

Hillsdale College
Departments of History & Politics

Spring, 2015
Kendall 333: Monday, Wednesday, Friday 9:00-9:50 p.m.

History 475-01-S15 P. A. Rahe Case Studies in the Origins of War 214 Kendall Hall

Office Hours: Monday, 1:00-3:15 p.m.; Tuesday, 8:15-10:30 a.m.; and by appointment. Call 607-2391; or e-mail me at paul.rahe@hillsdale; or catch me before or after class. My office is in Kendall 214.

This course is designed to develop your critical understanding of the decisions which statesmen make. We will study the outbreak of four wars (the Peloponnesian War, the Second Punic War, World War I, and World War II) as well as one diplomatic crisis (the Cuban Missile Crisis) which did not end in war. We will pay particular attention to the manner in which the concerns of military strategy and the experience of previous wars influence decision-making. We will also take heed of the impact of domestic political struggle on the conduct of foreign policy. It is to be hoped that, by this study, we will come to have a better grasp of the situation in which statesmen find themselves, the circumstances which make wars possible and sometimes even necessary, and the considerations which the statesman must weigh in assessing the consequences of various diplomatic moves and in determining whether to launch a war.

The books which the student will probably want to purchase are listed below:

Hammond Historical World Atlas (Hammond World Atlas Corporation) ISBN-13: 978-0528004919

Donald Kagan, *On the Origins of War and the Preservation of Peace* (Doubleday) ISBN 13: 978-0385423755

Thucydides, *The Landmark Thucydides* (Free Press) ISBN-13: 978-0684827902

Plutarch, *The Rise and Fall of Athens* (Penguin) ISBN-13: 978-0140441024

Donald Kagan, *The Outbreak of the Peloponnesian War* (Cornell) ISBN-13: 978-0801495564

Polybius, *The Rise of the Roman Empire* (Penguin) ISBN-13: 978-0140443622

Laurence Lafore, *The Long Fuse* (Waveland Press) ISBN-13: 978-0881339543

Immanuel Geiss, *July 1914* (W. W. Norton) ISBN-13: 978-0393007220

Thomas L. Pangle and Peter J. Ahrensdorf, *Justice Among Nations: On the Moral Basis of Power and Peace* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1999) ISBN-13: 978-0700612215.

A. J. P. Taylor, *The Origins of the Second World War* (Simon and Schuster) ISBN-13: 978-0684829470

The Cuban Missile Crisis, 1962: A National Security Archive Documents Reader, ed.

Laurence Chang and Peter Kornbluh (New Press) ISBN-13: 978-1565844742

Additional material has been placed on reserve in the library.

Students will be expected to write three of the five papers assigned and to take two preliminary examinations. The examinations will be held in class on Monday, 16 February, and on Friday, 3 April. The first paper will be due at 5:00 p.m. on Thursday, the 29th of January; the second paper, at 5:00 p.m. on Friday, the 13th of February; the third paper, at 5:00 p. m. on Thursday, the 26th of February; the fourth paper, at 9:00 a.m. on Thursday, the 2nd of April; and the fifth paper, in class on Monday, the 27th of April. Each paper should be typewritten, double spaced, and at least fifteen hundred words in length: no paper should be longer than two thousand words. Papers should be delivered in class or placed in the box on the wall outside my office in Kendall Hall. Delivery by e-mail attachment is not acceptable. To avoid difficulties that may arise if a paper is somehow misplaced, students are expected to photocopy their papers before turning them in and to retain a copy for their own records. *No paper will be accepted which is turned in more than three days after it is due. The grades on papers turned in late but within the three-day grace period following their due date will be lowered by 15%. Students who have not turned in one of the three required papers by 9 a.m. on Monday, the 2nd of March, will receive a failing grade in the course. Students who have not turned in two of the three required papers by 9 a.m. on Friday, the 10th of April, will receive a failing grade in the course. Students who have not turned in all three of the required papers by 9 a.m. on Friday, the 1st of May, will receive a failing grade in the course.*

*Classroom attendance is not mandatory. **Late arrival for class will not be tolerated.***

Students should be aware that the lectures are intended to supplement, not to substitute for the reading assigned: it is, therefore, highly unlikely that anyone who frequently misses class will manage to pass. The reading assigned for each week should be completed before the first class meeting of the week. In ordinary circumstances, no incompletes will be given, and no make-up examinations will be administered. To compute the term grade, the instructor will average the examination grades and the paper grades.

The topic for the first paper is: rank the powers involved in the Peloponnesian War in the order of their responsibility for bringing on the war and defend your ranking. The topic for the second paper is: determine precisely when the First World War became inevitable and defend your decision. The topic for the third paper is: after pondering the origins of the Second Punic War, either rank the powers involved in the order of their responsibility or determine precisely when the war became inevitable—and defend your position. The topic for the fourth paper is: after pondering the origins of the Second World War, either rank the powers involved in the order of their responsibility or determine precisely when the war became inevitable—and defend your position. The topic for the fifth paper is: assess John F. Kennedy's conduct of American foreign policy at the time of the Cuban Missile Crisis and defend your assessment against possible objections. To each essay append a list of the books and articles that have influenced your thinking. Indicate in not more than two sentences how each book and article did so. Do not go to the internet for information. What you are likely to find there is quite often unreliable.

A good paper will respond *directly* to the question, without apologies; I know that the question is impossible to answer. Answer it anyway. A good paper need not contain footnotes or citations from the secondary literature. It will demonstrate precision and conciseness. It will not reflect specious objectivity, but will represent the carefully considered views of the writer. It will show a detailed and comprehensive knowledge of the material and will demonstrate skill in forming intelligent and defensible arguments. It will also demonstrate independence and

originality and should be elegantly written. In grading the papers, I will pay careful attention to style as well as content. Students would be well-advised to take advantage of the Writing Center. Anyone with a disability who needs special accommodation should inform me within the first two weeks of the term.

The following criteria are used for assigning numerical and letter grades to your papers and the essays on the final examination:

A (90-100): An excellent, outstanding piece of work with *all* of the following characteristics:

1. All of the pertinent data is presented without significant errors or omissions. All parts of the topic or question are addressed.
2. The evidence is thoughtfully deployed to support a coherent, clearly stated argument.
3. The writing is of high quality: accurate in grammar, spelling, punctuation, and diction; forceful and elegant in presentation throughout.
4. You have demonstrated a thorough understanding of both the question posed, the evidence assessed, and the facts presented.

B (80-89): A very good piece of work with the characteristics mentioned below: 1. The important evidence is completely presented and addressed. There may be minor omissions or misunderstandings but the answer is still reasonably complete. 2. The writing is of good quality, evidencing precision in grammar, spelling, punctuation, and diction. It need not be uniformly forceful and elegant.

3. Your essay is coherently and sensibly organized with the argument well-defined and logically presented.

C (70-79): An average, acceptable piece of work with some, if not all of the defects mentioned below:

1. The most important data is presented, although there may be errors or misunderstanding evident. Parts of the topic or question are not fully addressed.
2. There are errors evident in the grammar, spelling, punctuation, or diction which detract from the quality of the work.
3. The essay is not well organized; its argument does not unfold in a clear and logical fashion.

D (60-69): A below-average, less-than-acceptable piece of work evidencing some, if not all of the deficiencies mentioned below:

1. Important data is left out so that the answer is seriously incomplete.
2. There are errors evident in the grammar, spelling, punctuation, or diction which severely detract from the quality of the work.
3. The essay is poorly organized; the logic of its argument is rather hard to follow.

F (0-59): An unacceptable piece of work with some, if not all of the following defects. 1. Much of the pertinent evidence is not presented.

2. There are errors evident in the grammar, spelling, punctuation, or diction which severely detract from the quality of the work.

3. The essay is very poorly organized; the logic of its argument is hard to follow.

Anyone caught cheating on an examination or plagiarizing another's work will receive a failing grade in the course. Students are expected to be familiar with and to comply with the honor code of Hillsdale College.

SCHEDULE OF READINGS

Material marked with one asterisk is at the check-out desk in the library; the other books can be found at the Campus Bookstore in the Grewcock Center. The reading assigned for a given week should be done by the time of the first class meeting in that week.

Week I: 12-16 January

No Class: Monday, 16 January

Introduction

Athens and Sparta

Kagan, Origins 1-22.

Kagan, Outbreak 1-74.

Thucydides I.1-23, 89-103, 128-31, 138; VI.82-83.

Plutarch Themistocles, Aristeides

Week II: 19-23 January

The Delian League & the Period of Dual Hegemony

Athens' Lost Opportunity – I

Athens' Lost Opportunity – II

Kagan, *Origins*, 22-37

Kagan, Outbreak 77-202.

Thucydides I.89-117, 123-38, V.13-83.

Plutarch Cimon, Pericles

Week III: 26 -30 January

Between Two Wars

Corcyra, Corinth, Sparta, and the Coming of War

First Paper Due

Metternich's Europe: From the Congress of Vienna to the Revolutions of 1848

Kagan, Origins 37-74.

Kagan, Outbreak 203-375

Russell Meiggs, The Athenian Empire 430-31.(PDF File)

Thucydides I-II (esp. I.23 & 118; 42 & 67; I.138, & II.65), VII.18, 28

Week IV: 2-6 February

Bismarck, the Emergence of Modern Germany, & the International System

After Bismarck: The Encirclement of Germany

A Loss of Flexibility

Kagan, Origins 81-183.
Lafore, The Long Fuse I-VI
*Immanuel Geiss, July 1914 9-53

Week V: 9-13 February

1905-1914
The July Crisis
The Coming of the Great War

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Second Paper Due

Kagan, Origins 184-231.
Lafore, The Long Fuse VI-VII
*Immanuel Geiss, July 1914 I-VIII

Week VI: 16-20 February

First Preliminary Examination

Rome, Carthage, and the First Punic War
The Carthaginian Recovery
Kagan, Origins 232-60.

*C. R. Whittaker, "Carthaginian Imperialism in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries," in Imperialism in the Ancient World, ed. P. D. A. Garnsey & C. R. Whittaker (Cambridge 1978) 59-90 (with notes).

Week VII: 23-27 February

Hannibal and Rome
The Great War Comes

Third Paper Due

Versailles
Kagan, Origins 260-74.
Polybius I-III (esp. II.1, 13, 36, III.6-33), VI, VII.9.
**Livy XXI (esp. 2-19).
*Donald Kagan, Problems in Ancient History II 110-25.

Week VIII: 2-6 March

The Legacy of Versailles
Germany in the 1920s
Hitler's Rise to Power
Kagan, Origins 281-334.
Taylor I-IV.

Week IX: 9-13 March

Spring Vacation
Thomas L. Pangle and Peter J. Ahrensdorf, Justice Among Nations: On the Moral Basis of Power and Peace (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1999).

Week X: 16-20 March

Liberal Foreign Policy and Fascism—I

Liberal Foreign Policy and Fascism—II
Dealing With Hitler

Kagan, Origins 334-88.
Taylor V-VII

Week XI: 23-27 March

The Road to Munich—I
The Road to Munich—II

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Munich

Kagan, Origins 388-417.
Taylor VIII-XI.

*Adolf Hitler, Mein Kampf II Chapt. 14.

Hossbach Memorandum & Jodl Amendment, in Documents on Nazism, ed. Noakes & Peidham (PDF File)

Week XII: 30 March - 3 April

After Munich
The Great War Comes

Fourth Paper Due

Second Preliminary Examination

Week XIII: 6-10 April

No Class: 6 April (Travel Day)
World War II and Beyond: The Iron Curtain
The Origins of the Cold War

Week XIV: 13-17 April

The Soviet Bear, Truman, Eisenhower, and Containment
Missiles in Cuba—I
Missiles in Cuba—II
Kagan, Origins 437-507.
The Cuban Missile Crisis, 1962 1-149.

Week XV: 20-24 April

Khrushchev's Fatal Gamble
JFK Revisited
Managing the Missile Crisis
Kagan, Origins 507-48.
The Cuban Missile Crisis, 1962 150-244, 307-45

Week XVI: 27 April

The Present Discontents
Fifth Paper Due

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ISSUES WORTHY OF CONSIDERATION

First Week

1. To what position in the Greek world did Athens aspire on the eve of the Persian Wars? Was her claim a legitimate one?
2. What did Themistocles hope to accomplish immediately after the Persian Wars? What was his view of Sparta? Why did he act as he did? What role did Aristeides play? Xanthippus?
3. How were the Athenians able to establish the Delian League? What was the Spartan reaction to the work of Xanthippus, Themistocles, and Aristeides? Did all of the Spartans agree?
4. What were the foreign policy goals of Cimon after the establishment of the Delian League? What did Themistocles seek? Who won the political contest which developed between the two? Who were the allies of each?
5. You should be able to identify and briefly explain the importance of the following: Thucydides the son of Olorus, Mt. Taygetus, Laconia, Messenia, helot, perioikoi, Argos, agoge, sussitia, pederasty, gerousia, ephor, Persia, Aegina, Cleomenes, Thebes, Boeotia, Xerxes, Thracian Chersonnesus, Sigeum, Lemnos, Boulé, euthúna, Themistocles, Marathon, Laurium, Xanthippus, Aristeides, Battle of Marathon, Battle of Salamis, Battle of Plataea, Battle of Mycale, Cimon, Pausanias, Leotychidas, Hetoemaridas, Battle of Eion, Scyros, Carystos, Revolt of Naxos, Battle of Eurymedon, Aeschylus' The Persians, Pericles.

Second Week

1. Why did the Peloponnesian League exist? What were the needs of the Spartans? Why did the allies belong? What was the Achilles' heel of Sparta? What did she fear most? What did the league have to do with all of this?
2. Where did Themistocles go after his ostracism? What did he do? What effect did this have on the Peloponnesian League? What was Pausanias up to? Why did the helots revolt when they did? What was Sparta contemplating when they did revolt?
3. Who was Pericles? What was the relationship between his father and the father of Cimon? What impact did events at Ennea Hodoi have on Cimon's popularity? How did Cimon's opponents make use of these events? What impact did events at Sparta have on his popularity?
4. What was Athens' strategy for winning the First Peloponnesian War? Why did she fail? What conclusions might statesmen have been likely to draw from the course the war took? Was anyone satisfied with the outcome? How promising was the Thirty Years' Peace?
5. You should be able to identify and briefly explain the importance of the following: Tegea, Elis, Mantinea, Corinth, Megara, Artaxerxes, Thasos, Medizing, Dipaia, Ennea Hodoi,

Amphipolis, Mt. Ithome, Areopagus, Ephialtes, Saronic Gulf, Corinthian Gulf, Pegae, Nisaea, Long Walls, Tanagra, Oenophyta, Battle of Cypriot Salamis, Peace of Callias, Congress Decree, Papyrus Decree, Clearchus Decree, Cleinias Decree, Colophon Treaty, Cleruchy, Orchomenus, Chaeroneia, Tolmides, Coronea, Euboea, Chalcis, Eretria, Pleistoanax, Cleandridas, Thirty Years' Peace.

Third Week

1. To what extent can one speak intelligibly of events as inevitable in the realm of human affairs? What do we mean when we say that a given war became inevitable at a specific moment? In Thucydides' view, when did it become inevitable that Athens and Sparta fight a great war?
2. Could Athens have rejected the Corcyraean alliance without endangering her vital interests? Was the alliance an infringement of the Thirty Years' Peace? Was Athens' treatment of Potidaea unnecessarily provocative? Could she have afforded to act otherwise?
3. Did Pericles seek war? What accounts for the size, leadership, and behavior of the Athenian fleet at the Battle of Sybota? When was the Megarian decree passed? Why was it passed? In Thucydides' view, what were the consequences of its passage? Did domestic political concerns decisively influence the choices Pericles made?
4. Did Sparta seek war? How did she react to the dispute between Corinth and Corcyra? Who promised aid to Potidaea? Could Sparta have rejected the Corinthian call to arms without endangering her vital interests? To what extent had the patron state become dependent on the client state?
5. What explains the behavior of Corinth? Were her vital interests endangered? Why did she intervene in Epidamnus? Why did she refuse the Corcyraean offer of arbitration? What was at stake? Does her experience in the First Peloponnesian War help us to understand her reactions?
6. What was Pericles' strategy in the Peloponnesian War? Does a consideration of that strategy shed any light on whether he sought war?
7. You should be able to identify and briefly explain the importance of the following: Hermione, Troezen, Achaea, eros for the city, Alcibiades, Naupactus, Leucas, Thurii, Sybaris, Elpinike, Thucydides the son of Melesias, Xenocritus, Segesta, Samos, Miletus, Byzantium, Mytilene, Lesbos, Epidamnus, Corcyra, Illyrians, Ambracia, Pale, Cephallenia, epidauros, Phlius, Sicyon, Battle of Leukimne, Battle of Sybota, Lacedaemonius, Potidaea, Aegina, Megarian Decree, Sthenelaidas, Archidamus.

Fourth Week

1. What impact did Austria-Hungary's constitution and composition have on its foreign policy? How did the economic and political objectives of the two halves of the Dual Monarchy differ?
2. What were the main objectives of Bismarck's foreign policy after 1871? of Kaiser Wilhelm and his governments after 1890? What impact did Germany's social and political tensions and its constitution have on its foreign policy? Why did Germany construct a battle fleet?
3. What events, attitudes, and interests led to Austrian-Russian estrangement? to Franco-Russian cooperation? to increasing British involvement in continental politics? to Italy's

4. You should be able to identify and briefly explain the importance of the following: Otto von Bismarck, Franz Josef, Friedrich Wilhelm IV, Treaty of Olmütz, Wilhelm I, General von Roon, Deutsche Fortschrittspartei, Holstein, Schleswig, Gastein Convention, Louis Napoleon, Luxemburg, Leopold von Hohenzollern, Ems Telegram, Königgrätz, Magyar, Danilevsky, Schönerer, Andrassy, Three Emperor's League, Congress of Berlin, Reinsurance Treaty, Mediterranean Agreement, Caprivi, Friedrich von Holstein, Fashoda, Crispi, Adowa, Kruger Telegram, "social imperialism," Bülow, Tirpitz, Sammlung, Mahan, Dreadnought, the Copenhagen Complex, Alexander von Battenburg, Lombard Verbot, Heligoland, Zanzibar, Jameson Raid, Boer War, Lord Salisbury, Joseph Chamberlain, Anglo-Japanese Treaty.

Fifth Week

1. How did the Algeciras Crisis and the Russo-Japanese War harden Europe's two blocs and increase each side's stake in the Balkans? What was the Bosnian crisis all about and why did it not erupt into war? How had Germany's relationship with Austria changed since Bismarck's day?
2. Why and how did naval construction aggravate tensions in Germany and prevent compromise with England? Why did Bethmann Hollweg try to use the army to solve both problems? Why did this strategy boomerang?
3. What domestic and international developments encouraged support in Germany after 1911 for a "preventive war"? in Austria-Hungary?
4. What changes in French foreign policy coincided with the rise of Poincaré?
5. You should be able to identify and briefly explain the importance of the following: Theophile Delcassé, Entente Cordiale, Triple Alliance, Triple Entente, Lansdowne, Grey, Tibet, Persia, Afghanistan, Tirpitz, Bülow, Fisher, the Risk Theory, Eyre Crowe, Dogger Bank Incident, Bjorkoe, Alexander Obrenovich, Agenor von Goluchowski, the Pig War, Aehrenthal, Izvolsky, Buchlau Bargain, Conrad von Hötzendorff, Daily Telegraph Affair, Moltke, Narodna Obrana, Panther, Berchtold, Sazonov, Milan Obrenovich, Bosnia, Hercegovinia, Novibazar, *revanche*, Panther, Agadir, Black Hand, Schlieffen Plan, Grey, two-power standard, Bethmann Hollweg, Kiderlen-Wächter, Haldane Mission, Mitteleuropa, Liman von Sanders, Zabern Affair, Flucht nach Vorn.
6. What were the objectives and policy in July 1914 of Berchtold, Conrad, Tisza, and Franz Josef? of Bethmann Hollweg, Moltke, and Wilhelm II? of Grey? of Paleologue? of Sazonov and Nicholas II? What misjudgments did each power make in assessing the likely actions of the others? Why?
7. What was the "blank check"? Was it unique?
8. What important mistakes did Austria-Hungary make in the crisis? Why?
9. Why did Grey's mediation proposal fail? Wilhelm's plan for a halt in Belgrade?
10. What and/or who *caused* the war according to LaFore? Geiss? Berghahn? Remak? Schroeder? How do their uses of the word differ?
11. You should be able to identify and briefly explain the importance of the following: Franz Ferdinand, Princip, Apis, Hoyos Mission, Falkenhayn, Szögyeny, Tschirsky, Lichnowsky, Jagow, Valiani, Telegram 323, mobilization.

Sixth Week

1. How did the Romans and the Carthaginians first come into conflict? Who was the aggressor? What lessons may have been drawn by the leaders of the two cities from the conflict?
2. Was the peace settlement between Rome and Carthage a generous one? Was it self-enforcing or did its stability depend on the vigilance of one or both parties to it? Did it reflect the military balance of power? Were both parties satisfied with the agreement? Did the treaty give rise to bitterness? Why did Rome seize Sardinia? What impact was this likely to have on the outlook of the Carthaginians?

Seventh Week

1. Why did the Barcid family pursue an expansionist policy in Spain? Was this a threat to Rome?
2. What were the terms of the agreement with Hasdrubal? Did it protect Saguntum? Did Hannibal intend to break the agreement? What was the relationship between Rome and Saguntum? Was the establishment of that relationship a breach of the agreement with Hasdrubal? When did the Romans intervene to end civil strife at Saguntum? What was the cause of that strife?
3. In Polybius' view, when did the Second Punic War become inevitable? Who was responsible for making it inevitable? What did the other ancient authorities think? Whose narrative should we trust? Why and how much should we trust it?
4. Could Hannibal afford to tolerate the behavior of Saguntum? Did he have the firm support of the Carthaginians? Could the Romans afford to overlook the sack of Saguntum? Did Hannibal's attack on the city threaten the vital interests of the Romans? Why did he attack Saguntum? Why did the Romans fail to defend it? Why did they make its conquest grounds for war? Were the Romans unanimous in supporting the policy adopted? To what extent had the patron state become dependent on the client state?
5. Does a consideration of the subsequent strategy for winning the war adopted by each side throw any light on the question of responsibility?
6. You should be able to identify and briefly explain the importance of the following: Senatus Consulta, Mos Maiorum, Concilium Plebis, Plebiscita, Comitia Centuriata, equites, iuniores, seniores, cursus honorum, tribune, quaestor, aedile, praetor, consul, censor, familia, amicitia, amici, hospitium, clientela, auctoritas, patronus, cliens, Phoenicia, Tyre, Punic, Etruria, Etruscans, Sardinia, Lilybaeum, Agrigentum, Ecnormus, Syracuse, suffetes, Mamertines, Mesana, Rhegium, Pyrrhus, Hiero, Valerius Messala, corvus, C. Duillius, Mylae, Regulus, Drepana, Lutatius Catulus, Aegates Islands, Peace of Lutatius, Hanno, Hamilcar Barca, Massilia, Utica, Gades (Cadiz), New Carthage (Cartagena), Iberians, Celtiberians, Ebro, Hasdrubal, Gauls, Tarraco, Emporiae (Ampurias), Saguntum, Livy, Appian, Dio Cassius, Polybius, foedus, deditio in fidem, fides, Hannibal, Lucius Aemilius Paullus, Publius Cornelius Scipio, Lentulus, Fabius Maximus (Cunctator), Ius Fetiale, Rerum Repetitio.

Eighth Week

1. Why did Germany resent the Versailles Treaty? How did it affect German power? Russian power? French power? How did Germany try to revise its terms before 1924? under Stresemann? with what degree of success by 1933?

2. How and why did British and French definitions of national interest differ at Versailles? during the 1920s? with regard to Eastern Europe? What was the Maginot Line and its effect on French policy?
3. You should be able to identify and briefly explain the importance of the following: Foch, Lloyd George, Freikorps, Ludendorff, Ruhr Crisis, Poincaré, Keynes, reparations, Dawes Plan, Young Plan, *Dolchstoß*, Rapallo Treaty, Locarno Pact, Briand, Austen Chamberlain, Little Entente, Revisionism.

Ninth and Eleventh Weeks

1. How and why did Hitler obtain power in Germany?
2. How did Hitler exploit Anglo-French differences between 1933 and 1936? What were his foreign policy objectives? What is the significance of the Hossbach Memorandum for Nazi foreign policy?
3. Why was Italy's position pivotal in the mid-1930s? How and why did Italian foreign policy change between 1933 and the Anschluss?
4. How did Russia's foreign policy change after 1934? With what results?
5. What happened in March 1936 and what were the consequences?
6. What were the motivations and objectives of appeasement? Why did France cooperate in it? Czechoslovakia? Did its advocates change their minds after Munich?
7. Among the terms you should be able to identify are: Hindenburg, Brüning, Franz von Papen, Göring, Himmler, Gleichschaltung, *Lebensraum*, Barthou, Schacht, Dolfuss, Pilsudski, Benes, Anglo-German Naval Agreement, Hoare-Laval Plan, Stresa Front, Gamelin, Lytton Commission, Blomberg, Franco, Haile Selassie, Litvinov, Eden, Ciano, Sudetenland, autarchy, Four Year Plan, May Crisis, Halifax, Henlein, Beck, Ribbentrop, Runciman Mission, Daladier, Bonnet.

Twelfth Week

1. Why did Britain guarantee Poland's borders? What were the consequences?
2. Why did Russia sign a pact with Germany, not with the West?
3. Why did appeasement fail to tame Germany?
4. Among the terms you should be able to identify are: Danzig, Teschen, Case Green, Schussnigg, Molotov, Memel, Tiso, Tilea, Horthy, Sportpalast Speech.

Thirteenth Week

1. What occasioned the Cold War? Why did the Western powers find themselves so soon at odds with Stalin's Soviet Union? What did past history have to do with this? What was at stake in Poland? in Czechoslovakia? What happened in Yugoslavia?
2. What was the Monroe Doctrine? the Truman Doctrine? How did the Korean War come about? What was Eisenhower's policy towards the Soviet Union?
3. Did Stalin's death make a difference? What was the Bomber Gap? the Missile Gap? What was the Spirit of Camp David? Who was Francis Gary Powers? What was the U-2 incident?
4. Who was Fidel Castro? What was his background? How did he enter Cuban politics? How did he rise to power? What were his ambitions? How were they shaped by the

5. You should be able to identify and briefly explain the importance of the following: Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, European Coal and Steel Community, Rumania, four Freedoms, Atlantic Charter, Yalta Declaration, Iron Curtain Speech, Joseph Stalin, Greek Civil War, Truman Doctrine, Monroe Doctrine, Ho Chi Minh, Tocqueville, Moncada Barracks, Fulgencio Batista, Angel Castro, José Antonio Prima de Rivera, Falange, Eduardo Chibas, Ortodoxos, Dignidad, Autenticos, dependencia, Sugar Quota, History Will Absolve Me, 26th of July Movement, Granma, Oriente Province, Che Guevara, Herbert Matthews, Sierra Maestra, Miro Cardona, Raúl Castro, integral nationalism, Romulo Betancourt, Huberto Matos, maxime lider.

Fourteenth Week

1. Why did Khrushchev place strategic nuclear weapons in Cuba? Did the presence of American missiles in Turkey have anything to do with his decision? What did he hope to obtain by means of this maneuver? Can we trust his memoirs?
2. What military and foreign policy considerations influenced the Kennedy administration to respond to the presence of the missiles in Cuba as it did respond? Were Kennedy and his advisors concerned with a shift in the military balance of power or with the impact that the placing of the missiles in Cuba might have had on world opinion?
3. You should be able to identify and briefly explain the importance of the following: Robert F. Kennedy, Ted Sorensen, TASS, Chester Bowles, U-2, Francis Gary Powers, Sputnik, SAM sites, MIGs, Ilyushin-28 Bombers, trapezoidal design, IRBMs, MRBMs, Major Rudolph Anderson, Bisons, Bomber Gap, Melnikov, Bulganin, Khrushchev, Molotov, Missile Gap, ICBMs, Berlin Ultimatum, Spirit of Camp David, Strategic Rocket Services, Vienna Summit, Berlin Wall, Laos, Souvanna Phouma, General Kong Le, Pathet Lao, Bay of Pigs, Alliance for Progress, B-26, Suez Crisis, Taiwan Straits Crisis, General Lucius Clay, Kenneth Keating.

Fifteenth and Sixteenth Weeks

1. What impact did partisan politics in the United States have on the crisis? Can one justify the Kennedy policy with regard to diplomatic and military considerations alone? Was Kennedy's reaction an example of irresponsible brinkmanship, or a rational weighing of the alternatives, or of excessive caution?
2. Why did the leaders of the Soviet Union agree to withdraw all strategic nuclear weapons from Cuba in return for a public pledge that the United States would refrain from launching an invasion of Cuba? What role was played by the withdrawal of America's Jupiter missiles from Turkey? What role did factional struggle in the Kremlin play in the course of events? Was the missile crisis a victory for the U.S.S.R. as Khrushchev claimed?
3. Was nuclear war ever a serious possibility? What were the consequences of the outcome of the missile crisis? Did it make nuclear war more or less likely in the long run? What impact did the outcome have on the political fortunes of John F. Kennedy and Nikita S. Khrushchev?
4. How does the study of bureaucracy help us to understand the events which took place? 5. You should be able to identify Philbriglex, Operation Mongoose, Ché Guevara, Raúl Castro, Douglas Dillon, Jupiter Missiles, Alexander Fomin, U Thant, Dean Acheson, J.

William Fulbright, Anastas Mikoyan, Anatoliy Dobrynin, Dean Rusk, Adlai Stevenson,
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Ex Comm, Quarantine, Republic of Viecques, Ortsac, Guantanamo Bay, OAS, NATO,
Tanker Bucharest, Panamanian Marucla, Alexander Fomin, John Scali, Roger Hilsman,
Trollope Ploy.

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THE ORIGINS OF WAR

Additional Reading for your Consideration

To secure some of this material, you may need to resort to interlibrary loan.

Second Week

Antony Andrewes, "Spartan and Arcadia in the Early Fifth Century," *Phoenix* 6 (1952)
1-5.

Arnold Gomme, *An Historical Commentary on Thucydides* I 397-401.

Mary White, "Some Agiad Dates: Pausanias and his Sons," *Journal of Hellenic
Studies* 84 (1964) 140-52 (on the shelf in the library stacks).

W. G. Forrest, "Themistocles and Argos," *Classical Quarterly* 54 (1960) 221-41.

Third Week

H. T. Wade Gery, "Thucydides, the son of Melesias," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 52
(1932) 205-27 (on the shelf in the library stacks; also reprinted in his *Essays in
Greek History*)

Victor Ehrenberg, "The Foundation of Thurii," *American Journal of Philology* 69
(1948) 149-70.

A. H. M. Jones, "Two Synods of the Delian and Peloponnesian Leagues," *Proceedings
of the Cambridge Philological Society* 182 (1952-53) 43-46.

J. E. Lendon, "Athens and Sparta and the Coming of the Peloponnesian War," in *The
Cambridge Companion to the Age of Pericles*, ed. Loren J. Samons II (New York:
Cambridge University Press, 2007), 258-81

Fourth Week

Volker Berghahn, *Germany and the Approach of War I-III*.

Fifth Week

Wolfgang Mommsen, "Domestic Factors in German Foreign Policy Before 1914,"
Central European History 6 (1973) 3-43.

Geoff Eley, "Sammlungspolitik, Social Imperialism, and the Navy Law of 1898,"
Militär-geschichtliche Mitteilungen (1 (1974) 29-63 (reprinted in his *From
Unification to Nazism: Reinterpreting the German Past* [Boston 1986] 110-67).

Joachim Remak, "1914—The Third Balkan War: Origins Reconsidered," *Journal of Modern History* 43 (1971) 353-66.

Paul W. Schroeder, "World War I as Galloping Gertie: A Reply to Joachim Remak," *Journal of Modern History* 44 (1972) 319-45.

Ulrich Trampener, "War Premeditated? German Intelligence Operations in July 1914," *Central European History* 9 (1976) 58-85.

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Sixth Week

No Additional Reading

Seventh Week

*G. V. Sumner, "Roman Policy in Spain Before the Hannibalic War," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 72 (1967) 205-46.

*Alan E. Astin, "Saguntum and the Origins of the Second Punic War," *Latomus* 26 (1967) 577-96.

*R. M. Errington, "Rome and Spain Before the Second Punic War," *Latomus* 29 (1970) 25-57.

Ernst Badian, *Foreign Clientelae* 49-52, 292-93.

Eighth Week

Gerhard L. Weinberg, "The Defeat of Germany in 1918 and the European Balance of Power," *Central European History* 2 (1969): 248-60.

Sally Marks, "1918 and After: The Postwar Era," in *The Origins of the Second World War Reconsidered*, ed. Gordon Martel (Boston 1986).

Sally Marks, "The Myth of Reparations," *Central European History* 11 (1978): 231-55. Walter A. McDougall, "Political Economy versus National Sovereignty: French Structures for German Economic Integration after Versailles," *Journal of Modern History* 51 (1979): 4-23, 78-80.

Ninth and Tenth Weeks

No Additional Reading

Eleventh Week

Steven Ross, "French Net Assessment," in *Calculations, Net Assessment and the Coming of World War II*, ed. Williamson Murray and Allen R. Millett (New York 1992). Stephen A. Schuker, "France and the Remilitarization of the Rhineland, 1936," *French Historical Studies* 14 (1986): 299-338.

Stephen A. Schuker, "The End of Versailles," in *The Origins of the Second World War Reconsidered*, ed. Gordon Martel (Boston 1986).

Alan Bullock, "Hitler and the Origins of the Second World War," in Hans Gatzke, ed., *European Diplomacy Between Two Wars, 1919-1939* 221-46; in Esmonde Manning Robertson, ed., *The Origins of the Second World War*, 189-224; and in Henry Turner, ed., *Nazism and the Third Reich* 219-46.

Eberhardt Jäckel, "The Evolution of Hitler's Foreign Policy Aims," in Henry Turner, ed., *Nazism and the Third Reich* 201-18.

Twelfth and Thirteenth Weeks

- Tim Mason, "Some Origins of the Second World War," *Past and Present* 29 (December, 1964) 67-87 (reprinted in Esmonde Manning Robertson, ed., *The Origins of the Second World War* 105-35).
- C. A. MacDonald, "Economic Appeasement and the German Moderates," *Past and Present* 56 (1972) 105-35.
- Christopher Thorne, *The Approach of War, 1938-1939* I-VII.

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Fourteenth Week

- Williamson Murray and Allan Millett, *A War to be Won: Fighting the Second World War, 1937-1945* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000)
- John Lewis Gaddis, *We Now Know: Rethinking Cold War History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997)
- Marc Trachtenberg, *A Constructed Peace: The Making of the European Settlement, 1945-1963* (Princeton 1999)
- Nikita Khrushchev, *Khrushchev Remembers* 488-505.
- Michel Tatu, *Power in the Kremlin* 229-83.

Fifteenth Week

- Raymond L. Garthoff, "The Cuban Missile Crisis: An Overview," in *The Cuban Missile Crisis Revisited*, ed. James A. Nathan (New York 1992) 41-53.
- Barton J. Bernstein, "Reconsidering the Missile Crisis: Dealing with the Problems of the American Jupiters in Turkey," in *The Cuban Missile Crisis Revisited* 55-129.
- Richard Ned Lebow, "The Traditional and Revisionist Interpretations Reevaluated: Why was Cuba a Crisis?" in *The Cuban Missile Crisis Revisited* 161-86.
- James G. Hershberg, "Before 'The Missiles of October': Did Kennedy Plan a Military Strike Against Cuba?" in *The Cuban Missile Crisis Revisited* 237-80.
- Robert F. Kennedy, *Thirteen Days*
- Graham Allison, *Essence of Decision* (Scott, Foresman & Co.) II, IV, VI.
- Aleksandr Fursenko and Timothy Naftali, "*One Hell of a Gamble*": *Khrushchev, Castro, and Kennedy, 1958-64* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1997). *The Presidential Recordings: John F. Kennedy: Volumes 1-3, The Great Crises*, ed. Philip D. Zelikow, Timothy Naftali, and Ernest R. May (New York: W. W. Norton, 2001).

Sixteenth Week

No additional reading.

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THE ORIGINS OF WAR

Reading Pertinent to the Paper Topics

To secure some of this material, you may need to resort to interlibrary loan.

The Peloponnesian War

Highly recommended:

- H. T. Wade Gery, "Thucydides" in Wade Gery, H.T. & Hammond, N. G. L., ed., *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (in the Reference Room in McFarlin).
- G. E. M. de Ste. Croix, *The Origins of the Peloponnesian War* 50-292, 363-68.
- C. A. Powell, "Athens' Difficulty, Sparta's Opportunity: Causation and the Peloponnesian War," *L'Antiquité Classique* 49 (1980) 87-114.
- Ernst Badian, "Towards a Chronology of the Pentekontaetia Down to the Renewal of the Peace of Callias," *Echos du Monde Classique/Classical Views* n.s. 8 (1989): 289-320, and "Thucydides and the Outbreak of the Peloponnesian War: A Historian's Brief," in *Conflict, Antithesis, and the Ancient Historian*, ed. June W. Allison (Columbus, OH 1990) 46-91 (both reprinted in Badian, *From Plataea to Potidaea: Studies in the History and Historiography of the Pentekontaetia*).
- George Cawkwell, *Thucydides and the Peloponnesian War* (London: Routledge, 1997) 1-55.
- J. E. Lendon, *Song of Wrath: The Peloponnesian War Begins* (New York: Basic Books, 2010), 1-146.

Worth perusing:

- Donald Kagan, *Archidamian War* 17-42, 363-68.
- Peter Brunt, "Spartan Policy and Strategy in the Archidamian War," *Phoenix* 19 (1965) 225-80.
- Stanley Barney Smith, "The Economic Motive in Thucydides," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 51 (1940) 267-309.
- John Wilson, *Athens and Corcyra: Strategy and Tactics in the Peloponnesian War* (Bristol: Bristol Classical Press, 1987) 1-64, 119-38.
- Ronald Legon, "The Megarian Decree and the Balance of Greek Naval Power," *Classical Philology* 68 (1973) 161-71.
- Paul A. Rahe, "The Peace of Nicias," in *The Making of Peace*, ed. Williamson Murray and James Lacey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009) 31-69.

World War I

Highly recommended:

- F. R. Bridge, "Izvolsky, Aerenhaal, and the End of the Austro-Russian Entente, 1906-8," *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs* 29 (1976) ??-???
- Michael R. Gordon, "Domestic Conflict and the Origins of the First World War," *Journal of Modern History* 46 (1974) 191-225.
- Konrad Jarausch, "The Illusion of Limited War: Chancellor Bethmann Hollweg's Calculated Risk, July 1914," *Central European History* 2 (1969) 48-76.

Fritz Stern, "Bethmann Hollweg and the War: The Limits of Responsibility," in Krieger & Stern, ed., *The Responsibility of Power* 252-85.

- L. C. F. Turner, "The Significance of the Schlieffen Plan," in *The War Plans of the Great Powers, 1880-1914*, ed. Paul M. Kennedy (Boston 1979) 199-221.
- I. V. Bestuzhev, "Russian Foreign Policy, February-June 1914," Laqueur & Mosse, ed., *1914 = Journal of Contemporary History* 1:3 (1966) 88-107.
- L. C. F. Turner, "The Russian Mobilisation in 1914," in *The War Plans of the Great Powers, 1880-1914*, ed. Paul M. Kennedy (Boston 1979) 252-68.
- Marc Trachtenberg, "The Meaning of Mobilization in 1914," in *Military Strategy and the Origins of the First World War*, ed. Steven E. Miller et al. (Princeton 1991) 195-225.
- Jack S. Levy, "Preferences, Constraints, and Choices in July 1914," in *Military Strategy and the Origins of the First World War*, ed. Steven E. Miller et al. (Princeton 1991) 226-61.
- Niall Ferguson, *The Pity of War: Explaining World War I* (New York: Basic Books, 1999).
- Annika Mombauer, *Helmuth von Moltke and the Origins of the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).
- The Origins of World War I*, ed. Richard F. Hamilton and Holger H. Herwig (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).
- Sean McKeekin, *The Russian Origins of the First World War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011).
- Christopher Clark, *The Sleepwalkers: How Europe Went to War in 1914* (New York: Harper, 2013).
- Margaret MacMillan, *The War That Ended Peace: The Road to 1914* (New York: Random House, 2013).
- The Origins of the First World War: Diplomatic and Military Documents*, ed. Annika Mornbauer (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013).
- Geoffrey Waro, *A Mad Catastrophe: The Outbreak of World War I and the Collapse of the Hapsburg Empire* (New York: Basic Books, 2014).
- Thomas G. Otte, *July Crisis: The World's Descent into War, July 1914* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014).
- Gordon Martel, *The Month That Changed the World: July 1914* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).
- The Outbreak of the First World War: Structure, Politics, and Decision-Making*, ed. Jack S. Levy and John A. Vasquez (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

Worth perusing:

- Klaus Hildebrand, "Opportunities and Limits of German Foreign Policy in the Bismarckian Era, 1871-1890: 'A System of Stopgaps?'" in *Escape into War? The Foreign Policy of Imperial Germany* (New York 1990).
- George Kennan, *The Fateful Alliance: France, Russian, and the Coming of the First World War* (New York 1984).
- Paul M. Kennedy, "Tirpitz, England and the Second Naval Law of 1900: A Strategical Critique," *Militärgeschichtliche Mitteilungen* 2 (1970): 34-54.

1980).

- J. McDermott, "The Revolution in British Military Thinking from the Boer War to the Moroccan Crisis," in *The War Plans of the Great Powers, 1880-1914*, ed. Paul M. Kennedy (Boston 1979) 99-117.
- Sean M. Lynn-Jones, "Détente and Deterrence: Anglo-German Relations, 1911-1914," in *Military Strategy and the Origins of the First World War*, ed. Steven E. Miller et al. (Princeton 1991) 165-94.
- Robert K. Massie, *Dreadnought: Britain, Germany, and the Coming of the Great War* (New York 1991)
- Jonathan Steinberg, "The Copenhagen Complex," Laqueur & Mosse, ed., 1914 = *Journal of Contemporary History* 1:3 (1966) 21-44.
- Norman Stone, "Hungary and the Crisis of July 1914," Laqueur & Mosse, ed., 1914 = *Journal of Contemporary History* 1:3 (1966) 147-64.
- Norman Stone, "Moltke and Conrad: Relations Between the Austro-Hungarian and German General Staffs, 1909-1914," in *The War Plans of the Great Powers, 1880-1914*, ed. Paul M. Kennedy (Boston 1979) 222-51.
- Holger H. Herwig, "Clio Deceived: Patriotic Self-Censorship in Germany after the Great War," in *Military Strategy and the Origins of the First World War*, ed. Steven E. Miller et al. (Princeton 1991) 262-301.

The Second Punic War

Highly recommended:

- G. V. Sumner, "The Chronology of the Outbreak of the Second Punic War," *Proceedings of the African Classical Associations* 9 (1966) 5-30.

World War II

Highly recommended:

- Meir Michaelis, "World Power Status or World Dominion," *The Historical Journal* 15 (1972) 331-60.
- Charles Bloch, "Great Britain, German Rearmament, and the Naval Agreement of 1935," Hans Gatzke, ed., *European Diplomacy Between Two Wars, 1919-1939* 125-51.
- A. Marder, "The Royal Navy and the Ethiopian Crisis of 1935-36," *American Historical Review* 75 (1970): 1327-56.
- David Vital, "Czechoslovakia and the Powers, September 1938," in Hans Gatzke, ed., *European Diplomacy Between Two wars, 1919-1939* 193-220.

Worth perusing:

- Gerhard L. Weinberg, *The Foreign Policy of Hitler's Germany: Diplomatic Revolution in Europe, 1933-36* (Chicago 1970).
- Michael Howard, *The Continental Commitment* (New York 1972).
- Klaus Hildebrand, *The Foreign Policy of the Third Reich* (Berkeley 1973). Susan Bindoss Butterworth, "Daladier and the Munich Crisis: A Reappraisal," *Journal of Contemporary History* 9 (1974) 191-216.
- Martin Gilbert, *The Roots of Appeasement*

Arnold Wolfers, *Britain and France Between Two Wars*
Jacques Nere, *The Foreign Policy of France*.
Williamson Murray, *The Change in the European Balance of Power, 1938-1939: The Path to Ruin*.
Tim Mason, "The Primacy of Politics—Politics and Economics in National Socialist Germany," in Henry Turner, ed., *Nazism and the Third Reich* 175-200.
MacGregor Knox, *Mussolini Unleashed, 1939-1941*
The Origins of the Second World War Reconsidered: The A. J. P. Taylor Debate After Twenty-Five Years, ed. Gordon Martel (Boston 1986).
Reappraising the Munich Pact: Continental Perspectives, ed. Maya Latynski (Baltimore 1992).
The Origins of the Second World War, ed. Patrick Finney (Oxford 1997)

The Cuban Missile Crisis

Highly recommended:

Williamson Murray and Allan Millett, *A War to be Won: Fighting the Second World War, 1937-1945* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000)

Michael Beschloss, *The Crisis Years: Kennedy and Khrushchev, 1960-63* (1991)

Robert Smith Thompson, *The Missiles of October: The Declassified Story of John F. Kennedy and the Cuban Missile Crisis* (1992).

Worth perusing:

James G. Blight and David A. Welch, *On the Brink: Americans and Soviets Reexamine the Cuban Missile Crisis* (New York 1989).

James G. Blight, *The Shattered Crystal Ball: Fear and Learning in the Cuban Missile Crisis* (Savage, Md. 1990).

David A. Welch, *Back to the Brink: The Moscow Conference on the Cuban Missile Crisis* (Lanham, Md. 1991).

Bruce J. Allyn, James G. Blight, and David A. Welch, *Cuba on the Brink: Fidel Castro, the Missile Crisis, and the Collapse of Communism* (New York 1993).

Bruce J. Allyn, James G. Blight, and David A. Welch, "Essence of Revision: Moscow, Havana and the Cuban Missile Crisis," *International Security* 14:3 (1989/90) 136-72.

Additional material may be recommended regarding the Cuban Missile Crisis: this is a subject with regard to which classified material is rapidly being released.