

Professor G. Sussman  
 Fall 2023 W 2:00-3:50 pm (hybrid)  
 Online (asynchronous) portion: Monday, 5 pm deadline.  
 Office: URBN 470H, by appt.  
 Email: [sussmang@pdx.edu](mailto:sussmang@pdx.edu); Ph.: x55176

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

Survey of historical, political, economic, urban, and cultural aspects of Third World development. It starts with 15th century European contacts with Africa, Asia, the Atlantic, and the "New World," leading toward understanding the factors that shaped contemporary conditions of uneven and unequal development. Reviewing early European colonialism, we begin with the history of the Third World's forced integration with and resistance to the emerging world capitalist system that gave rise to modern patterns of urban development.

Important transformations include the Latinization and Anglicization of the Americas, "Indian removal" policies, triangular slave trade, the impacts of the industrial revolution, the rise of nationalism and independence movements, and issues of early neocolonial "dependent development" and their long-term effects on Third World cities. Using a world system analysis (the world as a single unit of analysis) and other theories of development, we look at post-colonial controversies, focusing on domestic and international issues, including the inadequacies of development strategies and urban social infrastructure.

The first half of the term explores definitions, social indicators, and key historical transitions in the Third World; 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.

**Format:** This is a hybrid class. We will meet on campus **each Wednesday** of the term. Submission of abstracts and lead question responses for the week are **both due on the Monday preceding the readings' class discussion, 5 pm deadline**. Submit all written work to the Canvas shell. **No late submissions are accepted**. Grad students will do a short research paper (10 pages) to be discussed with the instructor. Save a copy of your work until the submission of term grades.

**Abstracts: Six abstracts** must be submitted. It's best to start submitting early in the term. The abstracts should be written in **3 full paragraphs**, each paragraph should be 4-6 sentences using the following approach:

**Paragraph 1:** A general overview of the reading. What is it about? No details or analysis.

**Paragraph 2:** What is the author's central argument? Spell out the author's argument with key points that back up the argument. What are the underlying premises behind the author's argument?

**Paragraph 3:** What is your take on the reading? What do you think it accomplished? Did the author(s) achieve their objective in the essay? How so? **Be substantive in your assessment and avoid wasted sentences**. Be fair to the arguments the author(s) are offering, not simply what they might have left out (unless it is critical to their argument). **Do not use quotes** (i.e., use your own language) or the first person (I think, I feel, etc.).

Write the abstracts professionally as if designed for readers of an academic journal, *Cities & Third World Development*.

NOTE: When opening pdf documents in Canvas, you might have to right click on “open in new window”

**Lead Question Responses:** Submit to the Canvas shell **a total of 6 responses, about 100 words each**, to the questions posed in the syllabus for each reading list.

**In-Class Discussion.** Students will sign up to be discussion leaders twice during the term. This is to share with the rest of the class your thoughts on the readings and the lead questions in the syllabus.

**Discussion Groups.** As a warmup, at the beginning of each class discussion groups of 2 or 3 students will meet for about 10-15 minutes to discuss the assigned readings for the week.

**Research paper** (for grad students and those undergrads wishing to add another credit to the class). To be discussed with and approved by the instructor. 10 pages in length + references. Submit on Monday, December 4 (Week 11) by 5 pm.

**Exams.** None.

**Personal correspondence** should be done by email. I will promptly reply to inquiries, except on weekends.

**Summary of Organization and Requirements:**

- The course follows a reading, lecture, and discussion (seminar-style) format.
- Class members are expected to attend ALL sessions, be engaged participants, and actively read assignments prior to class.
- In lieu of exams, all students are required to submit **6 abstracts of the required readings and 6 responses to the lead questions in the readings.**
- Discussion leaders. To contribute to in-class discussion, two discussion leaders will provide commentary on the assigned readings each week. This means **each student will sign up for two weeks** to be discussion leader.
- Grad students must submit a **short research paper** on a specific urban issue in a Third World country. The topic is to be discussed with the instructor. Research paper: 10 pages, double-spaced, 12 pt. type plus references.
- Undergrad students who wish to add a credit to the course can do so by agreeing to submit a research paper on an appropriate urban issue in a Third World country. Those students wanting the added credit must also sign and turn in a “Reading and Conference” form the first week of the term. Submit the form in class.
- No status (i.e., audit, W) changes after Week 7.

**Grading:**

Undergrads: Abstracts (6) =60%, Class attendance + Participation (one absence max.) =20%, Responses to 6 syllabus questions =20%

Grads: Abstracts (6) = 60%, Class attendance + Participation (one absence max.) =15%, Research Paper =15%; Responses to 6 syllabus questions =10%

**Learning objectives:**

1) Develop a critical appreciation of the historical factors that led to Third World independence movements and nation states;

- 2) Develop a theoretical and interdisciplinary understanding of the integration of Third World countries into the world capitalist system;
- 3) Develop an analytical understanding of the urban crises facing many Third World countries and the alternative approaches some countries are taking to maintain relative independence.

**Electronic devices.** Use of computers or other electronic devices in class is not permitted (with some exceptions and only with permission of the instructor). Phones and other communications equipment must be shut off for the duration of the class. Violations could lead to dismissal.

**Canvas access issues.** For technical questions about Canvas, contact the Office of Academic Innovation: <https://www.pdx.edu/academic-innovation/canvas>

**Additional Notes:**

**Citizenship.** The classroom represents a community of interest. Citizenship in this community includes regular attendance (1 absence 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 to) 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> or contact Julie Caron at: 503-725-4410 or via email at [titleixcoordinator@pdx.edu](mailto:titleixcoordinator@pdx.edu)

**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 (Dean of Students office) action. Papers produced by anyone or any system (e.g., GPT-3 or AI) that is not wholly the work of the student will result in disciplinary action.

- READINGS:**
1. L.S. Stavrianos, *Global Rift: The Third World Comes of Age*. Available in PDF on the Canvas shell.
  2. R. Peet and E. Hartwick, *Theories of Development*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition (2015) Available in PDF on the Canvas shell.
  3. Third World urban studies reader (See list of assigned Library holdings on pp. 4-5)
  4. Notes on the American war in Vietnam (in the syllabus, below)

**SCHEDULE:**

**WEEK TOPIC**

**PART I: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND**

1. Sept. 27 Course Overview: Why is the "Third World" called "Third World"? (or "Global South")
2. Oct. 4 *Colonial Blueprints*  
**Read:** Global Rift (GR), article # 1 + Peet & Hartwick (PH), Chapter 1 (pp. 1-10 only) + Chapter 2 (pp. 25-36 only)  
**Question:** *In what sense are early European explorations and growth theories blueprints for the future?*
3. Oct. 11 *Dependency Road and Postwar Modernization Theory*  
**Read:** GR, article #3 and article #4 + PH, Chapter 3 (pp. 66-69; 75-79; 90-105; 107-110; 112-118, 138-146 only)  
**Question:** *What are the main ideas behind the grand theories of Keynesianism, Modernization, and Neoliberalism?*
4. Oct. 18 *Legacies of Imperialism and the Marxist Critique of Capitalist Development*  
**Read:** GR, article #5, article #6, and article #7 + PH, Chap. 5 + Notes on Vietnam, below  
**Question:** *What internal and global class factors inspired the nationalist uprisings of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, and what does a socialist analysis contribute to this understanding?*

**PART II: POST-COLONIAL ISSUES**

5. Oct. 25 *The International Division of Labor and Social Exploitation*  
**Video:** "Udita" [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g\\_tuvBHR6WU](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g_tuvBHR6WU)  
**Question:** Is gender identity a serious force in challenging Western economic exploitation in the Third World?
6. Nov. 1 *Transnationalization, Counterinsurgency, and Urbanization*  
**Read:** GR, article #8 + Fanon + Uzoigwe essays (**see below for access**)  
**Question:** *How did the colonial era shape the design and uses of Third World cities?*
7. Nov. 8 *Nationalism and Globalism*  
**Read:** PH, Chapter 6 + Chan + Roy essays (**see below for access**)  
**Question:** *What forces of domestic and global power, including cultural representation, are faced by Third World workers?*
8. Nov. 15 *Women in Development*  
**Read:** PH, Chapter 7  
**Question:** How did the different historical "waves" of the feminist movement relate to the understanding of development?
9. Nov. 22 *The Political Economy of Urban Development*  
**Read:** PH, Chapter 8 + Cohen & Gordon + Lemanski essays (**see below for access**)  
**Question:** *How is space appropriated in the neocolonial or post-colonial setting of Israel/Palestine and Cape Town?*
10. Nov. 29 Wrap-Up/Review
11. Dec. 4 (Monday) **Submit research paper** by 5 pm.

### 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 1:

1. Frantz Fanon, "The Trials and Tribulations of National Consciousness" in *The Wretched of the Earth* (pp. 97-144). Available at: [https://postcolonialtexts.files.wordpress.com/2014/11/the\\_trials\\_and\\_tribulations\\_of\\_national\\_consciousness1.pdf](https://postcolonialtexts.files.wordpress.com/2014/11/the_trials_and_tribulations_of_national_consciousness1.pdf)
2. Godfrey Uzoigwe (2019, Spring). "Neocolonialism Is Dead: Long Live Neocolonialism." *Journal of Global South Studies*, 36(1), pp. 59-87.

### Readings for November 8:

1. Kam Wing Chan (2010, September). "The Global Financial Crisis and Migrant Workers in China: 'There is No Future as a Labourer; Returning to the Village Has No Meaning.'" *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*. 34(3), pp. 659-677.
2. Sohinee Roy (2016, February), "Slumdog Millionaire: Capitalism, A Love Story," *Journal of Popular Culture*, 49(1), pp. 155-173 (Wiley site).

### Readings for November 22:

1. Yinon Cohen and Neve Gordon (2018). "Israel's Biospatial Politics: Territory, Demography, and Effective Control." *Public Culture*, 30(2), pp. 199-220.
2. Charlotte Lemanski (2007). "Global Cities in the South: Deepening Social and Spatial Polarization in Cape Town." *Cities*, 24(6), pp. 448-461.

### *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%: has overtaken China (0.5%) in 2023, 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 (Covid pandemic, 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 wealth 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 \$55 trillion, or 170% of their GDP in 2018
- 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 (27) 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 in 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 are common
- Emphasis on nationalism (of the right and left types)

## Third World Studies Periodical Resources

### General:

|                              |   |
|------------------------------|---|
| <i>South</i>                 | <i>Journal of Global South Studies</i>        |
| <i>Third World Quarterly</i> | <i>Journal of International Communication</i> |
| <i>Comparative Politics</i>  | <i>Journal of Peasant Studies</i>             |
| <i>Media Development</i>     | <i>Journal of Developing Areas</i>            |

### Africa:

|                                     |  |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| <i>Abinibi (Arts &amp; Culture)</i> | <i>African Affairs</i>                         |
| <i>Africa Today</i>                 | <i>Journal of African Cultural Studies</i>     |
| <i>New Africa</i>                   | <i>Canadian Journal of African Studies</i>     |
| <i>Journal of African History</i>   | <i>Journal of Modern African Studies</i>       |
| <i>Journal of African Studies</i>   | <i>Journal of Contemporary African Studies</i> |

### East/Southeast Asia:

|                                 |                                     |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| <i>Journal of Asian Studies</i> | <i>Contemporary Southeast Asia</i>  |
| <i>The China Review</i>         | <i>Asian Culture Quarterly</i>      |
| <i>Asia Pacific Review</i>      | <i>Journal of Contemporary Asia</i> |
| <i>Pacific Affairs</i>          | <i>Journal of Asian Studies</i>     |
| <i>Asian Survey</i>             | <i>Critical Asian Studies</i>       |
| <i>Asian Perspectives</i>       | <i>Southeast Asian Affairs</i>      |

### South Asia:

|                             |   |
|-----------------------------|---|
| <i>Choice India</i>         | <i>Comparative Studies of S. Asia, Africa &amp; the Middle East</i> |
| <i>Frontline</i>            | <i>Journal of South Asian Women Studies</i>                         |
| <i>Asiaweek</i>             | <i>Economic and Political Weekly</i>                                |
| <i>India Quarterly</i>      | <i>Contemporary South Asia</i>                                      |
| <i>Modern Asian Studies</i> | <i>Pakistan Economist</i>   |

### Middle East:

|                                |  |
|--------------------------------|--|
| <i>The Muslim World</i>        | <i>Middle East &amp; African Economist</i>             |
| <i>Middle East Review</i>      | <i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>                 |
| <i>The Middle East Journal</i> | <i>Middle East Critique</i>                            |
| <i>MERIP Reports</i>           | <i>International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies</i> |
| <i>Islamic Quarterly</i>       | <i>Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies</i>           |

### Latin America/Caribbean:

|                               |   |
|-------------------------------|---|
| <i>Caribbean Review</i>       | <i>Latin American Politics and Society</i>        |
| <i>Times of the Americas</i>  | <i>Latin American Perspectives</i>                |
| <i>Hispanic American</i>      | <i>Journal of Interamerican Studies</i>           |
| <i>Latin American Monitor</i> | <i>Journal of Latin American Cultural Studies</i> |
| <i>Caribbean Insight</i>      | <i>Latin American Research Review</i>             |
| <i>Report on the Americas</i> | <i>Journal of Latin American Studies</i>          |

### 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)  
 Fundeci (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)  
 INFACT (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.)

See: Collins, J., S. DeZerega, & Z. Heckscher (2002). *How to Live Your Dream of Volunteering Overseas*. New York: Penguin Books



## 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 2023

## GROUP 1:

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

## GROUP 2:

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

## GROUP 3:

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

## GROUP 4:

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

## DISCUSSION LEADERS USP 445/545/INTL 445 Fall 2023

**Week 2 (Oct. 4)**

1. 2.
- 3.

**Week 3 (Oct. 11)**

1. 2.
- 3.

**Week 4 (Oct. 18)**

1. 2.
- 3.

**Week 5 (Oct. 25)**

1. 2.
- 3.

**Week 6 (Nov. 1)**

1. 2.
- 3.

**Week 7 (Nov. 8)**

1. 2.
- 3.

**Week 9 (Nov. 22)**

1. 2.
- 3.