

WAR AND PEACE  
AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

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Annotated bibliographies in the war-peace area have been published by Robert Pickus and Robert Woito (To End War, Perennial Library, Harper and Row Publishers, 1970) and Blanche Wiesen Cook, Charles Chatfield and Sandi Cooper (The Garland Library of War and Peace, Garland Publishing, Inc., 1971). The present bibliography, much more limited in scope than these two, is introduced in response to the needs of the increasing numbers of students who have an interest in seminal books in the field.

1. Aron, Raymond. The Century of Total War. Boston: Beacon, 1955.

In this historial analysis of war in the 20th century, Aron discusses the immediate and remote causes of war and the element of technical surprise. In the 20th century, the battle, not causes, constitutes the major feature and produces the most far-reaching consequences. A distinction is made between total war and general war. Total war is an extension of a national war which is "fought by the people as a whole, with the future of the collective society or its ideals at stake." Total war supports the existence of the totalitarian state. One can conceive of a society living in one way in time of peace and another in war time, but this depends on war and peace being two distinctly separate states. This lack of differentiation forces democracies to assume a stance of permanent mobilization.

2. Bainton, Roland H. Christian Attitudes Toward War and Peace. Abingdon Press: New York, 1960.

Bainton discusses three attitudes on war which emerged in chronological order: the pacifist attitude, the just war, and the crusades. As a backdrop for the Christian attitudes, he evaluates the classical values of peace as an ideal and the origins of the just war. He also discusses New Testament passages that have been used to justify and/or condemn; Early Church pacifism; and the development to modern time. This well documented work provides a good overview of the historical progression of attitudes toward and justifications for war.

3. Benedict, Marion J. The God of the Old Testament in Relation to War. New York City: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1927.

Benedict covers the earliest Hebrew writings from before 1000 B.C. through the Old Testament. He evaluates attitudes toward war, their implications and the context for each Old Testament book. He cautions that "since the Bible is a collection of writings arising from varied situations covering a long period of time--writings now regarded as exhibiting changing religious and ethical ideas"--the material varies greatly in its usefulness regarding contemporary problems. Of special interest are considerations of henotheism, the belief in a special supreme god for each region, race, nation, and stage of religious development.

4. Bernard, L. L. War and Its Causes. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1944.

War is conceived as an evolving social institution, which is a natural though disruptive phenomena. Earlier writings are reviewed to find a general formula for the causes of war. Bernard suggests concrete, particular causes which he attempts to analyze historically and cross sectionally. His thesis contends that human intelligence, aided by the social and political sciences and social technologies will reach a degree of development that can consciously replace the method of force in social evolution.

5. Bolte, Charles. The Price of Peace. Boston: The Beacon Press, 1956.

Bolte discusses U.S. defense policy and concludes that the U.S. has little chance of either winning small wars or avoiding a major one if current policies persist. He argues for an immediate disarmament which is total, universal, and enforceable. He does not see war "dying out." Instead, the U.S. must pay the price which includes the most rigorous suppression of what Bolte refers to as a common instinct of the herd: the instinct compounded of pride, honor, and avarice, which demands a fight to take what you want when you cannot get it peacefully, or to hold what you have when you imagine it to be in danger." He proposes a disarmament plan and timetable and discusses the problems related to it.

6. Bramson, Leon. War: Studies from Psychology, Sociology, and Anthropology. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1964.

The author's purpose was "to bring together classical and contemporary writings by psychologists, sociologists, and anthropologists on the causes of war." Introductions to each section give good general background for the studies. Bramson states that the studies "tell us interesting things about social science as well as war." The various approaches employed in the social sciences emphasize different aspects of war.

7. Cadoux, H. C. The Early Christian Attitude to War. London: Headly Brothers Publishers, Ltd., 1919.

The historical period covered is the first three centuries of Christianity, which is divided into three sections: 1) the teachings of Jesus, 2) Christian disapproval of war, and 3) Early Christian acceptance of war. The study consists largely of quotations from Christian authors, translated into English "for the convenience of the reader." Full references are given, and the author provides a chronological table. Dr. Cadoux examines the writings, provides their historical context, and clarifies the linguistic ambiguities.

8. Cholonner, W. H. and W. D. Henderson, eds. Engels as Military Critic: Articles by Friedrich Engels. Manchester University Press, 1959.

Articles on war, published by various newspapers during Engels' life, are divided into four sections. The first, "The Volunteer Movement" contains a review of the English volunteers, riflemen, officers, generals, and cavalry at the time of the Napoleonic threat. The second section is a technical treatment of the history of the rifle. He traces the development from the 15th century and discusses the advantages of spiral bore and various bullet/muzzle ratios. The third section discusses the French army which would most likely fight the English volunteers. The final section deals with the American Civil War. These articles were written in 1861 to instruct the English volunteers from American errors.

9. Clarke, I. F. *Voices Prophesying War: 1763-1984*. London: Oxford University Press, 1966.

"...all that follows will relate the rise and decline of the idea of armed conflict as a traditional practice readily accepted by Western industrial societies." Clarke gives an account of the origin and development of imaginary wars in literature and how these stories reflected the actual moods and attitudes towards war prevalent at those times. Includes a bibliography of war studies from 1770-1964 as well as a check list of imaginary wars.

10. Clarkson, Jesse D. and Thomas Cochran. *War As a Social Institution*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1941.

This is the work of historians at a time when "many historians turned from interpretation of the present in terms of the past." The articles are divided into five sections. The *Roots of War* consist of articles concluding that war is neither sociologically or anthropologically necessary nor economically rewarding. The *Strategy and Conduct of War* considers the technological impact of modern weapons. The next two sections are *The Neutral War* and *War and Society*. The final section, *America and the Present War*, offers an opportunity for Monday quarterbacking with a look at how these historians saw WWII while it was in process.

11. Clausewitz, Carl von. *On War*. Translated by J. J. Graham in three volumes. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubnew and Co., Ltd., 1940.

"War is only a continuation of State policy by other means." Clausewitz reflects not only military thought and strategy of his time, but the wider vision of a systematic study of war as a field of human knowledge. Although often misunderstood and misinterpreted, Clausewitz' writings have had profound effect on military and national policies through two world wars and their aftermaths.

12. Clausewitz, Karl von. *War, Politics, and Power*. Translated and edited by E. M. Collins. Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1962.

Contains selections from *On War* and *I Believe and Profess*. Much of Clausewitz' writing concerns the craftsmanship of war which is absent from this edition. This edition attempts rather to present his main concepts regarding the broader problems of war and conflict strategy. The introduction by the translator contains rather extensive description of Clausewitz' life and times, their influence on his thought, a summary of his main points, his influence on communist conflict doctrine, and a critique on his relevance for modern times. Perhaps the greatest of Clausewitz' insights is his recognition that each age--and, within each age, each peculiar condition--produces its own kind of war.

13. Coblentz, Stanton A. *From Arrow to Atom Bomb*. New York: The Beechhurst Press, 1953.

"War is the enemy: but the first step toward conquest of any enemy is to understand him; to measure him not on his weak side alone, but also in his strength." Examines the history of warfare not as one of methods or weapons but as "a chronicle of the human mind." It is the mind of man--his ideas, will, emotions--that produces war. His solution to ending war lies then in the minds of the men who lead the nations. Political leaders must be trained in statecraft so that they will be better prepared than their predecessors to confront problems of international relations.

14. Coulton, G. G. *The Main Illusions of Pacifism*. Cambridge: Bowes and Bowes, 1916.

An attempt to systematically refute Norman Angell's book, *The Great Illusion*, and the stance of the Union of Democratic Control. Coulton accuses him of using vague, inconsistent and inaccurate facts to further pacifist arguments against the war.

15. Davie, Maurice R. *The Evolution of War: A Study of its Role in Early Societies*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1929.

Davie cites four major motives for war: economic reasons, women, glory, and religious reasons. He attempts to examine inductively the origins and early stages of the evolution of war. Although he finds that war does and has had some beneficial effects, on the whole, it has militated against the development of civilization. Like most evolutionists his outlook for the future was an optimistic one; the tendency throughout the ages has definitely been toward the development of peaceful methods of settling disputes.

16. Davis, David B., ed. *The Fear of Conspiracy*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1971.

Writings from George Washington to Stokely Carmichael and Joseph Welsh are compiled in this reader to illustrate the role played in American history by the fear of conspiracy and subversion.

17. Dinerstein, H. S. *War and the Soviet Union*. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1959.

Dinerstein examines the changing Soviet appraisal of their own power position and its effect on military strategy, international relations, and economic programs at home. He begins with the apparent vulnerable power position under Stalin and its implications on policies at home and abroad. Shows how their perception of this position has changed to one of "masters of their own fate," and how this has had subtle effects on their strategy which Westerners have either failed to notice or misinterpreted. "The basis of the Soviet doctrine is that war would be a calamity indeed, but that its most awful consequences can be reduced by the creation and thorough training of a differentiated force ready for every contingency."

18. Donovan. *Militarism USA*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1970.

Book by retired U.S. Marine Corps Colonel Donovan with an introduction by retired U.S. Marine Corps General Shoup. "With maturity and perspective I have, hopefully, become a somewhat more objective and 'reformed' militarist." "The nation's defense is everybody's business, yet it has become so vast and complicated--with its own terminology, secrets, technology, and propaganda--that most have difficulty comprehending even a few facts--so this book is an effort to inform readers by explaining the whats, hows, and whys of the current militaristic trend which has become such a dominant aspect of our culture and by describing some of the forces at work in the new American militarism."

19. Douglas, William O. *International Dissent: Six Steps To World Peace*. New York: Random House, 1971.

Justice Douglas has as his goal "the substitution for the War System of a Rule of Law." He feels that internally, law, in the form of treaties and conventions, has often been used to build and preserve the economic interests of a few. His six propositions are:

1) An end to all military alliances; 2) Free all colonies and protectorates; 3) recognize China; 4) Control and use of the ocean floors regulated by a multinational corporation; 5) Help the developing nations enter the technological age; and 6) Rules of law governing international relations must be agreed upon. Most of the proposals lack any kind of substance and have an easier said than done status.

20. Duffet, John, ed. *Against the Crime of Silence*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1970.

The book contains the proceedings of the International War Crimes Tribunal in Stockholm and Copenhagen. Bertrand Russell writes in the introduction that this book is hoped to "arouse consciousness in order to create mass resistance...in the smug street of Europe and the complacent cities of North America."

21. Dymond, Jonathan. *An Inquiry into the Accordancy of War with the Principles of Christianity*. Philadelphia: William Brown, 1835.

Raises the question not of whether war is right or wrong but whether we do not regard its calamities with an indifference with which we regard no others and whether or not that indifference does not make us acquiesce in miseries which we would otherwise prevent or condemn.

22. Eppstein, John. *The Catholic Tradition of the Law of Nations*. London: Burns, Oates, and Washbourne Ltd., 1935.

Attempts to trace the development of Catholic doctrine upon peace and war, military service, arbitration, the community of nations and problems of international law, politics, and economics.

23. Etzioni, Amitai. *The Hard Way to Peace: A New Strategy*. New York: Collier Books, 1962.

Etzioni first reviews the unsuccessful approaches to reduced tensions in recent history: containment, Truman; massive retaliation, Eisenhower; and multi-deterrence force, Kennedy. The book is an argument for Gradualism, a three-pronged approach to peace. The program includes a psychological strategy, an armament strategy, and a sociopolitical orientation. It resembles closely Osgood's Gradual Reduction in Tension (GRIT). The psychological aspect is aimed at controlling jitters and eliminating inappropriate stereotypes, e.g. Stalinist, monolithic Communism. The arms reduction is dependent to a large degree on social/political tensions. He is concerned with a super-national community and the processes of consensus formation.

24. Etzioni, Amitai. *War and Its Prevention*. New York: Harper and Row, 1970.

The book consists of a collection of articles which "illustrate the ways in which social scientists approach the problem of war and its prevention." The articles appear under five headings: problem of survival; problem of the state; problem of the economy; problem of confrontation; and problem of the public. Some of the articles are good, e.g., Milgram's study on obedience. However, it is not clear how discriminating Etzioni was in his selection.

25. Fahey, Joseph J. "Irenology." *The Christophers*, 12 East 48th Street, New York, N.Y. 10017.

This pamphlet, prepared by a Professor of Peace Studies and Religious Studies at Manhattan College in New York City, proposes the initiation of academic teaching and an

academic major in an area variously called 'Peace Studies' or 'Irenology.'

26. Foreign Policy Association. 345 East 46th Street, New York, N.Y. 10017.

The Foreign Policy Association has available numerous publications and materials, including the 'New Dimensions Series' on peace studies.

27. Freud, Sigmund. Civilization and Its Discontents. London: Hogarth Press, 1957.

In his examination of civilization, Freud is interested in what we expect from it and concludes that we require civilization to hold our instinctual aggression in check. Instincts, however, becoming stronger than reasoned interests will always result in a perpetual conflict between man and civilization.

28. Fried, Morton, Marvin Harris, and Robert Murphy, eds. War: The Anthropology of Armed Conflict and Aggression. Garden City, N.Y.: The Natural History Press, 1968.

This reader contains papers delivered at a symposium of the American Anthropological Association in 1967. War is discussed in its tension-regulating function, within the framework of demographic and psychological variables. An equilibrium model is contrasted with alternative models. Emphasis is on primitive wars.

29. Fulbright, J. W. The Pentagon Propaganda Machine. New York: Liverright, 1970.

Fulbright believes that militarism as a philosophy poses a distinct threat to democracy. "Bringing to bear a discipline, unanimity, and strength of conviction seldom found among civilian officials, the able and energetic men who fill the top ranks of the armed services have acquired an influence disproportionate to their numbers of our national policy." He further believes that we are especially vulnerable now as "complaisant acceptance of things military" is the rule. His aim is "to make the public aware of the multifaceted and quietly pervasive nature of the Defense Department's public relations activity." His arguments are very convincing. He discusses the Starbird Memorandum (about the need to "sell" the ABM to the people) and provides much documentation. He alerts us to the subtle transformation from information to propaganda.

30. Fuller, J. F. C. The Conduct of War: 1789-1961. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1961.

Fuller attempts to trace the impact of political, economic, and social revolutions on the conduct of war and peace since 1789, with particular emphasis on the French, Industrial, and Russian revolutions. He discusses the theories on war of Clausewitz, Marshal Foch, Lenin, and Hitler. The writer expresses the opinion that this book provides the raw materials for another book: How NOT to Conduct A War (or Peace).

31. The Garland Library of War and Peace. Garland Publishing, Inc., 24 West 45th Street, New York, N.Y. 10036, 1971.

The Garland Library of War and Peace has prepared a bibliography which contains 360 titles reprinted in 328 volumes that provide a beginning for a Peace Studies Library.

32. Garthoff, Raymond L. The Soviet Image of Future War. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1959.

Contention of this writer is that there exist a number of misconceptions and erroneous

conclusions on aspects of Soviet military doctrine. One that he attempts to set straight is that the Communists DO view war as an instrument of policy. He probes Soviet doctrinal prescriptions on the nature of modern war and on the key factors which influence its course and outcome. He also presents three articles by Soviet writers as examples of current Soviet military thinking on the image of future war.

33. Ginsberg, Robert, ed. *The Critique of War*. Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1969.

This collection includes articles dealing with the causes of war, the War System, the unjustifiability of war and alternatives to war. The ideas of Plato, Aristotle, Hegel, Marx, Ramakrishna, Nietzsche, Tolstoy, Lenin, Kant, Ortega y Gasset, Iqbal, and Gandhi, as well as contemporary thinkers such as Buber, Russell, and Sartre are subject to critical evaluation in the text. Good bibliography of more recent (since 1947) publications.

34. Gray, J. Glen. *The Warriors: Reflections on Men in Battle*. New York: Harper and Row, 1967.

An insightful essay on the mechanisms of preventing the feelings of guilt, on the awakening of guilt, and on the collective guilt.

35. Haywood, O. G. Jr. "Military decision and game theory." *Journal of the Operations Society of America* 2 (1954):741ff.

"The doctrine of decision of the armed forces of the United States is a doctrine based on enemy capabilities. A commander is enjoined to select the course of action which offers the greatest promise of success in view of the enemy capabilities.

36. Heise, J. Arthur. *The Brass Factories*. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1969.

Heise hoped to "help bridge the gap between an overabundance of publicity and a shortage of penetrating appraisals." He was stimulated to write by a statement of Admiral Rickover: "if we are to improve the competence of the officer corps, we must improve the service academies--or do away with them." Heise believes that no institution can depart from the norms of its particular society and function effectively as part of that society. He asks academies if the values they teach are what we want (e.g. conformity over creativity). He examines each institution and discusses the question of overhaul or scrap. He offers the suggestion that academies be transformed to one year professional military training schools for graduates of civilian colleges and universities.

37. Hobbes, Thomas. *Leviathan*. New York: Collier, 1962.

The 'Hobbesian problem of order': How can one establish a society in which force and fraud are not routinely used in satisfying wants? There are 'normative' theories, 'interactionist' theories and 'coercive' theories. Hobbes belongs to the last-mentioned category. Institutions must have effective sanctioning power. Otherwise, balanced reciprocity relations will necessarily terminate in the brutal condition of war. See Desmond P. Ellis, "The Hobbesian Problem of Order," *American Sociological Review*, 36 (August 1971), pp. 692ff.

38. Hofstadter, Richard. *The Paranoid Style in American Politics*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965.

A distorted and paranoid style of political speech-makers is not limited to the U.S. The author says it "happens to be an Americanist," and the American politics for him was a choice of convenience.

39. Intercom. Center for War/Peace Studies, 218 East 18th Street, New York, N.Y. 10003.

The Center for War/Peace Studies publishes INTERCOM, a periodical which is a "program guide and program catalyst on War/Peace issues." Published three times a year (\$6.00).

40. Janowitz, Morris. *Sociology and the Military Establishment*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1959.

He examines the military from a sociological point of view and includes some of the adaptations the military is making in light of the cold war and technological advances. He discusses the establishment first as a social system, bureaucratic and organizational aspects. The second section deals with hierarchy and authority, skills, status and discipline. The third section deals with the assimilation of military roles. The fourth considers primary groups and military effectiveness. The final section deals with organizational control, channels of communications and command.

41. Khadduri, Majid. *The Islamic Law of Nations*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1966.

A text of Shaybani's teachings--an 8th Century A.D. Muslim scholar. It begins with a general discussion of Islamic law to enable the reader to better understand Shaybani's teachings. Shaybani lived at a time when war was a normal state of affairs. Therefore, much of what he wrote dealt with some aspect of war (or peace after war). Shaybani's teachings are presented in dialogue form which was his customary form of presentation. Shaybani deals with traditions relating to the conduct of war, its spoils, relations between Islam and the enemy, and peace. Included is a glossary of terms.

42. Khadduri, Majid. *War and Peace in the Law of Islam*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1955.

He reconstructs the classical legal theory of Islam on war and peace both within the Islamic community and without. Also discusses efforts in recent times to adapt these classical precepts of Islam to peaceful coexistence with rural legal systems in a modern community of nations.

43. Kropotkin, Peter. *Mutual Aid*. Boston: Porter Sargent, *An Extending Horizons Book*.

Kropotkin believes that the theory of the "survival of the fittest" has been misapplied. In *Mutual Aid*, his interpretation emphasizes the progressive elements of evolution, cooperation, and support within the species, which are the bases for social growth.

44. Lenin, Vladimir. *Socialism and War*. London: Lawrence and Wishart, Ltd., 1940.

A short revolutionaries' handbook published during WWI (1915) to prevent an undermin-



ing of peoples' revolutionary sentiment by "the smothering of the revolutionary tendencies of the proletariat by a majority of the official Social-Democratic parties which have taken the sides of their governments and their bourgeoisies." The problem discussed is essentially that there are progressive wars (e.g. anti-absolutism and serfdom) that can be supported even though they were waged by and benefitted the bourgeoisies. They were necessary because proletariat revolutionaries could not be organized before the overthrow of feudalism, absolutism and foreign oppression. The present war, however, is imperialist, and will maintain powerholders.

45. Lewin, Leonard C. Report From Iron Mountain. New York: Dial Press, 1967.

This kind of satire has been absent since Swift recommended eating the Irish babies. It is ostensibly the report of a secret high level committee formed "to consider the problems involved in the contingency of a transition to a general condition of peace and to recommend procedures for dealing with this contingency." The problems revolve around the fact that war serves critical society needs and the advent of a permanent peace must be forestalled until alternate, substitute systems be developed. There are four social systems served by the institution of war. Economically, war production is a progressive and arbitrary expenditure. Politically, war provides stability to the nation-state. Socially, the military provides antisocial elements with an acceptance role in the social structure. Culturally, it provides folklore, heroes, and subjects for artists.

46. Machiavelli, Niccolo. The Arts of War. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1965.

The introduction is by Neal Wood who traces the classical sources of his thought and the contemporary Florentine issues. Machiavelli's work constituted the first full scale modern attempt to revive and popularize classical thought. He broke with Medieval Christian chivalry between Christian foes. Politics and war constitute a kind of functional unity, with war serving as an instrument of politics (like Clausewitz). The following principles were important to Machiavelli: Military power is the foundation of civil society. The well-ordered military establishment is an essential unifying element in civil society. Policy of military aggrandizement contributes to the stability and longevity of civil society. Military art and political art possess a common style. The military establishment tends to reflect the qualities of the civil society of which it is a part.

47. Martin, David A. Pacifism: An Historical and Sociological Study. New York: Schocken Books, 1965.

Martin presents a framework based on an expansion of Troeltsch's original distinction between Church and sect and Weber's characterization of world religions. He exemplifies this framework in detail within the context of British history. "This book examines critically the mythologies of peace not in order to restore the mythologies of nationalism or any other form of 'reaction' but in order to root peace in realism." Bibliography.

48. Martin, Malachi. The Encounter. New York: Delta, 1971.

Martin asks why the major Occidental religions--Christianity, Judaism, and Islam--are in crisis, and how they have failed modern man? Martin's impressive answer is that these religions installed at the heart of their individual systems the basis for contradiction and tension. These three religions are the principal originators and perpetuators of bipolarity, the conceptualization of an "enemy," and the rationale of dominance.

49. Mayer, Peter, ed. *The Pacifist Conscience*. Chicago: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1966.

Mayer's valuable collection of writings from the history of philosophy on war and peace includes selections from Lao-Tzu, Motse, Buddha, Tertullian, Erasmus, Kant, Penn, Emerson, Thoreau, Tolstoy, James, Gandhi, Alain, Einstein, Freud, Reinhold, Neibuhr, Buber, Simone, Weil, Russell, Martin Luther King, and Camus, as well as others. "Those who reject the tradition of pacifism because it has deterred few wars should consider that deterrent armaments have also failed." Excellent Bibliography.

50. McNeil, Elton B., ed. *The Nature of Human Conflict*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1965.

These essays support the thesis that aggressive impulses are widespread and that they may be "displaced" onto a national enemy, real or imagined.

51. Millis, Walter and James Real. *The Abolition of War*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1963.

Millis and Real deal with the questions of power, how it is inextricably intertwined with MYTH to undergird the war system as a foundation of international politics. They examine past ages when war was not only necessary but even creative for world order. The advent of nuclear arms has made war obsolete in this regard, yet the authors maintain the War System itself. The consequences for the future of allowing this system to continue are discussed. Finally attempts are made to show how a world without war is not just a utopian dream but a real alternative. "War like many other obsolete institutions--human sacrifice, feudalism, divine right of kings--will disappear as it is generally understood to have lost its social value." In this conception, there will be no need for controls or inspections, for if there is a need then the war system has not really disappeared.

52. Millis, Walter. *Arms and Men*. New York: Putnam, 1956.

Millis analyzes the democratic revolution, the industrial revolution, and the managerial revolution in the U.S. and their impact upon war. The democratic revolution makes the military service universal; the industrial revolution makes it possible to equip and transport the enormous forces which the universal obligation would yield; and the managerial revolution makes it possible to assemble these forces and to hurl them upon an opponent.

53. Mills, C. Wright. *The Power Elite*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1956.

Mills identifies the major institutions of society as the state, the corporation, and the army. The Big Three--the economic, the political, and the military--are interlocked. The purpose of the book is to understand the elite as a social class, to give a responsible meaning to the anonymous "they." Chapters 8 and 9 deal specifically with the military. He states that all politics is a struggle for power, and the ultimate kind of power is violence. Violence as a means and even as a value has an ambiguous position in our society.

54. Milne, A. A. *Peace With Honour*. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1934.

"...with the weapons of destruction now available: another European war would mean the end of civilization." Milne describes what he calls the pathetic silliness of war; some of the reasons that have been used to justify being participants in war--for honor, for country, for God, etc.; the terrible costs in lives and money that the next

war will inevitably exact; how reason dictates the necessity of peace; and his plan for peace. In order to have peace we must denounce all war, both for attack and for defense. We must renounce war and have faith; "otherwise the next war may come for no other reason than that nations were afraid of its coming."

55. Mitchell, William C. *Public Choice in America*. Chicago: Markham, 1971.

This book has nothing specific on the issue of war, but it is of genuine interest for those who want to understand the relevance of our political institutions, and strategic choices for activists.

56. Montagu, Ashley, ed. *Man and Aggression*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1968.

Fourteen experts offer a critique of the Hobbesian view of man's inborn 'aggressive drive.' In considering the real causes of such behavior, the authors examine animal societies, the concept of the territorial imperative, cultural sources of conflict, and the difference between defensive and offensive aggression.

57. Murdock, George P. *Social Structure*. New York: Macmillan, 1960.

The author claims that the warlikeness and atomism of simple societies has been widely exaggerated. Where war exists, it enhances male dominance.

58. Murphy, Robert F. "Intergroup hostility and social cohesion." *American Anthropology* 59 (1957):1018-1035.

Intrasocietal hostility is seen to divert onto substitute objects in war.

59. Napoleon I, Emperor. *The Military Maxims of Napoleon*. London: Freemantle and Company, 1901.

This is a collection of practical hints for a successful campaign, from the great general himself. It includes suggestions on how to protect hospitals and magazines; the value of fortresses; and how to make camp in a way to confuse enemy scouts as to your number. It includes 138 pages of "notes" by Lieut. Gen. Sir G. C. D'Aguilar.

60. National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence: Reports. Vols. I-XIII and Final Report, 1969.

Thousands of pages of factual descriptions of the national situation and the accompanying analysis of the causes of violence, and the politics suggested for prevention and control of the violence.

61. National Research Council. *Psychology for the Fighting Man*. Washington: The Infantry Journal, 1943.

Meant to be a manual for the fighting man. Attempts to justify U.S. going to war, "Every American ought to understand this, to know why a nation that wants peace has to go to war," and to make the hardships and deprivations of war more tenable for the average man. Much of it is supposed to be practical information to help the man adjust to the situation and to be a "good" soldier but the hand of the propagandist is always present, admittedly so, but "justified" because it is "good" propaganda.

62. Nearing, Scott. War or Peace? New York: Island Press, 1946.

This little book is compact and oversimplified. It may, however, be useful as a quick overview of total war studies and some of the recent proposals for peace. Essentially, Nearing states that: Economically, war does not pay. Politically, it is indispensable to statecraft as long as we have the nation-state. Socially, it defends the social structure and consolidates the in-group.

63. Nicolai, G. F. The Biology of War. New York: The Century Co., 1918.

Written primarily with Germany in mind, Nicolai views war as an organism in a process of evolution with its final stages ending in extinction as it becomes too unwieldy. "War ought to be regarded as we regard smallpox or the plague, as something which we can and ought to eradicate by taking proper preventive measures."

64. Nietzsche, Friedrich. The Will to Power. New York: Vintage, 1968.

The notebooks of the philosopher of will and power. This is an unorganized, unsystematic and self-contradictory kind of writing, but it helps to get a glimpse at Nietzsche's originality. Indexed.

65. Oberdorfer, Don. Tet! New York: Doubleday, 1971.

The book covers the war in Vietnam from both sides. It is not only a military history but an in-depth critique of the American news media and their methods, and a glimpse behind the scenes of top level policy-making.

66. Oman, Charles. A History of the Art of War in the Middle Ages. V. 1 A.D., 378-1278. London: Nethuen and Co. Ltd., 1898.

Oman is concerned with the art of war, i.e. the actual method of battle rather than causes and actors. Each section deals with the characteristic strategy, tactics, and military organization of a period and illustrates them by detailed accounts of typical battles and campaigns. He covers the transition from Roman to Medieval forms of war; the Early Middle Ages; Charles the Great to the Battle of Hastings; the Byzantines; the Crusades; and Western Europe from the Battle of Hastings to the Rise of the Longbow.

67. Osanka, F. M., ed. Modern Guerilla Warfare. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1962.

"This book is concerned with developments in the uses of guerilla warfare with major emphasis on its employment by Communists in many different situations." The format is a collection of articles by men who should know: Che Guevara, military personnel, the Rand Corporation, Lenin, and Walt Rostow. The articles are divided into three categories. The first consists of a review of guerilla warfare in the past and its modern strategic uses. The second is the application of guerilla principles in different geographic areas, mostly during WWII. Cuba and Algeria are included. The final section discusses counter-guerilla procedures with examples from Red China and Greece.

68. Osgood, C. E. An Alternative to War or Surrender. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1962.

Contains an important proposal for 'graduated reciprocation in tension reduction (GRIT)'

which includes unilateral conciliatory action, announcement of action prior to its execution, the invitation to reciprocate, action as scheduled, and the continuance of GRIT, even if it is not reciprocated.

69. Osgood, C. E. "Escalation and de-escalation as political strategies." *Phi Kappa Phi Journal* 47 (1967):3ff.

"The kind of de-escalation embodied in GRIT includes firm resistance to aggressive attempts by an opponent to change the status quo, but it also includes the persistent applications of initiative designed to decrease tensions and increase the prospects for non-violent resolution of conflict."

70. Pear, T. H. *Psychological Factors of Peace and War*. New York: Philosophical Library, 1950.

It might be argued that all causes of war are ultimately mental since, if not experienced by someone, they do not exist. This book contains the results of a number of studies investigating possible psychological factors in peace and war. Bibliographies are included with each article. Pear attacks notions that war is an instinctive need or simply the result of aggressive tendencies, a mental disposition peculiar to men as opposed to women, or identified with certain nations as opposed to others.

71. Pell, E. L. *What Did Jesus Really Teach About War?* New York: Fleming A. Revell Company, 1917.

In an interesting, though not particularly scholarly way, Pell turns the pacifist arguments around to defend America's participation in World War I and indicts those who use a literal interpretation of the New Testament to oppose that participation.

72. Postman, Neil, Charles Weingartner, and Terence P. Mora, eds., *Language in America*. New York: Pegasus, 1969.

To what extent is the language of politics, racism, advertising, and cold war facilitating or impeding our chances of survival? Among twenty-two commentators, Jerome D. Frank examines critically phrases such as 'defense,' 'national security,' and 'balance of power.'

73. Robinson, J. A. and R. C. Snyder. "Decision-making in international politics," in H. Kehlman, ed., *International Behavior*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965.

The authors report the results of a content analysis of the legislative speeches of congressmen, indicating that those congressmen who voted nationalistically revealed greater insecurity, intolerance of ambiguity, and a negative orientation toward people (the authoritarian personality).

74. Scarfe, H. G., ed. *A Catholic Approach to the Problem of War*. London: C. A. Brock and Co., Ltd., 1943.

Attempts to show that the scale and methods of modern warfare and its repercussions on innocent noncombatants (as if the "innocent" had never suffered in war before) as well as armies makes war anathema to the Catholic conscience. Accordingly, it is Scarfe's conclusion that there is no such thing as a just war, nor a just cause for participating in war. If we do, in fact, choose to resort to war in defense of our civilization, it is not that civilization that we shall hand on to our children, but its ruins.

75. Schwartz, Urs. *American Strategy: A New Perspective*. Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1966.

Strategic doctrine defines likely challenges and how to deal with them, possible goals and how to attain them. This book describes how strategic doctrine, as the interplay of political and military factors, has traditionally been inhibited by a sharp division; and how this has changed since WWII and the advent of nuclear power.

76. Sharp, Gene. *Exploring Nonviolent Alternatives*. Boston: Porter Sargent, An Extending Horizons Book.

Sharp discusses techniques of nonviolence and noncooperation, their previous use, their need for further study. An argument is made for national defense without armaments.

77. Shotwell, James T. *War as an Instrument of National Policy*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1929.

Shotwell describes the story of the Pact of Paris, 1928, a proposal to renounce war as an instrument of national policy, its historical antecedents, its meaning, and its hope for the future. He looks to science to eliminate the institution of war in much the same way that it eliminated the institution of slavery. Similarities between the hopes of this writer and those of writers thirty to forty years later are notable.

78. Simmel, Georg. *Conflict and The Web of Group Affiliations*. New York: The Free Press, 1955.

In his Conflict, Simmel considers the broader issue of 'sociation' and 'dissociation.' Conflict serves as an integrative force. Antagonism is a sociological element almost never absent in sociation. Conflict is studied in its structure-forming capacity. There are types of compromise and conciliation, but there also is the negative extreme of irreconcilability.

79. Smith, Richard C. *Hellenistic Attitudes toward War*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms, 1961.

This was Smith's thesis and, therefore, contains much detail. It requires a general background in ancient history to fully appreciate it. He covers the period from Alexander (323 B.C.) to Cleopatra (30 B.C.). His concentration is on the attitudes toward war itself rather than the actual operation of war.

80. Sokolovsky, Marshal V. D., ed. *Military Strategy: Soviet Doctrine and Concepts*. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1963.

This book is written by fifteen leading Soviet military theoreticians. It gives valuable insights into Soviet military thinking. It surveys general concepts of military strategy and their development; their view of Western military strategy and its implications on Soviet thinking; and the nature of modern warfare. "Thus military strategy is first an arm of Soviet policy in international politics and, secondly, its last resort in war."

81. Sorel, Georges. *Reflections on Violence*. New York: Collier, 1961.

Only the clearest and most brutal expression of class war can effect lasting social change, Sorel claims. By 'violence' Sorel means any act of revolt; by 'force' he means any act of authority. There is a necessity for a new theory in the case of proletarian violence. The middle-class spirit of 'force' is a sham ideology and should

be dismissed.

82. Sorokin, Pitirim. Social and Cultural Mobility. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1959.

Sorokin refutes the 'fashionable' theories of Gumprowicz, Ratzenhofer and Oppenheimer, who have argued that war and conquest almost exclusively explain the origin of social stratification. The 'spontaneous and natural' origin of stratification is emphasized in this book. War is only a condition which facilitates the origin and growth of social stratification.

83. Sorokin, Pitirim, and Walter Lunde. Power and Morality. Boston: Porter Sargent, An Extending Horizons Book, 1958.

The authors examine power from an historical perspective and argue for the termination of our fear-ridden social structures.

84. Stace, W. T. The Philocopy of Hegel. New York: Dover, 1955.

For Hegel, the State is a self-enclosed unity. It has its own life within itself. It is a single being, an organic unity. It has its external side, which is concerned with other 'individuals' of the same kind, with other States. Any two States, even when they are at war, continue to recognize one another as independent States. There is no international authority; consequently, disputes between States, in the last resort, can be settled by war alone. Hegel's is one of the best-known theories of the inevitability of war. The life and end of the States are higher than those of the individual; the individual must be prepared to sacrifice his life and property for the maintenance of the State's independence.

85. Stockton, R. Inevitable War. New York: The Perth Company, 1932.

Written by a U.S. Army Reserve Officer, the book examines Pacifist "errors" over 100 years; causes of war; U.S. military policy of each president from Washington to Hoover; the nature of future war; and the repercussions of unpreparedness. "There is no organization, no plan, and no probability of any plan which can remove the basic cause of war. Hence, there is no probability of war being eliminated." Bibliography.

86. Stouffer, Samuel A., et al. The American Soldier. Vols. I-IV. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1950.

Conclusions are reached about attitudes toward leadership in war. One is reminded of the fact that a great part of methodological sophistication in sociology was obtained "in response to need for methodological improvement of practical research operations in wartime." The volumes include a vast body of data which grew out of the work of the Research Branch of the Information and Education Division in the War Department in World War II. Volume IV (Measurement and Prediction) is particularly notable.

87. Strachey, Alix. The Unconscious Motives of War. New York: International Universities Press, Inc.

Strachey briefly discusses the persistence of war throughout history. He attributes this persistence to "unconscious factors of the mind which cause people, even the most civilized ones, to be violent to others." The book is divided into three parts: 1) description of psychological factors; (2) how these factors alter or increase aspects of public life to encourage war; and (3) how the use of psycho-analytic methods can

be used to modify destructive instincts which "are the greatest single cause of war." He sees some hope that females are increasingly entering public affairs "for they may do much to dilute the total destructiveness in the world" as they are more immune to State mentality and have less destructive energy than men.

88. Stratton, George M. *Anger: Its Religious and Moral Significance*. New York: Macmillan, 1923.

An insightful and neglected book on issues such as the organized killing of the foreigner for the purpose of the State, on the two minds of religions in reference to wars, and on the unifying effect of the enemy. "But it is false to say that war creates the cooperative spirit; it presupposes it and, by using it intensively, enlarges and deepens this power to work upon a common plan." Stratton's is an application of the evolutionary theory, but he disapproves the proposition that warlike spirit of the early man was the source of his virtues. Nevertheless, anger and warfare have been a "prime means of selecting...from among rival political organizations...and enlivened men's appreciation of the qualities valued by the State."

89. Tzu, Sun. *The Art of War*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963.

"The Supreme art of war is to subdue the enemy without fighting." Sun Tzu's essays form the earliest known treatises on the subject of war and while written over 2000 years ago contain a clarity and insight of his subject that few have attained since. The translator, Samuel B. Griffith, in the introduction, discusses the author, his times, his views on war and his important influence on the writings of Mao Tse-tung, as well as on Japanese military thought. The foreword briefly compares Sun Tzu's clarity, realism, and moderation with Clausewitz' obscurity, emphasis on logical ideal and 'the absolute.'

90. Thayer, George. *The War Business*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1970.

A fact-oriented book about the international trade, or traffic, in armaments, with special emphasis on developments since 1945.

91. Tolstoy, Leo. *The Law of Love and the Law of Violence*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1970.

Tolstoy likens the condition of society to that of an old man, his body swarming with worms, racked by pain, but oblivious to the horror of his disease because it has progressed so gradually. Governments with their harmful taxes, dissipating wars, fear-inducing bombs and gallows, unrestrained luxury for the few, atrocious poverty for the many, follow the law of violence. He predicts, however, that governments will one day disappear and with them the law of violence. In their place, man will live without governments by the law of divine love. He defends his "theory" against Hobbes' notion of man without restraints.

92. Toynbee, Arnold. *War and Civilization*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1950.

In the first two chapters, *The War-Stricken World of Today* and *Militarism and Military Virtues*, Toynbee poses the question, "Is war intrinsically and irredeemably evil?" He also delineates the historical spectrum. There were the Wars of Religion and the Wars of Nationality, separated by the Sport of Kings. The next six chapters were selected from his work, *A Study of History*, as illustration of militarism and war in history. They cover Sparta, Assyria, Charlemagne, The Intoxication of Victory, The David Goliath Phenomenon (where the little guy finds the soft spot), The Price of Progress in the Military Technique. The overriding point in each section is that war does not pro-



mote progress or even survival. It is apparently intrinsically and irredeemably evil. Toynbee interprets history from a definitely pacifist point of view.

93. Vagts, Alfred. A History of Militarism. Revised edition, Meridian Books, Inc., 1959.

Vagts makes a distinction between the military way with its emphasis on efficient means to obtain specific ends and militarism, a vast array of customs, interests, prestige, actions and thought associated with armies and wars and yet transcending true military purposes. This is, then, an attempt to trace militarism both in the military and in the civilian spheres, in peace as well as in war, and the implications it has had for the course of history in general.

94. Vaillant, G. C. Aztecs of Mexico. New York: Doubleday, 1966.

Vaillant analyzes a sociopolitical system focusing almost totally on war. The Aztecs made war for defense, revenge, and economic motives, and these motives were linked up with the need for sacrificial victims needed to properly worship their gods.

95. Weisband, Edward and Thomas M. Franck. "The Brezhnev-Johnson Two-World Doctrine." Transaction 8 (October 1971):36ff.

This article proposes that the import of the Johnson doctrine is virtually identical to that of the Brezhnev doctrine and that the significance of this goes directly to the heart of national strategy.

96. White, Ralph K. "Misperception and the Vietnam War." Journal of Social Issues 22 (1966):1ff.

White discusses six key miscerceptions: a diabolical enemy image, a virile self-image, a moral self-image, selective inattention, absence of empathy, and military overconfidence.

97. White, Ralph K. Nobody Wanted War: Misperception in Vietnam and Other Wars. New York: Doubleday, An Anchor Book, 1970.

An insightful essay on the role of conformity, loyalty, psychological distortion and other factors involved in black-and-white thinking.

98. Withworth, William. Naive Questions About War and Peace. New York: W.W. Norton, 1970.

The book consists of conversations with Mr. E. V. Rostow, former Under-Secretary of State for Political Affairs. The question is not whether "the dominoes really will fall," but rather the question is whether the U.S. has any real national interest, strategic or economic, honorable or dishonorable, in Southeast Asia.

99. Wolf, Eric R. Peasant Wars of the Twentieth Century. New York: Harper & Row, 1969.

"There already have been 'other Vietnams' in Cuba, Guatemala, and the Dominican Republic," this author claims, "and there will be other 'Vietnams' in the future, unless America reverses her present course."

100. The World Law Fund. 11 West 42nd Street, New York, New York 10036.

The World Law Fund has an informative flyer entitled 'World Order Study Materials' which lists books, films and tapes on peace research and education.

101. World Without War Council, 1730 Grove Street, Berkeley, California 94709.

The World Without War Council has prepared the bibliography-resource volume, To End War.

102. Wright, Quincy. A Study of War. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965.

This massive compendium contains the available demographic statistics on wars of the last few centuries. It attempts to show how at a time when individuals and statesmen agree that war, as an instrument of national policy, is "obsolete", military budgets are of unprecedented magnitude and every year, since the advent of the nuclear bomb, has witnessed armed hostilities--civil, guerrilla, or international.