

HIS 102--38 The Third World © Dec. 3, 2000

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A. Introduction

Changes within Europe were more than matched in the Third World, on the continents of the emerging nations. The first two worlds are roughly outlined in NATO and the Warsaw Pact. The Third World, roughly, is everything else. The course goal for this lesson is **to evaluate integrating personal identities into a global context.**

The expansion of trade and commerce during the Nineteenth Century served to encourage and perpetuate colonial control in the Third World. During the Twentieth Century, the effects of two world wars, increased enlightenment of peoples, a growing demand for autonomy, and the heavy cost of maintaining overseas possessions, resulted in the complete independence of many new states and the changed status of others.

Immediately following the Second World War, the U.S. was well received in the world community. Shortly thereafter, however, by mid-century, Europeans, Asians, and Latin Americans were turning down U. S. claims to global interests and aspirations. The litany of the controversial causes of estrangement include: the attitudes and actions of the Truman administration; a Protestant messianic vision of purpose; avoidance of foreign involvement (entanglements, Washington called them); failure to understand nationalism; unwillingness to take advice from the less powerful; failure to distinguish vital from general interests in foreign policy.¹

The fact that this litany has not proved disastrous demonstrates that a leading power cannot conduct policies acceptable to all nations all of the time. Two themes hold the litany together: an exaggeration of both the Soviet threat to world peace and of the seriousness of Third World instability. Key examples include U. S. policies toward the fall of the Chinese Nationalist government in 1949; Vietnam; Nicaragua.

The Chinese Nationalists were treated, albeit briefly, in Topic 37. Nicaragua lacks the patina required for historical presentation. While Vietnam is not far behind Nicaragua in lacking patina, at least enough has been done to stake out warnings. Patina is graceful aging, which comes with time. The War in Vietnam may be more precisely identified as the Second Indochina War.

Some historians of the War in Vietnam over-emphasize international factors at the expense of local initiatives. Others fail to incorporate the important roles of the National Liberation Front and North Vietnam. Still others let ideology and revolutionary enthusiasm triumph over scholarship. On page 1249 in the fifth edition of Chambers,² Chambers writes of the First Indochina War cleverly, without naming it.³

B. A Look to the East

Iran makes a good Third World fulcrum for understanding U. S. foreign and domestic policies, both. In 1980 Iran was a new state with changed status. One point of the Iranian Crisis, and all post Second World War crises, is the struggle to maintain a balance of power, so that no nation can come to dominate the world. This idea of balance of power has a reasonably long European history, which this lecture outlines.⁴

A brief commentary on Muslim religion offers useful background. Iranian clergy, or ulema ('ou lah ma'), exemplify the powerful place of Muslim religion. This religion is opposed to Westernization because Westernization means giving more power to women and less to the ulema. The reason that the Ayatollah Khomeini did not become politically active until after 1961 was because of lack of religious support. In 1962, a new election law permitted women to vote. Khomeini led the

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opposition and was exiled to Iraq in 1964. By 1980, the ulema had won back the courts, schools, and government.⁵ Khomeini was mentioned in Topic 32 Imperialism, G. Imperialism, 2. The Middle East.

What determines when a country is ready for revolution? The Marxist formulas fit Iran best. The relations of production, i.e. ownership, changed beyond the ability of the old forms of political power to deal with the new economic order. Another, non-Marxist, model accounts for what happened after the revolution. Just as the people grew tired of the self-righteousness of Robespierre and Lenin, so did they tire of Khomeini. Whether or not Iran will develop an equivalent to Napoleon and Stalin has yet to be seen.⁶

C. A Look to the West

Consider a Third World within Europe itself. European Jews emigrated between 1840 and 1942 to Latin America in large numbers: 376,000, or ten percent of the total, mainly from Eastern Europe. Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Uruguay, and Mexico were particularly attractive. In 1980, the Jewish population in all Latin American Republics was down, except Ecuador and Venezuela.⁷

What did this emigration mean? So far scholars have only established the fact and have not yet effectively mused, that is, figured out, the meaning. The lack of interpretation, however, lends its own meaning to understanding the Third World.

A new type of sophistication was needed in order to function in the New World. A sample of the new type of sophistication required may be raised from a consideration of class, race, and colonialism in West Malaysia. Is the issue between classes, such as rich and poor, or between races, such as Indian, Chinese, Malays, Thais, and aborigines? It is no longer sufficient to note that those holding power in independent Malaysia are no more eager to free the country than were their timidly nationalistic predecessors. A better understanding of the internal dynamics of the situation is in order.⁸

D. Conclusion

In this lesson, by studying the Introduction to The Third World; A look at the East; A Look at the West, and by reading, the student is better able to evaluate integrating his own identity into a world environment according to a criteria of the chronology, personalities, places, and degrees of certitude warranted. This supplement to the lecture, like so many before it, used to be the main lecture. My current thinking is that Chambers presents the balance of power well enough to be omitted from primary consideration any longer, but that something else is still needed.

Supplement

E. A Look to the West (continued)

In 1989 Virginia Governor Gerald Baliles was touting the need for international education in his state. John F. Kennedy performed a similar service for the country, when, in 1960, he fulfilled a campaign promise with the Peace Corps under the dynamic direction of Sargent Shriver. By 1964 there were ten thousand volunteers working in forty-four countries. Contrary to the media image, most volunteers lived in relative comfort as educators. The mother of President Jimmy Carter served in the Peace Corps as an elder volunteer.⁹

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International understanding remains an attractive alternative to the Cold War. The Peace Corps volunteers of the sixties had a beneficial effect on Third World societies. These societies, in turn, had an important impact on the returning volunteers.

While the whole continent of Africa is part of the Third World, Topic 26 Africa already deals with the subject. The continents of Australia and Antarctica also are Third World, but lack sufficient political strength for greater proper inclusion.

F. Balance of Power

Balance of power is an extension of the law of self-defense: states are privileged to take actions that would otherwise be unlawful if doing so would contribute to the maintenance or restoration of the principle that no nation is to become powerful enough to dominate the others. The basic issue is over what steps a state can or must take in order to preserve or restore equilibrium.

Lorenzo de Medici, who died in 1492, is sometimes given credit for originating the concept. Other authors look to Francis Bacon, who died in 1626, as originally justifying French hostilities with Spain on the basis of balance of power considerations. The man regarded as the founder of modern international law, Hugo Grotius (1583-1645), seemed to regard balance of power as "abhorrent to every principle of equity" because, under that principle, "the possibility of being attacked confers the right to attack." In denying the justness of preventive war, Grotius pointed out that, in human life, complete security is never guaranteed.

The 1648 Peace of Westphalia is generally thought to represent the start of the legitimation of the balance of power concept. The 1714 "diplomatic revolution," whereby England and France changed sides with Prussia and Austria also was designed to maintain a balance. The period from 1648 to 1789, from Westphalia to the French Revolution, contained a moderation in warfare that the years both before and after did not. Balance of power politics offered advantages important to the contemporary nuclear scene. Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) labeled the importance well, when he said: "human nature appears nowhere less amiable than in the relation of whole nations to each other."¹⁰

The first continuing quasi-institutional structure of the European state system derived from the Concert of Europe, an accomplishment of the Congress of Vienna, which ended the French Revolution. The Congress broke down because of differences between England and continental powers over the appropriateness of interventions in smaller countries. Continental powers were more interested in restoring and maintaining monarchical legitimacy than England cared about.

Metternich, the architect of the Congress of Vienna and the Concert of Europe, fled office in 1848. A new era of legitimating balance of power politics on more than simply pragmatic bases had arrived. With the rise of popular nationalism, there grew concern that in authorizing the absorption of small independent states, the Congress of Vienna had violated international justice. Balance of power was but an excuse to absorb smaller nations and nationalities. Then the "big boys" tried to absorb each other.

The outbreak of the First World War seemed proof positive that the balance of power system provided security for neither the large nor the small nations of the world. By emphasizing national autonomy, the Treaty of Versailles, which formally ended the First World War, ended an era in the history of the idea of balance of power in international law. Then came the League of Nations, the prelude to the United Nations. As a legal matter, the United Nations Charter, in outlawing war, left little more room for balance of power tactics.

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Containment has been the key since World War Two. Norman Graebner¹¹ describes some problems. While Kennedy and Johnson recognized divisions within Russia, their policies did not. Nixon and Kissinger did act on Russian divisions, entrusting world peace to keeping a world balance of power. This was detente, a lessening of tension between nations. The principle of linkage was used to join detente to the Third World. Peace was linked to leaving the Third World alone.

See "Map 29.3 The Cold War of the 1950's" on page 1248 in the fifth edition of Chambers.¹² Note: Middle Asia Treaty Organization, Warsaw Pact Nations, North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO). That may be why, as a practical matter, the UN was so frequently by-passed from the time of the War in Vietnam to the present. See "Map 30.1 Europe since World War II" on page 1282.¹³ Note: Original members of European Economic Community (1958); Associate members; new members (1973); European Free Trade Association (1960); Associate member (Finland). While these directions are simply in the Supplement, do not be misled. Comprehensive Reviews written beginning spring 1987, will have six map exercises from Asia, six from Africa, and four from Europe.

The central, unyielding problem in all of this is how to end or limit war in a world of states subject to no higher authority. A working definition of a sovereign nation is any nation able to raise an army and go to war at will. International relations experts still analyze relations between states in terms of power (whether military, political, or economic) and of alliances and coalitions. Such analyses build upon the earlier analysis of simpler international relations of bygone eras. A more sophisticated analysis, recognizing unintended, but often inevitable, consequences that can flow from moves that exert pressure on one point in an interrelated system, was required.¹⁴

A vision of the Third World abroad includes a third world at home, involving the African American dimension. Dr. Jirran finds the African American minority suitable for illustrating other minorities as well. While the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., to use a basketball analogy, served as a sort of point guard playmaker, the theory, the coaching was better found in the students. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee tried to come to terms with the dilemma of maintaining a balance between moral purity and political effectiveness set forth by the philosopher, Camus. The problem at home is reflected in problems abroad.

One look backward and another forward in Chambers seems appropriate. On page 903 in the fifth edition,¹⁵ Chambers observes that the leaders of the revolutions of 1848 "mistook arguments for power." On page 1319,¹⁶ Chambers mentions Albert Camus and his novel The Plague. Part of the strength of the U. S. civil rights movement comes from the Camus notion that a good argument is a source of power. What happened when SNCC left an area, was that it left behind a community movement with local leadership. The power was in the argument rather than in the bullets or the billy clubs.

Bob Moses played part of that argument out here, in Newport News. Moses was the one who brought the ideas of Camus to SNCC. Moses joined a demonstration which begot in him "a feeling of release" from the burden of accommodating himself to racial affronts. As Moses put it: "My whole reaction through life to such humiliation was to avoid it, keep it down, hold it in, play it cool." No more and the power came from an argument.

If the U. S. looks for a government of laws rather than a government of people, the insights become particularly useful for considering the regulations of the sale of arms to Iran. Some U.

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S. laws look to arguments, i.e. intelligence operations. Other U. S. laws look to power, i.e. arms exports, including covert arms exports. The U. S. has not established a single standard in the law for:

(1) determining whether a state supports international terrorism; (2) identifying which U. S. official should make that determination; (3) identifying which arms are subject to restrictions; (4) identifying the criteria that empower the President to waive statutory restrictions; and (5) informing Congress of arms exports, including covert exports.¹⁷

G. Dien Bien Phu

Two of the most significant events of the Twentieth Century happened in 1954: (1) the Supreme Court desegregation decision for United States education; (2) United States involvement in Vietnam after the French loss at Dien Bien Phu. In the beginning President Eisenhower did what he could to avoid United States involvement.¹⁸

United States foreign policy never seemed to realize that the Vietnamese were no friends of the Chinese. The Chinese were regarded as invaders from time immemorial. Although any threat of Communism by way of Vietnam was through Russia rather than China, public perception feared China.

The fifth edition of Chambers treats Vietnam on pages 1247 and 1249. On page 1247 Chambers notes that after the loss at Dien Bien Phu, the French withdrew from Vietnam. The French had been holding Vietnam as a colony, even though the French had recognized Vietnam as a free state in 1945. Vietnam did not have true autonomy. Gradually what began as limited aid to Vietnam against Communism escalated into the War in Vietnam, which ended with the withdrawal of the United States from Saigon in 1975.¹⁹

After the French withdrew in 1954 the Geneva Conference of the same year divided Vietnam into North and South Vietnam. Shortly thereafter Viet Cong insurgents began trying to overthrow the South Vietnamese government. Beginning in 1961 the United States began supplying troops to the South Vietnamese.²⁰

In 1964, Congress finally approved involvement with passage of the Tonkin Gulf Resolution. The Tonkin Gulf Resolution asserted that the United States had been attacked in the Gulf of Tonkin and that retaliation was appropriate. By 1969 a half million United States troops were in Vietnam.²¹

The Communist Tet offensive of 1968 was a public relations win but a military loss for the Communists. While the United States media were surprised by the strength of the attack, the military assessment was correct. The Communists had nothing left. Because the military had proclaimed victory so often in the past, this time, when the military was correct, they had already lost credibility. Richard M. Nixon ran for the presidency on the platform of getting out of Vietnam. Nixon was elected in 1968. He left office in disgrace, after Watergate, in 1974. By 1975 the South Vietnamese were entirely defeated and there were no more United States troops in

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South Vietnam. In 1994 President Clinton opened Vietnam as a trading partner with the United States.²²

H. Dictionary Definition

Merriam Webster Collegiate Dictionary, Tenth Edition defines third world as a group of nations, especially in Africa and Asia not aligned with either the Communist or the non-Communist blocks; an aggregate of minority groups within a larger predominant culture; the aggregate of the underdeveloped nations of the world. Third World is a translation of the French *tiers monde*, 1963. The words are often capitalized, both T and W.

I. Conclusion

The incompatible inseparables at work here are those between violence and law. By studying the Introduction, A Look to the East, A Look to the West, Conclusion in the lecture proper and Introduction, A Look to the West (continued), Balance of Power, and this Conclusion in the supplement, students have been able to evaluate integrating personal identities into a global context according to a criteria of the chronology, personalities, places, and degrees of certitude warranted.

Comments on the Seventh Edition of Chambers, pages 1135-1148

In the opinion of the professor, Chambers is the most scholarly textbook on the market. Chambers well represents mainstream thinking in the history profession. The professor, however, disagrees in many significant ways with mainstream thinking. Some of these disagreements are set forth above and others in the following comments.

Page Column
Paragraph
Line

Endnotes

¹ Norman A. Graebner, review of Estrangement: America and the World, Sanford J. Ungar (ed.), in The American Historical Review, Vol. 92, No. 2 (April 1987), pp. 506-507.

² Page 1131 in the fourth edition of Chambers.

³ George C. Herring, "Review Article: America and Vietnam: The Debate Continues," The American Historical Review, Vol. 92, No. 2 (April 1987), p. 360.

⁴ This material draws heavily from Alfred Vagts and Detlev F. Vagts, "The Balance of Power in International Law: A History of an Idea," American Journal of International Law (October 1979), pp. 555-580. The Vagts conclude their article by observing: "international lawyers' capacity to

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devise better and stronger institutions for keeping the peace will depend on their capacity to understand the power structure and the unintended, but often inevitable, consequences that can flow from moves that exert pressure on one point in an interrelated system."

⁵ Nikki R. Keddie, review of Shahrugh Akahavi, Religion and Politics in Contemporary Iran: Clergy-State Relations in the Pahlavi Period in The American Historical Review, Vol. 87, No. 2 (April 1982), pp. 511-2.

⁶ Nikki R. Keddie, "Iranian Revolutions in Comparative Perspective," AHR, Vol. 88, No. 3 (June 1983), pp. 589-591.

⁷ Carl E. Solberg, review of Judith Laikin Elkin, Jews of the Latin American Republics, in The American Historical Review, Vol. 86, No. 1 (February 1981), p. 230.

⁸ Margaret Clark, review of Michael Stenson, Class, Race, and Colonialism in West Malaysia: The Indian Case in AHR, Vol. 88, No. 5 (December 1983), pp. 1311-2; The Concise Columbia Encyclopedia, eds. Judith S. Levey and Agnes Greenhall with the Staff of The Columbia Encyclopedia (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), p. 509.

⁹ Lawrence S. Wittner, review of Gerard T. Rice, The Bold Experiment: JFK's Peace Corps in The American Historical Review, Vol. (before March 1989), just before "Canada." Try vol. 92, # 2), np.

¹⁰ In Vagts, p. 563.

¹¹ In a book review in The American Historical Review (December 1983), pp. 1498-1499.

¹² Page 1130 in the fourth edition of Chambers.

¹³ Page 1163 in the fourth edition of Chambers.

¹⁴ See Vagts.

¹⁵ Page 816 in the fourth edition of Chambers.

¹⁶ Page 1191 in the fourth edition of Chambers.

¹⁷ Gordon A. Christenson, "The World Court and *Jus Cogens*," American Journal of International Law, Vol. 81, No. 1 (January 1987), p. 98.

¹⁸ Andrew J. Rotter, review of Melanie Billings-Yun, Decision against War: Eisenhower and Dien Bien Phu, 1954, The American Historical Review, Vol. 95, No. 2 (April 1990), pages 617-618.

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¹⁹ Judith S. Levey and Agnes Greenhall, editors, The Concise Columbia Encyclopedia, (New York: Avon Books, 1983), page 895.

²⁰ Judith S. Levey and Agnes Greenhall, editors, The Concise Columbia Encyclopedia, (New York: Avon Books, 1983), page 895.

²¹ Judith S. Levey and Agnes Greenhall, editors, The Concise Columbia Encyclopedia, (New York: Avon Books, 1983), page 895

²² Judith S. Levey and Agnes Greenhall, editors, The Concise Columbia Encyclopedia, (New York: Avon Books, 1983), pages 602 and 895.