**PWAD 490/CMPL 390 EMPIRE AND DIPLOMACY SPRING 2013**

**SIR CHRISTOPHER MEYER KCMG**

**Chairman of Press Complaints Commission 2003-2009**

**British Ambassador to the United States 1997-2003**

**British Ambassador to Germany 1997**

**PROFESSOR THEODORE LEINBAUGH**

This course(Peace, War, and Defense 490/Comparative Literature 390) will examine concepts of empire and diplomacy with a focus on the role that letters—in the larger sense of Latin *litterae*—play in shaping and defining ideas associated with imperium and imperial aspirations. Primary texts will include the *Epic of Gilgamesh,* the *Iliad,* the *Aeneid*, *Beowulf*, *Caedmon’s Hymn*, the Bible, and *King Lear*. The course will broadly explore the relationship between the epic mode and the politics of empire, and will discuss questions based on our weekly readings: why, for example, did Alexander the Great, according to Plutarch, carry a copy of the *Iliad* on his military campaigns? And why(assome scholars have argued) did the ancient Romans look to the *Aeneid* as an argument for imperialism? The course will take as its special focus the British Empire and will investigate the role played by works such as *Caedmon’s Hymn* and *Beowulf* in the development of the British Empire and, concomitantly, in the ascendancy of the English language.

The course will be taught by Professor Leinbaugh and Sir Christopher Meyer, KCMG, the former British ambassador to the United States, who will be joining the course from London via video conferencing, with plans to visit the UNC campus in March.

The course briefly surveys the age of Early Empires (Akkadian, Sumerian, Egyptian, Assyrian), Classical Antiquity (Hellenistic and Roman empires), and the Middle Ages (Holy Roman Empire). The *Epic of Gilgamesh* will be read as we briefly survey Early Empires, and Homer’s *Iliad* and Virgil’s *Aeneid* will be read in conjunction with the study of Hellenistic and Roman empires with the aim of more closely defining the word *imperium* and analyzing imperial aspirations. The course will then focus on the British Empire, with an examination of questions about the origin and the political implications of the words “Britain” and “England”: where do these words come from? What political realities do these words reflect? Which comes first, the word “England” or the word “English”—and what impact do these words have on our understanding of the British Empire? What role do languages and national identity play in the formation of empire? Our readings from *Beowulf*, *Caedmon’s Hymn*, the Bible, and *King Lear* will help answer these and other questions.

As we examine the rise of the British Empire, we will read excerpts from Gibbon’s *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* in order to examine how the concept of empire was viewed in England in the eighteenth century and to asses Gibbon’s thesis on values: namely, that Rome’s decline could be blamed on a loss of civic virtue.

We will also briefly survey the development of the Holy Roman Empire and probe Voltaire’s remark that it “was neither holy, nor Roman, nor an empire.” Voltaire’s strictures will encourage us to attempt to define and differentiate terms such as “empire,” “nation,” “sovereignty,” and “irredentism.” We will explore concepts of war, peace, and security: how the barbarian invasions destroyed Roman infrastructure and gave rise to feudalism. We will include in our historical survey the contributions made during the Middle Ages to the language of diplomacy, with an investigation of rhetoric, the need for a lingua franca, and the rise of litterae humaniores.

Finally, we will explore the growing political sway of Britain, beginning with colonies and trading posts established in the Renaissance, and extending to Britain’s wide political sway at the start of the twentieth century, when British influence extended over a quarter of the world’s population. We conclude with a brief examination of the impact of WW II and concepts of empire and diplomacy in the twenty-first century. Readings for this section of the course include Sir Christopher Meyer’s *DC Confidential* and *Getting Our Way*, Leinbaugh’s *The Men of Company K*, and an examination of the role of social media in international diplomacy, particularly, the role of social media in the Arab Spring.

Other special topics for the semester: Security, Prosperity, and Values, which coincide with the topics covered in the BBC series produced and written by Sir Christopher Meyer.

Security: Security embraces Sir Henry Killigrew, Elizabeth I's envoy to Scotland, at a time when her throne was menaced by a French/Catholic conspiracy during the Scottish civil wars; Lord Castlereagh at the 1814 Congress of Vienna, when the map of Europe was redrawn after the Napoleonic Wars; and the meeting between President Kennedy and Prime Minister Macmillan at Nassau in 1962, when the US agreed to sell the UK the Polaris missile and the British Ambassador in Washington, Sir David Ormsby Gore, played a key role.

Prosperity: Prosperity will focus on China and how British policy was (and still is) dominated by commercial motives. Topics will include 1) Lord Macartney's failed mission to Beijing in 1793; 2) Sir John Bowring and the second Opium War; 3) the negotiations in the 1980s/90s for the return of Hong Kong, featuring Lord Patten and a cast of many more.

Values: Values tackles the predicaments that the consideration of human rights gives to the formulation of foreign policy. Topics will include: 1) the Bulgarian atrocities in the late 19th century, featuring Gladstone, Disraeli and the British Ambassador in Istanbul; 2) the Abyssinia crisis and the collapse of the League of Nations in the 1930s, featuring the head of the Foreign Office, Lord Vansittart; and 3) a return to the Balkans in the 1990s.

Interviewees for the BBC series will include Henry Kissinger, Richard Holbrooke, Richard Haass, and Ted Sorensen. Our concluding topic for discussion and debate, posed by Sir Christopher Meyer: “despite globalisation and interdependence, a clear sense of the national interest remains indispensable to an effective foreign policy; despite all the changes of the last half-millennium, the skills that make a good diplomat remain largely unchanged; and, at the beginning of the 21st century, diplomacy has never been more necessary.”

**Course Requirements**: Students will be asked to submit two short essays (each one approximately two pages in length, graded P/F) on a topic of interest taken from our readings. There will also be two longer research papers, the first approximately 5 pages in length, the second approximately 5-7 pages in length; the first paper will be due Feb 14, the second paper April 11. There will be a written final exam and three quizzes (Feb 7; March 5, April 11). The two research papers will constitute 25% (10% + 15%) of the final grade; quizzes 25%; the final exam 25%; participation in class and the two short essay submissions 25%. Late papers will normally be accepted (with, however, point deductions).

This course has qualified as one of UNC’s research-exposure courses. In a research-exposure course you will be working with a Graduate Research Consultant, Mrs. Rebecca Shores, who will assist you in the research project, which will be carried out via your two research papers. The GRC Program is sponsored by the Office for Undergraduate Research ([www.unc.edu/depts/our](https://outlook.unc.edu/owa/redir.aspx?C=ad6df3dca0d647c49f8f312ed5360dd2&URL=http%3a%2f%2fwww.unc.edu%2fdepts%2four)), and you may be able to use this research-exposure course to meet a requirement of the Carolina Research Scholars Program ([http://www.unc.edu/depts/our/students/students\_crsp.html).](https://outlook.unc.edu/owa/redir.aspx?C=ad6df3dca0d647c49f8f312ed5360dd2&URL=http%3a%2f%2fwww.unc.edu%2fdepts%2four%2fstudents%2fstudents_crsp.html%29.) I encourage you to visit the OUR website to learn about how you might engage in research, scholarship and creative performance while you are at Carolina.

Additional Information: The professor reserves to right to make changes to the syllabus, including project due dates and test dates (excluding the officially scheduled final examination), when unforeseen circumstances occur. These changes will be announced as early as possible so that students can adjust their schedules. Regular attendance is expected; excessive cuts (more than 2 or 3) will figure into the evaluation and will be reflected in the final grade. Class Meets in 008 Peabody from 2pm-3:15pm Tu/Th. Office Hours: Tu/Th 3:30-4:30pm, Greenlaw 521. Final Examination Tuesday, May 7, noon.

Former guest lecturers for the course have included:

Sir Nigel Sheinwald, British Ambassador to the US

Ambassador Richard Armitage, former US Deputy Secretary of State

Sir Hayden Phillips GCB, DL

Eric Watson, Filmmaker: *The Fountain*

Neil Shea, Journalist: *National Geographic Magazine; The American Scholar and Foreign Policy*

The U.K. Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, the Right Honorable Owen Paterson

David C. Stewart, Minister Counselor for Consular Affairs

U.S. Embassy in London

**Required Texts**:

**Germania,** Tacitus**.**

**DC Confidential**, Sir Christopher Meyer.

**Getting Our Way**, Sir Christopher Meyer.

**The Iliad of Homer,** Translation by Richmond Lattimore.

**The Aeneid**, Virgil**.** Allen Mandelbaum translation.

**King Lear,** Shakespeare.

**Beowulf.** Seamus Heaney translation.

**A Most Dangerous Book: Tacitus's Germania from the Roman Empire to the Third Reich,** Christopher Krebs.

**The Men of Company K**, H.P.Leinbaugh

**Additional Readings for special research topics:**

**The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire**, by Edward Gibbon

**Diplomacy**, by Henry Kissinger

Neil Shea, “So This is Paktya: How ready are our Afghan allies to secure their own country?” *The American Scholar:* <http://theamericanscholar.org/afghanistan-so-this-is-paktya>

Neil Shea**, “**Failure to Communicate: Could the U.S. mission in Afghanistan fall apart simply because of bad translation?” *Foreign Policy:* <http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2010/08/23/failure_to_communicate>

Rory Stewart, excerpt from *The Places in Between*: <http://www.rorystewartbooks.com/places_in_between_excerpt.htm>

**BOWRING, SIR JOHN**

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Bartle, G.F., *An Old Radical and His Brood* (1994)

Bartle, G.F., *Sir John Bowring and the Arrow War in China*, Bulletin of the John Ryland’s Library, 43.2 (1961)

Bowring, Sir John, *Autobiographical Recollections of Sir John Bowring* (1877)

Fairbank, John K, *Trade and Diplomacy on the China Coast* (1953)

Hurd, Douglas, *The Arrow War, An Anglo-Chinese Confusion 1856-60* (1967)

Pelissier, Roger, *The Awakening of China 1793-1949* (1967)

Rose, Sarah*, For All the Tea in China* (2009)

Wong, J.Y., *Deadly dreams: Opium, Imperialism and the Arrow War (1856-60) in China* (1998)

Web Resources:

Unitarian Universalist Historical Society (UUHS) 1999-2009

* <http://www25.uua.org/uuhs/duub/articles/sirjohnbowring.html>

**HONG KONG**

## Bibliography:

Cradock, Percy, *Experiences of China* (1994)

Howe, Geoffrey, *Conflict of Loyalty* (1994)

Hurd, Douglas, *Memoirs* (1993)

Patten, Chris, *East and West* (1998)

Tsang, Steve Yui-Sang, *Government and Politics, A Documentary History of Hong Kong* (1995)

## Web Resources:

The Economist, *Bad Day for Business*, 11.09.08

* <http://www.economist.com/world/asia/displaystory.cfm?story_id=12209864>

Tang, David, *Thatcher, Me and Hong Kong*

* <http://www.spectator.co.uk/the-magazine/features/33090/part_3/thatcher-me-and-hong-kong.thtml>

**KILLIGREW**

Bibliography (Chapter 1):

Anderson, M.S., *The Rise of Modern Diplomacy, 1450-1919* (London, 1993)

Calendar of State Papers (Scotland, Holland, Domestic)

Darvill, Giles, *Little Sir Hal Killigrew* (Southwell, 1994)

Guy, John, *Tudor England* (Oxford, 1988)

Machiavelli, Niccolo, *The Prince*

MacMahon, Luke, ‘Killigrew, Sir Henry (1525x8–1603)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15533, accessed 11, April 2009]

Mattingly, Garret, *Renaissance Diplomacy* (London, 1955)

Miller, Amos C., *Sir Henry Killigrew: Elizabethan Soldier and Diplomat* (Leicester, 1963)

Potter, Harry *Edinburgh under Siege 1571-73* (Stroud: Tempus, 2003)

Raab, Felix, *The English Face of Machiavelli* (London/Toronto, 1964)

**MACARTNEY**

Bibliography:

Cradock, Percy, *Experiences of China*, 1994

Cranmer-Byng, J.L. (ed), *An embassy to China : being the journal kept by Lord Macartney during his embassy to the Emperor Chʻien-lung, 1793-1794*, 1962

Gelber, Harry G, *The Dragon and the Foreign Devils*, 2007

Marshall, P.J. *The Oxford History of the British Empire*

Morse H.B., *Chronicles of the East India Company Trading to China*, Volume II. Oxford 1926

Murphey, The Outsiders (London Library)

Peyrefitte, Alain – The Immobile Empire, Alfred A Knopf, New York 1992

Robbins, Helen H, Our First Ambassador to China, 1908

Roebuck, Peter (ed) *Macartney of Lisanoure 1737-1806 – Essays in Biography,* 1983

Thorne, Roland, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography –, Biographical Entry for Macartney:

Walvin, James, *Fruits of Empire: Exotic Produce and British Taste, 1660-1800* (New York: New York University Press, 1997)

Web Resources:

Morgan, Kenneth, *Symbiosis: Trade and the British Empire*

* <http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/empire_seapower/trade_empire_01.shtml>

Watt, John R, *Qianlong meets Macartney – Collision of Two World Views*

* http://www.asian-studies.org/eaa/watt.htm

Wang, Y, *A study on the size of the Chinese population in the middle and late eighteenth century.*

* [Chin JPopul Sci.](javascript:AL_get(this,%20'jour',%20'Chin%20J%20Popul%20Sci.');) 1997;9(4):317-36.
* <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/12294141>
* The adjusted total population is 388,150,057 in 1799

**NASSAU**

Bibliography:

Ashton, Nigel, *Kennedy, Macmillan and the Cold War: The Irony of Interdependence* (2002)

Ball, George, *The Discipline of Power* (1968)

Brandon, Henry, in the *Sunday Times* 8 December 1962

Lord Harlech, ‘Suez SNAFU, Skybolt SABU’, in *Foreign Policy*, 2 (1971)

Horne, Alistair, ‘The Macmillan Years and Afterwards’, in Louis & Bull (eds), *The Special Relationship* (1986)

Horne, Alistair, *Macmillan* (1991)

Macmillan, *At the End of the Day 1961-1963*

Neustadt, Richard, Report to JFK: The Skybolt Crisis in Perspective (1999)

Schlesinger, Arthur, *One Thousand Days: John F. Kennedy in the White House* (1965)

Additional Sources:

Churchill, Winston, *The Sinews of Peace* (1946)

* <http://www.nato.int/docu/speech/1946/S460305a_e.htm>

Roy Jenkins, ‘Gore, (William) David Ormsby, fifth Baron Harlech (1918–1985)’, rev., *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/31518, accessed 17 May 2009]

H. C. G. Matthew, ‘Macmillan, (Maurice) Harold, first earl of Stockton (1894–1986)’, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/40185, accessed 12 May 2009]

‘BRITAIN GETS FACTS OF LIFE ON SKYBOLT’, *Chicago Daily Tribune (1872-1963);* Dec 16, 1962; p. 10

*The Times*, Saturday, Dec 08, 1962; pg. 8; Issue 55569; col C

*The Times*, Saturday, Dec 08, 1962; pg. 8; Issue 55569; col C

Documents consulted in the National Archives:

119101/5/25 (now FO115/4630?)

FCO 73/171 (TNA)

PREM 11/4229 (TNA)

CAB 21/5967

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Bibliography (Chapter 2):

Anderson, M. S., *The Rise of Modern Diplomacy, 1450-1919* (London, 1993)

Bartlett, C. J., *Castlereagh* (London, 1966)

Chamberlain, Muriel E., *Pax Britannica? British Foreign Policy 1789-1914* (London, 1988)

Crawley, C. W.,(ed), *The New Cambridge Modern History Vol IX: War and Peace in an Age of Upheaval 1793-1830* (Cambridge, 1965)

Derry, John W., Castlereagh (London, 1976)

Captain Gronow, Rhys Henry, *Reminiscences and Recollections* (London, 1900)

Hayes, Paul, *Modern British Foreign Policy: The Nineteenth Century 1814-80* (London, 1975)

Kissinger*,* Henry, *A World Restored* (1957)

Morgan, Kenneth O., *The Oxford History of Britain* (Oxford, 1984)

Otte, T. G., (ed), *The Makers of British Foreign Policy: From Pitt to Thatcher* (London, 2002)

Thorne, Roland, ‘Stewart, Robert, Viscount Castlereagh and second marquess of Londonderry (1769–1822)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26507, accessed 28 April 2009]

Webster, C. K., *The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh 1815-22* (London, 1925)

Wright, Jonathan *The Ambassadors*

Zamoyski, Adam, *Rites of Peace: The Fall of Napoleon & the Congress of Vienna* (London, 2007)

Web Resources:

* <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com:80/subscriber/article/grove/music/40026pg8>

Class 1: Jan 10: Introduction. Please introduce yourself to Sir Christopher Meyer.

Class 2: Jan 15. *DC Confidential*, chapter 1. Tacitus, *The Germania*, chapters 1-7. Also read Sir Christopher: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/debate/article-2261478/The-1-trillion-question-Why-White-House-banking-Brussels--sanity-UK.html>

In Class: Skype with Sir Christopher. We will also discuss the origin of the English language, the origin of England, and the beginnings of the rise of the British Empire.

Class 3: Jan 17: Read Tacitus, *The Germania*, chapters 8-21. Next, read the first 11 sections (or chapters) of Book One of St. Augustine’s *City of God* available via Sakai.

Class 4: Jan 22: Please finish reading Tacitus, *The Germania* (through Chapter 46).

Class 5: Jan 24: Read *DC Confidential*, chapters 2-4. Discuss with Sir Christopher the how UK diplomacy functions today both in terms of structure and organization from the vantage point of the British ambassador to the US.

Class 6: Jan 29: Read *DC Confidential*, chapters 5-12. Skype with Sir Christopher.

For our class today, we will ask Ambassador Meyer to do a briefing on Mali and the French intervention, which plays into various themes of our course: Empire, colonialism, and nationalism. There are, of course, interesting parallels with Afghanistan - what do you do when you've beaten the enemy in conventional warfare and they take up guerilla tactics (Sahara/North-West Frontier)? How do you translate military success into political stability, when the state in question may not be viable (living with the consequences of empire and arbitrary frontier-drawing)? How do you separate “terrorism” from ethnic irredentism, some of it fuelled by religion (Tuaregs/Pathans), which has been around for decades, often centuries? What about the law of unintended consequences—the downfall of Gaddafi released vast supplies of weapons to the insurgents/rebels/bandits/terrorists in northern Mali. Are the Taliban the successors to the anti-Soviet Mujahedeen, funded and armed by Western powers?

Class 7: Jan 31: Tacitus, *The Germania* and Roman Empire. Rome traces its origin to a founding myth. What is that myth? Mythology and the concept of Empire. Read the introduction to *The Iliad of Homer*translated by Lattimore. Also read *The Iliad,* Book 1.

Class 8: Feb 5: Please read DC Confidential through Chapter 20. Topics: KGB in Russia? The so-called “special relationship” between the US and the UK? International trade policy? Journalism and its impact? The issue of “going native”? Values? Prosperity?

Class 9: Feb 7: Read the *Iliad*, Book 2. Quiz today.

Class 10: Feb 12: Read the *Iliad*, Books 3 and 4.

Class 11: Feb 14: Read the *Iliad* Book 5. First research paper due.

Class 12: Feb 19: *Iliad*, Books 5-10.

Class 13: Feb 21: Finish *DC Confidential*. We will Skype with Sir Christopher today.

Class 14: For Feb 26: *Iliad*, Books 10-15; review *Germania*; discuss research paper. If you are writing on the *Iliad*, you might wish to examine R.B. Onians, *The Origins of European Thought.*

Class 15: Feb 28: *Iliad*, Books 16-20. Skype with Sir Christopher.

Class 16: March 5. Review *Iliad* 1-20. Quiz today on the Iliad, through Book 20.

Class 17: March 7: Optional paper conferences today. Read *Iliad*, Books 21-22.

SPRING BREAK

Class 18: March 19. Finish *Iliad*, Books 23-24. *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, Tablets I -IV. Special guest Professor William Race. Professor Race will discuss the background of the *Iliad* (its roots in Mycenaean civilization and oral culture) and its verse form (dactylic hexameter). Then, a brief overview of the form and theology of the epic. Finally, an analysis in terms of Jonathan Shay's work on PTSD.

Class 19: March 21. *Aeneid*, Book I. *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, Tablets V and VI.

Class 20: March 26: *Aeneid*, Books II-IV; *Gilgamesh*, Tablets VII-XI. *Beowulf*, lines 1-52.

Class 21: March 28: *Aeneid*, Book V; *Beowulf*, review and read to 873.

Class 20: March 26: *Aeneid*, Books II-IV; *Gilgamesh*, Tablets VII-XI.

Class 21: March 28: *Aeneid*, Book V; *Beowulf*, review and read to 873.

Class 22: April 2: *Aeneid*, Book VI; *Beowulf* to 1186.

Class 23: April 4: *Beowulf* to 1812; *King Lear*, Act I.

Class 24: April 9: Read Acts II and III, *King Lear* and Chapter 1, *Getting Our Way*.

Class 25: April 11: Finish *Lear* . Chapter 2 of *Getting Our Way*. Second research paper due.

Class 26: April 16: *Getting Our Way*, 3-6. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall* (Sakai excerpts).

Class 27: April 18: *Getting Our Way*, chapters 4-6; the theme is Prosperity. Skype session with the US State Department today. Read *Men of Company K*, chapters 1-4.

Class 28: April 23: *Getting Our Way* chapters 7-9 and *Men of Company K*, chapters 5-9.

Class 29: April 25: Finish *Getting Our Way* and *Men of Company K*. Ambassador Anthony Quainton visits our class and the UNC campus today. Lecture at 5:30pm: “Why do They Hate Us? Terrorism, Counter-terrorism, and Reflections on the Challenges for American Public Diplomacy.” Quainton has served as the [United States Ambassador to the Central African Empire](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States_Ambassador_to_the_Central_African_Empire), US Ambassador to Nicaragua, US Ambassador to Kuwait, and as US Ambassador to Peru. He now serves as the Distinguished Diplomat-in-Residence at the [School of International Service](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/School_of_International_Service) at [American University](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/American_University).