

A. Introduction

The Peace of Versailles, which is treated in the readings between pages 1107 and 1116 in the fifth edition of Chambers,¹ has a significance well beyond itself. The Peace of Versailles was an attempt on the part of the Western world to end imperialism. This happened within a context of the Russian Bolshevik revolution. Imperialism is that public policy by which one nation controls another. Imperialism comes in various forms. The Peace of Versailles was reasonably effective in ending political imperialism. Political imperialism seems to have given way to economic imperialism. This economic imperialism is extremely visible through international concerns of the United States for oil-producing nations. The course goal for this topic is **to evaluate personal identity in a global context**, all the while reflecting on ethnocentrism, in support of tourist activities.²

B. Rascals

On the part of Dr. Jirran at least, there is a tendency to take too much for granted that the U. S. resisted unconscionable quests for power. At rock bottom, such a self-deceiving mythology is appealing. Constant re-examination is in order.³ That is why a Stokley Carmichael would announce in Cuba that the African Americans should be included in the revolutionary struggle against "white Western imperialist society."⁴

Geostrategic, economic, political, technical, and bureaucratic factors all helped shape the U. S. quest for power and national security. The geostrategic aspects caused Dr. Jirran, in the Spring of 1987, to initiate a change in the map exercise mix for the Comprehensive Review. Beginning at that time, the mix was changed from ten to twenty percent: four European; six African; six Asian.

Political independence and proliferation of nation states in the Third World have had little impact on the world economic power structure. The Third World is what is left over after what was once directly influenced by the United States and the U. S. S. R. Rich, industrialized countries substantially control the production and distribution of the resources of the world. An analysis of European direct investment in Africa shows that by the end of 1967 the United Kingdom held 83 per cent of the total foreign investment in Rhodesia; Belgium, 88 per cent in Zaire; France, 87 per cent in Senegal; Italy, 83 per cent in Somalia.

The present objective of these Third World countries and others like them concerns how to get the European rascals out, without self-destructing. The search translates into a developing but determined and sustained onslaught on the international economic order. The success of that onslaught in March, 1980 seemed to be culminating with the near economic collapse of the United States. The October crash occurred in 1987. By mid-1988 the near economic collapse of the U. S. did not seem likely, despite a two trillion dollar deficit. The national deficit in 1994 was 4.4 trillion dollars.⁵

The purpose of this lecture is not to focus on rhetoric, but to examine the international legal infrastructure which demonstrates the extent to which certain basic legal values, concepts, and institutions in traditional transnational law serve as the fundamental underpinnings of the old international economic system.

C. Property

Private ownership of property is the key to everything here. In the traditional order, foreigners took ownership of the resource at the point of extraction. In turn, the company would pay income tax and make other sorts of concessions. In 1962, a resolution passed the United Nations which rejected investor ownership of natural resources. The right of states to exercise fully effective control over the development of their economic resources was established. This idea, of course, is the antithesis of investor ownership. Ownership, however, does not mean control and experience showed that control could elude a government even after nationalization of resources and of companies themselves.

Ownership, in the form of substantial equity holdings, does not necessarily mean control. Technical expertise is the essential key to rigorous supervision which is necessary for effective control. Letting the colonial power manage the company, but not own it, still enables the colonial power to siphon off profits as a particular product makes its way from its raw state to its finished state.

In 1975, Ghana terminated her management agreements with foreign-owned timber companies. This served as a time-frame reference point for the realization of the need for technical expertise. Prior to that, Third World countries had generally gone through three stages: first, political sovereignty; second, state ownership of mineral resources; and third, equity holdings. The important areas of control, therefore, are political, financial, developmental, and technical. The transfer of control from transnational corporations to host governments is

assured not so much by a recourse to sophisticated contractual forms and institutional arrangements, as by effective supervision of the operations. This means that host countries themselves need to learn how to manage the companies.

As one scholar puts it:

The structure of technical assistance agreements represents the most radical departure from traditional types of company concessions. This type of assistance perfects the regulation of the transnational corporation from the status of owner to that of a contractor. . . . There is no substitute for technical training and the acquisition of the basic skills essential to management and operation of enterprises owned by transnational corporations. . . . [There is a need to change the basic ground rules] to ensure a more equitable system which takes cognizance of both the long term developmental interests of the host countries and the legitimate financial and business interests of transnational corporations.⁶

D. Conclusion

By studying the text and this lecture, the student is better able to motivate himself to expand his personal identity into a global context, all the while reflecting on ethnocentrism, in support of tourist activities. First, the student considered how exploitation takes place outside the U. S. Then, the student considered something about possible exploitation of U. S. workers themselves. This possible exploitation of the masses is a key to understanding the legitimization of human rights and international relations in the Twentieth Century.

Supplement

E. Introduction

Imperialism brings economies of size to bear upon the lives of common everyday people. While such a comment seems inappropriate for the lecture proper, a word here is fitting.

F. The Common People

So far this lecture has considered history from the view of small countries. Now is the time for a view of people with little socio-economic status. Shoes became much more available with the perfection of the McKay sole-sewing machine about 1864. Claude McKay was African-American.⁷ This machine reduced the cost of sewing soles to uppers from twenty-five cents hand-sewn to three cents by the machine. The reduction was a good thing, for there were a lot more U. S. feet to shod. Population increased from forty million in 1850 to seventy-seven million in 1870. Soldiers returning from the Civil War had grown accustomed to overlooking minor defects in their clothing. This set the stage for acceptance of the ready-made suit over the much more expensive tailor-made competition.

In 1992 a commemorative United States postage stamp was issued in memory of Jan E. Matzeliger the African-American who invented the shoe lasting machine. Matzeliger began experimenting in 1877 to invent a machine which would pleat the leather and fit uppers to the soles. By 1883 he had invented a machine which would manufacture an entire shoe in one minute. As a result, exports increased from one million to eleven million pairs of shoes a year. Lynn, Massachusetts, became the largest shoe manufacturing center in the world.⁸

G. Imperialism

1. Latin America

Oftentimes Dr. Jirran has seemed alone in his view, which he has held from boyhood, that the United States has not been guilty of imperialism. One of the most imperialistic United States presidents was Theodore Roosevelt. There has developed an "emerging neo-conservative interpretation of early twentieth-century U.S. Diplomacy that downplays or rejects the image of Theodore Roosevelt and the United States as imperialistic."⁹ This is how Dr. Jirran understands what happened.

Roosevelt was more interested in keeping Europeans out of Latin America than in pushing the United States into Latin America. That includes activities in Panama, Cuba, Central America, and the Dominican Republic. Other important scholars stick to the imperialist interpretation.¹⁰

2. The Middle East

Western civilization continues to interact with Middle Eastern civilization. Underlying values help set how the Middle East is viewed. Liberals and academics look toward an over-all Arab nationalistic solution; minorities look toward the development of individual nations; religious commitment looks toward Islam. As one scholar put it, "Until these issues are resolved, the soul of a people is up for grabs, and citizens continue to be bombarded by claims in favor of each ideology."¹¹

A closer look may help. The Arab Muslims are divided into two general groups, Shi`i¹² and Sunni. The Shi`i are the more radical, who define the state with tyranny and unjust rule. Therefore they generally shunned the government. Historians regard Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Shi`i as on the side of the common people. Khomeini represented such popular support against the rule of Mohammad Reza Shah. Before that, in 1953, however, the ulama, or shi`i clerics, opposed Mohammad Mossadegh in favor of the Shah. There was virtually no precedent for a take-over of the government by a Shi`i ulama like Khomeini.¹³ Khomeini is taken up again in Topic 38, The Third World, B. A Look to the East.

When Dr. Jirran reads about the arguments and counter-arguments, he rests more and more comfortable with the notion that the ulama are willing to let politics determine truth. Dr. Jirran thinks of no Moslem, of any stripe, dying for truth itself, in the sense that the Christian West regards such martyrdom as noble.

H. Conclusion

The incompatible inseparables at work in imperialism reside between the supremacy of the territorial state as the "natural" unit of human society and the claim of the church or the people themselves to govern human souls. The issue in much of the Twentieth Century has been whether the state exists for the people or the people for the state. By working through this issue the student is better able to evaluate personal identity in a global context, all the while reflecting on ethnocentrism, in support of tourist activities.

Footnotes

- ¹ Pages 929 and 938 in the fourth edition.
- ² This lecture draws heavily from Samuel K. B. Asante, "Restructuring Transnational Mineral Agreements," American Journal of International Law, Vol. 73, No. 3 (July, 1979), pp. 335-372.
- ³ Melvyn P. Leffler, "The American Conception of National Security: Reply," The American Historical Review, 89 (April, 1984): 399-400.
- ⁴ Cited in Clayborne Carson, In Struggle: SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1981), p. 274. Whether the quotation is found in the two sources cited there is unclear. The sources are Julius Lester, "Black Revolution is Real; Stokely in Cuba," Movement, September 1967 and Le Monde, August 3, 1967 on Stokely Carmichael's activities and statements abroad.
- ⁵ Representative Robert Inhofe, Oklahoma Republican, speaking before United We Stand, with Ross Perot, taped on C-Span Saturday, February 5 and watched Sunday, February 6 sometime between 10:00 and 11:00 a.m.
- ⁶ *ibid.*, p. 369.
- ⁷ John Hope Franklin and Alfred A. Moss, Jr., From Slavery to Freedom: A History of negro Americans, 6th ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill Publishing Company, 1988), pages 316, 328-329, 338, 428.
- ⁸ McKinley Burt, Jr., Black Inventors of America, (??), pages 53-55. It will take more research to document whether or not "Up until that time men called "lasters" reproduced the approximate shape of an individual foot." ??
- ⁹ Richard L. Lael, review of Richard H. Collin, Theodore Roosevelt's Caribbean: The Panama Canal, the Monroe Doctrine, and the Latin American Context in The American Historical Review, Vol. 96, No. 5 (December 1991), page 1641.
- ¹⁰ Richard L. Lael, review of Richard H. Collin, Theodore Roosevelt's Caribbean: The Panama Canal, the Monroe Doctrine, and the Latin American Context in The American Historical Review, Vol. 96, No. 5 (December 1991), page 1641.
- ¹¹ ??, "Survey of Egyptian Works of History," The American Historical Review, Vol. 96, No. 5 (December 1991), page 1433.
- ¹² Spelling follows Shaul Bakhash, "Iran ??," The American Historical Review, Vol. 96, No. 5 (December 1991), pages 1480-1484.
- ¹³ Shaul Bakhash, "Iran ??," The American Historical Review, Vol. 96, No. 5 (December 1991), pages 1480-1484.