Cities and Third World Development  
(USP 445/545/INTL 445)

Survey of historical, political, economic, urban, and cultural aspects of Third World development, starting with 15th century European contacts with Africa, Asia, the Atlantic, and the "New World," toward understanding the conditions that shaped contemporary conditions of uneven and unequal development. Reviewing early European colonialism, we begin with the history of the Third World's historical political-economic and cultural resistance to and eventual integration with the emerging world capitalist system that gave rise to modern patterns of urban development. Important transformations include the Latinization and Anglicization of the Americas, triangular slave trade, the impacts of the industrial revolution, the rise of nationalism and independence movements, and issues of early neocolonial “dependent development” and its long-term effects on Third World cities. Within a world system analysis and other theories of development, we look at post-colonial debates, focusing on problems of political democracy, “dependency,” state-led growth policies, domestic and international conflicts, economic and cultural globalization, and the inadequacies of development strategies and urban social infrastructure.

The first half explores definitions, social indicators, and key historical transitions in the Third World experience; the second half focuses on recent and contemporary questions about urban political economic and social development. In the second half, we turn to such concerns as urban poverty, class, racial, and gender inequality, export-oriented industrialization, the international division of labor, unemployment, low political participation, food scarcity, population growth, environmental and public health sustainability, militarism, and cultural/ethnic conflict. Intended pedagogical outcomes include historical, theoretical, regional, and issue-focused knowledge.

Organization and requirements:
- The course largely follows a lecture and discussion (seminar-style) format.
- Class members are expected to attend ALL sessions, be engaged participants, and actively read assignments prior to class.
- Midterm and final exams (bring bluebooks)
- Two 5-7 page (double-spaced) policy papers (undergrad registrants only): See guidelines and list of topics, below. This is substitutable with a single research paper.
- Research proposal (grad registrants only and optional undergrad participation) in duplicate
- Research paper (grads; participating undergrads) in duplicate, double-spaced, 12 pt. type, 15-20 pages + biblio. Papers must be original and not submitted for other classes.
- Discussion leaders will be assigned for each class meeting for the purpose of stimulating discussion/engagement/debate on the issues in the readings.
- No exam make-ups without justifiable reason (10 pt. deduction without medical documentation). No status (i.e., audit, W) changes after seventh week.
- OPTIONAL: A full 2-page (single-space, about 700 words) review of the in-class video, due the following class.

GRADING: Take Home Midterm Exam=25%; Take Home Final Exam=25%; Term paper=25% (grads, option for undergrads); 1st policy paper (undergrads)=15% (see list of topics); 2nd policy paper (undergrads)=15% (see list of topics); Attendance (1 absence max.) + participation=20%. Optional review=10% (averaged into other grades). Option for undergrads to substitute a research paper for 2 policy papers and get one extra (reading & conference) credit.
**Electronic devices.** Use of computers & other electronic devices is **not permitted** (with some exceptions and only with permission of the instructor). Phones and other communications equipment must be shut off prior to entering class. Violations could lead to dismissal from class.

READINGs: 1. L.S. Stavrianos, *Global Rift: The Third World Comes of Age* (at PSU Bookstore)
3. Third World urban studies reader (See list of assigned Library holdings on p. 3)
4. Notes on invasion of Vietnam (in syllabus, below)

<table>
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<th>WEEK</th>
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<td><strong>PART I: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND</strong></td>
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| 1. Oct. 2 | Course Overview: *Why is the "Third World" Third?*
| 2. Oct. 9 | **Colonial Blueprints**
**Read:** Global Rift (GR), pp 31-61, 74-85 + Peet & Hartwick (PH), Chapters 1 & 2
**Question:** In what sense are early European explorations **blueprints** for the future?
| 3. Oct. 16 | **Dependency Road**
**Read:** GR, pp. 95-121, 141-157 + PH, Chapters 3 & 4
**Question:** What are the grand theories of Keynesianism and Modernization?
**Discussion:** Term Paper Proposal (Grad Students) and Policy Paper 1 (Undergrads)
| 4. Oct. 23 | **Legacies of Imperialism and the Role of the State**
**Read:** GR, pp. 361-385, 403-419, 711-730 + PH, Chap. 5 + Notes on Vietnam, below
**Question:** What internal and global class factors inspired the nationalist uprisings of the early 19th century?
**Policy Paper #1 Due**
**Term Paper Description + Outline + Initial Biblio.** (Typed, 2 pp., 2 copies)
| 5. Oct. 30 | **MIDTERM EXAM** (2 hours)
**PART II: POST-COLONIAL ISSUES** |
| 6. Nov. 6 | **Transnationalization, Counterinsurgency, and Urbanization**
**Read:** GR, pp. 440-471 + Fanon + McGoey + Shatkin essays (see below)
**Question:** How did the colonial era shape the design and uses of Third World Cities?
Resubmit Term Paper Description, etc., if necessary
| 7. Nov. 13 | **Nationalism and Globalism**
**Read:** PH, Chapter 6 + Murillo & Schrank + Chan + Roy essays (see below)
**Question:** What forces of domestic and global power are faced by Third World workers?
| 8. Nov. 20 | **Women in Development**
**Read:** PH, Chapter 7
**Video:** “The Hidden Face of Globalization” (Preview+Part II+Part III+Conclusion).
See also Films on Demand on Bangladesh textile labor and ethics [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8Bhodyt4fmU](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8Bhodyt4fmU)
**Submit:** 2 full-page (single-space) review of video by Nov. 21
| 9. Nov. 27 | **The Political Economy of Urban Development: Gender and Class Issues**
**Read:** PH, Chapter 8 + Öz & Eder + Grugel & Riggiozzi essays (see below)
**Question:** How do Third World merchants and the state negotiate rights in the domestic and global economy?
| 10. Dec. 4 | **FINAL EXAM** (2 Hours)
| 11. Dec. 9 | (Monday) **Submit term paper** (2 copies) & **UG Policy Paper #2** (1 copy) by 3 pm
| Dec. 9 | (Monday) **Discussion of Term Paper & 2nd Policy Paper** 12:30–2:30 pm.
**Attendance is required.**

**Note:** Students with disabilities can arrange with the Disability Resource Center to take exams or meet other needs. Instructors and the DRC should be contacted at the start of the term.
Plagiarism. A very serious violation of academic ethics, involving the intentional or inadvertent presentation of another author's work (ideas, research, expression, etc.) as one's own. Students are responsible for this understanding. See University Student Code of Conduct on penalties for plagiarism. Plagiarism normally involves an “F” and administrative action.

Role of Discussion Leaders
Discussion leaders will contribute to and stimulate class discussions by responding to the lead questions attached to the assigned readings as well as offering incites of their own. Each week discussion groups will meet at the start of class, from which one assigned person will join assigned persons from other groups to serve as discussion leaders.

Exams and late submissions. Late paper submissions are accepted but, in fairness to other students, a point penalty is assessed depending on the length of delay in submission. Late exams, without medical documentation, are assessed a 10 point deduction; with documentation, no deduction. The two exams cover, respectively, the first and second halves of the term, both of the essay type, taken in-class without notes.

Reader Articles
Reader articles are all available from electronic journals held by the Millar Library (look up by journal title, volume & number, author(s), and pages): Use EbscoHost or Academic Search Premier, when available, among the options in the Library’s electronic holdings. You will need to log in with your PSU account to get access to the Library holdings.

Readings for November 6:
1. Frantz Fanon, “The Trials and Tribulations of National Consciousness” in The Wretched of the Earth (pp. 97-144). Available at: http://home.ku.edu.tr/~mbaker/CSHS503/FrantzFanon.pdf

Readings for November 13:

Readings for November 27:
Basic Third World Data

Population and Growth:
- About 80% of the world population
- Average rate of growth about 2.5% (97% of world pop. increase); poorest countries growing at about 2.4% (High income states’ avg. population increase: 0.6%)
- India’s pop. increase at 1.1%; will overtake China (0.5%) by 2028, at about 1.45 billion people
- Third World adds some 100 million to poverty count/year
- Third World represents 90% of world urban growth

Poverty, Starvation, and Malnutrition:
- 3 billion living in poverty (<$2.50/day); 815 million undernourished (520 million in Asia), but 30% (243 million) in Sub-Saharan Africa) in 2017
- One-third of Third World children are malnourished
- Malnutrition and other causes result in 6.3 million child deaths per year
- Food aid is only 5% of global aid flows

Debilitating and Infectious Diseases:
- Rampant in some countries (HIV/AIDS, cholera, TB, diphtheria, malaria, polio, schistosomiasis): kills 14 million annually (90% in third world; HIV/AIDS infects nearly 40 million people (1.8 million children), 90% in Third World; malaria infects 219 million annually)
- 780 million people are without clean drinking water

Weak Economies and Technological Bases:
- Third World has less than 20% of world income (15% of world pop. has 80% of income and consumption and top 2% controls 65%); GDP growth (2017): 4.4%, poorest=5.2%
- About 10% of world patents
- Heavy dependence on foreign technology and oil (refining, distribution, retailing)
- Weak agricultural base (often dependent on single crop exports, "monoculture")
- Low industrial wages (1/10 to 1/20 of OECD), weak or non-existent unions
- Net transfers to First World (OECD), 2012=$2 trillion
- 47 countries in the world are considered extremely poor
- High unemployment rates (25-50% in many)
- Total Third World debt is $4 trillion (2010)
- Tendency toward high inflation rates (e.g., Argentina in 2019 was 55%; Zimbabwe at 175%)
- Most still have extremely uneven trade exchanges with the OECD based on the sale of raw materials for finished commodities
- Many have over-dependence on tourism for foreign exchange
- Transnational corporations dominate industrial, information, financial, entertainment and many other service sectors

Urban Development:
- Large urban "squatter" areas, with many Third World cities (18) over 10 million population and with extremely high densities, intense pollution, flooding, traffic congestion, etc.
- Growing intra-urban and urban-rural development distortions
- Development for the poor main planning issue is Third World countries

Political Systems:
- Often militarized or one-party states; unstable party and institutional formations
- Authoritarian governments common; often large political prisoner population
- Large military budgets
- Political and ethnic violence
- Repressed working class and gender conditions; weak or unenforced legal protections for women and children
- Residual characteristics of semi-feudal class relations

Political Culture:
- Split between westernized minority and traditional cultures (high percentage of illiteracy in many countries)
- Personalistic, religious, and charismatic leadership practices
- Emphasis on nationalism (of the right and left types)
Third World Studies Periodical Resources

General:
South: Journal of Third World Studies
The Economist: Third World Quarterly
Comparative Politics: Journal of Peasant Studies
Media Development: Journal of Developing Areas

Africa:
Abinibi (Arts & Culture): African Affairs
Africa Today: Journal of African Cultural Studies
New Africa: Canadian Journal of African Studies
Journal of African History: Journal of Modern African Studies

East/Southeast Asia:
Journal of Asian Studies: Contemporary Southeast Asia
The China Review: Asian Culture Quarterly
Asia Pacific Review: Journal of Contemporary Asia
Pacific Affairs: Journal of Asian Studies
Asian Survey: Critical Asian Studies
Asian Perspectives: Southeast Asian Affairs

South Asia:
Choice India: Comparative Studies of S. Asia, Africa & the Middle East
Frontline: Journal of South Asian Women Studies
Asiaweek: Economic and Political Weekly
India Quarterly: Contemporary South Asia
Modern Asian Studies: Pakistan Economist

Middle East:
The Muslim World: Middle East & African Economist
Middle East Review: Journal of Near Eastern Studies
The Middle East Journal: Middle East Critique
MERIP Reports: International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies
Islamic Quarterly: Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies

Latin America/Caribbean:
Caribbean Review: Latin American Politics and Society
Times of the Americas: Latin American Perspectives
Hispanic American: Journal of Interamerican Studies
Latin American Monitor: Journal of Latin American Cultural Studies
Caribbean Insight: Latin American Research Review
Report on the Americas: Journal of Latin American Studies
Partial List of US-based International Grassroots Support/Volunteer Organizations

Adventures in Health, Education, and Agricultural Development (Rockville, MD)
Amazon Watch (Malibu, CA)
American Friends Service Committee (Philadelphia)
Amigos de las Américas (Houston)
Amnesty International (New York)
Bread for the World (Washington, D.C.)
BRIDGES (San Francisco)
Canadian Council for International Cooperation (Ottawa)
Casa de los Amigos (Mexico City)
Crispaz (Cambridge, MA)
Cultural Survival (Cambridge, MA)
Earthwatch Institute (Maynard, MA)
Engineers Without Borders (Boulder, CO)
Food First (San Francisco)
Fundecí (Managua, Nicaragua)
Global Citizens Network (St. Paul, MN)
Global Fund for Women (San Francisco)
Global Service Corps (San Francisco)
Grassroots International (Boston, MA)
Greenpeace (Washington, D.C.)
Habitat for Humanity International (Americus, GA)
INFANT (Boston, MA)
Institute for Food and Development Policy (San Francisco)
Institute for Global Communications (San Francisco)
Institute for Policy Studies (Washington, D.C.)
Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility (New York)
International Service for Peace (SIPAZ) (Santa Cruz, CA)
Mujer Obrera (El Paso, TX)
Nature Conservancy (Arlington, VA)
Neighbor to Neighbor (San Francisco)
North American Congress on Latin America (New York)
Oxfam America (Boston, MA)
Peace Brigades International (Oakland, CA)
Peacework (Blacksburg, VA)
Rainforest Action Network (San Francisco)
Technology for Social Change (Boston)
Unitarian Universalist Service Committee (Boston, MA)
United Farm Workers (Keene, CA)
United Nations Volunteers (Washington, D.C.)
United States Peace Corps (Washington, D.C.)
Village Earth (Fort Collins, CO)
Volunteer Service Overseas (Ottawa)
Volunteers for Peace International Workcamps (Belmont, VT)
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (Philadelphia)
Worldwatch Institute (Washington, D.C.)
World Wildlife Fund (Washington, D.C.)

Term Paper Suggestions

The term paper is an original graduate research exercise on contemporary development problems in and about Third World countries. A paper proposal must first be submitted and accepted. See submission deadlines and requirements on p. 2 of the syllabus.

Guidelines for writing the proposal:
The proposal should be written in 3 parts.

Part 1, a narrative description (in 2 or 3 paragraphs), provides background of the problem you’re investigating. It should lead to a tight focus, with a statement of purpose and a central research question. Next, explain how you will answer the research question – i.e., What type of literature and approach will you take and what are the components (subtopics) of the question you need to look at in order to answer it? (The components provide the skeleton of the core of the paper.)

Part 2 is a formal outline format of the paper in 3 parts. A formal outline involves a simplified (keyword) layout of the paper, using Roman numerals, Arabic numerals, and letters for the main sections and subsections (but without narrative):

A) background (as described in Part 1)
B) the core of the paper (showing the components you’ve described in Part 1, with some detail) and
C) the conclusions.

The formal outline would look something like the following (with more detail):

I Introduction (give a title to the paper)
   A. In just a few keywords, discuss background and rationale for the study
      1. 
      2. 
      3. 

   B. Focus of paper: General Purpose
      1. Central research question

   C. Methodology
      1. Theory
      2. Method
         a. Resources
         b. Organizational subquestions
            (1) 
            (2) 
            (3) 

II Put a subheading here suggesting the focus of the paper
   A. Subquestion 1
      1. Details here
   B. Subquestion 2, etc.
   C. Subquestion 3, etc.

III Conclusions (and possibly reiteration of main findings + areas for further research). The word “Conclusions” is sufficient at the proposal stage.

Part 3 is a working bibliography in proper format with relevant sources.

Guidelines for writing the term paper (grad students and Honors students only):

1) 15-20 pages + references (in duplicate, word processed, double-spaced, 12-point font, clean copy). Paginate from first page of text (not the cover page). Use standard subheadings and complete in-text citation and references. In-text: (Rose, 1994, pp. 143-
8

145). Reference: Rose, Michael (1994). *Singapore’s Airline Industry*. Canberra: Australian National University Press. Most of the citations should be from published sources (online ok); Internet sources must be reliable, with detailed URL addresses, easy to locate, and cited to the level of document page numbers where possible. 

**Follow syllabus deadlines for submitting proposal and finished paper (in duplicate). Staple all submissions.**

2) Paper should take an **internal view** (from the country's perspective) of the issue, not that of any external agency.

3) Organization of paper
   - Part 1: as described in Part 1 of the proposal;
   - Part 2: empirically-based presentation (*argument*, not simply description) of main ideas, with subheadings representing an organization of the argument to guide the reader;
   - Part 3: summary and analytical conclusion.

   Full references at the end. Either in-text footnotes or endnotes ok (see manual on style).

4) Paper should have a **specific focus** (narrow, not broad) on some development issue (social, economic, political, or cultural) within a particular Third World country. *Adopt the Third World country's perspectives* on the issue, not those of official U.S., other foreign states, or international agencies.

**General Term Paper Topical Areas**
- Urban issues, such as jobs, housing, information infrastructure, industrial investment, growth, population, food politics, environmental pollution, transportation, etc.
- The political process, political repression and human rights, political party structures, political movements, militarization and war, etc.
- Economic crises, the debt crisis, technology issues, the status of agriculture, fisheries, and industry, "liberalization," financial restructuring, foreign domination of resources, etc.
- Cultural, ethnic, and literary preservation, impacts of social and economic change on indigenous culture, prospects for local cultural industries, mass media, information systems, analysis of political, economic, and social issues expressed in Third World literature, etc.
- Social problems, such as poverty, health care, nutrition, education, housing, infant mortality, the status of women, the status of ethnic minorities, etc.

**More on Paper Topics**: It is best to choose a topic that is close to your own research or professional interests. Some topics you might consider (the following are general; your chosen topic should be more specific, more focused):

1. Analysis of a physical structural area in some "newly industrializing country" (esp. South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore, Mexico, Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Hong Kong), such as mass transit, telecommunications, airports, water & sewer, electrical power, etc.
2. Analyze the role of an NGO in some Third World country, perhaps with respect to its internal and external funding and its degree of political autonomy.
3. Discuss the issue of health care in some Third World country, perhaps with respect to delivery of services to rural and urban poor areas.
4. Discuss the uprising in Chiapas and how it relates to the economic restructuring undertaken by the PRI and the PAN.
5. Discuss the role of the World Bank in one of its lending areas, with respect to a particular Third World country, perhaps citing some of the controversies of the Bank's lending policies form the perspective of the Third World country itself.
6. Discuss the role of some manufacturing industry in some Third World country as it relates to questions of technology transfer or development priorities of the government.
7. Discuss the transformation of the international labor force, focusing on some Third World country (conditions of work, type of production, its linkages to other industries in the country, etc.).
8. Discuss an area of public policy making in a Third World country – social services, the environment, business regulation, housing, transportation, science & technology, etc.
9. Discuss a section of government in some Third World country, such as the judiciary or legislature, and perhaps do an analysis of its standing relative to other centers of power within the country.
10. Cite one of the recent Third World "crises" and tell the story from the perspective of its own political history (as opposed to foreign news agency interpretations), keeping the focus on a particular dimension of the problem.
11. Discuss the international trade system as it impacts a particular Third World country in terms of that country's import and export potential.
12. Discuss the status of central planning in Vietnam, Cuba, or North Korea and how it has changed in the past decade or so.
13. Discuss the status of women's NGOs in a Third World country or an analysis of women in some Islamic society with respect to formal political status and civil rights.
14. Discuss the issue of pollution in some Third World country and what its government is doing about it.
15. Discuss the issue of "cultural imperialism" as it is articulated in a particular Third World country or regional organization.

(Optional) Film Review (see newspaper or journal film review for standards). Provide imagined readers with an introduction to the subject of the film, a summary of the contents, an elaborated critical (meaning interpretive, not skeptical) analysis of its key points (at least half the paper), and a closing commentary. Write it in an objective, professional style (avoid personalistic elements and polemics) that would be suitable for an academic publication. 1,000 words, double-space, 12 pt. font. Staple.

Undergraduate Policy Paper
A policy paper is not a term paper, not a formal research paper (with footnotes, quotes, etc.) and definitely not a narration of historical details, though it requires research and evidence. The purpose is to make an argument about a specific Third World country issue (the first policy paper should be set in the 19th century; the second should be 20th century or contemporary). The second paper will be presented during Week 11 – a brief report on the purpose of the paper and the main findings (about 5 minutes, depending on class size).

Writing the Policy Paper:
In this exercise, you are trying to convince a potential employer, an existing international organization, that you're capable of analyzing a major issue of development in a Third World country. In the 1st policy paper, you will present an analysis to a political leader of the time of a problem set in the 19th century; in the 2nd policy paper, you will present a contemporary problem to a political leader, and discuss current issues/consequences. Double-space your submission in Times Roman, 12 pt. font. A full 5-7 pages for each paper, minimum 1,500 words.
The policy paper must be an original analysis and focus on a Third World country (or region). Write in a professional style. Avoid quotes and the use of the 1st person. Staple all submissions. A simple format is as follows:

• Start with an “executive” summary of your proposal.
• Define the background of the issue well enough to convince your employer of its importance.
• What do you see as the current problems with the policy and how the problems arose (the causes)?
• Provide some significant data to back up your interpretation of the problem.
• Good if you can cite some authors or political actors who agree that the policy needs changing – to give your recommendations some authority.
• Discuss some possible options to resolve the problem.
• Conclude with what you think is the best option – and why.

The perspective should express the conditions and context of a Third World country, not a region, and not those of the imperial powers or its institutions. Choose a topic of personal interest.

For guidance on how to organize a policy paper, see either: https://cmes.arizona.edu/sites/cmes.arizona.edu/files/Effective%20Policy%20Paper%20Writing.pdf or: https://politicalscienceguide.com/home/policy-paper/

Here’s an example of a short policy brief:

Sample topics (or choose your own) for 1st paper: British slave trade; British takeover of India (and 1857 rebellion); British free trade policy; US colonization of the Philippines; British Opium Wars in China; the first Sino-Japanese War (1894-95); British intervention in the Balkans (Crimean War); recognition of the Mexican War of Independence (1810); the colonization of southern Africa; Cuban slave revolts; the British founding of Singapore; the famine in Persia (1871); missionaries in Sub-Saharan Africa; policies of the British East India Company.

Sample topics for 2nd paper (or choose your own): Third World debt crisis; Western intervention in China and support of Jiang; jailing of Mandela; jailing of Gandhi; US non-recognition of the Bolshevik regime; the 1959 Cuban revolution; Hugo Chavez’s “Bolivarian Revolution”; the 1973 coup in Chile; the Non-Aligned (Nations) Movement; the Palestinian crisis; the overthrow of Gaddafi; working conditions in the Congo’s mines; tariff policy toward China; the pollution crisis in Delhi or Mexico City.

Note: You are expected to undertake independent research and should rely primarily on scholarly works for your information, not the assigned texts for the class and not Wikipedia or other sources lacking the authorship of an acknowledged authority.

NOTE: Save all graded work for verification until final grades are submitted.
Notes on the U.S. Invasion of Vietnam

The origins of U.S relations with Vietnam go back to World War II, when the southeast Asian country was still a colony of France. During WWII, France was occupied by Nazi Germany, and Germany’s ally, Japan, marched into and took over Vietnam. A major anti-Japanese resistance, under the name of the Viet Minh, was led by Ho Chi Minh, a nationalist and communist (many scholars see him as more nationalist than communist) who was formally allied with the United States and Britain. The Viet Minh supported U.S. troop landings and performed other acts of assistance to the allied cause.

Once the war ended, France attempted to reoccupy Vietnam, but the Viet Minh declared their independence (September 2, 1945). Ho Chi Minh again led the resistance, which culminated in the defeat of French forces at Dien Bien Phu in 1954. From 1945 until 1954, Ho had sent at least 7 letters to the U.S. State Department in hopes of getting U.S. support for its independence, but the U.S. never replied. Ho had hoped that Roosevelt’s promises to support decolonization would be honored, but after Roosevelt’s death, his successor Harry Truman, was not of the same mind.

Vietnam’s declaration of independence in fact was modeled after that of the U.S., and Ho had the domestic support of the majority of workers, peasants, intellectuals, and many businessmen, most of whom were non-communists. They originally joined the Viet Minh (succeeded in the early 1960s in the south by the National Liberation Front), an anti-imperialist movement directed against Japan, France, and the U.S. Many French intellectuals and journalists also supported Vietnam’s movement for independence. The U.S., government, however, chose to finance France’s efforts at recovering the country as its colony. Similar resistance movements against French colonialism broke out in Laos and Cambodia.

When the French were forced out, an international conference was held in Geneva. Britain, Canada, Poland, the USSR, China, and other countries agreed on “temporary” zones of separation between the northern and southern regions (the north being the site of most of the major battles against France, the south, particularly Saigon, being the administrative center of French colonialism in the region (for Cambodia and Laos as well). The Geneva Accords called for an election to be held within two years (i.e., by July 1956) for the entire country.

The Eisenhower administration, however, recognizing that Ho Chi Minh would easily win such an election in both the northern and southern regions (as noted in Eisenhower’s own memoirs), refused to comply with the Geneva agreements. Instead, the administration called upon a Vietnamese exile living in the U.S., Ngo Dinh Diem, who was living in the U.S at the time, and asked him to serve as South Vietnam’s president. With the active assistance of the CIA, led by Edward Lansdale (the prototype for the book, “The Quiet American”), the U.S. organized
its own election (in violation of the Geneva agreements) for Diem in 1955. Lansdale ran the election process and engaged in a number of nefarious activities, well documented in declassified records and by books written by former CIA agents. With the election, the U.S. established a new state entity, called “South Vietnam,” a “country” that had not existed in Vietnam’s 5,000-year history. The secret *Pentagon Papers* (leaked in 1969) admitted that the election was broadly rigged. The U.S., then as now, was following a unilateral policy and continued to supply increasing forces, starting in 1954. The Viet Minh, both in the north and south, later reorganized themselves against the U.S. invasion. The official policy of the U.S. was that the “North” had invaded the “South,” a claim used to justify U.S. intervention, similar to the justification for U.S. intervention in Korea in 1950.

Meanwhile, the U.S.-installed president, Ngo Dinh Diem, a Catholic in a land primarily Buddhist (Catholics were a mere 5% of the population), began a series of brutal and police tactics against religious leaders, nationalist intellectuals, students, and journalists, and jailed, killed, and tortured thousands of Vietnamese citizens. His brother was made the head of the intelligence and police service. By the early 1960s, Buddhist monks began to stage public protests against him, and the Kennedy administration, recognizing that their man had lost any support, conspired with the South Vietnamese army to have him assassinated. Diem was murdered by his own military in 1963, which led to a series of coups that never established broad support among the people, while the ranks of the National Liberation Front (NLF), supported by the north, continued to expand.

President Lyndon Johnson (1963-1969) escalated U.S. troop strength in Vietnam to close to 600 thousand. In early 1968, the NLF (the U.S. called them “Viet Cong”) with very little equipment staged an all-out assault, the “Tet offensive,” against the U.S.-supported government and took over every “South Vietnamese” city along the coast, and even the U.S. Embassy in Saigon. The U.S. military with advanced weaponry eventually forced them out of the cities, but it signified the support the NLF actually had among the people and signaled the beginning of the end of the U.S. occupation. The US commander, General Westmoreland planned to use nuclear weapons against the North but was blocked by Johnson. The U.S. did however use napalm (fire bombs), Agent Orange (a defoliant), “anti-personnel” weapons (shrapnel bomblets that are banned under international rules of war), and extremely heavy tonnage bombs against the rural population, where the NLF had concentrated its forces as part of a guerrilla strategy to defeat the interventionists. The main victims of the war, however, were not soldiers but civilians.

In 1973, the U.S. was forced to begin its withdrawal after 3 million Americans had been sent to Vietnam. Vietnamese troops and tanks from the north rolled into Saigon on April 30, 1975 and established control of the country under the Communist Party. The U.S. lost over 58,000 troops, and hundreds of thousands more were maimed physically and psychologically. The Vietnamese lost at least
2 million people, overwhelmingly civilians. Children are still dying from stepping on the leftover unexploded bombs and cluster munitions left behind in the countryside. (An estimated 5 million people in Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia, largely civilians, died as a result of the U.S. invasion.) The war also caused many Vietnamese, especially those associated with the U.S. or the South Vietnamese government, to emigrate, mostly to the United States. And to this day, the country remains economically devastated from the destruction and poisoning of the agricultural areas resulting from the use of chemical weapons. Indeed, the U.S. dropped more than twice as much bomb tonnage on Vietnam as all its theatres of war (Europe, USSR, Asia, North Africa) combined in World War II. The invasion had cost the US $150 billion (about $1 trillion in 2018 dollars).
DISCUSSION GROUPS USP 445/545/INTL 445 FALL 2019

GROUP 1:
1. 2.

GROUP 2:
1. 2.

GROUP 3:
1. 2.

GROUP 4:
1. 2.

GROUP 5:
1. 2.
DISCUSSION LEADERS USP 445/545/INTL 445 Fall 2019

Week 2 (Oct. 9)
1.  
2.  

Week 3 (Oct. 16)
1.  
2.  

Week 4 (Oct. 23)
1.  
2.  

Week 6 (Nov. 6)
1.  
2.  

Week 7 (Nov. 13)
1.  
2.  

Week 9 (Nov. 27)
1.  
2.  

Additional Notes:

**Citizenship.** The classroom represents a *community of interest*. Citizenship in this community includes regular attendance (2 absences max; tardiness: 2=1 absence), active, critical thinking and participation in discussions, high standards and timely submission of work, independent initiative, and respect for (but not necessarily acquiescence in) diverse points of view and intellectual approaches and opportunities to speak.

**Readings.** You are expected to carefully read for the *main arguments* and be prepared to discuss assigned literature each class as well as prepare abstracts. A democratic society is founded on the principle of an engaged and well informed public — and on debate of the issues that affect citizenry.

**Support.** The Office of Diversity & Multicultural Student Services (DMSS) provides structured, academic support service, advising, referrals, and advocacy for first-generation or low-income college students, or others facing special challenges. DMSS is located at Smith Center, Room 425.

**Disability accommodation.** Any student with a documented disability condition can make arrangements with the Disability Resource Center at PSU for meeting any special needs. Both the instructor and DRC should be contacted at the beginning of the term. Their office is located at Smith Center, Room 116.

**Title IX.** PSU faculty are required to report any form of sexual violence or harassment to the Office of Equity and Compliance. Note the following: Sexual assault, sexual/gender-based harassment, dating violence, domestic violence and stalking are all prohibited at PSU. Students have many options for accessing support, both on and off campus. For an extended discussion of Title IX, see: [https://www.pdx.edu/sexual-assault/faculty-staff-resources-responding-to-students-in-distress](https://www.pdx.edu/sexual-assault/faculty-staff-resources-responding-to-students-in-distress) or contact Julie Caron at: 503-725-4410 or via email at titlexcoordinator@pdx.edu.