

# History 311: Studies in History of Diplomacy

## The College of William and Mary

Fall Semester, 2012

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Office Hours:  
Wed. 1:30-3:30  
Th., 3:00-5:00

History 311, “Studies in the History of Diplomacy,” will examine the use of History as a tool for analysis of current events in foreign affairs. I subtitle it “Diplomatic History for (Future) Practitioners.” As a Ph.D. in History who spent thirty years in the US Diplomatic Service, I bring to the course a long fascination with the intersection of History and diplomatic practice. Although the course is directed at History and International Relations majors, I welcome anyone who is interested in the subject, and look forward to the perspectives that students outside of those majors can offer to their counterparts. I will assume a basic background in European and American History, but students new to those subjects are also welcome to the class. (Consult with me if you need help in playing catch-up.)

We will focus on the relations between and among national states, but in the broadest sense of the term. We will ask, for example, how domestic economic and political matters influence the foreign-policy decisions of national leaders. Our course will not be a linear review of history, but will focus on a handful of key topics, with intense attention to specific issues. The topics (and specific focuses) are:

- British North America in the Eighteenth Century
  - The Collapse of the First British Empire
    - How did British success in the French and Indian War lead to the American Revolution?
  - Foreign policy and the new American Nation
    - Is there a distinctive brand of American foreign policy?
- Nineteenth Century Diplomacy
  - The Concert of Europe
    - Was the peace settlement of 1815 a success? Why did the system it created eventually collapse?
  - The American Civil War
    - What were Union and Confederate diplomatic aims? How close did European powers come to intervention in the American conflict?
- International Diplomacy, 1918-1941
  - Woodrow Wilson’s World Order, 1918-1931
    - What were the major elements of the post-World War I settlement? How successful were they?
  - The Coming of the Second World War, 1931-1941
    - Why did the European peace of 1918 collapse? Was Hitler (and his war) inevitable?
    - How were events in Europe and Asia related? Was war in the Pacific inevitable?

The course will also include individual sessions on a) what we mean by the term “diplomacy,” b) how a historian of foreign policy uses source material and c) what a historian can teach a diplomat, and vice-versa. A two-day case study on the World Economic Conference of 1933 will draw on my own research to study diplomacy, personality and domestic politics. The course will be a combination of lectures and class discussion, with the latter based on class assignments. (See attachment for specific assignments.)

**Course grading:** I will determine the final course grade via a combination of class participation (20%), the mid-term examination (20%), a short essay writing assignment (20%) and the final exam (40%). Students must complete all course requirements to receive a passing grade in the course.

**Class participation:** Class attendance is mandatory and participation is an important element of the final grade. Students should arrive at class prepared to discuss assigned readings and conduct discussions in a **civil** and **collegial** manner. Students can also gain credit toward their class participation score by participating in the course’s blog on the History 311 Blackboard site.

**Mid-term examination:** A fifty-minute blue-book examination will take place on Wednesday, October 10. It will cover readings and class sessions through Friday, October 5, “Henry Cabot Lodge and Wilson’s Peace.” The mid-term examination will include five short identification questions pulled from assigned readings (30% of the midterm grade) and one essay question (70%). The essay question will be chosen at random from questions provided at the beginning of the course.

**Short-essay:** Students will write a short (five-to-eight-page) analysis of the 1928 memorandum on Anglo-American relations written for the British Cabinet by the Foreign Office’s Robert Craigie. The document is posted on the course Blackboard site. This assignment will be due (on Blackboard and in paper copy) at the beginning of class on Monday, November 19. (Early submissions are, of course, welcomed.) I will provide guidance on the essay during our October 8 session entitled “The Diplomatic Historian and His Sources.” Please note that late papers **will be penalized** one letter grade.

**Final exam:** The final exam is scheduled for 9 a.m. on Tuesday, December 18. The blue-book exam will consist of three parts: a) five short identification questions (15%) drawn from assigned readings covering topics addressed after the midterm; b) an essay question (35%) and c) an interpretative exercise (50%). The essay question will be chosen at random from questions provided at the beginning of the course.

For the interpretive exercise, you will be asked to do the following:

*Choose three major current foreign policy issues. (You may choose from an American or global perspective, or the perspective of another country, but be clear which you are doing.) Drawing from assigned readings and course discussions, describe how historical precedent can guide policy-makers as they develop options to address these issues. In doing so, describe advantages and disadvantages to the courses of action that the policy-maker is likely to consider, and come to a recommendation in each case for what you consider to be the most successful outcome.*

**Laptop and mobile phone policy:** Students may use laptop computers to take notes and refer to **downloaded** course materials, but **may not** consult e-mail, blog, communicate with others or otherwise use the internet during the class period. Focus on the class itself is a fundamental courtesy to the instructor and fellow students during the fifty minutes that class is in session. **Students violating this policy will lose laptop privileges for the rest of the semester.** I will ask all of you to join me in silencing our mobile phones at the beginning of class. (If I do not ask you, please remind me.) If an emergency or other contingency requires that you be available for a call during the class, please inform me before we start, put your phone on vibrate, and quietly leave the classroom to take the call.

**Make-up exams:** I expect you to take the two exams at the appointed time. If an officially approved absence will require you to be away on October 10 or December 18, please inform me right away. There will be no extensions for completion of the course's essay, unless you have a serious, medically substantiated illness. If an officially approved absence requires you to be away on November 19, plan to hand in your paper early.

**Office hours:** My office hours are Wednesday, 1:30-3:30 p.m. and Thursday, 3:00-5:00, or by appointment. If your request is urgent, I will make arrangements to see you as soon as possible, no later than the end of the next working day.

**Other valuable contacts:** Reference Librarian Martha Higgins ([mehiggins@wm.edu](mailto:mehiggins@wm.edu)) is the Swem Library's liaison for the History, International Relations and Government departments, among others. She is an excellent and willing contact for students wishing to explore our topics at greater length. Ms. Higgins will be posting a bibliographic guide to our course on the library's website, which I'll link on Blackboard. She encourages you to contact her if you have questions, need assistance, or simply want to take full advantage of Swem's offerings.

The History Writing Resource Center is a valuable resource for advice on your essay assignment. I encourage you to check out the Center's webpage. (<http://www.wm.edu/as/history/undergraduateprogram/historywritingresourcecenter/index.php>).

### **Classes/Reading Assignments**

I have attached a class-by-class assignment schedule. We will focus on three books, a number of articles available on JSTOR, some other short readings uploaded to Blackboard, and a handful of

multimedia files, uploaded to or linked on Blackboard. (Please refer to the day-to-day schedule in the content section of Blackboard.) I will reserve the right to add brief readings on current events when related to the day's topic.

The following works are on reserve at the Swem Library and available at the W&M bookstore or on-line. Please feel free to purchase electronic versions of the books if that matches your style (and/or budget).

Henry Kissinger, **Diplomacy**. Kissinger eloquent analysis of modern history reflects the experience of one of the foremost diplomatic practitioners of the twentieth century. We will read chapters of the book dealing with events up to 1941.

George C. Herring, **From Colony to Superpower: US Foreign Relations since 1776**. Herring's book is an excellent synthesis of the history of American diplomacy, American political and cultural history and the diplomacy of other powers that influenced our approach to foreign policy. We will read chapters of this book dealing with events between 1776-1815, 1861-1865, and 1914-1941.

A.J.P. Taylor, **The Origins of the Second World War**. Fifty years after its publication, Taylor's work remains controversial. Was it a whitewash of one of history's greatest mass murderers, or does it assist us in understanding the diplomacy of the 1930s?

## History 311: Day-by-day Syllabus

### INTRODUCTION

#### **Wednesday, August 29: Course Introduction**

*What are the goals of History 311, “Studies in the History of Diplomacy”? What materials will it cover? What assignment are students expected to complete? What resources are available to students of the course?*

**Listen:** The History Guys, “City Upon a Hill: American Exceptionalism.” *Backstory*. 27 July 2012. <http://backstoryradio.org/city-upon-a-hill-american-exceptionalism/>

#### **Friday, August 31: Diplomacy 101**

*What do we mean when we refer to “diplomacy”? What was the Westphalian system? How did diplomatic practice evolve from the eighteenth century to the interwar period of the twentieth century?*

**Readings:** Kissinger, *Diplomacy*, pp. 29-55.

Henry A. Kissinger, “Syrian intervention risks upsetting global order,” *The Washington Post* (June 1, 2012).

[http://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/syrian-intervention-risks-upsetting-global-order/2012/06/01/gJQA9fGr7U\\_print.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/syrian-intervention-risks-upsetting-global-order/2012/06/01/gJQA9fGr7U_print.html)

David Rieff, “History Resumes: Sectarianism’s Unlearned Lessons,” *World Affairs* blog. <http://www.worldaffairsjournal.org/article/history-resumes-sectarianism%E2%80%99s-unlearned-lessons>

# I. EIGHTEENTH CENTURY DIPLOMACY: EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA, 1607-1815

## A. The French and Indian War and the Collapse of British Imperial Governance

### ***Monday, September 3: The First Wave of Globalization***

*Europe's nation-states looked abroad during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but England and France were late to the game and in North America settled what appeared at the time to be the least desirable territory. How did European migration impact the Americas and Europe? What role did the North American colonies play in European international politics?*

**Readings:** Kissinger, *Diplomacy*, pp. 56-77.

François Furstenberg, "The Significance of the Trans-Appalachian Frontier in Atlantic History." *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 113, No. 3 (June 2008), pp. 647-677, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/ahr.113.3.647>

Charles Mann, "1491," *The Atlantic* (March, 2002).  
<http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2002/03/1491/2445/>

### ***Wednesday, September 5: The First World War***

*In 1754 a frontier incident in North America ignited the first war fought by European powers on a world-wide basis. How did the British win the war, and what impact did it have on their North American colonies?*

### ***Friday, September 7: The Collapse of British Imperial Governance***

*The American Revolution grew out of the colonies' resistance to London's efforts to govern a North American empire that was much larger and more diverse following the victory of 1763. How did British imperial reforms appear to leaders on the two sides of the Atlantic? Was the American rebellion inevitable?*

**Readings:** Lawrence Henry Gipson, "The American Revolution as an Aftermath of the Great War for the Empire, 1754-1763," *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 65, No. 1 (Mar., 1950), pp. 86-104,  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2144276>

*The Causes and Necessities of Taking Up Arms, Declaration and Resolves of the First Continental Congress, and The Declaration of Independence*, all on History 311 Blackboard site

## **B. Foreign Affairs and the New American Republic, 1775-1815**

### ***Monday, September 10: The Diplomacy of the American Revolution***

*Like the French and Indian War, the American Revolution was an international conflict. How did international aspects of the dispute influence the evolution from an intra-imperial political dispute to independence? What role did the French, Spanish and Dutch play in deciding the conflict?*

**Readings:** Herring, *From Colony to Superpower*, pp. 11-26.

***Wednesday, September 12-Friday, September 14: Confederation, Constitution, Consolidation***  
*Between 1781 and 1789, the thirteen newly independent American states were loosely bound by the Articles of Confederation. How did foreign-policy considerations guide their decision to form a single Federal state? What were the principal diplomatic practices of the new American nation, and how did they compare to diplomacy as Europeans understood it?*

**Readings:** *The Articles of Confederation, The Federalist Papers* nos. 2-4, all on History 311 Blackboard site.

Herring, *From Colony to Superpower*, pp. 26-92.

**Listen:** Listen to “The History Guys” discuss “The War of 1812: Which One Was That?” on Backstory, <http://backstoryradio.org/the-war-of-1812-3/>

## **II. NINETEENTH CENTURY DIPLOMACY**

### **A. The Concert of Europe**

#### ***Monday, September 17: Revolutionary Wars and Napoleon***

*France and Great Britain were familiar enemies, as they had been at almost constant war between 1754 and 1815. However, the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars changed the nature of European conflict. How did this change alter traditional notions of European diplomacy?*

**Readings:** Kissinger, *Diplomacy*, pp.78-167

***Wednesday, September 19: The Congress of Vienna and the Concert of Europe***

*The international arrangement that followed Napoleon's defeat in 1815 led to decades of relative stability in European diplomacy. Who were the statesmen who negotiated this arrangement, and what were its characteristics*

**Readings:** Robert A. Kann, "Metternich: A Reappraisal of His Impact on International Relations." *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 32, No. 4 (Dec., 1960), pp. 333-339, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1872609>

***Friday, September 21: End of the Concert***

*By the end of the century, the settlement of 1815 had frayed. Why? What impact did German and Italian unification have on the European diplomatic structure?*

**Readings:** Paul W. Schroeder, Did the Vienna Settlement Rest on a Balance of Power? *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 97, No. 3 (Jun., 1992), pp. 683-706, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2164774>

## **B. The United States in the Nineteenth Century**

***Monday, September 24: A Continental Empire***

*American expansion from Atlantic to Pacific (and beyond) took place in a manner that would influence the United States' diplomacy in the twentieth century. What were the hallmarks of this expansion, and how did it influence policy-makers in the nineteenth century, between the wars and up until today?*

**Readings:** Herring, *From Colony to Superpower*, pp. 224-250.

**Listen:** Listen to "The History Guys" discuss "The Road to Civil War" at <http://backstoryradio.org/the-road-to-civil-war/>

**Wednesday, September 26: The Civil War: Confederate and Union Diplomatic Goals**

*What were the Union's and the Confederacy's principal diplomatic aims during the war? How successful were they in pursuing and achieving their goals?*

**Readings:** Henry Blumenthal, "Confederate Diplomacy: Popular Notions and International Realities," *The Journal of Southern History*, Vol. 32, No. 2 (May, 1966), pp. 151-171, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2204555> .

James M. McPherson, "No Peace without Victory, 1861-1865." *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 109, No. 1 (February 2004), pp. 1-18, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/530149>

Jefferson Davis, *Inaugural Address*, History 311 blackboard site.

**Friday, September 28: European Powers and the American Civil War**

*European recognition of the Confederacy's independence would have severely complicated Lincoln's efforts to preserve the Union. How close did Great Britain, France and other powers come to recognition? Why, in the end, did they choose not to do so?*

**Readings:** Norman A. Graebner, "European Interventionism and the Crisis of 1862." *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* (1908-1984), Vol. 69, No. 1 (Feb., 1976), pp. 35-45, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40191691>

Seward to Dayton, 3 March 1862; Seward-Adams correspondence of April, 1862; Seward to Adams, 18 August 1862; Adams to Seward, 7 August 1863; and Seward to Adams, 17 November 1863, all on History 311 Blackboard site.

### III. WOODROW WILSON'S WORLD ORDER

#### A. Woodrow Wilson, the Old World and the US Senate

**Monday, October 1: A Tragedy of Errors: July-August 1914**

*Events of the summer of 1914 present a case-book study of the curse of unintended consequences. How did European statesmen's decisions during a two-month period result in a war more terrible than any previous conflict?*

**Readings:** Kissinger, *Diplomacy*, pp. 29-55, 201-265

Herring, *From Colony to Superpower*, pp. 398-427.

**Monday, October 3: Woodrow Wilson, and the First World War**

*Woodrow Wilson's approach to diplomacy differed completely from that of his European counterparts. Did Wilson's diplomacy reflect differing historical experiences between the United States and its European associates? How did these differences play out in the peace negotiations of 1919?*

**Readings:** Herring, *From Colony to Superpower*, pp. 378-385

Robert H. Ferrell, "Woodrow Wilson: Man and Statesman," *The Review of Politics*, Vol. 18, No. 2 (Apr., 1956), pp. 131-145,  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/1405063>

Woodrow Wilson, *Fourteen Points Speech*, History 311 Blackboard

**Friday, October 5: Henry Cabot Lodge and Wilson's Peace**

*Historians have painted the Senate's refusal to ratify the Treaty of Versailles as a tragic abandonment of the United States' responsibilities in the post-WW I era. What were the principal issues of disagreement between Wilson and his Senate opponents? Was the Senate's decision inevitable?*

**Readings:** James E. Hewes, Jr, "Henry Cabot Lodge and the League of Nations." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 114, No. 4 (Aug. 20, 1970), pp.245-255. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/985951>.

Herring, *From Colony to Superpower*, pp. 427-435

**Listen:** Henry Cabot Lodge, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Newton Baker and Gilbert Hitchcock debate the League of Nations, History 311 Blackboard site.

**INTERLUDE**

**The Diplomatic Historian and His Sources**

**Monday, October 8**

*This discussion will prepare the class for the course's short essay requirement, which ask students to analyze an important diplomatic source. What are the principal primary sources used by diplomatic historians? How does the historian evaluate the value and accuracy of these sources?*

**Midterm Examination**

**Wednesday, October 10**

## B. The Diplomacy of the 1920s

### *Friday, October 12: The Diplomacy of the 1920s*

*During the 1920s, a victorious France confronted a resentful and more powerful Germany while Great Britain distanced itself from European affairs and the United States avoided international political commitments. How did new international institutions such as the League of Nations impact diplomatic practice? What were the principal diplomatic aims of post-war Germany's statesmen? How did the French respond to German foreign policy?*

**Readings:** Kissinger, *Diplomacy*, pp.246-287

Taylor, *Origins of the Second World War*, pp. 18-60.

**Watch:** "World Troubles, 1914-1934." <http://www.britishpathe.com/video/world-troubles-1914-1934/>

**Optional:** League of Nations Photo Archive <http://www.indiana.edu/~league/index.htm>

### *Wednesday, October 17: Disarmament and the Outlawry of War*

*Although Wilson died in 1924 without achieving his goal of American membership in the League of Nations, "Wilsonianism" dominated the diplomacy of the 1920s. How did "public opinion" influence foreign policy during that period? What were the origins of the Kellogg-Briand Pact of 1928 "outlawing" war? What role would that treaty play in the events of the next ten years?*

**Readings:** Melvyn P. Leffler, "American Policy Making and European Stability, 1921 – 1933." *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. 46, No. 2 (May, 1977), pp. 207-228. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3637932>

The Kellogg-Briand Pact. History 311 Blackboard.

Henry L. Stimson, "The Pact of Paris: Three Years of Development." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 11, No. 1, Special Supplement: The Pact of Paris: Three Years of Development (Oct., 1932), pp. i-ix. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20030499> .

**Listen:** Warren G. Harding, "Address at Washington at opening of International Conference for Limitation of Armament, November 12, 1921." <http://www.loc.gov/jukebox/recordings/detail/id/8879>

**Friday, October 19: Interwar Economics: Reparations, Gold and Tariffs**

*Germany's obligation to pay reparations to the war's victors and America's efforts to collect official debts from European allies poisoned relations among the world's powers during the decade following the Paris peace agreement. How did France use reparations as a diplomatic tool against Germany? Why did the United States refuse to deemphasize intergovernmental debts in favor of more immediate foreign-policy goals? How did the Great Depression impact international relations?*

**Reading:** Jérémie Cohen-Setton and Éric Monnet, "Blogs review: The Gold Standard and the Euro." bruegel.org, 30th March 2012.  
<http://www.bruegel.org/blog/detail/article/725-blogs-review-the-gold-standard-and-the-euro/>

**C. New Order in the Pacific**

**Monday, October 22: Rising Powers in Asia: 1898-1921**

*By the beginning of the twentieth century, international relations in Asia and the Pacific were in turmoil. Japan was a rising power, European powers maneuvered for advantage in China, and the United States, with a regional presence following the Spanish-American War, sought to impose an "Open Door" in China. What were the principal events of the first decades of the twentieth century? How did the First World War and the Versailles peace settlement impact the region?*

**Readings:** Thomas W. Burkman, "Japan and the League of Nations: An Asian Power Encounters the 'European Club,'" *World Affairs*, Vol. 158, No. 1 (SUMMER 1995), pp. 45-57, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20672444>

Michael H. Hunt. "1898: The Onset of America's Troubled Asian Century." *OAH Magazine of History*, Vol. 12, No. 3, The War of 1898 (Spring, 1998), pp. 30-36.  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/25163217>

**Wednesday, October 24: Japan and the International System 1918-1931**

*Japan was among the First World War victors, yet it came away from the peace conference aggrieved at its outcome. It soon lost its bilateral alliance with Great Britain. How did Japan view its place in the modern international system? How did Western powers respond to Japan's increasing prominence?*

**Readings:** J. Chal Vinson, "The Imperial Conference of 1921 and the Anglo-Japanese Alliance," *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. 31, No. 3 (Aug., 1962), pp. 257-266.  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3637169> .

**Friday, October 26: The League of Nations and the Crisis in Manchuria**

*The League of Nations' efforts to halt Japanese military operations in Manchuria failed, perhaps fatally for the organization. What were the principal issues of that conflict? How did the major powers, particularly the United States and Great Britain, respond to Japanese military aggression? Does the Manchuria Crisis offer lessons for those today using economic sanctions as a diplomatic tool?*

**Readings:** C. Walter Young. "Sino-Japanese Interests and Issues in Manchuria." *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 1, No. 7 (Dec., 1928), pp. 1-20. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3035253>

Paul H. Clyde, "The Diplomacy of 'Playing No Favorites': Secretary Stimson and Manchuria, 1931." *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. 35, No. 2 (Sep., 1948), pp. 187-202. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1898405>

Colum Lynch, "Russia, China veto third Security Council Syria resolution," Foreign Policy blog, 19 July 2012. [http://turtlebay.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2012/07/19/russia\\_china\\_veto\\_third\\_security\\_council\\_syria\\_resolution](http://turtlebay.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2012/07/19/russia_china_veto_third_security_council_syria_resolution)

**Watch:** "Japan Quits League Assembly," [http://www.itnsource.com/shotlist/BHC\\_RTV/1933/02/27/BGX407180125/?s=Manchuria&st=0&pn=1](http://www.itnsource.com/shotlist/BHC_RTV/1933/02/27/BGX407180125/?s=Manchuria&st=0&pn=1)

## D. Anglo-American Relations in the Interwar Era

**Monday, October 29: Uneasy Allies**

*Although the United States and Great Britain were "associates" during the First World War, their relationship afterwards was complicated and frequently difficult. What were the principal differences between the two powers? How did personal differences, beginning with Wilson and Lloyd George, affect transatlantic diplomacy?*

**Readings:** Frank C. Costigliola, "Anglo-American Financial Rivalry in the 1920s," *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 37, No. 4 (Dec., 1977), pp. 911-934, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2119348>

M. G. Fry, "The North Atlantic Triangle and the Abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance." *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 39, No. 1 (Mar., 1967), pp. 46-64. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1877667> .

**Wednesday, October 31: Unintended Consequences: The League of Nations and Anglo-American relations in the 1920s**

*Ironically, Britain's obligations under the League of Nations Charter threatened Anglo-American comity during the 1920s. Why? How did American and British statesmen address this problem?*

**Readings:** B.J.C.McKercher, "No Eternal Friends or Enemies: British Defence Policy and the Problem of the United States, 1919-1939," *Canadian Journal of History*; Vol. 28 Issue 2 (August, 1993), pp. 257-293.  
<http://search.ebscohost.com.proxy.wm.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=a9h&AN=9311193891&site=ehost-live>

**Friday, November 2: The Issue of Naval Disarmament**

*The issue of naval disarmament was one of the stickiest diplomatic problems of the interwar era. How did five-power naval negotiations feed the Anglo-American naval rivalry? How did the naval disarmament issue influence Japanese domestic politics and Japan's relations with the Anglo-Saxon powers?*

## V. THE COMING OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR

### A. Hoover, Roosevelt and the Death of Wilsonian Liberalism

**Monday, November 5: The Long Transition**

*The election of 1932 and the four-month transition that followed occurred in the midst of economic and diplomatic turmoil. How did the incoming Roosevelt Administration differ from its predecessor? How did the New Deal's domestic policy impact American diplomacy?*

**Readings:** Herring, *From Colony to Superpower*, pp. 478-501.

Kissinger, *Diplomacy*, pp. 369-93.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, "Appeal for World Peace by Disarmament and for Relief from Economic Chaos." *May 16, 1933*, History 311 Blackboard site.

**Wednesday, November 7-Friday, November 9: The World Economic Conference of 1933: A Case Study of Diplomatic Failure**

*The London Conference of 1933 was the last major conference prior to the Second World War, and considered by many the best opportunity to address the Great Depression. This case study will demonstrate how personal animosity can impact diplomatic decision-making. It will also examine how historians draw upon various sources to describe historical events.*

**Readings:** Michael A. Butler, Introduction and Chapter from *Cautious Visionary: Cordell Hull and Trade Reform, 1933-1937*. History 311 Blackboard site.

**Watch:** Cordell Hull, Neville Chamberlain and others address the World Economic Conference, <http://www.britishpathe.com/video/it-must-not-fail-cuts-2/query/Cordell+Hull>

FDR greets Cordell Hull upon his return to the US, July 1933.

<http://www.britishpathe.com/video/roosevelt-and-cordell-hull-aka-roosevelt-and-corda/query/World+Economic+Conference>

**B. From Ally to Axis: Italian Diplomacy 1919-1940**

**Monday, November 12: Fascist Diplomacy, 1918-1936**

*Italy evolved from an ally of France and Great Britain during the First World War to a member of the Axis by the late 1930s. For much of the 1930s, even under a Fascist government, Italy was considered a linchpin of the European diplomatic order. What were the hallmarks of Mussolini's diplomacy? Why did democratic statesmen court Mussolini, and why did this courtship fail?*

**Readings:** Dino Grandi, "The Foreign Policy of the Duce." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 12, No. 4 (Jul., 1934), pp. 553-566. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20030617> .

Taylor, *Origins of the Second World War*, pp. 87-130

**Watch:** Mussolini's Greeting to the American People, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tTXhez2mNmM>

Italian Foreign Minister Dino Grandi with US Secretary of State Henry L. Stimson, <http://www.britishpathe.com/video/grandi-italian-foreign-minister-in-america-with/query/Dino>

***Wednesday, November 14: The Italo-Ethiopian War and Alliance with Hitler***

*Italian aggression against Ethiopia was another critical blow to the League of Nations and a major step in the final alignment of Europe's powers prior to the Second World War. What were the principal issues at stake for Mussolini, the French and the British?*

**Readings:** R. A. C. Parker, "Great Britain, France and the Ethiopian Crisis 1935-1936." *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 89, No. 351 (Apr., 1974), pp. 293-332.  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/565844>.

***Friday, November 16: Free day for students to complete course's written assignment.***

**Readings:** Robert Craigie's memorandum to the British Cabinet on Anglo-American relations, November, 1928. History 311 Blackboard site.

## **C. The Historian and the Diplomat**

***Monday, November 19***

*What lessons does History offer to today's foreign-policy maker? What can the diplomatic practitioner offer the historian?*

Essay due at the beginning of class

## **VI. THE COMING OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR**

### **A. Europe, 1933-1939**

***Monday, November 26: Hitler's Diplomatic Revolution***

*By the end of January, 1933, Adolf Hitler had come to power via constitutional means. Within three months he had dismantled the German constitutional state. How did he do so? What were his principal foreign policy aims? Did these aims differ from traditional German diplomacy?*

**Readings:** Kissinger, *Diplomacy*, pp. 332-368.

Taylor, *Origins of the Second World War*, pp. 131-150.

**Wednesday, November 28: From the Munich Crisis to War**

*By the end of the 1930s, Europe's democratic statesmen were desperately trying to stave off a second world war. What were the principal objectives of their policy of "appeasement"? Why did this policy fail?*

**Readings:** Taylor, *Origins of the Second World War*, pp. 150-278.

FDR to Hitler, 14 April 1939, History 311 Blackboard.

**Watch:** Hitler's response to Roosevelt's message,  
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zfFcNU4n4TA&feature=related>

**Friday, November 30: AJP Taylor and the Morality of History**

*Taylor's The Origins of the Second World War caused extraordinary controversy within the historical profession. Did Taylor whitewash one of the great mass murderers of history? Or does his insistence that Hitler pursued goals shared by traditional German statesmen contribute to our understanding of the events of that period?*

**B. American Diplomacy, 1934-1941**

**Monday, December 3: America Avoids the Last War**

*The United States turned inward as events evolved in Europe and the Pacific during the 1930s. What were the characteristics of American diplomacy during that period? Would a more active American approach to the world have prevented the Second World War?*

**Readings:** Robert A. Divine, "Franklin D. Roosevelt and Collective Security, 1933." *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. 48, No. 1 (Jun., 1961), pp. 42-59.  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/1902403>

Walter Lippmann, "Rough-Hew Them How We Will." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 15, No. 4 (Jul., 1937), pp. 587-594. URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20028803>

Herring, *From Colony to Superpower*, pp. 502-527.

**Watch:** FDR speaks on War and Peace, 1936, <http://www.britishpathe.com/video/us-foreign-policy/query/Roosevelt>

"US to Scuttle Neutrality, 1937." <http://www.britishpathe.com/video/us-to-scuttle-neutrality/query/Roosevelt>

“President Roosevelt Talks about the War, 1939.”

<http://www.britishpathe.com/video/president-roosevelt-talks-about-the-war/query/Roosevelt>

“President Roosevelt on Neutrality, 1939.”

<http://www.britishpathe.com/video/president-roosevelt-on-neutrality/query/Roosevelt>

***Wednesday, December 5: The Coming of War in the Pacific***

*Although American leaders considered Germany s a greater threat than Japan, the United States actually went to war as a result of events in Asia. Why did Japanese-American relations deteriorate during the late 1930s? What strategic considerations lead the Japanese to attack the United States?*

**Readings:** Herring, *From Colony to Superpower*, pp. 527-537.

Jonathan G. Utley, “Diplomacy in a Democracy: The United States and Japan, 1937-1941,” *World Affairs*, Vol. 139, No. 2 (Fall 1976), pp. 130-140,  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/20671672>

**Watch:** “Far East Conference in Brussels, 1937.” <http://www.britishpathe.com/video/far-east-conference-in-brussels/query/Norman+Davis>

“Peace or War in the Pacific, 1941.” <http://www.britishpathe.com/video/peace-or-war-in-the-pacific/query/Roosevelt>

Roosevelt Asks Congress for Declaration of War against Japan, December 8, 1941. <http://www.britishpathe.com/video/roosevelt-addresses-congress-aka-roosevelt-asks/query/Roosevelt>

***Friday, December 7: Course Wrap-up***