

# KING'S COLLEGE LONDON

## DEPARTMENT OF WAR STUDIES POSTGRADUATE 2006–2007

### SWM118 CLAUSEWITZ: IDEAS AND LEGACY

**Course Organiser:** Dr Jan Willem Honig

#### AIMS

Clausewitz is regarded as the pre-eminent philosopher of war. Because of the size of *oeuvre* and the seemingly unfinished nature of his *magnum opus* 'Vom Kriege', however, the nature and meaning of his ideas are contested. In the first term, the course will explore the development of the man and his ideas, identify the problematic areas, and study these in detail with the help of the three major English translations of *On War*. To get a measure of the greatness of the man's ideas, the second term will trace the reception and influence of Clausewitz's ideas from the time of his death to the present.

#### OBJECTIVES

By the end of the course, you will have gained a knowledge and understanding of:

- The fundamental ideas of Clausewitz and their importance to the study of war in general
- The major interpretations of his ideas and their effects on both the theory and the conduct of war
- The difficulties in interpreting canonic texts, as illuminated through the comparison of different translations

#### TEACHING ARRANGEMENTS

The course will be taught over twenty 2-hour seminars.

#### ASSESSMENT AND COURSE REQUIREMENTS

The course is assessed by continuous assessment. You will write three 3,000-word essays which are to be handed at the dates noted below (dates tbc). In order to develop your personal research skills and also allow you to pursue personal interests in an original direction, you will choose your own essay questions in consultation with me (see me during my surgery hours or after class). You will also be asked to give a 15-minute presentation on your essay topic to class, followed by a Q&A session, to cultivate your presentation and debating skills.

Your choice of essay topics is restricted by the following considerations:

- The first essay will focus on a text by Clausewitz and discuss a contentious topic. This essay is to be submitted on 15 December 2006 before 12 noon.
- The second essay will focus on a contentious interpretation by one or a set of authors (or translators). This essay is to be submitted on 16 February 2007 before 12 noon.
- The third essay should build on the previous two and focus on the issue of the contemporary relevance of Clausewitz. This essay is to be submitted on 23 March 2007 before 12 noon.

A note will be made of the agreed essay topics.

German and French are not mandatory languages for this course and use of foreign materials will be restricted (as far as is possible) to those which have been translated. Nonetheless, knowledge of both German and French would be very helpful as many seminal texts have never been translated and those that have are not without problems. Also, using original texts offers a practical way of avoiding the difficulties associated with getting hold of scarce library copies of English books.

**All students** should note that attendance at seminars, tutorials etc. is mandatory and that all deadlines are absolute. A failure to submit work by the appropriate dates will result in a mark of 0. Word limits are fixed, and over-length work will result in penalties being applied. A failure to submit all work in fulfilment of course obligations, or to meet other course obligations, such as making presentations, may be regarded as lack of due industry and may result in withdrawal from the course, in accordance with the relevant sections in the Student Handbook.

## **COURSE DESCRIPTION**

### **Term I**

Session 1	Career
Session 2	Early Works
Session 3	Vom Kriege I
Session 4	Vom Kriege II
Session 5	Vom Kriege III
Session 6	Vom Kriege IV & V
Session 7	Vom Kriege VI
Session 8	Vom Kriege VII
Session 9	Vom Kriege VIII
Session 10	Vom Kriege I, chapter 1

### **Term II**

Session 11	Reception in Germany in the 19 <sup>th</sup> century
Session 12	Reception in Germany from 1914 to 1945
Session 13	Reception in France until 1945
Session 14	Reception in Britain
Session 15	Reception in Soviet Russia
Session 16	Reception in Germany and France after 1945
Session 17	Reception in the USA
Session 18	The Clausewitz Renaissance, 1976–
Session 19	The Anti-Clausewitzians
Session 20	The Future

## **BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Please note that most but not all books will be in the King's library (and many of those that are will be sought after by other students). So be prepared to use the Senate House and LSE libraries and, perhaps, to buy some books. Quite a lot of Clausewitz books can be bought at often amazing second-hand prices over the internet. Your teacher even got a complete first, 1832–7 edition in ten volumes recently for €1,500! That may not yet be within your financial reach but many German Clausewitz volumes can be had for under €30 (and even under €10) and English editions for between £10 and £20.

We will consider all the three major translations of *Vom Kriege* (as well as, of course, the original):

Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, trans. and ed. Michael Howard and Peter Paret, 2nd ed. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1984)

Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, trans. J. J. Graham (London: N. Trübner, 1874), rev. ed. F. N. Maude (London: Kegan and Paul, 1908)

The preferred edition is the one published by Barnes & Noble in New York in 2004. Not only is it complete, cheap and portable, it also possesses an introduction by your teacher. Barnes & Noble saw fit though to let it go out of print already, but you can get it second-hand. The introduction by your teacher though can still be found online:

<http://search.barnesandnoble.com/booksearch/isbninquiry.asp?z=y&ean=9780760755976&displayonly=PRF#PRF>

A shortened version of the Graham translation was reissued in the very cheap Wordsworth classics series and is available for the give-away price of £2.99! But note that very important parts are missing (and they're not always marked).

Another shortened version (without the critical book VI on defence and with a much reduced Book VIII) appeared as: Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, ed. Anatol Rapoport (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968)

The first three chapters from Graham's translation also appear in Gérard Chaliand, ed., *The Art of War in World History, From Antiquity to the Nuclear Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994)

This translation is also available (with many other resources) on the web at [www.clausewitz.com](http://www.clausewitz.com)

Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, trans. O. J. Matthijs Jolles (New York, 1943)

Now included, with Sun Tzu's *Art of Warfare*, in *The Book of War* (New York: Modern Library, 2000)

Some of his earlier works are available in English in:

Carl von Clausewitz, *Historical and Political Writings*, trans. and ed. Peter Paret and Daniel Moran (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1992)

Carl von Clausewitz, *The Campaign of 1812 in Russia* (New York: Da Capo, 1995)

—this is based on the edited 1830s version from Clausewitz's collected works and doesn't include the slanderous personal characterisations of the Russian and German generals involved in the campaign; the full text can be found in the Hahlweg edition of C.'s *Schriften* etc., cited below.

All the above are alright to use, but nothing can supersede referring to the modern editions of the originals, especially:

Carl von Clausewitz, *Vom Kriege, Hinterlassenes Werk des Generals Carl von Clausewitz*, ed. Werner Hahlweg, 16th ed. (Bonn: Dümmler, 1952).

—subsequent editions appeared in 1966, 1972, and 1980

The most important editions of his other works are:

Clausewitz, *Schriften, Aufsätze, Studien, Briefe*, ed. Werner Hahlweg, 2 vols. in 3 parts (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966, 1990)  
(very important edition of what's left of C.'s manuscripts, including some draft chapters for *On War*)

Karl Schwartz, *Leben des Generals Carls von Clausewitz*, 2 vols. (Berlin: Dümmler, 1878)  
(not in KCL and very rare but contains many primary sources not all found elsewhere);

Karl Linnebach, ed., *Karl und Marie von Clausewitz: Ein Lebensbild in Briefen und Tagebuchblättern* (Berlin: Martin Warneck, 1917)  
(not in KCL, but very cheap second-hand)

Clausewitz, *Politische Schriften und Briefe*, ed. Hans Rothfels (München: Drei Masken Verlag, 1922)  
(not in KCL and rare, but still important)

Clausewitz, *Geist und Tat: Das Vermächtnis des Soldaten und Denkers*, ed. Walter Malmsten Schering (Stuttgart: Alfred Kröner, 1941)  
(in KCL and also very cheap second-hand)

Clausewitz, *Verstreute kleine Schriften*, ed. Werner Hahlweg (Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag, 1979);  
(not in KCL and rare, but most documents are found elsewhere)

Clausewitz, *Historische Briefe über die großen Kriegereignisse im Oktober 1806*, ed. Joachim Niemeyer (Bonn: Dümmler, 1977)  
(not in KCL; this includes an almost complete list of Clausewitz's published works on pp. 81–92)

For a list of the extant Clausewitz manuscripts in the West (from before stuff began to emerge from Soviet archives), see Clausewitz, *Schriften, Aufsätze, Studien, Briefe*, vol. 2, pt. 2, pp. 1170–1211.

The important books on Clausewitz in English are:

Raymond Aron, *Clausewitz: Philosopher of War*, trans. Christine Booker and Norman Stone (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1983)

—first-rate, but butchered in the English translation; consult if you can the original:

Raymond Aron, *Penser la guerre: Clausewitz*, 2 vols. (Paris: Gallimard, 1976)

Azar Gat, *The Origins of Military Thought from the Enlightenment to Clausewitz* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989)

Michael I. Handel, ed., *Clausewitz and Modern Strategy* (London: Frank Cass, 1986)

—also appeared as *Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 2/3 (1986)

Beatrice Heuser, *Reading Clausewitz* (London: Pimlico, 2002)

Michael Howard, *Clausewitz* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983)

Peter Paret, *Clausewitz and the State: The Man, His Theories, and His Times*, rev. ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985)

Hans Rothfels, 'Clausewitz', in Edward Mead Earle, ed., *Makers of Modern Strategy From Machiavelli to Hitler* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1943)

Hugh Smith, *On Clausewitz: A Study of Military and Political Ideas* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005)

This year, important books by Andreas Herberg-Rothe and Antullio Echevarria are slated to appear, as well as an edited volume by Herberg-Rothe and Hew Strachan, to be published by OUP. Keep an eye out for them.

A useful article for context is:

Jan Willem Honig, 'Interpreting Clausewitz', *Security Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 3 (Spring 1994), pp. 571–580

On the reception history, see:

Christopher Bassford, *Clausewitz in English: The Reception of Clausewitz in Britain and America, 1815–1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994)

Ulrich Marwedel, *Carl von Clausewitz, Persönlichkeit und Wirkungsgeschichte seines Werkes bis 1918* (Boppard am Rhein: Harald Boldt, 1978)

Olaf Rose, *Carl von Clausewitz: Wirkungsgeschichte seines Werkes in Russland und der Sowjetunion, 1836–1991* (München: Oldenbourg, 1995)

## Career

Paret, *Clausewitz and the State*

—the best on the facts and events of C.'s career

C. B. A. Behrens, 'Which Side Was Clausewitz On?', *New York Review of Books*, 14 October 1976

—for a pertinent, painful critique of the previous title

Azar Gat, 'Clausewitz's Political and Ethical World View', *Political Studies*, Vol. 37 (1989), pp. 97–106

## Early Works I & II

Read some early work of C. and check out Gat, *Origins* and Paret, *Clausewitz and the State*, pp. 78–97

## Vom Kriege I

Read Book I of *Vom Kriege*

Raymond Aron, 'Clausewitz' Conceptual System', *Armed Forces and Society*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (1974), pp. 49–59

W. B. Gallie, 'Clausewitz on the Nature of War', in id., *Philosophers of Peace and War, Kant, Clausewitz, Marx, Engels and Tolstoy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), pp. 37–65

W. B. Gallie, 'Clausewitz Today', *European Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 19 (1978), pp. 143–167

Gat, *Origins*, pp. 139–254

Massimo Mori, *La ragione delle armi. Guerra e conflitto nella filosofia tedesca (1770–1830)* (Milan: Il Saggiatore 1984)

—I found the reference last year and it looks so interesting and relevant but I put it on without having been able so far to lay my hands on it; a small prize is available for whoever finds it somewhere

## **Vom Kriege II**

Read Book II

Aron, *Penser la guerre I*

Jon Tetsuro Sumida, 'The Relationship of History and Theory in *On War*: The Clausewitzian Ideal and Its Implications', *Journal of Military History*, Vol. 65, No. 2 (April 2001), pp. 333–354

Garry Wills, 'Critical Inquiry (Kritik) in Clausewitz', *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 9 (December 1982), pp. 281–302

## **Vom Kriege III**

Read Book III

## **Vom Kriege IV & V**

Read Books IV & V

Gunther E. Rothenberg, *The Art of Warfare in the Age of Napoleon* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1978)

## **Vom Kriege VI**

Read Book VI

For this and the next three seminars refer to Gat, *Origins*, Aron, *Penser la guerre I* and Paret, *Clausewitz and the State*

Azar Gat, 'Clausewitz on Defence and Attack', *Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol. 11 (1988), pp. 20-26

## **Vom Kriege VII**

Read Book VII

## **Vom Kriege VIII**

Read Book VIII

## **Reception in Germany in the 19<sup>th</sup> century**

Friedrich von Bernhardi, *Germany and the Next War*, trans. Allen H. Powles (London: Edward Arnold, 1914)

[Rudolf] von Caemmerer, *The Development of Strategical Science during the 19th Century* trans. Karl von Donat (London: Hugh Rees, 1905)

—orig. Von Caemmerer, *Die Entwicklung der strategischen Wissenschaft im 19. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Wilhelm Baensch, 1904)

Robert T. Foley, ed. and trans., 'Schlieffen's Last Kriegsspiel', *War Studies Journal*, Vol. 3, No. 3 (Summer 1998), pp. 117–133 and Vol. 4, No. 1 (Summer 1999), pp. 97–115

Colmar von der Goltz, *The Nation in Arms: A Treatise on Modern Military Systems and the Conduct of War*, trans. Philip A. Ashworth, rev. ed. (London: Hugh Rees, 1906)

Helmuth von Moltke, 'Doctrines of War' in Lawrence Freedman, ed., *War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 217–221

Arden Buchholz, *Moltke, Schlieffen and Prussian War Planning* (Oxford: Berg, 1993)

Gordon A. Craig, 'Delbrück: The Military Historian', in Peter Paret, ed., *Makers of Modern Strategy from Machiavelli to the Nuclear Age* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1986), pp. 326–353 —appeared initially with a different ending in Edward Mead Earle, ed., *Makers of Modern Strategy: Military Thought from Machiavelli to Hitler* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1943), pp. 260–283

Antulio J. Echevarria II, *After Clausewitz: German Military Thinkers before the Great War* (Lawrence, Ks.: University Press of Kansas, 2001)

Azar Gat, *The Development of Military Thought: The Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), chapter 2

Marwedel, *Carl von Clausewitz*

Gerhard Ritter, *The Schlieffen Plan: Critique of a Myth*, trans. Andrew & Eva Wilson (London: Wolff, 1978)

—contains an edition of the original plan, but see the analysis in Terence Zuber, 'The Schlieffen Plan Reconsidered', *War in History*, Vol. 6, no. 3 (1999), pp. 262–305.

Jehuda L. Wallach, *The Dogma of the Battle of Annihilation: The Theories of Clausewitz and Schlieffen and Their Effect on the German Conduct of Two World Wars* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1988)

### **Reception in Germany from 1914 to 1945**

General [Erich] Ludendorff, *The Nation at War*, trans. A. S. Rapoport (London: Hutchinson, [1936]) —orig. *Der totale Krieg* (München: Ludendorffs Verlag, 1935)

Gerhard Ritter, 'Die Lehre Carls von Clausewitz vom politischen Sinn des Krieges', *Historische Zeitschrift*, Vol. 167 (1943), pp. 41–65

—this article later reappeared as chapter 3 in Vol. 1 of the following:

Gerhard Ritter, *The Sword and the Sceptre: The Problem of Militarism in Germany*, trans. Heinz Norden, 4 vols (London: Ian Allen & Coral Gables, Fla: University of Miami Press, 1969–73)

Wilhelm Deist, 'The Road to Ideological War: Germany, 1918–1945', in Williamson Murray, MacGregor Knox and Alvin Bernstein, eds., *The Making of Strategy: Rulers, States, and War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 352–392

Wilhelm Deist, et al., *Germany and the Second World War*, Vol. 1: *The Build-up of German Aggression* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990)

Wilhelm Deist, ed., *The German Military in the Age of Total War* (Leamington Spa: Berg, 1985)

Wilhelm Deist, 'The Military Collapse of the German Empire: The Reality Behind the Stab-in-the-Back Myth', *War in History*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (1996), pp. 186–207

Azar Gat, *Fascist and Liberal Visions of War: Fuller, Liddell Hart, Douhet, and Other Modernists* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), chapter 4

Michael Geyer, 'German Strategy in the Age of Machine Warfare, 1914–1945' in Paret, ed., *Makers of Modern Strategy*, chapter 19

Martin Kitchen, 'The Political History of Clausewitz', *Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol. 11 (1988), pp. 27–50

Klaus-Jürgen Müller, 'Clausewitz, Ludendorff and Beck: Some Remarks on Clausewitz' Influence on German Military Thinking in the 1930s and 1940s', in Handel, ed., *Clausewitz*, pp. 240–266

Hans Speier, 'The German Concept of Total War', in Earle, ed., *Makers of Modern Strategy*, pp. 306–321

Wallach, *The Dogma of the Battle of Annihilation*

Jehuda L. Wallach, 'Misperceptions of Clausewitz' *On War* by the German Military', in Handel, ed., *Clausewitz*, pp. 213–239

Hans-Ulrich Wehler, "'Absoluter" und "Totaler" Krieg: Von Clausewitz zu Ludendorff', *Politische Vierteljahresschrift*, Vol. 10 (1969), pp. 220ff.

—also in Günter Dill, ed., *Clausewitz in Perspektive, Materialien zu Carl von Clausewitz: Vom Kriege* (Frankfurt /M: Ullstein, 1980)

### **Reception in France until 1945**

Jean Colin, *The Transformations of War*, trans. L. H. R. Pope-Hennessy (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1977)

Ferdinand Foch, *Principles of War*, trans. Hilaire Belloc (London: Chapman & Hall, 1918)

Richard D. Challener, *The French Theory of the Nation in Arms, 1866–1939* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955)

Gat, *Development*, chapter 3

Eugenia C. Kiesling, 'If It Ain't Broke, Don't Fix It: French Military Doctrine Between the World Wars', *War in History*, Vol. 3, No. 3 (1996), pp. 208–223

Douglas Porch, 'Clausewitz and the French, 1871–1914', in Handel, ed., *Clausewitz*, pp. 287–302

### **Reception in Britain**

Julian S. Corbett, *Some Principles of Maritime Strategy* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1911)

J. F. C. Fuller, *The Reformation of War*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (London: Hutchinson, 1923)

J. F. C. Fuller, *The Foundations of the Science of War* (London: Hutchinson, 1926)

J. F. C. Fuller, *On Future Warfare* (London: Sifton Praed, 1928)

Arthur Harris, *Bomber Offensive* (London: Collins, 1947)

B. H. Liddell Hart, *The Decisive Wars of History: A Study of Strategy* (London: Bell, 1929) which subsequently re-appeared as:



*The Strategy of Indirect Approach* (London: Faber, 1941, 1946)  
And was more substantially revised into:

*Strategy: The Indirect Approach* (London: Faber, 1954)

Bassford, *Clausewitz in English*

Brian Bond, *Liddell Hart: A Study of his Military Thought* (London: Cassell, 1976)

Gat, *Fascist and Liberal Visions*

Norman Gibbs, 'British Strategic Doctrine, 1918–1939', in Michael Howard, ed., *The Theory and Practice of War* (London: Cassell, 1965), pp. 187–212

Jay Luvaas, *The Education of an Army: British Military Thought, 1815–1940* (London: Cassell, 1965)

Jay Luvaas, 'Clausewitz, Fuller and Liddell Hart', in Handel, ed., *Clausewitz*, pp. 196–212

John Mearsheimer, *Liddell Hart and the Weight of History* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988)

Brian Holden Reid, *J. F. C. Fuller: Military Thinker* (London: Macmillan, 1987)

Brian Holden Reid, *Studies in British Military Thought: Debates with Fuller and Liddell Hart* (Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 1998)

Anthony A. J. Trythall, 'Boney' Fuller: *The Intellectual General* (London: Cassell, 1977)

### **Reception in Soviet Russia**

Harriet Fast Scott and William F. Scott, eds, *The Soviet Art of War: Doctrine, Strategy and Tactics* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview, 1982)

V. D. Sokolovskiy, ed., *Soviet Military Strategy*, ed. Harriet Fast Scott (New York: Crane Russak, 1975)

Aleksandr A. Svechin, *Strategy* (Minneapolis, Minn.: East View, 1992)

Frank Willard and Philip Gilette, eds, *Soviet Military Doctrine from Lenin to Gorbachev, 1915–1991* (Westport, Conn., Greenwood, 1992)

Paret, ed., *Makers of Modern Strategy*, chs 13 (Pintner) & 22 (Rice)

Earle, ed., *Makers of Modern Strategy*, chs 7 (Neumann) & 14 (Earle)

Lawrence Freedman, *The Evolution of Nuclear Strategy*, 2nd ed. (London: Macmillan, 1989)

Gat, *Development*, chapter 5

Gat, *Fascist and Liberal Visions*, chapter 6

Carl G. Jacobsen, ed., *Strategic Power USA/USSR* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1990)

Michael MccGwire, *Military Objectives in Soviet Foreign Policy* (Washington, DC: Brookings, 1987)

Roger Reese, *The Soviet Military System, 1918–1991* (London: Routledge, 1999)

Rose, *Carl von Clausewitz*

### **Reception in Germany and France after 1945**

Aron, *Penser la guerre*

Raymond Aron, *Mémoires: 50 ans de réflexion politique*, 2 vols (Paris: Julliard, 1983)

Werner Hahlweg, 'Das Clausewitzbild einst und jetzt', in Clausewitz, *Vom Kriege*

Ritter, *The Sword and the Sceptre*

—read in conjunction Volker Berghahn, *Militarism* (Leamington Spa: Berg, 1981)

Eric Weil, 'Guerre et politique selon Clausewitz', *Revue française de science politique*, Vol. 5, No. 2 (1955), pp. 291–314

—also appeared in his *Essais et conférences* (Paris: Plon 1971)

### **Reception in the USA**

Harold D. Lasswell, 'The Garrison State', *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 46 (1941), pp. 455–468

—also in Amos Perlmutter & Valerie Plave Bennett, eds, *The Political Influence of the Military: A Comparative Reader* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1980)

Marc Trachtenberg, ed., *The Development of American Strategic Thought*, 4 vols (New York: Garland, 1987–8)

—a great collection of original sources

Robert Osgood, *Limited War: The Challenge to American Strategy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957)

Robert Osgood, *Limited War Revisited* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview, 1979)

Robert E. Osgood, 'The Post-War Strategy of Limited War: Before, During and After Vietnam', in Laurence Martin, ed., *Strategic Thought in the Nuclear Age* (London: Heinemann, 1979), pp. 93–130

Robert E. Osgood, 'The Reappraisal of Limited War', in Alistair Buchan, ed., *Problems of Modern Strategy*, Part I, Adelphi Paper No. 54, (London: Institute for Strategic Studies, 1969), pp. 41–54

—also published in 1970 by Praeger in New York and in London by Chatto & Windus

Thomas C. Schelling, *Arms and Influence* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1966)

Aaron L. Friedberg, *In the Shadow of the Garrison State: America's Anti-Statism and Its Cold War Grand Strategy* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 2000)

Christopher M. Gacek, *The Logic of Force: The Dilemma of Limited War in American Foreign Policy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994)

Stephen P. Rosen, 'Vietnam and the American Theory of Limited War', *International Security*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (1982), pp. 83–113

David A. Rosenberg, 'The Origins of Overkill, Nuclear Weapons and American Strategy, 1945-1960', *International Security*, Vol. 7, No. 4 (Spring 1983), pp. 3–71

—appeared in a somewhat different form in: Desmond Ball and Jeffrey Richelson, eds, *Strategic Nuclear Targeting* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1986), pp. 35–56)

David A. Rosenberg, “A Smoking Radiating Ruin at the End of Two Hours”, Documents on American Plans for Nuclear War with the Soviet Union’, *International Security*, Vol. 6, No. 3 (Winter 1981/82), pp. 3–17

Barry H. Steiner, *Bernard Brodie and the Foundations of American Nuclear Strategy* (Lawrence, Ks: University Press of Kansas, 1991)

Marc Trachtenberg, ‘Strategic Thought in America, 1952–1966’, *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 104 (1989), pp. 301–334

also in *Strategy and History* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1991), pp. 3–46

Marc Trachtenberg, ‘A “Wasting Asset”: American Strategy and the Shifting Nuclear Balance, 1949–1954’, *International Security*, Vol. 13, No. 3 (Winter 1988/89), pp. 5–49

### **The Clausewitz Renaissance, 1976–**

Bassford, *Clausewitz in English*

Tom Clancy with General Chuck Horner (Ret.), *Every Man a Tiger* (New York: Putnam’s, 1999)

Tom Clancy with General Fred Franks (Ret.), *Into the Storm: A Study in Command* (New York: Putnam’s, 1997)

Clausewitz, *On War*, ed. Howard and Paret, intros by Paret, Howard and Brodie

Jan Willem Honig, ‘Strategy in a Post-Clausewitzian Setting’, in Gert de Nooy, ed., *The Clausewitzian Dictum and the Future of Western Military Strategy* (The Hague: Kluwer Law International, 1997), pp. 109–21

Harry G. Summers, Jr., *On Strategy: A Critical Analysis of the Vietnam War* (New York: Dell, 1984; orig. 1982)

Harry G. Summers, *On Strategy II: A Critical Analysis of the Gulf War* (New York: Dell, 1992)

### **The Anti-Clausewitzians**

Martin van Creveld, *On Future War* (London: Brassey’s, 1991)

—published in the US by the Free Press in New York under the title *The Transformation of War*

John Keegan, *A History of Warfare* (London: Hutchinson, 1993)

Honig, ‘Strategy in a Post-Clausewitzian Setting’