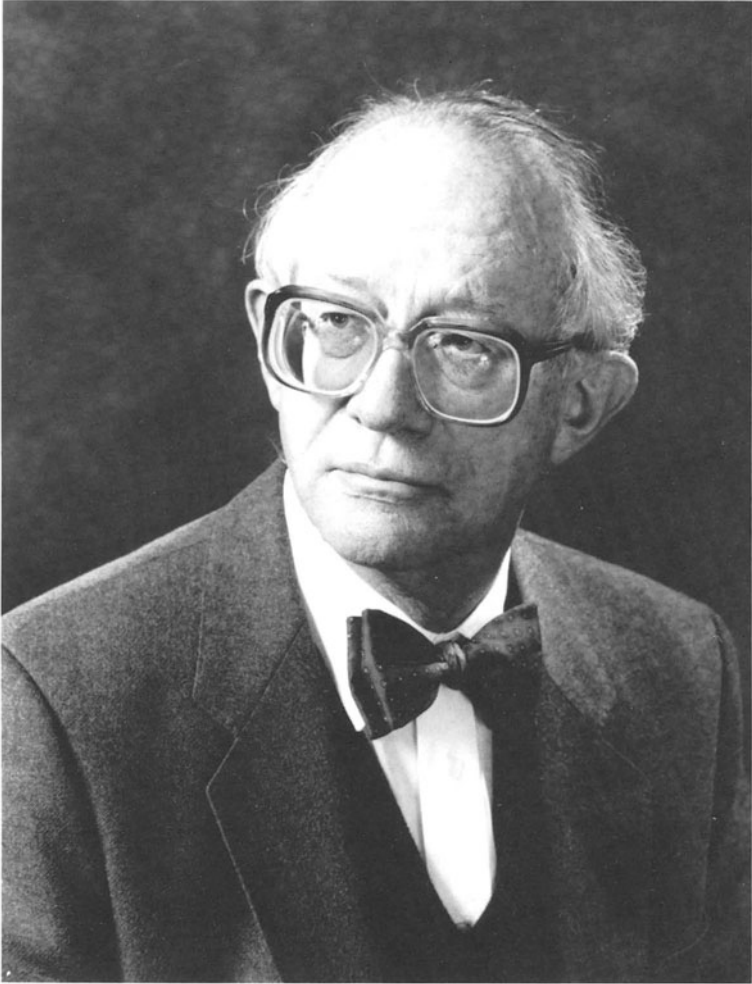


THE WEST AND THE THIRD WORLD



J. D. B. Miller
(photograph courtesy of Coward of Canberra)

The West and the Third World

Essays in Honor of J.D.B. Miller

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To Bruce Miller
in appreciation of his contribution to
the study of international relations

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Preface

This is a book of essays in honour of J. D. B. Miller. It focuses on one of his central concerns – the relationship between the West and the Third World. Of all the things ‘the West’ might mean and has meant – from the direction of that part of the horizon where the sun sets to the totality of the tradition derived from Greece, Rome and Judaeo-Christianity – we mean in this book the liberal/democratic West in opposition to the communist East, and that version of modernity which is represented by the developed capitalist world. For the Third World we may start with Bruce Miller’s own ‘rough pattern of identity’ for those countries as being formed from three main characteristics: non-European, non-Communist and poor. This meant for him the countries of Asia and Africa not under the control of Europeans and not having communist governments. He left out Latin America as a kind of fourth world of its own, but we have included it because of its centrality in the project for the economic emancipation of the Third World.

Our strategy for the construction of the volume was to deal with the major Western powers and the Third World, then with certain major Third World regions and the West, and then with items that gave an account of the linkage between the Third World and the West – strategic, economic, institutional, political, and moral. We hope to have produced a book which honours Bruce Miller, pays attention to his central intellectual interests, and also forms a coherent whole as an independent contribution to the study of its subject-matter.

This book was planned with Hedley Bull as a joint editor. We hope that Bruce Miller will not feel his absence from it as keenly as we do. Most of the essays in it were completed before the summer of 1988. We should like to thank Barbara Wilmouth for her assistance in producing the typescript.

ROBERT O’NEILL
R. J. VINCENT

Notes on the Contributors

Coral Bell was formerly Professor of International Relations at the University of Sussex, and has more recently been a Senior Research Fellow at the Australian National University. As a student she was a contemporary of Bruce Miller at the University of Sydney. Her interest in international politics began when she was a member of the Australian diplomatic service, and has been pursued at various British, American and Australian universities. Her most recent book is *Dependent Ally* (1988), and her chief research interest is crisis management.

William T. R. Fox was until his death in 1989 Bryce Professor Emeritus of the History of International Relations at Columbia University where he had been a professor since 1950. He previously taught at Temple, Yale and Princeton Universities and had visiting appointments at Harvard University, Instituto Rio Branco (Brazil), El Colegio de Mexico, the Australian National University, Carleton University, and the University of Toronto. He was Director of Columbia's Institute of War and Peace Studies for twenty-five years and was the first managing editor of *World Politics*. He was chairman of Security Policy Research and had also been President of the International Studies Association and Vice-President of the American Political Science Association. He is the author of *The Super-Powers* (1944), *The American Study of International Relations* (1967) and *A Continent Apart* (1985), and has been co-author or editor of several other books.

Sir Harry Hinsley is Master of St John's College, Cambridge, and was formerly Professor in the History of International Relations at the University of Cambridge, and its Vice-Chancellor from 1981 to 1983. He is the author of several books including *Power and the Pursuit of Peace* (1963), *Sovereignty* (2nd edn, 1986), and the series on *British Intelligence in the Second World War*.

Andrew Hurrell is University Lecturer in International Relations and Fellow of Nuffield College, Oxford. He was formerly Assistant Professor of International Relations at the John Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies in Bologna, Italy. He has written on

various aspects of the international relations of Latin America and is the author of *The US–Brazilian Informatics Dispute* (1988). He is currently completing a study of post-war Brazilian foreign policy.

Peter Lyon is Academic Secretary of the Institute of Commonwealth Studies and Reader in International Relations in the University of London. He is editor of *The Round Table* (the Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs) and the author of a number of books including *Neutralism and Non-Alignment* (1960), and *War and Peace in South East Asia* (1969).

James Mayall is Reader in International Relations at the London School of Economics. He has also taught at Dartmouth College. He is the author of *Africa and the Cold War* (1971), *Nationalism and International Relations* (1990), and (as the editor) of *The Community of States* (1978).

T. B. Millar has been a member of the Department of International Relations at the Australian National University since 1962. Since 1985 he has been seconded as Professor of Australian Studies and Head of the Sir Robert Menzies Centre for Australian Studies in the Institute of Commonwealth Studies, University of London. He is the author of numerous articles and books on international political and strategic questions, including *The Commonwealth and the United Nations* (1967), *Foreign Policy* (1972), *Australia in Peace and War* (1978) and *The East–West Strategic Balance* (1981).

Robert O'Neill is Chichele Professor of the History of War at Oxford and a Fellow of All Souls. He was formerly Director of the International Institute of Strategic Studies in London, and Professorial Fellow in International Relations at the Australian National University. He is the author and editor of several books including *The German Army and the Nazi Party 1933–39* (1966), and *Australia in the Korean War 1950–53* (2 vols, 1981 and 1985).

James Piscatori is Associate Professor in the School of Advanced International Studies, at The John Hopkins University. He was formerly teaching at the Australian National University and at Aberystwyth, and researching at Chatham House, the Wilson Centre, and the Council on Foreign Relations. He is the author of *Islam in a World of Nation-States* (1986) and co-editor (with George

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James L. Richardson is Professorial Fellow in International Relations at the Australian National University. He has also taught in the Political Science Department at the ANU and at Sydney University. He is the author of *Germany and the Atlantic Alliance* (1966), and is working on a major book on crisis diplomacy.

Jack Spence is Professor of Politics at Leicester University where he was a successor to Bruce Miller. He is a former chairman of the British International Studies Association, and editor of the *British Journal of International Studies* (now the *Review of International Studies*). He is the author of several works on strategic questions and on Southern Africa.

Susan Strange is now Professor at the European University Institute in Florence, having retired as Montague Burton Professor of International Relations at the London School of Economics in 1988. She is the author of several works on international political economy including *Sterling and British Policy* (1956), and *States and Markets* (1988).

Richard Ullman is David Bruce Professor of Politics and International Affairs at Princeton University. He was a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford and will be Eastman Visiting Professor at Balliol during 1991–2. He is the author of several works on strategic and foreign policy questions, and he directed the Council on Foreign Relations' 1980s project. He is completing a book on the nuclear strategies of the major powers.

R. J. Vincent is Montague Burton Professor of International Relations at the London School of Economics. He has also taught at the Australian National University (where he was a student of Bruce Miller), Keele, Princeton, and Oxford. He is the author of *Nonintervention and International Order* (1974) and *Human Rights in International Relations* (1986).