

NOTES

Chapter One Military Service, Citizenship, and the International Environment

1. Much of this argument is an extension of my "War and (the Democratic) Peace: Military Service, Citizenship, and the International Environment," *Citizenship Studies* 4:2 (July 2000), 117–48.
2. David Apter, *The Politics of Modernization* (Chicago: University Press, 1965), 450. My emphasis.
3. See Brian Downing's, *Military Revolution and Political Change* (Princeton: University Press, 1992), 238–40.
4. David Singer and Melvin Small, "The War Proneness of Democratic Regimes," *Jerusalem Journal of International Relations* 1 (1976); Michael Doyle, "Kant, Liberal Legacies, and Foreign Affairs, parts 1 and 2," *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 12 (1983), 206–35 and 323–53.
5. See John Owen, "How Liberalism Produces Peace," *International Security* 19 (1994), 87–125. An excellent overview is Bruce Russett, *Grasping the Democratic Peace* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).
6. William Thompson, "Democracy and Peace: Putting the Cart Before the Horse," *International Organization* 50 (January 1996), 141–74.
7. John Mearsheimer, "Back to the Future: Instability in Europe After the Cold War," *International Security* 15 (Summer 1990), 5–56.
8. Zeev Maoz and Bruce Russett, "Normative and Structural Causes of the Democratic Peace, 1946–86," *American Political Science Review* 87 (September 1993), 624–38.
9. Jack Snyder, *Myths of Empire* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 9–10 and 258–59.
10. Classics include Seymour Lipset, "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy," *American Political Science Review* 53 (March 1959), 69–105 and *Political Man* (New York: Doubleday, 1960); Dankwart Rustow, "Transitions to Democracy: Toward a Dynamic Model," *Comparative Politics* 2 (Summer 1970), 337–64; and Robert Dahl, *Polyarchy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971) and *A Preface to Economic Democracy* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1985).
11. Otto Hintze, *The Historical Essays*, translated by Felix Gilbert (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), 181.
12. Charles Tilly, "Reflections on the History of European State-Making," in Charles Tilly (ed.), *Formation of National States in Western Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), 42.
13. Hintze, *Historical Essays*, 207. David Rappoport concurs: "in all periods of history, [states] utilized the military experience to educate the citizen to his public responsibility." See "A Comparative Theory of Military and Political Types," in Samuel Huntington (ed.), *Changing Patterns of Military Politics* (New York: Free Press, 1962), 80.
14. See Michael Howard, *War in European History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), 94–96.

15. Stanislas Andreski, *Military Organization and Society* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1954), 68–70.
16. Jean-Paul Bertaud, *The Army of the French Revolution*, translated by Robert Palmer (Princeton: University Press, 1988).
17. Fisher Ames, “Conservative Forebodings,” in Russel Kirk (ed.), *The Portable Conservative Reader* (New York: Viking Penguin, 1982), 92. My emphasis.
18. *Ibid.*, 95.
19. Alfred Vagts, *A History of Militarism* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1937), 167.
20. Hintze, *Historical Essays*, 213–15; Vagts, *History of Militarism*, 13 and 356.
21. Sue Berryman, *Who Serves?* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1987), 10; Dennis Segal, *Recruiting for Uncle Sam* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1989), 10.
22. Joseph Glatthaar, *Forged in Battle* (New York: Free Press, 1990), 231.
23. Charles Moskas, “Social Considerations of the All-Volunteer Force,” *Military Service in the United States*. American Assembly Book (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1982), 136.
24. *Ibid.*, 150.
25. James Lacey, “The Case for Conscription,” *Military Service in the United States*, 200.
26. Vagts, *History of Militarism*, 171.
27. Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma* (New York: Harper, 1944).
28. Richard Dalfume, *Desegregation of the U.S. Armed Forces* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1969), 1.
29. Berryman, *Who Serves?*, 87.
30. Martin Binkim and Shirley Bach, *Women and the Military* (Washington DC: Brookings Institution, 1977), 37–38.
31. *Ibid.*, 38.
32. Colin Cameron and Judith Blackstone, *Minorities in the Armed Forces* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1970), 1.
33. Berryman, *Who Serves?*, 82.
34. Hintze, *Historical Essays*, 211.
35. Huntington, *Soldier and the State*, 163.

Chapter Two Arms and State

1. Stanislas Andreski, *Military Organization and Society* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1954), 1.
2. Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, edited and translated by Michael Howard and Peter Paret (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), 579.
3. *Ibid.*, 75.
4. *Ibid.*, 87.
5. See John Keegan, *A History of Warfare* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993); Barbara Ehrenreich, *Blood Rites* (New York: Henry Holt, 1997).
6. Douglass North, *Structure and Change in Economic History* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1981). See also Douglass North and Robert Thomas, *The Rise of the Western World* (Cambridge: University Press, 1973); and Richard Bean, “War and the Birth of the Nation-State,” *Journal of Economic History* 33 (1973), 203–21. Much of the contracting logic is theoretically based in Douglass North’s, “A Transaction Cost Theory of Politics,” *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 2 (1990), 355–67.
7. Charles Tilly, “War Making and State Making as Organized Crime,” in Evans, Rueschmayer and Skocpol (eds.), *Bringing the State Back In* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 169–91.
8. Arnold Toynbee, *War and Civilization* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1950); and *A Study of History* (London: Oxford University Press, 1956).
9. Arthur Marwick, *The Deluge* (London: Bodley Head, 1965).

10. Bruce Porter, *War and the Rise of the State* (New York: Free Press, 1994), xiv.
11. *Ibid.*, 60.
12. John Nef, *War and Human Progress* (Cambridge: Harvard Press, 1950).
13. Lewis Mumford, *Technics and Civilization* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1934), 84; See also Raymond Aron, *War and Industrial Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958).
14. *Ibid.*, 90.
15. Werner Sombart, *The Quintessence of Capitalism*, new edition (New York: Fertig, 1967).
16. William McNeill, *The Pursuit of Power* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982).
17. J.F.C. Fuller, *The Foundations of the Science of War* (London: Hutchinson, 1926); and *Armament and History* (New York: Scribner's, 1942).
18. John Hale, *War and Society in Renaissance Europe* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1985).
19. John Ellis, *The Social History of the Machine Gun* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975).
20. Rosa Luxembourgh, *Selected Political Writings*, Translated by William Graf (New York: Grove Press, 1974).
21. Heinrich von Treitschke, *Politics* (abridged), translated by Hans Kohn (New York: Harbinger, 1963), 300.
22. Cited in Toynbee, *A Study of History*, vol 4, 644.
23. Max Weber, Max, *General Economic History*, translated by Frank Knight (Glencoe, IL: Free Press, 1927), 324.
24. Otto Hintze, *Historical Essays*, translated by Felix Gilbert (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), 181.
25. Charles Tilly, "Reflections on the History of European State-Making," in Charles Tilly (ed.), *Formation of National States in Western Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), 35–36. My emphasis.
26. *Ibid.*, 73. My emphasis.
27. See Robert Gurr, Keith Jagers, and Will Moore, "The Transformation of the Western State: The Growth of Democracy, Autocracy, and State Power since 1800," *Studies in Comparative International Development* 25 (1990), 73–108.
28. Harry Eckstein, "A Theory of Stable Democracy," *Research Monograph* 10 (Center for International Studies: Princeton, 1961).
29. Mancur Olson, *The Rise and Decline of Nations* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982).
30. Figures drawn from *Brassey's Annual*, published from 1884 (New York: Praeger), and *The Statesman's Yearbook*, published from 1864 (London: MacMillan).
31. See Edward Rhodes, *Power and MADness* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989) and John Gaddis, *The Long Peace* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987).
32. Frank Zagare, *The Dynamics of Deterrence* (Chicago: University Press, 1987), 93.
33. John Mearsheimer, *Conventional Deterrence* (Ithaca: Cornell Press, 1983), 29.
34. Andreski, *Military Organization*, 35.
35. Beginning in 1935 with the work of German General Erich Ludendorf, *der Totale Krieg*, cited in William Shirer's *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1960), 259; Also useful is Arthur Marwick, *Britain in the Century of Total War* (London: Bodley Head, 1968).
36. An exception is Michael Howard, "Total War in the Twentieth Century: Participation and Consensus in the Second World War," in Brian Bond and Ian Roy (eds.) *War and Society, volume II* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1975), 216–26.
37. Population data was extracted from Brian Mitchell, *International Historical Statistics* (New York: Stockton Press, 1992). Election data was taken from Mitchell and from Peter Flora, Franz Kraus, and Winnifred Pfenning, *State, Economy, and Society in Western Europe, 1815–1970, 2 volumes* (Chicago: St James Press, 1987). In order to assess levels of political participation, Tatu Vanhanen's indices of competition, participation, and democratization, in *The Process of Democratization* (New York: Crane Russak, 1984 and 1990) were

- invaluable. Raw totals of personnel under arms, percentage of population participating in active-duty military formations, casualties, service and reserve participation, militia participation, were extracted from David Singer and Melvin Small, *The Wages of War* (New York: Wiley, 1972), and *Resort to Arms, second edition* (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1982); Quincy Wright, *A Study of War*, second edition (Chicago: University Press, 1965); Michael Clodfelter, *Warfare and Armed Conflict* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1992); Lewis Richardson, *Statistics of Deadly Quarrels* (Pittsburgh: Boxwood Press, 1960); Trevor Dupuy and R. Ernest Dupuy, *The Harper Encyclopedia of Military History*, fourth edition (New York: Harper Collins, 1993); and interviews with James Dunnigan and access to his data published in *How to Stop a War* (Garden City, NJ: Doubleday, 1987); and J.F.C. Fuller, *A Military History of the Western World, volume II* (New York: Funk and Wagnall's, 1955). Additional data sources were Brassey's *Armed Forces Yearbook* and MacMillan's *Statesman's Yearbook*. Specific military and mobilization data for the two world wars were derived from Randal Gray and Christopher Argyle, *Chronicle of the First World War, 2 volumes* (New York: Facts On File, 1991); and John Ellis, *World War II* (New York: Facts On File, 1993).
38. Brian Downing, *Military Revolution and Political Change* (Princeton: University Press, 1992).
 39. Martin Edmonds, *Armed Services and Society* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1988), 59.
 40. *Ibid.*, 61.
 41. Peter Riesenbergh, *Citizenship in the Western Tradition* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1992).
 42. Andreski, *Military Organization*, 69.
 43. Max Weber, *General Economic History*, translated by Frank Knight (Glencoe, IL: Free Press, 1927), 324–5.
 44. Everett Dolman, "Obligation and the Citizen-Soldier: Machiavellian *Virtù* versus Hobbesian Order," *Journal of Political and Military Sociology* 23 (1995), 191–212.
 45. Isaiah Berlin, "The Originality of Machiavelli," in Berlin (ed.), *Against the Current: Essays in the History of Ideas* (New York: MacMillan, 1975), 35.
 46. Kenneth Waltz, *Man, the State, and War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1954), 307; Leo Strauss, *Thoughts on Machiavelli* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1958).
 47. William Bluhm, *Theories of the Political System*, second edition (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1971), 285.
 48. Sheldon Wolin, *Politics and Vision* (Boston: Little-Brown, 1965), 207.
 49. Niccolo Machiavelli, *Discourses on the First Ten Books of Titus Livy*, translated by Leslie Walker (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950), chs. III, XLI.
 50. See Robert Price, "Ambizione in Machiavelli's Thought," *History of Political Thought* 3 (1982), 193–221.
 51. Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, in Richard Tuck (ed.), *Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991).
 52. Machiavelli, *Discourses*, III.16.
 53. Niccolo Machiavelli, *The Art of War*, translated by Ellis Farnsworth (New York: Da Capo, 1965), 3.
 54. Jean Jacques Rousseau, *La Nouvelle Heloise*, cited in Carl Friedrich, *Man and His Government* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1963), 421.
 55. Immanuel Kant, *Perpetual Peace*, translated by Ted Humphrey (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett, 1985).
 56. Alexander Hamilton et al., *The Federalist Papers* (New York: Penguin, 1961), 183.
 57. *Ibid.*, 185.
 58. Bluhm, *Theories of the Political System*, 249.
 59. McNeill, *Pursuit of Power*, 76–78; See also Sebastian de Grazia, *Machiavelli in Hell* (Princeton: University Press, 1989), 290–91.
 60. *Ibid.*, 76.

61. Martin Van Creveld, *Technology and War* (New York: Free Press, 1989), 21.
62. Karl von Clausewitz, *War, Politics, and Power*, translated by Edward Colins (Washington: Regnery Gateway, 1962), 70.
63. Earnst Breisach, *Renaissance Europe* (New York: MacMillan, 1973), 147.
64. Machiavelli, *Art of War*, 4.
65. Thomas Hobbes, *The Collected Works of Thomas Hobbes*, 11 volumes, edited by Sir William Molesworth (London: Routledge Thoemmes, 1992), vol II, 140.
66. Donald Hanson, "Hobbes 'Highway to Peace'," *International Organization* 38 (1984), 350.
67. Andreski, *Military Organization*, 75.
68. Alfred Stepan, "The New Professionalism of Internal Warfare and the Military Role Expansionism," in Stepan (ed.), *Authoritarian Brazil* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973); referring to Samuel Huntington, *The Soldier and the State* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957); and Morris Janowitz, *The Professional Soldier*, revised edition (New York: Free Press, 1971).
69. John Mearsheimer, *Conventional Deterrence* (Ithaca: Cornell Press, 1983), 24–25.
70. Otto Hintze, *The Historical Essays*, translated by Felix Gilbert (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975); Alfred Vagts, *A History of Militarism* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1937).
71. Porter, *Rise of the State*, 21.
72. Roy Macredis and Bernard Brown, "Legitimacy and Consensus," in Macredis and Brown (eds.), *Comparative Politics*, fourth edition (Homewood, IL: Dorsey Press, 1972), 99–105.
73. *Ibid.*, 100. My emphasis.
74. *Ibid.*
75. Weber, *General Economic History*, 324.
76. Samuel Finer, "State- and Nation-Building in Europe: The Role of the Military," in Tilly (ed.), *Formation of National States*, 89.
77. Edmonds, *Armed Services and Society*, 53.
78. See John Gillis (ed.), *The Militarization of the Western World* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1989), 1. See also Volker Berghman, *Militarism* (Cambridge: University Press, 1984).
79. Vagts, *History of Militarism*, 11.
80. *Ibid.*
81. David Ralston, *Importing the European Army* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990); Samuel Finer, *The Man on Horseback*, second enlarged edition (Hammondsworth, England: Penguin, 1975).
82. Vagts, *History of Militarism*, 12.
83. *Ibid.*, 39.
84. Tilly, "Reflections," 75.
85. Ralston, *Importing*, 175.
86. *Ibid.*, 176.
87. *Ibid.*, 324.
88. Huntington, *Soldier and the State*.
89. Edmonds, *Armed Services and Society*, 15.
90. Gaetano Mosca, *The Ruling Class*, translated by Hannah Kahn (New York: McGraw Hill, 1939), 229 and 245.
91. Bengt Abrahamsson, *Military Professionalism and Political Power* (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1972).
92. Charles Moskos, "Institutional/Occupational Trends in Armed Forces," *Armed Forces and Society* 4 (1977), 41–50; see also "Institutional/Occupational Trends in Armed Forces: An Update," *Armed Forces and Society* 12 (1986), 377–82.
93. Moskos, "Institutional/Occupational" (1977), 42.
94. *Ibid.*, 43.
95. Finer, *Man on Horseback*, 112.

Chapter Three Ancient Republics and Radical Democracy:
Athens and Sparta

1. Thucydides's *History of the Peloponnesian War*, translated by Benjamin Jowett (London: Folio Society, 1994), 98.
2. *Ibid.*, 98–99.
3. Arthur Ferrill, *The Origins of War* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1985), 91–94.
4. Frank Adcock, *The Greek and Macedonian Art of War* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1957), 2.
5. Hans Delbrück, *History of the Art of War*, volume 1, translated by Walter Renfroe (Westport, CN: Greenwood, 1975), 256.
6. Ferrill, *Origins of War*, 99.
7. Carrol Quigley, *Weapons Systems and Political Stability* (Washington, DC: University Press, 1983), 271.
8. Aristotle, *The Athenian Constitution*, translated by P.J. Rhodes (New York: Penguin, 1984), 4.
9. Quigley, *Weapons Systems*, 276.
10. From Delbrück's comments, *History of Warfare*, 259.
11. Josiah Ober, "Hoplites and Obstacles," in Victor Hansen (ed.), *Hoplites* (New York: Routledge, 1991), 180–88.
12. *Ibid.*, 273.
13. Robert Littman, *Kinship and Politics in Athens 600–400 BCE* (New York: Peter Lang, 1990).
14. See William Everdell, *The End of Kings: A History of Republics and Republicans* (New York: Free Press, 1983), 31.
15. Quigley, *Weapons Systems*, 280.
16. Alfred Snodgrass, "The Hoplite Reform and History," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 97 (1977), 84–101.
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18. John K. Anderson, *Military Theory and Practice in the Age of Xenophon* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), 13.
19. Hilda Lorimer, "The Hoplite Phalanx with Special Reference to the Poems of Archilochus and Tyrtaeus," *Annual of the British School at Athens* 42 (1947), 121–24.
20. Adcock, *Greek Art of War*, 8.
21. Quigley, *Weapons Systems*, 281.
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24. Robert O'Connell, *Of Arms and Men* (Oxford: University Press, 1989), 36.
25. Victor Anderson, "Hoplite Weapons and Offensive Arms," in Anderson (ed.), *Hoplites* (London: Routledge, 1991), 28.
26. Delbrück, *History of War*, 53.
27. *Ibid.*, 54.
28. *Ibid.*, 58.
29. *Ibid.*
30. *Ibid.*, 61.
31. *Ibid.*, 63.
32. *Ibid.*, 44.
33. *Ibid.*
34. Aristotle, *Politics*, V:10.
35. Plutarch, *The Rise and Fall of Athens* (Baltimore: Penguin, 1962), 55–58.

36. *Ibid.*, 59–62.
37. *Ibid.*, 68.
38. See any translation of Thucydides's *Peloponnesian War*, Book III: Scrolls 27–28.
39. *Ibid.*, Book III: Scrolls 37–40.
40. See John Morrison and J.F. Coates's classic, *The Athenian Trireme* (Cambridge: University Press, 1986).
41. Quigley, *Weapons Systems*, 299.
42. Xenophon, *Hellenica*, translated by Rex Warner (New York: Penguin, 1978).
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44. George Huxley, *Early Sparta* (London: Faber, 1962), 37–39.
45. O'Connell, *Arms and Men*, 52.
46. Anderson, *Military Theory*, 84–85.
47. *Peloponnesian War*, Book I: Scroll 6.
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Chapter Four Early Republics: Switzerland, the Dutch, and France

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3. See Hans Delbrück, *History of the Art of War*, volume III, translated by Walter Renfroe, Jr. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982), 506–17.
4. Michael Howard, *War in European History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), 12.
5. *Ibid.*, 17.
6. Delbrück, *Art of War*, volume IV, 16.
7. *Ibid.*, volume III, 555–56.
8. Michael Drake, *Problematics of Military Power* (London: Frank Cass, 2001), 227.
9. Robert O'Connell, *Of Arms and Men* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 102.
10. Martin Van Creveld, *Technology and War* (New York: Free Press, 1989), 91.
11. Delbrück, *Art of War*, volume III, 563–65.
12. *Ibid.*, 608.
13. *Ibid.*, 608–10.
14. An account is given in *Ibid.*, volume IV, 16.
15. *Ibid.*, volume III, 586.
16. Drake, *Problematics*, 233.
17. Delbrück, *Art of War*, volume III, 591.
18. Geoffrey Parker, *The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road 1567–1659* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 5.
19. *Ibid.*
20. Jonathan Israel, *The Dutch Republic* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 2.
21. Hendrik Van Loon, *The Fall of the Dutch Republic*, new edition (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1924), 5.
22. Israel, *Dutch Republic*, 2. See also Hendrik Riemens, *The Netherlands* (New York: Eagle, 1944).
23. Israel, *Dutch Republic*, 27–29.
24. *Ibid.*, 33.
25. Adriaan Barnouw, *The Pageant of Netherlands History* (New York: Longmans, 1952), 114.
26. *Ibid.*, 116.
27. *Ibid.*, 121.
28. Israel, *Dutch Republic*, 57.

29. *Ibid.*, 130–32.
30. Parker, *Army of Flanders*, 6.
31. Israel, *Dutch Republic*, 133.
32. Cicely Wedgwood, *William the Silent* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1944), 11.
33. William was not called “the Silent” because of passivity or quiescence. To the contrary, he was a grand speaker. The moniker comes from his ability to speak a great deal without saying anything. Israel, *Dutch Republic*, 139.
34. Wedgwood, *William the Silent*, 30.
35. *Ibid.*, 30.
36. Adriaan Barnouw, *The Making of Modern Holland* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1944), 68.
37. Israel, *Dutch Republic*, 152–53.
38. O’Connel, *Of Arms and Men*, 132.
39. Israel, *Dutch Republic*, 156–57.
40. Barnouw, *Pageant*, 117. See also R.A. Stradling, *The Armada of Flanders* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
41. Barnouw, *Pageant*, 117.
42. Howard, *War in European History*, 50; Barnouw, *Making of Modern Holland*, 76.
43. Israel, *Dutch Republic*, 156.
44. *Ibid.*, 169–70.
45. *Ibid.*, 171.
46. *Ibid.*, 182.
47. Parker, *Army of Flanders*, 29.
48. Israel, *Dutch Republic*, 192–93.
49. *Ibid.*, 185.
50. *Ibid.*, 186.
51. Barnouw, *Pageant*, 120.
52. From Israel, *Dutch Republic*, 188–89.
53. *Ibid.*, 198.
54. From Israel, *Dutch Republic*, 199–205.
55. Barnouw, *Making of Modern Holland*, 80.
56. *Ibid.*, 78–79.
57. Israel, *Dutch Republic*, 211.
58. Wedgwood, *William the Silent*, 190.
59. Barnouw, *Making of Modern Holland*, 82.
60. Israel, *Dutch Republic*, 220, 293–94.
61. Barnouw, *Making of Modern Holland*, 85.
62. Israel, *Dutch Republic*, 292.
63. Barnouw, *Making of Modern Holland*, 85.
64. Garret Mattingly, *The Armada* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1959), 42–45.
65. Israel, *Dutch Republic*, 237; Howard, *War in European History*, 57.
66. Howard, *War in European History*, 56.
67. Drake, *Problematics*, 288.
68. Delbrück, *Art of War*, volume IV, 156.
69. *Ibid.*, 157.
70. See William McNeill, *The Pursuit of Power* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 128–29.
71. Delbrück, *Art of War*, volume IV, 159.
72. *Ibid.*, 161.
73. McNeill, *Pursuit of Power*, 128.
74. Cited in Drake, *Problematics*, 290; Howard, *War in European History*, 55–57.
75. Gunther Rothenberg, “Maurice of Nassau, Gustavus Adolphus, Raimondo Montecuccoli, and the ‘Military Revolution’ of the Seventeenth Century,” in Peter Paret (ed.), *Makers of Modern Strategy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 41.

76. Israel, *Dutch Republic*, 268.
77. *Ibid.*, 268.
78. *Ibid.*, 268. Also Delbrück, *Art of War*, volume IV, 163.
79. McNeil, *Pursuit of Power*, 130. See also Van Creveld, *Technology and War*, 94.
80. Israel, *Dutch Republic*, 253.
81. Van Loon, *Fall of the Dutch Republic*, 35.
82. Cited in Barnouw, *Pageant*, 154.
83. Howard, *War in European History*, 42–43.
84. Andrew Vincent, *Theories of the State* (New York: Basil Blackwell, 1987), 64–65.
85. David Kaiser, *Politics and War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990), 142.
86. *Ibid.*, 144.
87. John Lynn, “A Quest for Glory,” in Murray Williamson, MacGreggor Knox, and Alvin Bernstein (eds), *The Making of Strategy* (Cambridge: University Press, 1994), 188–92.
88. Henry Guerlac, “Vauban: The Impact of Science on War,” in E.M. Earle (ed.), *Makers of Modern Strategy* (Princeton: University Press, 1971), 26–48; See also Francis Hebbert, *Soldier of France* (New York: Lang, 1981).
89. Russel Weigley, *The Age of Battles* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), 48–49.
90. Richard Preston, Sydney Wise, and Herman Werner, *Men in Arms*, revised edition (New York: Praeger, 1962), 113; see also Kaiser, *War and Politics*, 145–50.
91. Trevor Dupuy, Curt Johnson, and David Bongard, *Harper Encyclopedia of Military Biography* (New York: Harper Collins, 1992), 491.
92. Bruce Porter, *War and the Rise of the State* (New York: Free Press, 1994), 110.
93. Geoffrey Symcox, *The Crisis of French Seapower* (Amsterdam: Martinus Nijhoff, 1974), 26.
94. Brian Downing, *The Military Revolution and Political Change* (Princeton: University Press, 1992), 129.
95. Weigley, *Age of Battles*, 51. The militia system was based on compulsory service in case of invasion. Its role in the regular army was negligible.
96. Howard, *War in European History*, 64.
97. *Ibid.*, 63.
98. Francis Hebbert, *Soldier of France* (New York: Lang, 1981) 235.
99. Franklin Ford, *Robe and Sword* (New York: Harper, 1965), 96–104; Bailey Stone, *The French Parlements and the Crisis of the Old Regime* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 115–77.
100. Lee Kennet, *The French Armies in the Seven Years' War* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1967), ix.
101. Preston et al., *Men in Arms*, 134–35.
102. Kennet, *French Armies*, 38.
103. *Ibid.*, 77.
104. *Ibid.*
105. *Ibid.*, 78.
106. *Ibid.*, 80.
107. *Ibid.*
108. Samuel Scott, *The Response of the Royal Army to the French Revolution* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1978), 7.
109. Kennet, *French Armies*, 80.
110. Scott, *Response of the Royal Army*, 26–27.
111. *Ibid.*, 27.
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INDEX

- Aaron, Daniel 201
Abenheim, Donald 200
Abrhamsson, Bengt 144, 189
absolutism 130, 137
Académie Royale des Sciences 108
Act of Abjuration 92
Adcock, Frank 190
agapic calculus 116
Age of Mycenaean Warlords 48, 55
Albrecht-Carrie, Rene 197
Alexander the Great 82
all-volunteer force and concentration
 of personnel characteristics
 173–4, 178
'Am Mein Volk' speech 134
American Civil War 164, 167
American privateers 163
American Revolution 118, 159
Ames, Fisher 8–9, 186
ancien régime 102, 110, 118
Anderson, John 190–1
Anderson, Robert 190
Andreski, Stanislas 26–7, 30, 186–9; and
 attack v. defence 34
Apter, David 2, 185
archon 61, 63
Argos 73, 75
Argyle, Christopher 188
aristocracy, as natural officers 123
Aristotle 51, 190; and rhetoric 65
armory, original purpose of 49
Army League 145
Aron, Raymond 187
art of the space 95–6
Art of War 8, 15, 33
Athenian citizenship oath 59
Athenian fleet 63–4, 67–71, 76; and
 democracy 67–71; wages paid for
 rowers 69; sailors rebellion 70; and
 thete service 63; superiority of
 63–4
authoritarian bargain 18, 20, 179

Bach, Shirley 11, 186
Bacon, Eugene 201
Barnouw, Adriaan 191–3
Basic Law 156
Bastille 113
Batavian Myth and Dutch
 proto-nationalism 88
Battershaw, Brian 195
Battle of Aegospotami 70
Battle of Cheronaea 76
Battle of Guinegate 83–4, 86
Battle of Hysia 72
Battle of Laupen 83
Battle of Marathon 64
Battle of Plataea 64
Battle of Salamis 63
Baudry, Pierre 195
Bean, Richard 186
Behrens, Catherine 196
Bell, Harry 198
Berenhorst, Georg von 130–1
Berghan, Volker 189, 198
Berlin War Academy 154
Berlin, Isaiah 188
Bernardo, Joseph 201
Bernstein, Alvin 193
Berryman, Sue 11, 186
Bertrand, Jean-Paul 195
Bertraud, Jean-Paul 186
Best, Geoffrey 194
Binkim, Martin 11, 186
Bismarck, Otto von 137, 141–3
Black Commission 136
Blackstone, Judith 11, 186
Bluhm, William 33–4, 188

- Bonaparte, Napoleon 8, 117–19, 121, 131, 133–5
 Bond, Brian 187
 Bongard, David 193, 196
 Boorstin, Daniel 160, 200
 Breisach, Ernst 34, 189
 British Six Acts 136
 Bronze Age 48
Brown v Board of Education 11
 Brown, Bernard 38–9, 189
 Bülow, Heinrich von 130–1
bundestag 157
bundeswehr 156
 bureaucratization of the state 13, 81, 86, 101; and military veterans 124
 Burke, Edmund 115

 Calvinism 87, 89–90
 Cameron, Colin 11, 186
 Cannonade of Valmy 117–18
 canton conscription system 81–2, 84–5, 127–30
 Cardinal Richelieu 101
 careerism 150; and professionalism 173
 Carnot 130
 Carnot, Lazare 8, 114–17, 130; and the *levée en masse* 116–17
 Carsten, Francis 196, 199
 Catholicism and liberalism 87, 91; and Hapsburg Empire 87; Spanish Catholicism 90
 chain of command 38, 44
 Charles the Bold 83
 Charles V 88
 Charles VIII 87
 Chaumejan, Jean 100
 Chickering, Roger 198
 Choiseul, Étienne-Francois 105–9
 citizen militia 80–1, 90, 96–7; in defense of besieged cities 80
 citizen's army 148
 citizen-conscript 173
 Citizenship, aristocratic Greek kinship form 53, 57, 60; participatory 58
 Civil Rights Movement 11
 Classical Age of Greece 68, 76–7
 Clauswitz, Carl von 15, 34, 66, 116, 139, 142–3, 186, 189

 Cleon 66
 clericalism 139
 Coates, J.F. 191
 Coatzee, Marilyn 198
 Colbert, Jean-Baptiste 98–9, 108
 Cold War 26, 28, 165–7
 colonial monarchism 164
 Colonial society 144
 Committee of Public Safety 116–18
 communism 152
companies d'ordonnance 80
condottieri 80
 conscientious objectors 170
 consensual model of government 38–9
 Continental Army 163
 Continental Navy 163
 Corinth 64, 75
 corporatism, masquerading as professionalism 145
 Corsican Rebellions 109
 Corvisiér, Andre 193–4, 196
 Council of 500 67
 Council of 501 67
 Council of Blood 89
 Council of Elders 74
 Council of Troubles 89–90
coup d'etat 2, 45, 146, 177–8
 Courvisier, André 110
 Craig, Gordon 142, 154, 195–200
 Cromwell, Oliver 30, 97, 160
 Crotty, William 201
 Cypselos of Corinth 67–8
 Cyrus the Great 63

 Dahl, Robert 185
 Dalfume, Richard 186
 Darius, King of Persia 60, 63
 Dark Age Greece 50–1, 75
 de Grazia, Sebastian 188
 Declaration of Independence, American 92
 Declaration of Independence, French 115–16
 Declaration of Pillnitz 115
 Defense Committee 157
 deferments 168
 Delbrück, Hans 51, 59, 82–4, 107, 190–5
 Delian Empire 66

- Delian League 64–5, 70; transition to empire 64
 Delos 64
 demagogue 47, 65, 77, 118
 Demeter, Karl 198
 demobilization 28
 democratic moment 20, 179–80
 democratic peace theory 4–7, 166; and realist objections 5–6; as neo-Kantian peace theory 5; and democratic peace theorists' leap of faith 7
 democratization theory, 6
 deterrence, offensive 37–8
 Deutsch, Karl 200
 Diodotus 66
 discipline 95–7, 107; and Dutch mercenaries 95–7; and Prussian Code 107
 discrimination, in placement and promotion 42–3
 diversity and democracy 43
 Don Juan of Austria 91–2
 Downing, Brian 29, 122, 125–6, 185, 188, 193, 195
 Doyle, Michael 5, 185
 Draco's Laws 62
 Drake, Michael 191–2
 dual monarchy of Sparta 74
 Dudley, Robert 93
 Duffy, Christopher 196
 Duke of Alva 88–91
 Duke of Anjou 92
 Duke of Parma 92–3
 Dunnigan, James 188
 Dupuy, R. Ernest 188, 197, 199
 Dupuy, Trevor 188, 193, 196–7, 199
 Dutch guilds and rebellion 87; and local militia 88
 Dutch Rebellion; of 1477–92 86–7, 89–92; of 1566–7 88
 Dutch War 98
 Earle, Edward Mead 196
 Eckstein, Harry 187
école Militaire 108
 Edict of Nantes 125
 Edinger, Lewis 200
 Edmonds, Martin 30, 40, 188–9
 Ehrenreich, Barbara 186
 Eley, Geoff 198
 Elizabeth I 90, 93
 Ellis, John 22, 187–8, 200
 Enlightenment 1, 139
Entente coalition 149
 Ephors 74
 Ergang, Robert 194–6
Estates General 112–13
 Everdell, William 190
 Executive Order 9981 11
 fanaticism 30
 fascism 43
 fascist parties 28
Federalist Papers 161
 Ferrill, Arthur 190
 Finer, Samuel 40–1, 44–5, 189
 first-strike attack, susceptibility of democratic states 6
 First Schelswig-Holstein War 138, 142
 Fischer, Fritz 199
 Flexnor, James 201
 Ford, Franklin 193
 Forrest, William 191
 franchise, and military service 9, 12; test of worthiness 10
 Franco-Prussian War 134, 144, 147
 Franklin, Benjamin 112
 Frederick I 126–7
 Frederick II ('the Great') 120, 129–31
 Frederick III 134–5
 Frederick William ('Great Elector') 122–7; purge of the mercenaries 122, 127
 Frederick William I ('Soldier King') 126–8, 131
 Frederick William III 126, 130–3, 136
 Frederick William IV 136–43
 French and Indian Wars 162
 French Revolution 108, 110, 112–15, 128, 130, 135–6, 165
 Fuller, J.F.C. 22, 187
 Gaddis, John 187
 Gage, Thomas 162
Gebeime Staatspolizei (Gestapo) 38, 155
 Geissler, Erhard 200

- General Staff 135–6, 138–9, 142–51,
 155; Chief of and permanent access
 to the Kaiser 143
Generalkriegskommissariat 124
 Geopolitics 154
Geopolitik 154
 George III 116
 German Admiralty 145
 German labor movement 146
 German mercenaries 87, 90–1
 German Parliament 141–3, 146–9
 Gessler, Otto 15, 150
 Gilbert, Felix 180, 190
 Gillis, John 189
 Girondists 115
 Glatthaar, 10, 186
 Goerlitz, Walter 195–8
 Golden Age of Athens 52, 71, 76
 Gordon, Harold 199
 Gotthard Pass 82
 Grand Pensionaries 89
Grande Privilège 86–7
 Gray, Randal 188
 Greenfield, Liah 194
 Groener, Wilhelm 152, 155
Grote Raad 87
 Grotius 160
Guarde française 113
Guardes du Corps 99
 Guerlac, Henry 193–4
Guerre des postes 118
 Guerrilla strategy 76
 Gunpowder revolution 79–81, 85–6, 93,
 99, 103, 117
 Gurr, Robert 187
 Gustavus of Sweden 97

 Hackett, John 190
 halberd 82
 Hale, John 22, 187
 Hamilton, Alexander 33–4, 161, 188, 200
 Hamilton, Edward 201
 Hanson, Donald 189
 Hapsburg Empire 82, 88, 91; and
 Catholicism 87
 Hattendorf, John 201
 Haushofer, Karl von 154
 Hebbert, Francis 193
 hedgehog pike formation 83
 hegemonic war 60
 Heinz, Greta 197
 helots 71–5
 Henry III 92–3
 Henry, Morton 201
 heresy 89
 hero worship 40
 heroes 40, 52
 heroic combat 80
 Hess, Rudolph 154
 Hill, James 200
 Himmler, Heinrich 153, 155
 Hindenburg, Paul von 147, 152–3
 Hintze, Otto 7–8, 9, 13, 23, 36–7, 124,
 185–9, 196–7, 199
 Hitler, Adolf 152–5, 157
 Hobbes 32–4, 189
 Hobbes, Thomas 188
 Hobbesian political ignorance 179
 Hoffstader, William 201
 Holborn, Hojo 199
 Holger, Herwig 198–9
 Holy Roman Empire 82
 holy war 30
 home-defense militias 160
 Homer's *Illiad* 48
Homoioi 73
hoplite 40, 53–6, 58–9, 61–2, 65, 76–7,
 118; as naval auxiliaries 68–9;
 preference for boarding 69
hoplon 53, 55–6, 69
 Howard, Michael 185, 187,
 191–3, 195
 Hughes, Daniel 198
 hunter-gatherer society 16
 Huntington, Samuel 13, 34, 43–4,
 185–6, 189
 Huxley, George 191

 ideal military structuring for
 democratization 182–3
 Imperial League against Social
 Democracy 144
 Indian Wars 160, 164
innere Führung 157
 interventionism 41, 44–5
 Israel, Jonathan 191–3

- Jackson, Andrew 164
 Jackson, Marian 199
 Jacobins 115–16
jaeger detachments 134
 Jagers, Keith 187
 Janowitz, Morris 34, 189
 Jany, Curt 196
 Japanese Americans, service in WWII 12
 Jay, John 200
 Jesuit Society 107
 Johnson, Curt 193, 196
jonkers 87–8
 Jordan, William 199
junkers 123–5, 128–30, 133–5, 137, 143–4
 Justus Lipsius 94, 96
- Kaiser, David 193
 Kant, Immanuel 5, 22, 33, 188
 Karlsbad Decrees 135–6, 156
 Keegan, John 186
 Kehr, Eckart 197, 199
 Kennett, Lee 102, 193–4
 Khrushchev, Nikita 29
 Kiel Mutiny 149
 Kirk, Russell 186
 Kitchen, Martin 197, 199
 Knight, Frank 200
 Knox, MacGreggor 193
 Korean War 10–11, 167
 Kraus, Franz 187
 Kriedberg, Marvin 201
kriegervereine 145
krümper system 133–4, 150
- Lacey, James 186
landsturm 134, 154
landwehr defensive militia 134, 138, 140, 150, 154
 League of Nations 150
lebensraum 154–5
levée en masse 33, 116–18, 171; and the nation of soldiers 118
 liberal democracy 164–5, 171, 182; and navies 36–7; and universal military service 1; basis in military character 23; military organization and spontaneous emergence 7, 28; promotion through foreign policy 5; and a location near the sea 85
 liberal democratic modernism 148–9
 Liberal-Tory argument 9
 Lipset, Seymour Martin 185
 Littman, Robert 190
 Lockean model of government, 38–9
 Lorimer, Hilda 190
 Louis Phillipe 137
 Louis XIV 108, 110, 112, 114
 Louis XIV 98–105, 125
 Louis XV 102–3, 107–8
 Louis XVI 108, 112–15
 Ludendorf, Erich von 147, 187
luftwaffe 151–2, 154
 Lutz, R.H. 199
 Luxembourg, Rosa 22, 187
 Lykougos 62, 67, 72–4
 Lynn, John 193, 195
- Machiavelli, Niccòlo 4, 8, 15, 32–4, 53–4, 94, 96, 188–9
 Machiavellianism 34
 Mackinder, Halford 146
 Macredis, Roy 38–9, 189
 Madison, James 34, 200
 Mahan, Alfred Thayer 146
 man-at-arms 80
 Manicas, Peter 195
 Maoz, Zeev 185
 Margaret of Burgundy 88
 Martinet, Jean 100, 114, 118
 Marwick, Arthur 21, 186–7
 Marx, Karl 22, 194
 Mary, Duchess of Burgundy 86
 Mattingly, Garrett 192
 Maurice of Orange 93–5, 97, 129
 Maximillian of Burgundy 83–4, 86–7
 McNeill, William 22, 34, 187–8, 192–3
 Mearsheimer, John 35, 185, 187, 189
 Mercenaries 32–4, 49, 51; 58; citizen-mercenaries 58; v. citizen-armies 32–4;
 Mercenary armies 80, as ‘free lances’ 81
 Messenian Wars 72
metics 58, 67
 Metternich, Richard 135
 Mexican-American War 164

- militarism 10, 13, 40–2, 80–1, 144, 107,
 163, 183; German form 144; v.
 military science 40–2; v.
 militarization 40; and ‘the military
 way’ 40–1
 militarist state 146
 militarization, and state development 4
 military code of justice, and corporal
 punishment 132–3
 military draft 166–73; ideal requirements
 of 168–71; and social engineering
 169; and women 171; and
 homosexuals 171–3; and black
 Americans 172–3
 military mobilization and political
 inclusion 31
 military organization and society 26
 military organizing principles 23–4
 Military Participation Ratio (MPR) 26–7
 military professionalism 34–5, 44; and
 occupationalism 44
 military reform commission 131–2
 Military Revolution 93
 military service, class distinctions in Athens
 59, 62
 military, as unvarying homogenous actor
 2; determinist organizational factors
 2; primary roles in the state 9
 militia armies, French 103–4
 Mill, J.S. 79
 Miller, William 201
 Ministry of War 143
 minutemen 161
 Mitchell, Brian 187
 mobocracy 43
 Moltke, Helmuth von (the Elder)
 141–3, 154
 Moltke, Helmuth von (the Younger)
 147, 198
 Monroe, James 10
 Montesquieu 113
 Moore, Will 187
 moral idealism 50
 Morrison, John 191
 Morton, Louis 200
 Mosca, Gaetano 44, 189
 Moskas, Charles 44, 186, 189
 Mumford, Lewis 22, 187
 Music, and military discipline 56, 59
 Mussolini, Benito 22
 Myrdahl, Gunnar 186
 Mytilenean Rebellion 65–7
 National Assembly 113–15, 137
 National Convention 115–16
 National Guard 114, 116
 National Police 151
 national service 131, 169–71; and
 citizenship 169–71
 National Socialism 129, 150, 152–3
 nationalism 101, 131, 142
 NATO 158
 navies and democracy 37, 77; Athenian
 rowers and political rights 69–70
 Navy League 144–5
 Nazi Party 153–4
 Nef, John 21, 187
 neo-Kantian peace theory 5–7, 26
 New Model Army 30, 97, 160
 North, Douglass 186
 null hypothesis 180
 O’Connell, Robert 57, 190–2
 O’Neill, Robert 200
 Ober, Josiah 190
Oberkommando der Wehrmacht
 (OKW) 155
 offensive strategy and tactics 180
officiers de Fortune 111
 Oligarchy of 400 70
 Olson, Mancur 25, 187
 Olympic Games 60
 Oracle at Delphi 60
 Owen, John 185
 Pacification of Ghent 91
 Palmer, John 200–1
 Palmer, Robert 195–6
 Pan-German League 144
 paramilitary organizations 145, 153
 Paret, Peter 192
 Pargellis, Stanley 201
 Parker, Geoffrey 85, 191–2
Parlement 102, 107
 Parliament of the North German
 Confederation 141

- parliaments, estates, and diets 81
- Parthenai rebellion 72
- Patriotic Leagues 145
- patriotism 24, 41–2, 129, 137, 147; and ‘rally round the flag’ affect 129; and military service as patriotic duty 129; and war 41–2
- Peace Corps 169
- Peace of Nicias 74–5
- Peace of Westphalia 122
- peace, goal of both liberals and realists 6; stabilized through balancing 6
- peasant’s militia 127
- Peckman, Howard 201
- Peloponnesian League 64–5, 71
- Peloponnesian War 47, 51, 59, 64, 69, 76
- people’s militia 137
- Pericles 47–8, 65, 77, 88
- perioikos* 71–2
- Pessen, Edward 201
- Peterson, Richard 193
- Pfenning, Winnifred 187
- phalanx* 53–9, 61–2, 68–9, 75–7, 99, 118; tactics in battle 56–7; effect on morale 56–7; success based on discipline v. morale 58; equality in ranks 59
- Phillip II 88–93
- Phillip of Burgundy 86–7
- Phoenicians, and war galleys 68
- physical disabilities and military service 170
- pike square 94–6, 160
- Plato 12
- Plato’s Academy 70
- Plutarch 190
- police power of the military 24, 35–7; of the army, and liberal development 35–7; of the navy, air and space forces 37
- polis* citizenship 57
- political mobilization 27–9, and political participation 29
- Pontiac 160
- Pope Innocent II 79
- Porter, Bruce 21, 38, 187, 189, 193–5
- Praetorian Guard* 145, 153
- praetorianism* 2, 43
- predatory state 18–19
- Preston, Robert 193, 197, 200–1
- Price, Robert 188
- Prince Wittgenstein 135
- private militias 39
- professionalism 145, 173; and careerism 173
- Protestant-Catholic schism 92
- protestantism and liberalism 87
- Prussian Diet 137
- Prussian Parliament 137, 139
- Prussian-model military buildup 31
- purpose of military force 174–8; and peacekeeping 174–7; and police power augmentation 176; and nation-building 174, 176–7; and humanitarian aid 177; and coup d’etat 177–8; and saving failed states 177
- Pylos 65, 74–5
- Quartermaster General 100
- Quigley, Carrol 54, 68–9, 190–1
- radical protestantism 87
- Ralston, David 41–2, 189
- Ranke, Leopold von 177
- Rapp, Alfred 198
- Reformation 87
- regular army 164
- Reich Naval Office 146
- religious idealism 50
- religious separatism 43
- Remini, Robert 201
- Renfroe, Walter 189, 191
- Republic of Nobles 122
- reserve military, inactive ready 133
- Revolution of the Soldiers 113–14
- Revolutionary National Assembly 149
- Revolutionary War 163–4
- Revolutions of 1830 136, 165
- Revolutions of 1848 137, 139, 165
- Revolutions of 1871 165
- Rhodes, Edward 187
- Richardson, Lewis 188
- Riesenberg, Peter 188
- Ritter, Gerhard 198–9
- Roberts, Michael 191

- Robespierre, Maximillian 115, 117
 Röhm, Ernst 153
 Roland, Alex 200
 romanticism 139
 Rosenberg, Hans 196
 Rosinski, Herbert 199
 Rothenburg, Gunther 192, 195
 Rousseau, Jean Jacques 33, 43, 116, 188
 Roy, Ian 187
 Russett, Bruce 185
 Rustow, Dankwart 185

 Saint-Germain, Claude Louis
 107–9, 113
 Salaethus 65
 Schama, Simon 113, 194–5
 Scharnhorst, Gerhard von 130–1
 Schevill, Ferdinand 195
 Schlabendorff, Fabian von 154
 Schlieffen Plan 147
 Schlieffen, Alfred von 147
 Schön, Karl von 137
schuterijen 88
schützstaffeln (SS) 153–4
 Schwarz, Thomas 200
 Scott, Samuel 110, 193–5
 sea beggars 89–91
 Seaton, Albert 199–200
 Second Reich 143–4
 security dilemma 6, 38, 166
 Seekt, Hans von 150–1
 Segal, Dennis 186
 Ségur Decree 108–10
 Selective-Service system, 167–8; and
 women 167
 Seven Years' War 100, 102–6, 108,
 110–12, 161–2
 Shanahan, William 196–7
 Shirer, William 187, 200
 siege warfare 52, 58, 65, 80, 97, 99; and
 bribes 65; and the gunpowder
 revolution 80
 Siegen Military Academy 96
 Simon, Walter 195
 Singer, David 5, 185, 188
 slave armies 30
 Small, Melvin 5, 185, 188
 Smith, Woodruff 198

 Snodgrass, Alfred 190
 Snyder, Jack 185
 social contract theory, 9, 16–20; and
 coercion 18–20; first compacts
 16–19; implicit 9
 social-leveling 180
 Socrates 70
 soldier-citizen 85–6, 94; discipline
 85–6
 Solon 61–3, 67
 Sombart, Werner 22, 187
 Spanish American War 164
 Spanish Armada 93
 Speidel, Hans 154
 Sphacteria 74–5
 Spier, Hans 200
 stable democracy 39–40
stadholder 89
 Stahl, Julius 136
 Stahl, Walter 198
 States General 86, 88–93, 96; first code of
 military conduct 96
 Stein, Karl von 130–1, 133
 Stele of Vultures 57
 Stepan, Alfred 34–5, 189
 Steuben, Wilhelm von 163
 stoicism 73
 Stone, Bailey 193
stösstruppen 148
 Stradling, R.A. 192
strategoï 67
 Strauss, Leo 188
 Strausz-Hupe, Robert 200
Sturm Abteilungen ('Brown Shirts') 152
 Sumerian warfare 57
 Swiss citizenship 82, 84, 88; and military
 discipline 84
 Swiss Diet 82
 Swiss mercenaries 81, 84
 Swiss phalanx 82–4; and artillery 83
 Swiss pike 82, 85
 Symcox, Geoffrey 193

 Tacitus 88
 Taylor, Alan 197
 'tenth penny' tax 90
 Teutonic Knights 122
The Soldier and the State 43

- theoretical impasse 1
 theoretical reconciliation 7
 theory, mono-influential 3–4
thetes 58–9, 62
 Thirty Tyrants 70
 Thirty Year Peace 65
 Thirty Years' War 97, 122, 127
 Thomas, Robert 186
 Thompson, William 5, 185
 Thucydides 47, 72, 76, 190–1
 Tilly, Charles 7, 18, 23, 41, 185–7, 189
 Tilly 7
 Tirpitz, Alfred von 145–6, 148
 total war 1, 15, 26–7, 76, 160; long term effect 27
 totalitarianism 43
 Toynbee, Arnold 21–2, 186–7
 Treaty of Malmö 138
 Treaty of Nonsuch 93
 Treaty of Paris 104, 135
 Treaty of Versailles 150–4
 Treitschke, Heinrich von 22, 139, 144, 187, 195, 197–8
 trireme 68–70
 Trojan War 50
 Trojan warfare 48
 Truman, Harry 11
 Tuskegee Airmen 12
 tyrants 61, 63

 Union of Holland and Zeeland 92
 Union of Utrecht 92, 97
 universal military obligation and universal suffrage 59
 Upton, Emory 161–2, 201

 Vagts, Alfred 9–10, 36–7, 40–2, 126, 145, 186, 189, 196, 198
 Van Creveld, Martin 189, 191, 193, 199
 Van Evera, Stephen 199
 Van Loon, Hendrick 85, 191, 199
 Van Oldenbarnvelt, Johan 93
 Vanhanen, Tatu 187
 Vauban fortification 99
 Vauban, Sebastien 99, 102; and invention of bayonet socket 99
 Veit, Valentin 127, 149–50, 196–7

 venality 106–7, 123
 Versailles Peace Treaty 133
 Vietnam War 11, 167
 Vincent, Andrew 193
 Vista program 169

 Waltz, Kenneth 188
 War Ministry 139, 149
 War of 1812 164
 War of Devolution 98
 War of Independence, American 109, 112–13, 162
 War of Liberation 134, 136
 War of the Grand Alliance 98
 War on Terrorism 165–6
 war 6–7, 21, 24–5; preparation and liberal democracy 6–7; war proper 21; as a social catalyst 24–5; correlation to social change 24–5; prolongation and social impact 24
 warrior-citizenship of Sparta 73
 Wars of Liberation 142–3
 Wars of the Spanish Succession 98, 101
 Washington, George 162
 Watkins, Trevor 190
 Watson, Sidney 195
 Weber, Max 23, 30–1, 40, 43, 161, 187–9, 200
 Wedgewood, Cicely 192
wehrmacht 154, 157
 Weigley, Russell 193, 201
 Werner, Henry 197
 Werner, Herman 193
 Wheeler-Bennett, John 199–200
 White, Lynn 191
 Wilkenson, Samuel 195
 Willems, Emilio 198, 200
 William I (England) 142
 William I (Germany) 143–4, 146–9
 William of Orange 90–4; and the *Apology* 92
 William the Silent (Prince of Orange) 88–90, 94
 William-Louis of Nassau 94–5
 Wilson, Woodrow 149
 Wise, Sydney 193, 197, 200
 Wolin, Sheldon 188

- women, military service and
franchise 11
- World War I 28, 31, 121, 143–4,
147–8, 154
- World War II 28, 31, 121, 129, 55, 158,
167–8
- Wrangel, Friedrich von 137
- Wright, Quincy 188
- Xenophon 191
- Xerxes, King of Persia 60, 63
- Yadin, Yigael 57, 190
- yeomen 82
- Young German's League 145
- Zagare, Frank 26, 187