp. Other countries had less defined loyalties.

Many Third World countries had only recently shaken off colonial rule. Others—such as those in Latin America—had been independent for longer but were still struggling. These nations faced many problems. Most suffered from conditions of extreme poverty and social inequality. Often, a small minority of citizens held most of the wealth and power. By controlling the reins of government, this upper class was able to stifle reforms that might help the poor and benefit the nation as a whole.

In the 1950s and 1960s, however, a number of nationalist leaders emerged in the Third World. These leaders wanted to build stronger, more developed countries. They also wanted to reduce the influence of foreign powers over their affairs. At the same time, they also needed aid and assistance from wealthier nations.

If a country accepted aid from one of the superpowers, though, it risked falling under that superpower’s control. It also might prompt a hostile reaction from the other side. The country
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could become the target of **covert actions** or other measures designed to undermine the government and remove its leader. In this way, Third World nations were often squeezed between East and West and became a battleground in the superpower conflict.

The Nonaligned Nations  A number of Third World leaders sought to distance their countries from the Cold War struggle. They tried to follow a separate path—not aligned with either East or West—that would allow them to grow and develop on their own terms. This group of countries became known as the **nonaligned nations**.

One of the main leaders of the nonaligned movement was Jawaharlal Nehru, the prime minister of India. Nehru had helped lead his country to independence from Great Britain in 1947. Now he wanted to ensure India’s independence from both superpowers. Along with other nonaligned leaders—such as President Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt and President Sukarno of Indonesia—Nehru convened a conference at Bandung, Indonesia, in 1955. There, 29 Asian and African states condemned colonialism and asserted their freedom from restrictive Cold War alliances.

In a speech, Nehru declared:

*If all the world were to be divided up between these two big blocs, what would be the result? The inevitable result would be war. Therefore every step that takes place in reducing that area in the world that may be called the unaligned area is a dangerous step.*

—Jawaharlal Nehru, speech at the Bandung Conference, 1955

The nonaligned movement enjoyed some success. More than 110 countries eventually joined the movement, trying to chart a middle course between East and West. By remaining neutral, some nonaligned countries were able to get economic and political support from both sides. However, the movement remained weak, in part because member states quarreled with each other and failed to build a unified policy. It also faltered because the superpowers continued to exert **hegemony**—a dominating influence—over poor nations.

New Economic Patterns  The superpowers often exercised their hegemony through economic means. The United States and USSR sought to influence countries by offering foreign aid or other forms of economic assistance, but that aid often came with strings attached.

The superpowers put pressure on developing countries to adopt either socialist or capitalist economic policies. The Soviets believed that the spread of socialism would pull countries into the Soviet orbit and validate their economic model. The United States assumed that the spread of capitalism would promote U.S. influence and benefit the U.S. economy.
Choosing between these two economic systems was not easy for developing countries. Many hesitated to join the West because it was associated with colonial rule. In contrast, socialism held appeal because it claimed to be anti-imperialist and dedicated to social and economic equality. Nationalist leaders were also impressed with the USSR’s rapid economic development. Nevertheless, poor nations did not want to lose the economic benefits the West had to offer.

Being in the capitalist bloc included access to loans from two powerful financial institutions, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). These institutions were created after World War II to help stabilize national economies and the world financial system. Their loans helped Europe recover from the war, although the Marshall Plan proved far more effective in that regard. In the decades that followed, the World Bank and IMF provided other nations with loans. However, in most cases the World Bank and IMF would only help capitalist nations. As such, they offered an incentive to Third World countries to join the Western world.

The superpowers also sought access to the natural resources of the developing world. Previously, colonial powers had simply taken minerals, crops, and other raw materials from their colonies as they wished. Now, in the post-colonial era, they had to find new ways to obtain those products. Both East and West offered economic rewards, such as aid or special trade deals, in return for the right to extract Third World resources.

Western access mainly occurred through large companies known as multinational corporations. These companies signed contracts with foreign states to make investments and do business within their territory. These contracts often benefited the companies more than the countries, however. For example, a multinational might make huge profits mining diamonds in Africa, but pay only a small fraction of those profits to the host nation.

Nevertheless, developing countries found foreign companies hard to resist because they lacked the capital, technology, or know-how to extract the resources on their own. Working with multinationals at least offered the prospect of increased trade and income. It also brought wealth to some portions of society, usually the upper classes.

3. Conflict in Latin America

In the decades after World War II, Latin American countries sought to join the ranks of developed nations. Some, like Brazil and Argentina, were relatively advanced, but most had social and economic problems typical of the Third World. Most countries also remained under the influence of foreign powers, particularly the United States. Latin American nationalists wanted to remove these restraints and help their countries develop. During the Cold War, these circumstances gave rise to political conflict throughout the Americas. Three notable cases involved Guatemala, Cuba, and Chile.
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Reform and Repression in Guatemala  In 1950, Guatemala elected a new, nationalist president, Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán. Guatemala had a long history of authoritarian rule under military strongmen. The majority of its people were Mayan Indians who suffered from extreme poverty. Arbenz set out to tackle these problems through a series of reforms.

A key change under Arbenz was land reform. Most Guatemalans were peasant farmers who owned little or no land. Arbenz took unused land from large landowners and distributed it to poor peasants. But he soon ran into trouble. Much of this land belonged to the United Fruit Company, a U.S.-based multinational that grew and exported bananas. Both United Fruit and the U.S. government protested the land takeover.

Although Arbenz was not a communist, U.S. officials accused him of being “soft” on communism. They claimed that his policies would allow the Soviets to gain a foothold in Central America. When Arbenz refused to reverse course, the United States launched a covert action to remove him from power. In 1954, it organized and funded a rebel army of Guatemalan exiles, which trained on United Fruit Company lands in neighboring Honduras. The rebel force marched on the capital and overthrew the government in a coup d’état as two U.S. fighter jets provided air cover to the rebels. A military regime took over and established close ties with the United States.

The Guatemalan army remained in control of the country for most of the next three decades. During that time, Guatemala was polarized between the political extremes of the right and left. In the 1960s, a civil war broke out between leftist guerillas and the government. The war went on for years, costing the lives of some 200,000 people. Most of the victims were Mayan Indians killed by the army. Up to a million people fled their homes and became political refugees. Civilian rule was finally restored in 1985, and peace accords were signed in 1996. However, Guatemala today remains a fragile state.

The Cuban Revolution  Cuban nationalists also wanted to reform their country. Cuba had gained independence from Spain in 1898 after the Spanish-American War. After the war, however, the island remained under United States control. Cuba became a U.S. protectorate.

By the 1950s, American companies dominated the Cuban economy. They bought land and made large investments in the sugar industry. Sugar exports made Cuba one of the richest countries in Latin America, but this wealth was poorly distributed. A small, privileged class occupied the top of the social pyramid, with a sizable middle class below them. Most Cubans lived in poverty, however, and enjoyed few social or economic benefits.

As long as Cuba’s leaders protected American interests, they could count on U.S. support. One leader, Fulgencio Batista, dominated Cuban politics for 25 years. Near the end of his reign in
The 1950s Batista ruled as a dictator. His corrupt and brutal rule aroused strong opposition among Cuban nationalists and radicals.

One of these activists, a young lawyer named Fidel Castro, formed a small guerrilla army to overthrow Batista. The rebel forces launched hit-and-run attacks from the rugged mountains of eastern Cuba. Gradually, they gained popular support. Against all odds, Castro and his army forced Batista to flee the country. In January 1959, they entered Havana in triumph.

The rebels had won, but the Cuban Revolution had just begun. Castro began to implement radical reforms, including land reform. He also asserted Cuba’s independence from the United States by nationalizing American companies. This meant that the Cuban government took ownership of the companies’ assets. The United States retaliated by imposing a trade embargo on Cuba.

Cuba then turned to the Soviet Union. Castro forged close ties with the Soviets and began to build a communist state. He established public health and education programs and raised the standard of living for most Cubans. He erased class distinctions in Cuban society, but he also restricted personal freedoms and jailed or executed his opponents. As a result, many Cubans fled the island for other parts of the Americas, especially the United States.

The United States responded by trying to overthrow the Castro regime. The CIA carried out various covert actions, including plots to assassinate Castro. In 1961, it tried to repeat the events in Guatemala seven years earlier, organizing a rebel army of Cuban exiles to invade Cuba at the Bay of Pigs. This invasion failed miserably, and Castro emerged stronger than ever.

Over the years, Cuba remained a major flashpoint in the Cold War. During the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962, the placement of Soviet missiles in Cuba brought the world to the brink of nuclear war. Cuba also tried to spread leftist revolution in Latin America and Africa, which further aggravated tensions with the United States.
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Throughout this period, Cuba relied on Soviet economic aid. That aid ended with the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. Since then, Cuba has struggled to keep its economy afloat. Meanwhile, the U.S. trade embargo on Cuba continues. Relations between the United States and Cuba remain difficult.

Chile’s Socialist Experiment Conflict also arose in Chile during the Cold War. Chile had a history of democratic government that made it a model for much of Latin America. It also had a long history of foreign investment. For example, three U.S. companies controlled Chile’s copper industry, the nation’s largest source of income.

In 1970, Chileans elected a socialist president, Salvador Allende (ah-YEN-day). Allende promised to follow a “democratic road to socialism.” With the support of Chile’s congress, he nationalized the copper industry. He also took over foreign firms in other key industries.

These actions alarmed powerful people in both Chile and the United States. They feared that Chile was heading toward communism. U.S. President Richard Nixon had already tried to prevent Allende’s election. Now Nixon ordered a covert operation to bring down the government. One strategy was to undermine the Chilean economy by cutting off aid and blocking loans from the World Bank and other financial institutions. As Nixon put it, the aim was to “squeeze” the economy until it “screamed.”

By 1973, a combination of outside pressure and internal factors led to an economic crisis in Chile. As the economy sank, Chilean society became increasingly polarized. In September, the military launched a coup d’état. Tanks rolled through the streets and fighter jets attacked the presidential palace. Allende died during the attack and his government was overthrown.

A military dictatorship under General Augusto Pinochet (pin-oh-CHAY) ruled Chile for the next 17 years. It brutally repressed its opposition, torturing and killing thousands of people. It also imposed drastic free market policies, an economic “shock treatment” that caused great hardship for most Chileans. Eventually the economy rebounded, however, and the nation prospered. In 1990 Pinochet stepped down, and democracy returned to Chile.

4. Wars in Indochina

Southeast Asia was an even deadlier battleground during the Cold War. In the former French colony of Indochina—Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos—several million people died in wars and other violent conflicts. The Cold War was a major factor in these conflicts, but their roots lay in a longer history of imperialism and colonial rule.

The Vietnam War The first French people came to Vietnam in 1612 as Catholic missionaries. Two centuries later, the French invaded the country. It took nearly three decades for France to
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conquer all of Vietnam, along with Cambodia and Laos. In 1887, France established the colony of French Indochina.

France ruled French Indochina in typical imperial fashion. It exploited Vietnam’s economic resources, including rice, coal, minerals, and rubber. It also used the colony as a market for French goods. It made little effort to develop local industries or a skilled middle class. All the wealth of the colony went to the French and a few privileged Vietnamese. Most of the people did not benefit from colonial rule.

Nationalist revolts against the French began during the early days of the colony. By the 1930s, one of the leading groups in this struggle was the Vietnamese Communist Party, founded by Ho Chi Minh. During World War II, when Vietnam was occupied by Japan, Ho formed a broad nationalist alliance called the Viet Minh (vee-EHT MIN). After the war, the Viet Minh seized power in the northern part of the country, while the French retained control in the south. Vietnam was divided between a communist-led north and a noncommunist south.

By 1947, the two Vietnams were at war. The Viet Minh called their fight a “war of national liberation.” For the French and their U.S. allies, however, it was a war against communism. The Indochina War went on until 1954, when France suffered a crucial defeat at the Battle of Dien Bien Phu and sued for peace. The peace agreement, known as the Geneva Accords, left Vietnam divided between the communist north and the non-communist south. Elections to unify the country were scheduled for 1956 but were canceled by South Vietnam because of the likelihood that the popular communist leader Ho Chi Minh would win the elections if held.

Meanwhile, the U.S.-backed government of South Vietnam became a dictatorship under Ngo Dinh Diem (NOH DIN dee-YEM). As local opposition grew, a communist rebel force—the Viet Cong—launched a guerrilla war against the government in the south. The United States responded by sending more military aid to the government of South Vietnam. By 1965, the United States was deeply involved in the Vietnam War. American troops were engaged in ground combat and U.S. planes were launching air strikes on North Vietnam.

The United States was determined to prevent South Vietnam from falling to communism. But the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong were even more determined to defend and unite their homeland. In the end, it was a war the United States could not win. Facing strong antiwar sentiments at home, the Nixon administration withdrew the last U.S. troops from Vietnam in 1973. In 1975, the north conquered the south and Vietnam was united under a communist government.

The Vietnam War had cost the lives of 58,000 American soldiers. It was much more destructive for Vietnam, however, killing as many as 2 million Vietnamese. In the years that followed, Vietnam would struggle to recover from the war.
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Conflicts in Cambodia and Laos  The Vietnam War was not confined to Vietnam. It also spilled over into Cambodia and Laos, causing great death and destruction.

Cambodia gained independence from France in 1953. During the Vietnam War, it tried to remain neutral to avoid being drawn into the conflict. However, both the United States and North Vietnam violated Cambodian sovereignty by sending troops into the country. North Vietnam also gave aid and assistance to Cambodia’s communist rebels, the Khmer Rouge (KMAYR ROOZH). In the early 1970s, the United States launched massive bombing raids on Cambodia to cripple the Khmer Rouge. These raids devastated the country, but they did not prevent a communist takeover.

In April 1975 the Khmer Rouge seized power. Their leader, Pol Pot, promptly took radical steps to transform Cambodian society. He forced people into labor camps and tried to purge all capitalist elements from the country. In the process, nearly two million people died, a fifth of the nation’s population. Around a quarter million were murdered. The rest died of starvation and illness. It was one of the worst genocides in human history.

By this time, the Khmer Rouge and communist Vietnam had become enemies. In 1979 Vietnam overthrew Pol Pot and installed a new regime. Peace returned and Cambodia gradually recovered.

Laos also experienced great upheaval during this period. In the 1960s and 1970s, communist guerrillas—called the Pathet Lao—fought the Laotian government. Both North Vietnam and the United States intervened in this struggle, sending weapons and troops across the border. The United States also conducted air strikes in Laos and funded a “secret army” to fight the Laotian communists. When the United States pulled out of Vietnam, it also left Laos. In 1975 the Pathet Lao took over and formed a new government.

The Aftermath of War  The wars in Indochina all resulted in communist victories. The domino effect—the idea that one country after another might fall to communism—had taken place but mostly as a reaction to a history of imperialism and colonial rule.

In the aftermath of war, each country worked to rebuild its national life. The challenges were enormous. The wars had shattered economies and societies, decimated populations and damaged the environment. U.S. bombing raids, for example, had destroyed forests and farmlands and left toxic chemicals in the soil and water. Unexploded bombs and land mines continued to kill or maim innocent civilians throughout the region.

Nevertheless, the countries of Indochina have all made progress in the past four decades. Cambodia has held democratic elections, while Vietnam and Laos—though still communist—allow some democratic rights. All three countries have adopted market reforms and opened up their economies to the world. They are still among the world’s poorest countries and face many
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pressing problems, including widespread corruption. But they are actively seeking a path to economic development.

5. Upheaval in Africa

Between 1955 and 1975, 42 African countries gained their independence. These countries carried the legacy of decades of European imperialism and colonial rule.

Africa’s Colonial Legacy  When European powers carved up Africa in the late 1800s, they paid little attention to the traditional homelands of African peoples. Europeans drew borders that cut across these homelands, dividing ethnic and cultural groups and putting different groups in the same territory. After independence, most of these borders remained. New nations lacked cultural and social unity. In some cases, ethnic groups within countries fought for power.

The new African nations also faced severe economic problems. European powers had exploited the colonies for their resources and labor. They built mines and plantations to produce raw materials for export. They rarely established industries or infrastructure that would benefit the nations themselves.

In general, European powers failed to prepare Africans for independence. In most countries, education levels remained low. There was a shortage of trained professionals—managers, doctors, engineers, and political leaders—to build the new nations.

This colonial legacy made it hard for African nations to advance. Their economies were weak and their governments unstable. They were prone to social and political upheaval. In many cases, they relied on dictators to maintain order. Many also turned to the superpowers for political and economic support.

Nigeria’s Search for Stability  Nigeria illustrates some of the challenges that faced African nations. A former British colony, Nigeria gained independence in 1960. At first its prospects looked good. It was one of the largest and richest countries in Africa. But ethnic problems soon divided the nation.

Nigeria is home to three main ethnic groups. The Hausa-Fulani, a mostly Muslim group, live in the north. The Yoruba, half of whom are Christian and half of whom are Muslim, live in the southwest. The Igbo, a mostly Catholic group, live in the southeast. After independence, these groups shared power in a federal system of government. Each group tried to gain advantage, fearing domination by the others.

The political system soon broke down. In 1966, a group of army officers—mostly Igbos—overthrew the government. A few months later, Hausa officers staged a counter-coup and toppled the new regime. Rioting erupted against the Igbos, and thousands were killed.
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In 1967, the Igbo region seceded from Nigeria. It called itself the Republic of Biafra. Civil war broke out and more than a million people died, mostly from starvation. In 1970, Biafra was defeated and forcibly reincorporated back into Nigeria.

After the war, the army kept control over Nigeria for most of the next three decades. It claimed that military rule was necessary to ensure peace and prosperity. Although the army promised to return power to civilians, it repeatedly went back on that pledge.

In 1999, however, democracy was finally restored. By this time, Nigeria had become one of the world’s leading oil producers. The government hoped to use oil income to develop the country, but the results were mixed. Oil revenues brought great wealth to Nigeria, but corruption also increased. Meanwhile, other sectors of the economy—including farming and manufacturing—suffered from neglect. Most Nigerians remained desperately poor. Two-thirds of the population lived on less than $1 a day. Oil also led to conflict, as residents of the Niger delta—the country’s main oil region—demanded a fair share of the oil wealth. Armed groups kidnapped oil workers and attacked oil facilities.

Ethnic and religious conflicts also increased under democratic rule. Violence erupted between Muslims and Christians, especially in northern Nigeria. Thousands of people died in these riots.

Nevertheless, Nigeria has managed to remain democratic. Several free elections have taken place since the end of military rule. This record of democracy and the rule of law offers hope that Nigeria can maintain stability and move beyond the troubles of the past.

South Africa’s Struggle for Democracy  South Africa also faced great obstacles in its path to democratic rule. It won independence in 1910, long before most African nations. However, the end of colonial rule did not bring freedom for most South Africans.

After independence, South Africa remained under the control of its white minority. The state passed laws to deny basic rights to blacks, Asians, and mixed-race peoples, who made up four-fifths of the population. This policy continued under the Afrikaners, who gained power in 1948. The Afrikaners are people descended from the first Dutch colonists in South Africa.

The Afrikaner government instituted a policy of apartheid, or racial separation. It imposed segregation throughout society, in schools, offices, parks, restaurants, and theaters. It also set up a system of ten African homelands, separate regions of the country where blacks were meant to live. Under apartheid, everyone was classified by race. Only whites were allowed to vote in national elections or hold public office at the national level. The police could arrest and detain people without trial, including anyone who opposed the government.

Many South Africans, both black and white, resisted apartheid. The strongest opposition came from the African National Congress (ANC), a group formed in 1912 to promote black rights. The ANC organized marches, strikes, and other protests. The government cracked down on these actions, killing many protesters and putting others in jail. One of those jailed was the ANC leader Nelson Mandela, who was imprisoned in 1964.
South Africa’s repressive policies sparked criticism around the world. The United Nations condemned apartheid and placed an arms embargo on the country. Various countries also imposed economic sanctions on South Africa, restricting trade and investment. The United States—which relied on South Africa as a trade partner and Cold War ally—was slow to join the anti-apartheid movement. Eventually, it too called for change.

Under mounting pressure, South Africa finally agreed to reforms. The process began slowly but picked up speed under a new president, F.W. de Klerk. In 1990, de Klerk released Nelson Mandela from prison. Over the next two years, the government struck down most apartheid laws. It also announced that free, democratic elections would be held in 1994.

The ANC won the elections, and Nelson Mandela became the country’s first black president. He promised to promote national unity and build a democratic state, with equal rights and freedom for all. In 1996, the South African parliament passed a new constitution that enshrined those principles in law.

Mandela was followed in office by two more democratically elected presidents. These leaders tried to address South Africa’s many economic and social problems. They launched programs in education, housing, and other public services. Nevertheless, poverty remained a serious problem. Most South Africans struggled to meet their basic needs. Other concerns included high crime rates and the spread of the deadly disease HIV/AIDS. Despite these challenges, however, South Africa’s successful transition to democracy gave hope for the future.

**Summary**

In this lesson, you read about the impact of imperialism and the Cold War on developing nations. Countries emerging from colonial rule faced tough challenges during the Cold War era.

**Cultural Interaction** Former colonies tried to escape the legacy of imperialism. They hoped to follow their own path to national development. But they were often forced to choose between the opposing ideologies of capitalism and socialism. Many got caught up in the superpower conflict.
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**Political Structures**  Many developing countries formed democratic governments. But others turned to authoritarian rule. Political structures in some countries were affected by wars and other conflicts.

**Economic Structures**  Most former colonies faced severe economic problems. They often turned to the superpowers for economic aid and support, but that aid often influenced the economic policies those nations could follow.

**Social Structures**  Social classes in developing countries were marked by great economic inequality. Divisions between social classes often gave rise to unrest. Some countries, such as Cuba, tried to erase social classes entirely.

**Human-Environment Interaction**  Developed countries often turned to former colonies for natural resources. Wars and other conflicts did great damage to natural environments. They also prompted mass migrations of people fleeing violence and oppression.