

RESPONSES TO WAR

**AN INTELLECTUAL HISTORY OF WAR FROM
MACHIAVELLI TO KUBRICK'S "FULL METAL JACKET"**

FIRST SEMESTER 1990

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« Les horreurs de la guerre ». Gravure de Moreau le jeune pour *Candide*.

COURSE DESCRIPTION

The aim of the course is to examine a selection of the extraordinary variety of responses to war from the late 15th century to the present. These include the responses of actual participants in fighting (Grimmelshausen, Clausewitz, Tolstoy, Remarque, Hitler, Orwell, Böll, Stone), contemporary civilian eyewitnesses (Callot, Voltaire, Goya, Nightingale, Dunant, Kipling, Brittain, Hersey, Herr), and those who were just influenced generally by the wars of their time (Shakespeare, Grotius, Knox, Beethoven, Zola, Picasso, Kubrick, Baez). The underlying assumption of the course is that the experience of war, whether directly or indirectly, has had a profound impact on the way many individuals think and that this change in thinking has been reflected in their work in such diverse media as novels, plays, art, music, political philosophy, and film making.

The 12 major wars or periods of conflict dealt with in the course have influenced the economic, political and social development of not just Europe but of the entire world. Therefore, in order to comprehend the origins and structure of our own society, it is important to study them. However, the study of war has too often been left in the hands of professional military historians who are not sufficiently sensitive to the intellectual and cultural consequences of war. Thus another aim of this course is to concentrate on this intellectual and cultural dimension to war which has been neglected for too long.

When the study of war is approached from this direction the emphasis turns from the military leaders and the outcome of battles to the subjective experience of participants, eyewitnesses and, very importantly, victims. Such a study tells us something about war which traditional military history does not - namely its effect on ordinary individuals who are caught up in an historical event often beyond their comprehension and certainly beyond their control. It also tells us something important about the human condition, how individuals cope with extreme situations and how this experience influences their later thinking and creative work.

A common theme of the responses to war which we will examine in the course is the horror, destructiveness, and sheer waste of war in terms of human life and property. Yet at the same time it also becomes obvious that many individuals counterbalance their horror of war with the view that war also provides an opportunity for some positive and even noble human attributes to show themselves. For example, war allows the development of the very close feeling of comradeship, the opportunity for sacrifice and individual heroism, and the spur to reform society after the war is over. This tension between the horror of war and its usefulness or necessity is just one aspect of the complexity of responses to war which we will examine in the course.

COURSE STRUCTURE

Each week there will be:

1. a lecture at 2.15 p.m. on Wednesdays (Napier L19) in which I will discuss matters covered in the tutorial reading and also present some art or music about war.
2. a two hour film or video session on Mondays at 2.15 p.m. (Napier L16) in which I will show a feature film about war.
3. an additional two hour film or video session on Fridays at 2.15 p.m. (Napier L16) in which I will show additional feature films about war.
4. a one hour tutorial dealing with the set reading

OVERALL STRUCTURE AND PLAN OF THE COURSE

	Monday Film Napier L16	Wednesday Lecture Napier L19	Friday Film Napier L16	Tutorial Topic
Orientation Week		Introductory Lecture		
		Part A		
Week 1	"Henry V"	Lecture	"Julius Caesar"	Introductory Tutorial
Week 2	"War and Peace 1"	Lecture	"War and Peace 2"	1. The Christian Prince & the Wars of Religion
Week 3	"War and Peace 3"	Lecture	"Breaker Morant"	2. The Thirty Years War
Week 4	"All Quiet on the Western Front"	Lecture	"King & Country"	3. The Enlightenment
Week 5	"Paths of Glory"	Lecture	"La Grande Illusion"	4. The French Revolutionary & Napoleonic Wars
		Part B		
Week 6	Lecture	Lecture	No Film: Public Holiday	5. The Crimean War
		Mid-semester break		
Week 7	"The Tin Drum"	No Lecture: Public Holiday	"Come and See"	6. The Franco-Prussian War
Week 8	"Catch 22"	Lecture	"Rome: Open City"	7. The Boer War
Week 9	"The Human Condition 3"	Lecture	"M*A*S*H"	8. The First World War
		Part C		
Week 10	"Atomic Cafe"	Lecture	"Dr Strangelove"	9. The Spanish Civil War
Week 11	No Film: Public Holiday	Lecture (Essays due 5.00 pm)	"The War Game"	10. The Second World War
Week 12	"The Green Berets"	Lecture	"Platoon"	11. The Cold War & Nuclear Deterrence
Week 13	"Full Metal Jacket"	Concluding Lecture		12. The Vietnam War
Week 14	Public Holiday	Discussion of films		



PUBLIC HOLIDAYS

There will be no films on Friday 13 April (Good Friday) and Monday 21 May and no lecture on Wednesday 25 April (Anzac Day). There will be an extra lecture in week 6 on Monday 9 April to make up for this loss. Tutorials scheduled for those public holidays will be held at another time to be determined.

ATTENDANCE AT LECTURES AND TUTORIALS

Attendance at lectures is optional but strongly recommended as there is an examination question on the topics covered in the lectures. Attendance at tutorials is **required**. Students missing more than two tutorials (without adequate medical or other reasons) will be liable to be precluded from the course.

VIEWING OF FILMS

It is strongly recommended that you view the films and videos in Napier L16 as they are preceded by introductory remarks about the director, the context in which the film was made and issues raised by the film itself. These comments are designed to assist you in understanding the film and to learn to view films critically.

It is unlikely that all of you will be able to attend all of the film sessions throughout the semester. I suggest that you choose a minimum of 6 or 7 to view closely and critically. However, I do hope that the films are of sufficient interest and importance to encourage you to attend much more than this minimum number. Since one of the examination questions deals with the films the more films you can see and think about the better off you will be.

If you choose to write a paper or make a tutorial presentation on a film topic it is advisable to view the film a second time. The history department has a TV and video which we can use for this purpose and films can be viewed in room 507 Napier by appointment with me.

ASSESSMENT

Assessment will be based upon three pieces of written work comprising two 1,500 word tutorial papers (worth 20% of total assessment) and a research essay (3,500 words for second year students or 4,500 words for third year students, worth 40%), three additional tutorial presentations (worth 15%), and a final examination (worth 25%).

2 1,500 word tutorial papers	20%
1 3,500/4,500 word research essay	40%
3 tutorial presentations	15%
final examination	25%



TEXTBOOKS

- Desiderius Erasmus, *The Essential Erasmus*, ed. John P. Dolan (New York: New American Library, 1964). Now out of print.
- Machiavelli, *The Prince*, ed. Quentin Skinner and Russell Price (Cambridge University Press). A Penguin edition is also available.
- William Shakespeare, *Julius Caesar*. Any edition.
- William Shakespeare, *Henry V*. Any edition.
- Voltaire, *Candide, or Optimism*, ed. John Butt (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985).
- Immanuel Kant, "Perpetual Peace" in *Political Writings*, ed. Hans Reiss (Cambridge University Press, 1977).
- Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, ed. Anatol Rapoport (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968). The best edition is Carl von Clausewitz, *On War* (1820), trans. Michael Howard and Peter Paret (Princeton University Press, 1976) with excellent introductory essays.
- Benjamin Constant, *Political Writings*, ed. Biancamaria Fontana (Cambridge University Press, 1988).
- Francisco Goya y Lucientes, *The Disasters of War*, ed. Philip Hofer (New York: Dover, 1967).
- Leo Tolstoy, *The Sebastopol Sketches* (1856), trans. David McDuff (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1986).
- Leo Tolstoy, *War and Peace*, ed. Rosemary Edmonds (Harmondsworth: Penguin).
- Emile Zola, *The Debacle, 1870-71*, trans. Leonard Tancock (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1982).
- Erich Maria Remarque, *All Quiet on the Western Front* (Ontario, Canada: Coles Publishing Co.). The British edition is better than the American as the Americans censored what they considered at the time to be bad language and unsavoury episodes, such as the famous latrine scene.
- The Collected Poems of Wilfred Owen*, ed. C. Day Lewis (New York: New Directions Books, 1965).
- Vera Brittain, *Testament of Youth* (Virago Press).
- Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, ed. D.C. Watt (London: Hutchinson, 1972).
- George Orwell, *Homage to Catalonia.*, introduction by Julian Symons (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1989).
- George Orwell, *Nineteen Eighty-Four* (Harmondsworth: Penguin).
- Heinrich Böll, *And Where were you, Adam?*, trans. Leila Vennewitz (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1987).
- Günter Grass, *The Tin Drum* (Harmondsworth, Penguin).
- Joseph Heller, *Catch 22*.

Mark Baker, *NAM: The Vietnam War in the Words of the Men and Women Who Fought There* (London: Abacus, 1982).

Michael Herr, *Dispatches* (London: Picador, 1977).

John Hersey, *Hiroshima* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1987). The revised 1986 edition contains a new chapter "The Aftermath."

OTHER RECOMMENDED TEXTBOOKS

The following recommended textbooks provide useful overviews of the nature of war in European history. Unlike the textbooks for use in the tutorials these works are of a general nature and concentrate on the social and economic aspects of war rather than a intellectual/history of ideas approach. A good one volume intellectual history of war remains to be written.

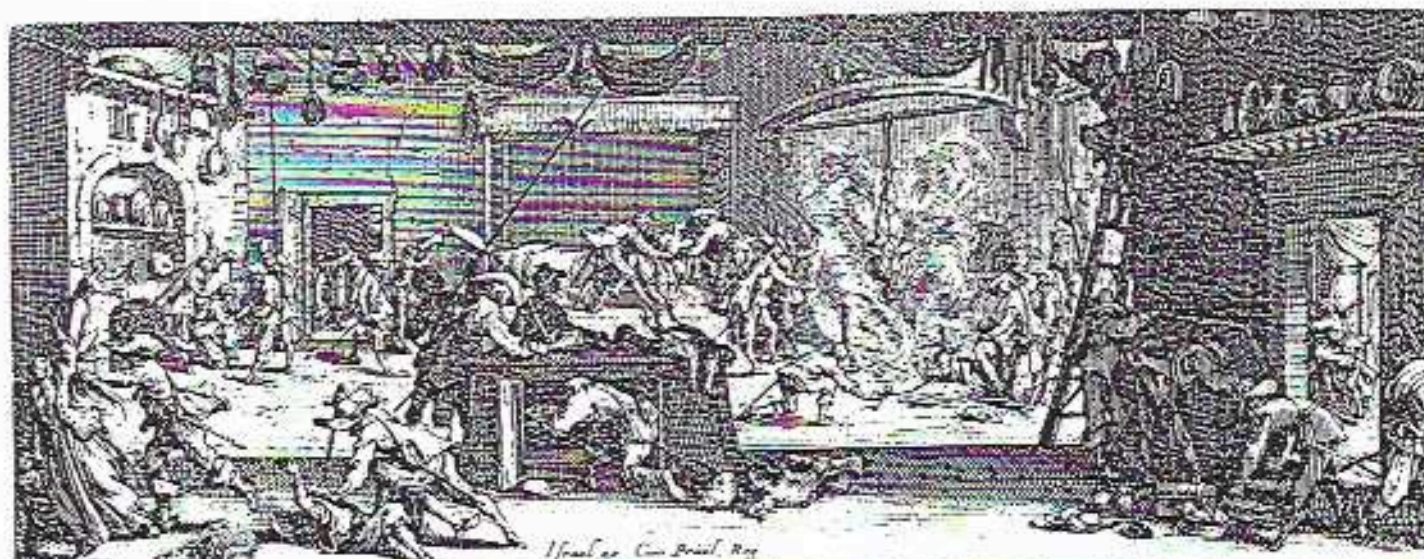
Michael Howard, *War in European History* (Oxford University Press, 1979).

William H. McNeill, *The Pursuit of Power: Technology, Armed Force, and Society since A.D. 1000* (University of Chicago Press, 1982).

The Fontana series is an excellent introduction to the social history of war in Europe since the Renaissance: *Fontana History of European War and Society*, ed. Geoffrey Best.

1. J.R. Hale, *War and Society in Renaissance Europe 1450-1620* (London: Fontana, 1985).
2. M.S. Anderson, *War and Society in Europe of the Old Regime 1618-1789* (London: Fontana, 1988).
3. Brian Bond, *War and Society in Europe, 1870-1970* (London: Fontana).
4. Geoffrey Best, *War and Society in Revolutionary Europe, 1770-1870* (London: Fontana, 1982).

The following reference work, along with its companion volume on film (listed on the following page) is highly recommended: *War and Peace in Literature: Prose, Drama and Poetry which illuminate the Problem of War*, compiled by Lucy Dougall (Chicago: World Without War Publications, 1982).



*Voilà les beaux exploits de ces cœurs inhumains
Ils ravagent par tout rien ne s'échappe à leur main*

*Un pour avoir de l'or, imitant des supplices,
L'autre à nul forfait n'aime ses complices.*

*Et tous d'un même accord commencent avec effort
Le vol, le rapt, le meurtre, et le violant.*

269 Plundering a Large Farmhouse. The poem reads: "Here are the fine exploits of these inhuman hearts. They ravage everywhere. Nothing escapes their hands. One invents

tortures to gain gold, another instigates his accomplices to perform a thousand misdeeds, and all with one accord spitefully commit theft, kidnapping, murder and rape."

John Dowling, *War. Peace. Film Guide*, revised edition (Chicago: World Without War Publications, 1980).

The International Dictionary of Films and Filmmakers. Volume 1: Films, ed. Christopher Lyon (London: Macmillan, 1987).

The International Dictionary of Films and Filmmakers. Volume 2: Directors, ed. Christopher Lyon (London: Macmillan, 1987).

Jay Hyams, *War Movies*. (New York: W.I.L. Smith, 1984).

Ivan Butler, *The War Film* (South Brunswick and New York: A.S. Barnes and Co., 1974).

Leif Furhammar and Folke Isaksson, *Politics and Film*, trans. Kersti French (London: Studio Vista, 1971), pp. 145-48.

Terry Christensen, *Reel Politics: American Political Movies from "Birth of a Nation" to "Platoon"* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987).

K. Brownlow, *The War, the West and the Wilderness* (London, 1979).

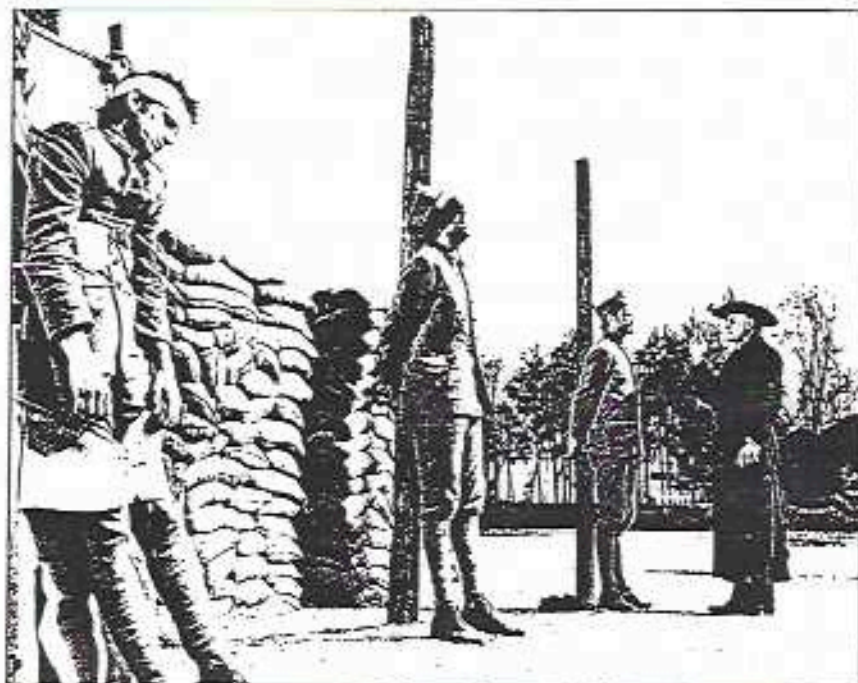
J. Daniel, *Guerre et cinéma: grandes illusions et petits soldats 1895-1971* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1972).

Paul Virilio, *War and Cinema: The Logistics of Perception*, trans. Patrick Camiller (London: Verso, 1989).

GENERAL WORKS ON FILM

James Monaco, *How to Read a Film: The Art, Technology, Language, History and Theory of Film and Media*, revised edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981).

Louis Giannetti, *Understanding Movies*, third edition (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1982).



TUTORIAL PAPERS, TUTORIAL PRESENTATIONS AND THE RESEARCH ESSAY

The course is divided into three sections:

- Part A: from Machiavelli to Napoleon (weeks 1-5)
- Part B: from the Crimean War to the First World War (weeks 5-9)
- Part C: from the Spanish Civil War to the Vietnam War (weeks 10-13)

You will be required to select 6 topics, i.e. 2 topics per section, (a text or a film for example) about which you will read in some depth. One of those topics will be presented and then written up as a tutorial paper or essay, the other topic will be given orally in class as a tutorial presentation (and not written up). A full list of the topics for discussion and reading can be found on pp. 11-15 of this guide.

The tutorial presentation will be based upon the chosen text/film and the relevant reading listed in the guide. It will be a formal presentation in which the author's life and background, the war the author experienced or reacted to, the historical context in which the text was written, and the author's attitude to war expressed in the text will be discussed. Rambling, ill-prepared and off-the-cuff remarks will not be acceptable.

The tutorial papers will be a concise discussion (i.e. no more than 1500 words) of the question based upon the required reading and as much of the recommended reading as you can find. Tutorial papers must be presented orally in class (in the same fashion as the tutorial presentations described above) and should be in the form of a good first draft. You then have a further week in which to revise your paper and do extra reading before handing it in at the following tutorial.

The research essays will be a product of a deep reading of the topic, initially based upon the recommended reading listed in the guide, but also including material you have found for yourself in the library. A library seminar will be arranged at a time to be determined to assist you in locating relevant reference works and primary and secondary sources. A summary of your research essay will be presented in class at the appropriate time.

Essays are due in no later than 5.00 pm Wednesday, 23 May in week 11.

As one of the examination questions concerns the films it is strongly recommended that one of your tutorial presentations or pieces of written work be on a film topic.

PENALTIES FOR LATE OR EXCESSIVELY LONG PAPERS

There will be a penalty of 2 percentage points per day for late papers and a penalty of 2 percentage points per hundred words over the 1500 word limit.

RESUBMISSION OF PAPERS

Papers may be rewritten and resubmitted for marking at any time up to the day of the end of semester examination.

END OF SEMESTER EXAMINATION

An examination of three hours duration will include questions on the lectures, feature films and the tutorial reading.

MY OFFICE HOURS

Mondays, Wednesdays, Fridays 9.00 a.m.-5.00 p.m. Napier 414. Phone: 228 5604.
At other times I can be contacted at home, phone no. 353 1691.

Unless otherwise stated the tutorial question is as follows:

Discuss the response to war of one of the following authors/artists/composers/film makers. Refer in your answer to the specific war which stimulated their response, the historical context in which they worked, and to specific passages/images/phrases to support your analysis.

To adequately answer the question, whether as a tutorial paper or research essay, you need to read the relevant text in addition to as much of the recommended reading as you have time for.

A good paper will contain the following:

1. Some biographical knowledge of the author's life, especially noting any direct and personal experience of war.
2. An awareness of the historical context in which the text/art/music/film was created, with particular attention to the war/wars which were going on at the time.
3. An analysis of the text/work of art/music/film based on your own ideas and also drawing upon the work of the secondary sources listed in the guide. You must refer to specific passages or images from the text/film in your paper.
4. An awareness of the evaluation and interpretation of the text/art/music/film by historians/critics.
5. Your own evaluation, interpretation and conclusion.

It is a serious mistake to discuss the text/art/music/film by itself without reference to the personal experience of the author or without placing it in its historical context. Those majoring in English are particularly prone to this error. May I remind them that this is a history course and our primary interest is in the historical appreciation of the author and the text. Another serious error is to base your paper on the secondary sources alone without reading and analysing the text/art/music/film for yourself.

LAYOUT OF TUTORIAL PAPERS AND ESSAYS.

Papers should have a wide margin (4-5 cms is recommended) and be typed (or carefully hand-written) and double-spaced. The name of the course, the tutorial topic, your name, your tutorial time, and my name all should be on the title page. References to the primary and secondary sources should be in the form of footnotes (at the bottom of the page) or endnotes (at the end of the paper). The first time you cite a work you should give the reference in full (author/editor, chapter or journal article title in inverted commas, title underlined, place of publication, publisher, date of publication), and page numbers. Further references can be made by using the accepted Latin abbreviations or abbreviated title. All works used in preparing the paper should be listed in full in a separate bibliography at the end of the paper. These bibliographic references should be separately listed as "Primary Sources" and "Secondary Sources." Long quotations (more than a sentence) should be kept to a minimum but when they are necessary they should be indented about 2-3 cms left and right and single spaced.

Illegible or sloppily presented work will be returned unmarked for rewriting.

HOW TO USE THIS COURSE GUIDE

Do not be intimidated by the size of the course guide or the number of films which are offered. The approach you should take is to treat the course as a kind of intellectual smorgasbord. There are a huge number of dishes on offer but you can only eat so much in one meal! I have provided such a detailed bibliography primarily to assist you in your research essay. The books and articles listed here should provide you with a good beginning for your research. Another reason is to make it easier for you to find material each week to read. If you can't find a particular book or journal article on the shelves there is always another one to look up. I also hope that you will browse through the guide and follow up anything that looks unusual or interesting. Be a bit adventurous in your selection of what to read!

To begin with I suggest that you read through all the introductory remarks at the beginning of each of the 12 topics. This will give you a broad overview of what we will be doing in the course and some idea of what options are available for you to read. Within each week's topic there are between 2 and a dozen or so novels, works of political philosophy, music, art, and film. With the assistance of my introductory comments and by following your own interests you need to choose a total of 6 individuals (2 from each of Part A, B, and C of the course) to study in some depth and on whom you will write your tutorial papers, essays and presentations.

One way in which you could approach the selection of your topics is to choose say 3 or 4 written texts (such as an eyewitness account, a novel, or a work of political philosophy) and then 2 or 3 other topics such as a film or a work of art or music for variety. Those of you who have interests in political philosophy, art, music, or literature should be able to choose topics that will enable you to pursue those interests in some detail. Others might like to choose their topics from a range of disciplines in order to get a truly interdisciplinary perspective on the problem of war. As there is an examination question on the films it is advisable to choose at least one film as one of your topics.

In the weeks when you are not giving a tutorial paper or presentation I expect you to have read at least something on one of the topics so as to be able to contribute to the discussion in the tutorials. In order to keep this reading within manageable bounds I suggest that you limit it to the following three items: as much of the text as you can manage, something about the author, and something about the historical background in which the author wrote.

The reading guide presents the topics chronologically under the heading of a major war or period of conflict. If you have an interest in the First World War for example, you can turn to that topic, read through the introduction and list of tutorial topics, and then make your selection. If you are not sure about what topics to choose I have provided the following thematic list to assist you. Instead of listing them under the relevant war or period I have broken them down into the following 8 themes according to the type of response to war:

1. Political Philosophy, Economics and Sociology
2. Eyewitness Accounts
3. Politicians and Activists
4. Art
5. Literature
6. Music
7. Films
8. Women.

For example, if your interest is in political philosophy, section one will list all the works of that kind which we will come across in the course. By all means pursue your own interests but I would recommend that, in order to get the most out of this course, you do not restrict yourself to only one kind of response to war to the exclusion of all others.

1. POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY, ECONOMICS AND SOCIOLOGY

1. Machiavelli's attitude to war and the conduct of a Prince in time of war and peace: Machiavelli, *The Prince* (1513).
2. Erasmus's view of war and the conduct of a Christian prince in war and peace: *The Education of a Christian Prince* (1516) and *The Complaint of Peace* (1517).
3. The Monarchomach theory of the just killing of a tyrant: Philippe du Plessis-Mornay, *Vindiciae contra tyrannos* ("Defense of Liberty Against Tyrants", 1579).
4. Grotius and the laws which govern a nation when at war: Hugo Grotius, *The Law of War and Peace* (1625).
5. Plans for Perpetual Peace: the Abbé de Saint-Pierre and Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Saint-Pierre, *Projet pour rendre la paix perpétuelle en Europe* (1713) and Rousseau's summary (1756).
6. Voltaire's criticisms of war in *Candide* (1759) and *Philosophical Dictionary* (1764).
7. Bentham on international law and a plan for peace: Jeremy Bentham, "Plan for an Universal and Perpetual Peace" (1786-89).
8. Kant's plan for perpetual peace: Immanuel Kant, *Perpetual Peace* (1795).
9. Knox's arguments against Britain waging offensive war against the French Revolution: Vicesimus Knox, "Sermon on the Unlawfulness of Offensive War," (1793) and "The Spirit of Despotism" (1795).
10. Burke's desire to have a military "crusade" against the French Revolution in "Letters on a Regicide Peace" (1796-7).
11. Constant's attack on Napoleon as a militarist, a usurper and a conqueror: Benjamin Constant, "The Spirit of Conquest and Usurpation and their relation to European Civilisation," (1814).
12. Carl von Clausewitz's view of Napoleon and the French Revolutionary Wars in *On War* (1820).
13. Gustave de Molinari's radical liberal critique of war: *Grandeur et décadence de la guerre* (1898).
14. Jean de Bloch's predictions of the destructiveness of the next war: *The Future of War* (1899).
15. The sociology of militarism: Herbert Spencer's essays on "Rebarbarization," "Regimentation" and "Imperialism and Slavery" (1902).
16. John A. Hobson's liberal journalism and criticism of empire: *Imperialism: A Study* (1902).
18. A liberal attack on war time economic planning: Friedrich Hayek's *The Road to Serfdom* (1944).



2. EYEWITNESS ACCOUNTS

1. Leo Tolstoy's reactions to the fighting at Sebastopol: *The Sebastopol Sketches* (1856).
2. Florence Nightingale's observations on the hygiene and mortality rates of British soldiers in the Crimea and her proposed reforms of the British Army medical system: *Evidence taken before the Commission* (1858).
3. Henry Dunant's eyewitness account of the Battle of Solferino and the foundation of the Red Cross: *A Memory of Solferino* (1859).
4. Theodor Fontane as war correspondent during the 1860s and a prisoner of war during the Franco-Prussian War: *Kriegsgefangen. Erlebtes 1870* (1871).
5. Hitler's experience as a soldier during the First World War and his attitude to war: *Mein Kampf* (1925-26).
6. The experiences of a soldier who came to support Arab independence against the Turks, and later the British and French: T.E. Lawrence, *Seven Pillars of Wisdom: A Triumph* (1926).
7. Vera Brittain's diary and memoir of her pacifism and nursing experience: *Testament of Youth* (1933) and *Chronicle of Youth*. (1981).
8. The experience of war by one of the greatest historians of the first half of the 20th century: Marc Bloch's *Memoirs of War* (1915) and *Strange Defeat*. (1940).
9. George Orwell, *Homage to Catalonia*.(1938).
10. Interviews with American soldiers in the Second World War: Studs Terkel, *The "Good War"* (1984).
11. An American historian's recollections of fighting in World War Two: Paul Fussell, *Wartime* (1989).
12. The diary of a Japanese doctor, Michiko Itachiya, in Hiroshima: *Hiroshima Diary* (1945).
13. John Hersey's interviews with Japanese survivors and reconstruction of events on the day the atomic bomb was dropped: John Hersey, *Hiroshima* (1946).
14. Mark Baker's interviews with American combat soldiers about their experiences in Vietnam: *Nam: The Vietnam War in the Words of the Men and Women who fought there*. (1982).
15. An account by a *New Yorker* journalist: Michael Herr, *Dispatches* (1977).
16. The perspective of the black soldier in Vietnam: W. Terry, *Bloods* (1984).



3. POLITICIANS AND ACTIVISTS

1. The opposition of the liberals Cobden and Bright to the war in the Crimea: political speeches and pamphlets.
2. The pacifist novelist Bertha von Suttner: *Die Waffen nieder!* (1889).
3. Alfred Nobel and the Peace Prize.
4. A key figure in the German peace movement: Alfred Hermann Fried's *Handbuch der Friedensbewegung* (1905).
5. Lord Baden-Powell and the scouting movement: *Scouting for Boys* (1908).
6. Norman Angell and the illusion of war: *The Illusion of War* (1909).
7. A philosopher opposed to war: Bertrand Russell, *Justice in Wartime* (1916).
8. Autobiography of a pacifist opponent of the Vietnam war: Joan Baez (1968, 1989).

4. ART

1. Callot's etchings of Lorraine in the Thirty Years War: *The Miseries of War* (1632-33).
2. Goya's depiction of the guerrilla war against the French in Spain: *The Disasters of War* (posthumously published 1863).
3. Honoré Daumier's satirical cartoons on militarism in the 1860s.
4. Aubrey Beardsley's illustrations for the classical Greek attack on war: Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* (1896).
5. Propaganda posters in the First World War.
6. Pablo Picasso's reaction to the Nazi bombing of the city of Guernica: the mural "Guernica" (1937).
7. The view of nuclear war in the art of the Hiroshima survivors: *Unforgettable Fire: Pictures Drawn by Atomic Bomb Survivors* (1975).

5. LITERATURE

1. Tyrannicide in Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*: Shakespeare's play *Julius Caesar* (1599).
2. Shakespeare's view of war and the duties of a Christian Prince in *Henry V* (1599).
3. Grimmelshausen's view of the Thirty Years War: *Simplicius Simplicissimus* (1689).
4. Stendhal's novel set in Italy during the occupation by Napoleon's army: *The Charterhouse of Parma* (1839).
5. Tolstoy's attitude to war in his magnum opus: *War and Peace*. (1869).
6. Theodor Fontane's novel from the German perspective: *Before the Storm: A Novel of the Winter of 1812-13* (1878).
7. Émile Zola's account of the Franco-Prussian War: *The Debacle (1870-71)* (1892).

8. Mark Twain on "the damned human race": "The Chronicle of Satan" (1900) and "The War Prayer" (1904-5).
9. Rudyard Kipling's fiction about war and empire: *Traffics and Discoveries* (1904).
10. A classic depiction of trench warfare: Erich Maria Remarque's novel *All Quiet on the Western Front* (1929).
11. Wilfred Owen's war poetry (1917-18).
12. Heinrich Böll's novels and short stories about life in the German army: *And where were you, Adam?* (1947-51).
13. Black comedy on war: Günter Grass, *The Tin Drum* (1959).
14. Black comedy on war: Joseph Heller's *Catch-22* (1961).
15. George Orwell's vision of a society in perpetual war: *Nineteen Eighty-Four* (1948).

6. MUSIC

1. Beethoven's attitude to war, the French Revolution and Napoleon: the Eroica Symphony (1803).
2. Berlioz's treatment of war in a classical context: the opera *Les Troyens* (1856-58).
3. Benjamin Britten's combination of Owen's poetry and the Latin Requiem Mass: *War Requiem* (1962).
4. Dmitri Shostakovich's reactions to Stalin and the Nazi invasion of Russia: *Testimony* and the War Symphony number 7 (1941-2).
5. Anti-Vietnam War protest songs of the 1960s.

7. FILMS

1. Tyrannicide in Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*: Mankiewicz's film (1953).
2. Shakespeare's view of war and the duties of a Christian Prince in Laurence Olivier's film of *Henry V* (1944).
3. Bondarchuk's film of Tolstoy's *War and Peace*. (1967).
4. Military justice: Bruce Beresford's film of *Breaker Morant* (1980).
5. A classic depiction of trench warfare: Lewis Milestone's film of Erich Maria Remarque's novel *All Quiet on the Western Front* (1930).
6. Jean Renoir's great illusion: *La Grande Illusion* (1937).
7. The courts martial and execution of soldiers: Kubrick's *Paths of Glory* (1957) and Joseph Losey's *King and Country* (1964).
8. Derek Jarman's film version of Benjamin Britten's *War Requiem* (1985).
9. The Italian resistance: Rossellini's *Rome: Open City* (1945).

10. Black comedy on war: Volker Schlöndorff's film of Günter Grass, *The Tin Drum* (1979).
11. Elem Klimov's reaction to the Nazi invasion of Russia: the film *Come and See* (1983).
12. Black comedy of war: Mike Nicol's film of Joseph Heller's *Catch-22* (1971).
13. Kobayashi's film about the Japanese occupation of Manchuria: *The Human Condition* (1959).
14. Nuclear deterrence in film: Stanley Kubrick's *Dr Strangelove* (1964).
15. The BBC's suppression of a realistic account of the effects of a nuclear bomb attack: Peter Watkin's *War Game* (1966).
16. Black comedy in Altman's *M*A*S*H** (1970).
17. American propaganda and misinformation about nuclear weapons: *Atomic Café* (1983).
18. Gung-ho Americanism: John Wayne's *The Green Berets* (1968).
19. A film about Vietnam by a veteran: Oliver Stone's *Platoon* (1986).
20. Kubrick's third film about war: *Full Metal Jacket* (1987).

8. WOMEN (DRAWN FROM THE ABOVE SECTIONS)

1. Florence Nightingale's observations on the hygiene and mortality rates of British soldiers in the Crimea and her proposed reforms of the British Army medical system: *Evidence taken before the Commission* (1858).
2. The pacifist novelist Bertha von Suttner: *Die Waffen nieder!* (1889).
3. Vera Brittain diary and memoir of her pacifism and nursing experience: *Testament of Youth* (1933) and *Chronicle of Youth*. (1981).
4. Autobiography of a pacifist opponent of the Vietnam War: Joan Bacz (1968, 1989).



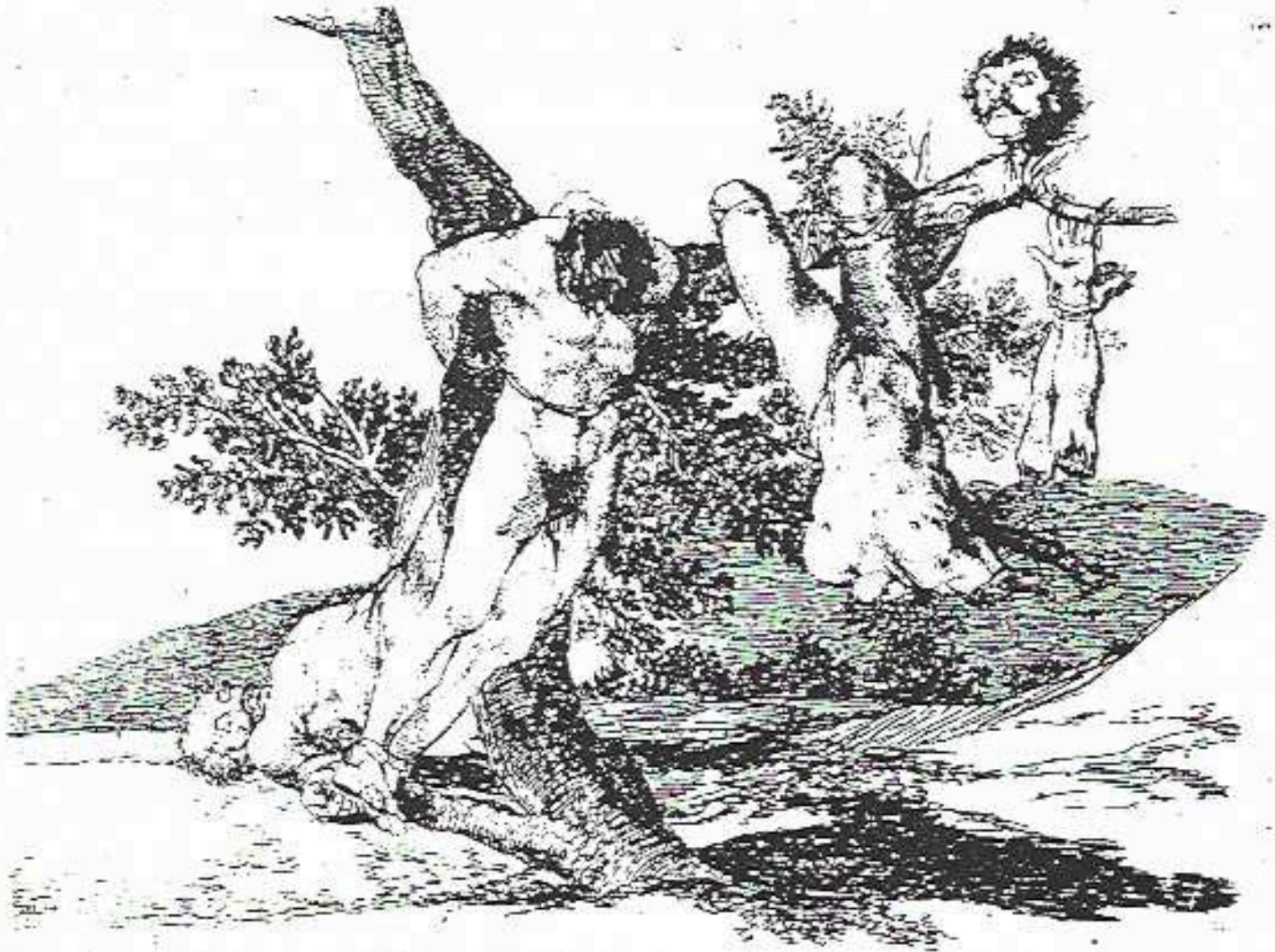
Lew Ayres and Raymond Griffith in the famous shell-hole sequence from *ALL QUIET ON THE WESTERN FRONT*

TUTORIAL TOPICS

PART A

MACHIAVELLI TO NAPOLEON

TOPICS ONE TO FOUR



Grande bazaña! Con muertos! Wonderful heroism! Against dead men!

The mutilation of corpses was a common sight during this time. Here the severed head, the fettered hands at the ends of arms reaching from nothing toward nowhere, the altered bodies, all hang on the living tree like grotesque ornaments illustrating man's ferocity.

31. For this you were born.

(1812, Goya)

TOPIC 1

THE DUTIES OF A CHRISTIAN PRINCE AND THE WARS OF RELIGION IN THE 16TH CENTURY

Modern war began with the formation of the nation state but this process of amalgamating provinces and placing the monopoly of the use of force in the hands of a national standing army was itself a very bloody one. In the late 15th and early 16th centuries Italy was divided into small principalities each with its own army which was either used to defend the prince from the ambitions of other Italian princes or from the imperial interests of the two dominant powers, France and Austria.

Two quite different reactions to the wars of this period came from Niccolò Machiavelli and Desiderius Erasmus. Machiavelli was a soldier, politician and political philosopher who believed war was an essential aspect of statecraft and that the Prince should be well skilled in both diplomacy and warfare to defend the interests of the state. In his best known work *The Prince* (1513) Machiavelli even went so far as to suggest that, if it was in the interests of the state to do so, aggressive war should be undertaken against one's neighbours.

A very different viewpoint is expressed by the priest, translator and humanist Erasmus who believed that war was evil and that the Christian Prince should do everything in his power to avoid it. His most moving statement against war can be found in "The Complaint of Peace" (1517) in which the personification of "Peace" comes to Earth to give her pessimistic assessment of man's behaviour towards his own kind.

Soon after Machiavelli and Erasmus wrote, Europe was torn apart by religious wars between Catholics and the newly formed Protestant faith. Protestant states persecuted Catholics and Catholic states continued, as they had for centuries, to persecute "heretics." In France the religious wars reached a climax with the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre (24 August 1572) of Protestants after which Protestant political philosophers such as Philippe du Plessis-Mornay developed the theory of tyrannicide in the "Defence of Liberty against Tyrants" (1579). According to this theory persecuted Protestants had both the right and the duty to rise up against their oppressors and assassinate them if necessary.

In the late 16th century both the ideas of the duties of a Christian prince and tyrannicide found their way into the plays of Shakespeare. His own political views are very difficult to determine but Shakespeare nevertheless had the skill to present these political issues in a rich and stimulating fashion, most notable in *Henry V* and *Julius Caesar* (both written circa 1599).

Some of the music of the period by Monteverdi, Schütz and Josquin des Prés for example is notable for the sadness it evokes in remembering the war dead, whether soldiers fallen in battle or a father lamenting the death of his son. I will play extracts from "L'homme armé: Musique de guerre et de paix 1450-1650", The Boston Camerata, conductor Joel Cohen, Erato ECD 88168 and Josquin des Prés, "Missa - L'homme armé super voces musicales" (1480-90), DG Archiv 415 293-2, Pro Cantione Antiqua, Bruno Turner.

SHAKESPEARE ON FILM

Henry V gives us a chance to see what Shakespeare thought of the duties of a Christian Prince (see the soliloquy by Henry V on the eve of the battle when he laments the burdens of his office) and the consequences of war, in this case the great victory of the English over the much more numerous French army at Agincourt in 1415. Olivier's famous film, made during the Second World War, is not only a classic film version of a Shakespeare play but also highly revealing of Olivier's own attitudes toward war. Olivier, like many celebrities of the time, was active in persuading the public to contribute to war bonds and generally in boosting public morale. His film can also be seen in this light, celebrating a great English victory of the past and carefully cutting

out the scenes in the play of English atrocities (such as the killing of French prisoners of war) to show England in the best possible light vis-à-vis Nazi atrocities. If possible I would also like to show the new Branagh version (1989) in which the battle of Agincourt is shown in a much less heroic light and the scenes of English atrocities are not removed.

Mankiewicz, a refugee from fascism, shows both the appeal and dangers of tyrannicide. Brutus is shown to be easily swayed by his ambitious peers thus lessening the purity of his anti-tyrannical motives in killing Caesar. Caesar is shown to be a dictator who is popular with the people and, at least superficially, reluctant to assume the crown. Shakespeare's conservative conclusion is that Brutus's act leads to far greater chaos and tyranny than Caesar's potential tyranny, thus putting into question the morality and utility of tyrannicide.

1. *Henry V* directed by Laurence Olivier, Rank, 1944, 137 mins. Or *Henry V* directed by Kenneth Branagh with the Renaissance Film Co., 1989.

2. *Julius Caesar* by Joseph L. Mankiewicz with Marlon Brando, 1953 MGM, 121 mins.

TUTORIAL TOPICS

Discuss the response to war of one of the following authors/artists/composers/film makers. Refer in your answer to the specific war which stimulated their response, the historical context in which they worked, and to specific passages/images/phrases to support your analysis.

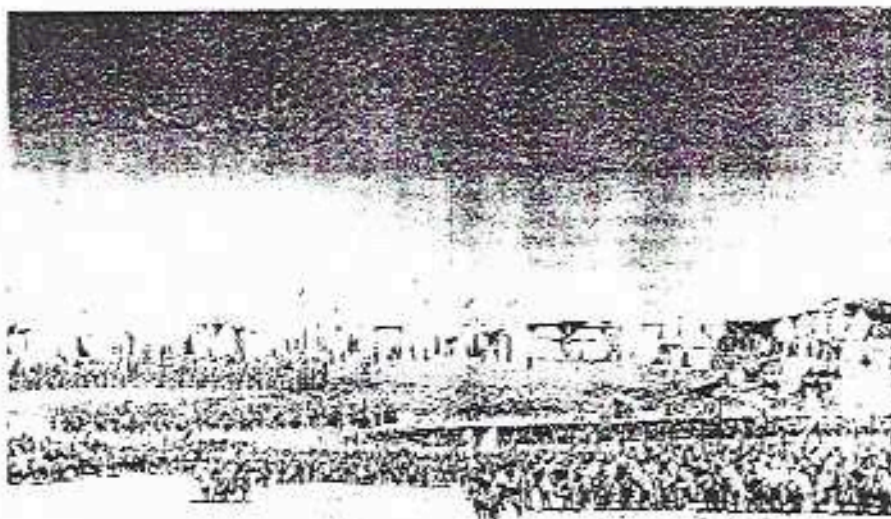
1. Machiavelli's attitude to war and the conduct of a Prince in time of war and peace: Machiavelli, *The Prince* (1513).

2. Erasmus's view of war and the conduct of a Christian prince in war and peace: *The Complaint of Peace* (1517) and *The Education of a Christian Prince* (1516).

3. The Monarchomach theory of the just killing of a tyrant: Philippe du Plessis-Mornay, *Vindiciae contra tyrannos* ("Defense of Liberty Against Tyrants", 1579).

4. Tyrannicide in Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*: Shakespeare's play *Julius Caesar* (1599) and Mankiewicz's film (1953).

5. Shakespeare's view of war and the duties of a Christian Prince in *Henry V* (film 1944 and play 1599).



Panoply of (bygone) war: Olivier's *HENRY V*.

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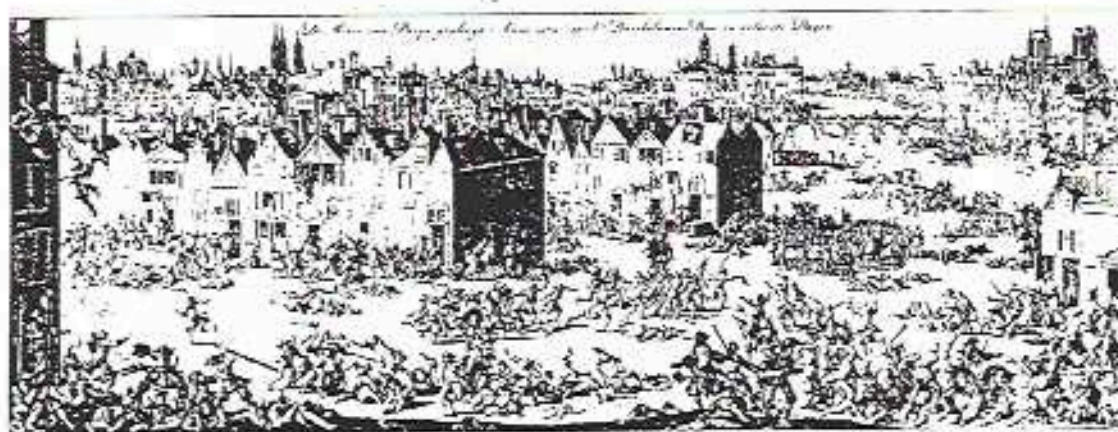
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12. Paris during the Massacre of St Bartholomew's Day, 24 August 1572. A Dutch engraving.

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*This I alone can teach you to make warre:
I know what greatest Conquerours know & see,
I fill the Breasts of greatest Potentates
I give them Lawes to govern their Estates*

2. Niccolò Machiavelli (1469-1527). His most famous work, *The Prince*, overturned traditional ideas about the character and virtues necessary in a good ruler.

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TOPIC 2

THE THIRTY YEARS WAR (1618-1648)

The Thirty Years War of the first half of the 17th century is often considered to be the first "world war" of the modern era in which all of the major European powers were engaged. The territories of the German states were fought over many times and naturally this led to considerable loss of life and destruction of property. The reasons for the war were the traditional reasons of great power rivalry complicated by the newer conflict between Catholicism and Protestantism. Ultimately physical and economic exhaustion led to a stalemate and a negotiated end to the war.

A participant in the war was Johann Jacob Christoffel von Grimmelshausen whose account of the war *Simplicius Simplicissimus* (1689) has become a classic of German literature. Although it is highly imaginative at times, it is solidly based on his own experiences as a soldier and contains moving eyewitness accounts of the destruction wrought by the war.

Another eyewitness was the French engraver Jacques Callot (actually he was from Lorraine which was not then part of France) who created one of the most moving depictions of war ever made. In a series of engravings called "The Miseries of War" (1632-33) Callot shows the life of a typical soldier fighting in the east of France during the Thirty Years War. After showing atrocity after atrocity committed by renegade soldiers against the ordinary peasants Callot concludes with the portrayal of princely retribution through torture and execution of the miscreants.

The Swedish diplomat, historian, poet and legal theorist Hugo Grotius reacted to the Thirty Years War by developing a theoretical and historical treatise on *The Law of War and Peace* (1625). His intention was to codify what historically had been the so-called "laws of war" and to discover what limits the Christian religion and reason placed on the actions of men when they were fighting a war. Grotius's book became the foundation stone of modern international law.

Interestingly a 20th century German novelist has used the setting of Germany in the Thirty Years War to suggest what might have been possible if the leading German intellectuals of that time had been able to meet and discuss the issues of the day - such as war, the German nation, the German language and so on. Written after another "Thirty Years War" had ravaged Germany and Europe (1914-1945), Günter Grass's novel *The Meeting at Telgte* raises these issues which were of vital importance in the rebuilding of Germany after 1945. (See the reading on Grass in topic 10 for more information).

TUTORIAL TOPICS

Discuss the response to war of one of the following authors/artists/composers/film makers. Refer in your answer to the specific war which stimulated their response, the historical context in which they worked, and to specific passages/images/phrases to support your analysis.

1. Grimmelshausen's view of the Thirty Years War: *Simplicius Simplicissimus* (1689).
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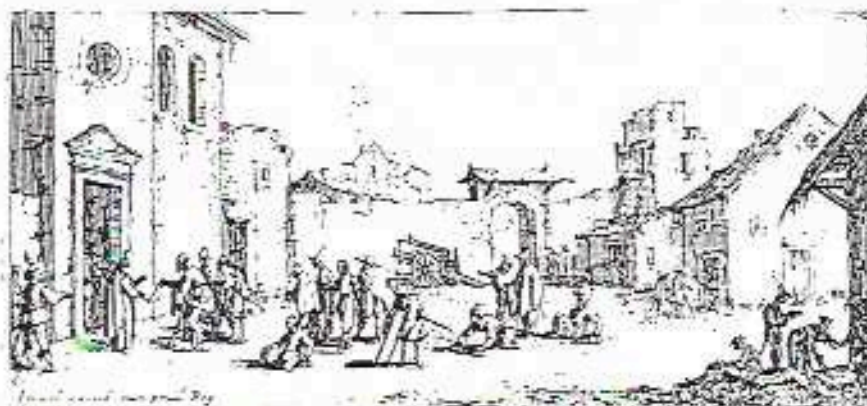
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Hugo Gratius

TOPIC 3

WAR AND THE ENLIGHTENMENT

By the late 17th and early 18th centuries several large and powerful nation states had come into existence in Europe and these states, with their powerful standing armies supported by the revenues made possible by centralised taxation, contested control of territory both in Europe itself and in colonies in the New World and elsewhere. The most important conflict of the century before the French Revolution was the Seven Years War (1756-1763) which in many respects was another world war involving Britain, France, Prussia, Austria and the British and French colonies in North America.

The intellectual movement for reform known as the Enlightenment was largely a reaction against the abuses of power by both the nation state headed by absolute monarchs and the powerful Church. An important aspect of the Enlightenment was the criticism of the senselessness and waste of warfare and the elaboration of schemes which some enlightened thinkers hoped would ensure that peace would become established on a permanent basis. One of the most elaborate plans for peace was developed by the Abbé de Saint-Pierre in the *Projet pour rendre la paix perpétuelle en Europe* (1713). Saint-Pierre might have disappeared into oblivion if the much better known philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau had not taken up his ideas and simplified them (1756). Later in the century two other enlightened philosophers Jeremy Bentham (1786-89) and Immanuel Kant (1795) developed peace plans of their own with the hope that a rational international law or a confederation of republican states respectively would make war between the great powers obsolete.

Perhaps the wittiest and most savage critic of war in the 18th century was Voltaire. During the Seven Years War he wrote *Candide* (1759) in which he satirised much of 18th century life including war. The butt of his humour were the monarchs who waged war for trivial reasons and the clergy who justified war in the name of God. Voltaire also attacked court composers like George Frideric Handel who wrote celebratory music to commemorate battles such as the victory of the English and Austrian armies against France at Dettingen in Lower Franconia in June 1743 (*Dettingen Te Deum* 1743). In the *Philosophical Dictionary* (1764) Voltaire blamed religious fanaticism and intolerance for causing war and, unlike the writers of "Peace Plans" like Saint-Pierre and Kant, saw little reason to be optimistic about the future.

TUTORIAL TOPICS

Discuss the response to war of one of the following authors/artists/composers/film makers. Refer in your answer to the specific war which stimulated their response, the historical context in which they worked, and to specific passages/images/phrases to support your analysis.

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Immanuel Kant

THE FRENCH REVOLUTIONARY AND NAPOLEONIC WARS (1793-1815)

The French Revolution was not merely an internal movement for political democracy, constitutionalism and an end to the remnants of feudalism but it also had important international consequences. On the one hand the displaced French nobility, who sought refuge in other European countries, and the other royal houses of Europe (including the British), who felt threatened by the spread of democratic and liberal ideas, both desired to crush by force the new French Republic. On the other hand the French revolutionaries believed that they could both defend themselves from conservative reaction and at the same time spread the principles of 1789 to the rest of Europe and put an end to feudalism by military means. The net result of these two opposing forces was a European-wide war which lasted on and off from 1793 to 1815 and involved most of the major European countries. Not surprisingly the Revolution and the revolutionary wars provoked a variety of intellectual responses.

Typical of the conservative hatred for the principles of the revolution was the British conservative politician and political philosopher Edmund Burke. Burke, in "Letters on a Regicide Peace" (1796-7), likened the French Revolution to a cancer or a contagious disease which would spread to other nations unless cut out or cauterised. Thus he advocated an all out war against France until the new democratic and republican institutions of France had been completely destroyed. Another opponent, one who actually fought against the French, was the German officer and military historian Carl von Clausewitz. In *On War* (1820) Clausewitz realised that the military prowess of the French soldiers was a result of the fervour of the new political ideology of republicanism and nationalism rather than a result of traditional military training and discipline. The success of the French prompted him to reassess the nature of war and warfighting and his writings were enormously influential in Prussia and other European countries during the rest of the 19th century.

There were also supporters of the French Revolution who opposed the use of force by the conservative powers to intervene in internal French affairs. One such supporter was the English minister Vicesimus Knox, an Erasmian who believed that the war against the French was not only unjust but also served to bolster conservative rule, or what he quaintly called "The Spirit of Despotism" (1795), at home in Britain.

The French/Swiss liberal Benjamin Constant, like many liberals who initially supported the revolution, believed that Napoleon was a military dictator who had sold out the principles of 1789. In "The Spirit of Conquest and Usurpation and their relation to European Civilisation" (1814), Constant roundly condemned Napoleon's militarism. Ludwig van Beethoven was another liberal-minded intellectual who turned against Napoleon for similar reasons to those of Constant. Having originally dedicated his "Eroica" symphony (1803) to Napoleon Beethoven, in a fit of anger at Napoleon's invasion of Austria, vigorously scratched out his name in the dedication on the title page.

Three novels which deal with Napoleon and the Napoleonic wars in very different ways are Leo Tolstoy's famous *War and Peace* (1869), Stendhal's *The Charterhouse of Parma* (1839), and Theodor Fontane's *Before the Storm: A Novel of the Winter of 1812-13* (1878). Tolstoy was not an eyewitness to the events he describes in the novel but he did serve in another war (the Crimean War 1854-56, see topic 5) and although he wrote his account some 50 years after the event it is universally recognised as being one of the greatest historical novels ever written and probably the greatest novel about war. Tolstoy viewed the war against Napoleon as a great patriotic uprising of the Russian people against a foreign aggressor. Another perspective is provided by Stendhal, a committed supporter of Napoleon, who served in Napoleon's army during the campaigns in northern Italy. Theodor Fontane was a war correspondent for German newspapers during the 1860s when the Prussian state was expanding its territory and was a prisoner of war during the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71. His first novel dealt with the impact of Napoleon's invasion on German society.

One of the most moving accounts of the atrocities of war is provided by the Spanish painter Francisco Goya who saw the consequences of the new type of guerrilla warfare in Spain under French occupation. In a famous painting "The Third of May" (1814) he showed the brutal execution of Madrid citizens by French firing squad in 1808 and in a series of etchings known as the "Disasters of War" (done at the time of the invasion but not published until 1863) he documents the atrocities committed by both sides in the guerrilla campaign against the French.

FILM ON THE NAPOLEONIC WARS

A very long (nearly 6 hours) but definitive film of Tolstoy's novel by the Soviet director Sergei Bondarchuk will be shown in three parts. It has some remarkable scenes which develop both the "war" and the "peace" aspects of the novel: in particular, the battle scenes using the Red Army as extras (in particular the Battle of Borodino) and the sumptuous ballroom scenes where the Russian aristocracy is portrayed. The film is slow moving in parts but ultimately very worth while seeing.

Tolstoy's *War and Peace* by Sergei Bondarchuk, USSR 1967, 507 mins (in 3 parts).
Part 1: 2 hours 6 mins. Part 2: 1 hour 50 mins. Part 3: 1 hour 25 mins.

TUTORIAL TOPICS

Discuss the response to war of one of the following authors/artists/composers/film makers. Refer in your answer to the specific war which stimulated their response, the historical context in which they worked, and to specific passages/images/phrases to support your analysis.

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5. Constant's attack on Napoleon as a militarist, a usurper and a conqueror: Benjamin Constant, "The Spirit of Conquest and Usurpation and their relation to European Civilisation," (1814).
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EDMUND BURKE



Clémentine in 1815
 (The original by Jean-Michel the younger after a painting by Wilhelm Wack)



BENJAMIN CONSTANT

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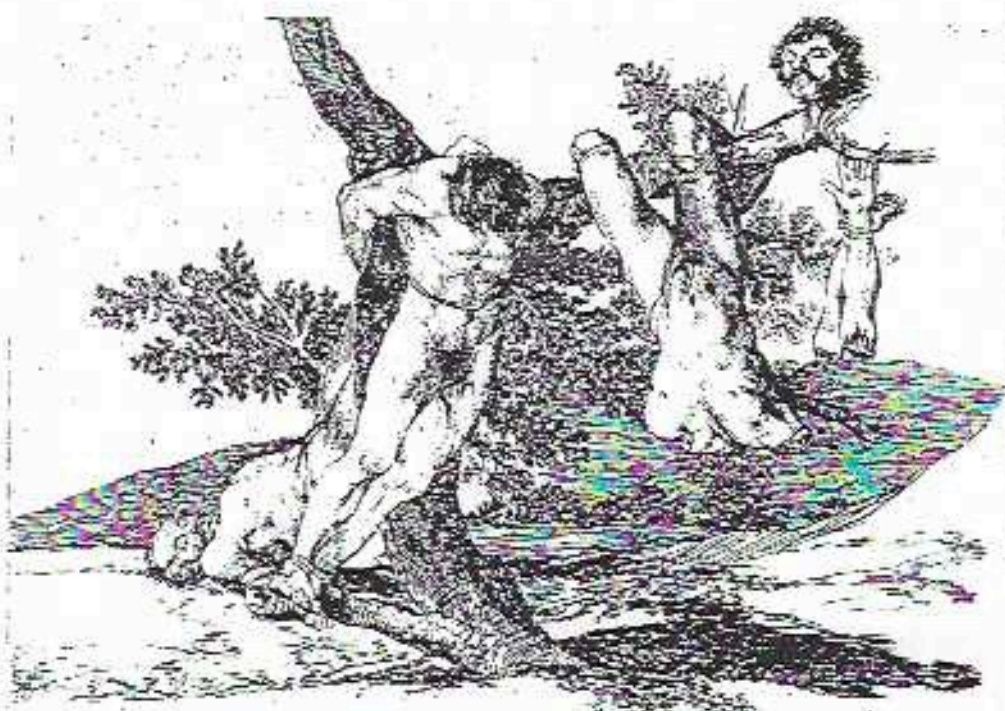
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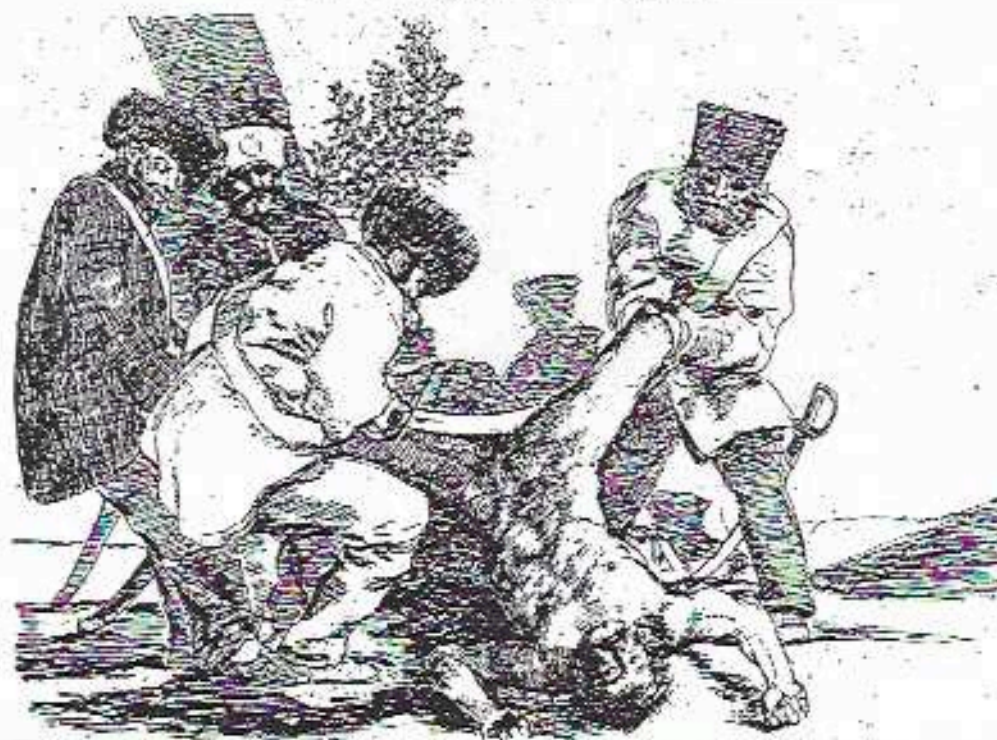
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Also see reading on Fontane in topic 6.



Grande hazaña! Con muertos!

19. Great deed – against the dead!



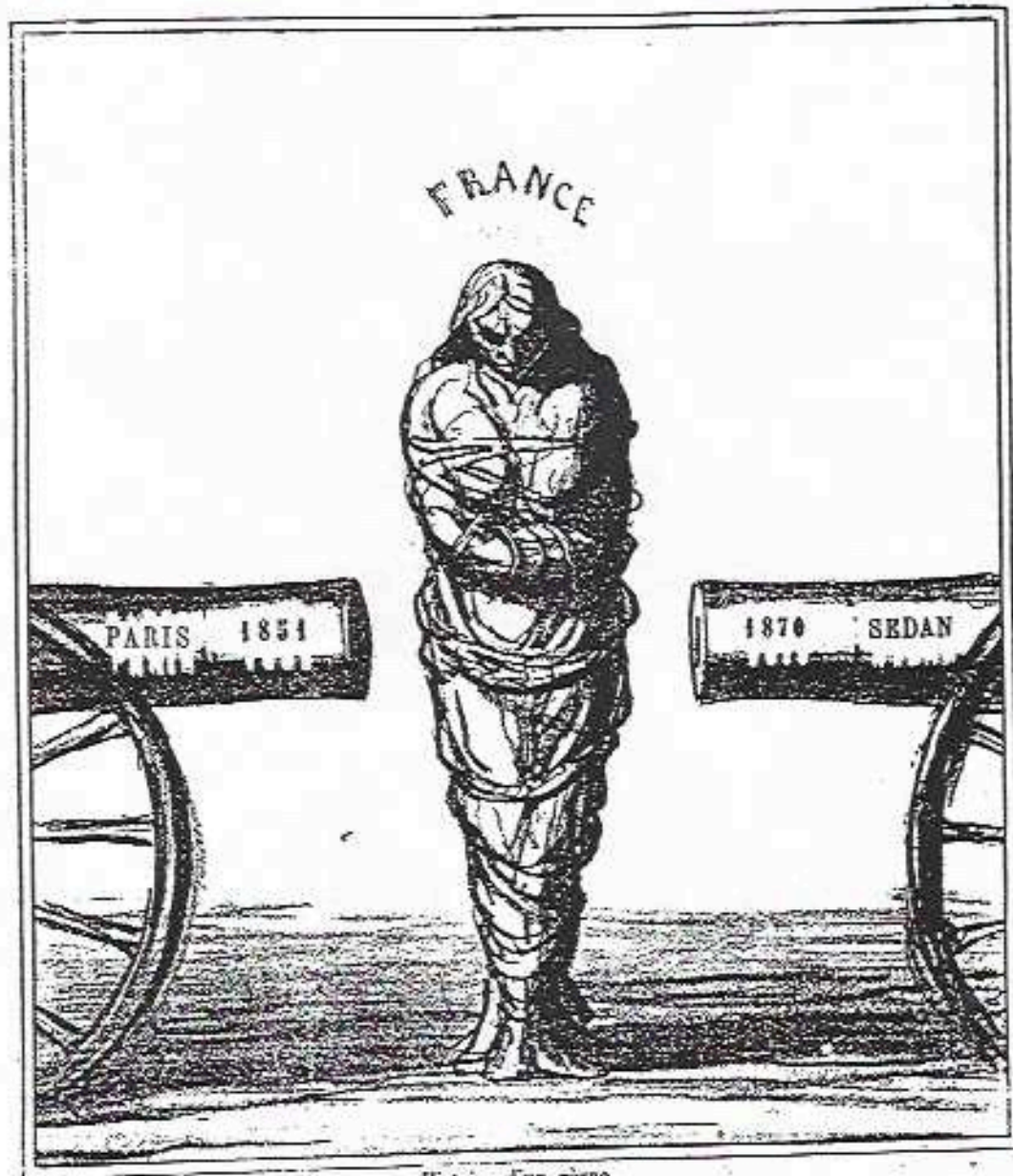
¿Qué has que hacer cono?

17. What have you to do?

PART B

THE CRIMEAN WAR TO THE FIRST WORLD WAR

TOPICS FIVE TO EIGHT



Histoire d'un règne.

Lithographie de Daumier

TOPIC 5

THE CRIMEAN WAR (1854-56)

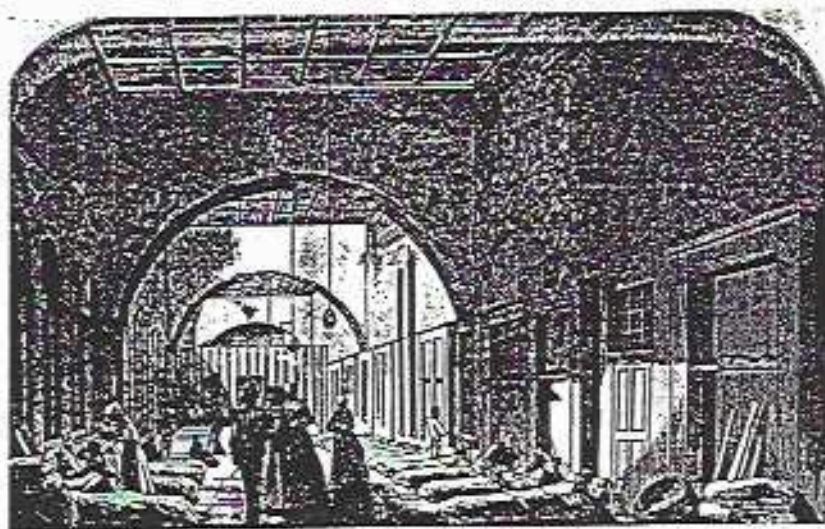
The upheavals of the French Revolution came to an end in 1815 with the restoration of the Bourbon monarchy in France and the international agreement known as the Concert of Vienna. Although periodic revolutions disturbed the tranquility of the major states in 1830 and 1848-49 there was not a major military confrontation until the Crimean War of 1854-56 in which France and Britain came to the defense of the Turkish Empire against Russia.

The young Russian count Leo Tolstoy, not yet a novelist or a committed pacifist, saw action at the front and recorded his experiences in three short stories known as *The Sebastopol Sketches* (1856). Tolstoy initially is very patriotic but gradually comes to see the waste and destructiveness of war and condemns the terrible corruption of the Russian officer class who profited by selling food and supplies needed by the Russian troops.

On the other side of the front the English nurse Florence Nightingale witnessed the chaos and inhumanity of the British Army Medical Service whose neglect of the sick and injured resulted in more deaths from wounds and communicable diseases than from Russian bullets and shells. The war stimulated her to reorganise the British hospitals in the Crimea and later to return to Britain to campaign for far-reaching reforms of the hospital system.

Back in Britain the war was a very popular one and few politicians opposed it. Two who did were the liberal MPs Richard Cobden and John Bright who spoke out against the war in newspaper articles, parliamentary and other public speeches and who formed part of the earliest organised peace movement. The grounds for their opposition were a combination of religious and moral arguments (it was immoral), great power arguments (it was not in Britain's long-term interest to support the Turkish empire or antagonise the Russian empire), and economic arguments (only a policy of free trade could link countries together for a lasting peace). However, the British public were in a warlike mood and Cobden and Bright suffered for their outspokenness by losing their seats after the war.

Later in the 1850s two other works related to war appeared. The Genevan businessman Henri Dunant accidentally witnessed the slaughter at the Battle of Solferino in 1859 which was a part of the struggle for Italian independence from Austria. He concluded that civilians could and should do something to alleviate the suffering of both soldiers and innocent bystanders since the armies of the great powers were unwilling and unable to do so. In *A Memory of Solferino* (1859) Dunant called for an international relief organisation to be established and early in the next decade the Red Cross was formed as a result of his book. Although not directly involved in any conflict the French composer Hector Berlioz spent the late 1850s writing an opera about one of the greatest wars of the ancient world, the Trojan war. Rather than make an opera about the contemporary wars which were going on around him Berlioz based his story on a classical theme. I will play an extract from the opera *Les Troyens* (1856-58) in which Cassandra prefers her own suicide to being taken captive and raped by the Greek soldiers.



Corridor adjoining Mrs Nightingale's quarters in Barrack Hospital, Scutari

(from "The Illustrated London News", 1855)

Discuss the response to war of one of the following authors/artists/composers/film makers. Refer in your answer to the specific war which stimulated their response, the historical context in which they worked, and to specific passages/images/phrases to support your analysis.

1. Leo Tolstoy's reactions to the fighting at Sebastopol: *The Sebastopol Sketches* (1856).
2. The opposition of the liberals Cobden and Bright to the war in the Crimea: political speeches and pamphlets.
3. Nightingale's observations on the hygiene and mortality rates of British soldiers in the Crimea and her proposed reforms of the British Army medical system: *Evidence taken before the Commission* (1858).
4. Berlioz's treatment of war in a classical context: *Les Troyens* (1856-58).
5. Henry Dunant's eyewitness account of the Battle of Solferino and the foundation of the Red Cross: *A Memory of Solferino* (1859).



4. Tolstoy while he was working on War and Peace



A BRIGHT IDEA
THE PEACE RECRUITING SERGEANT
TRYING TO ENLIST THE DUKE

1887 Mr. Bright's peace principles were embodied in the plan proposed this year to settle all international differences by arbitration. The scheme was not viewed with much favour — 1848

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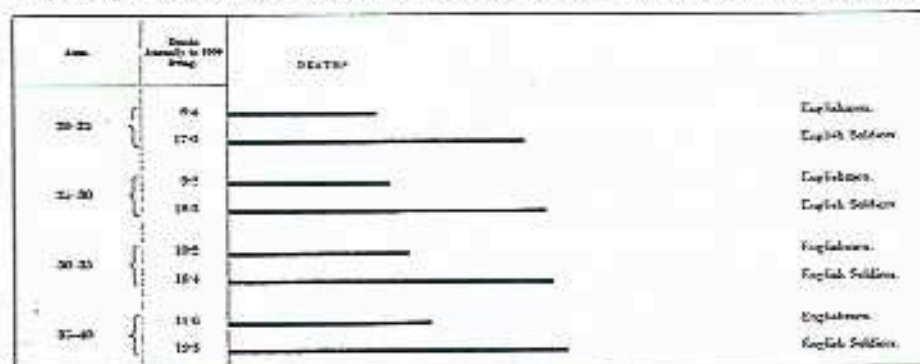
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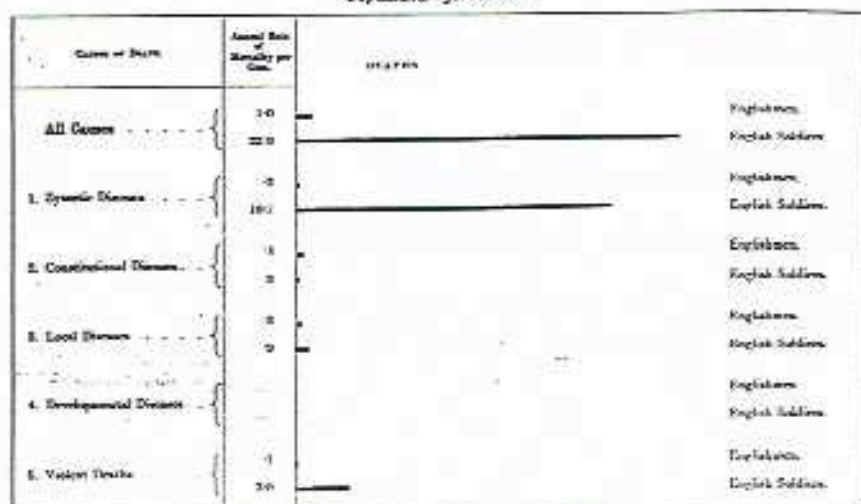
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Representing the Relative Mortality of the Army at Home and of the English Male Population of corresponding Ages.



Representing the Relative Mortality, from different Causes, of the Army in the East in Hospital and of the English Male Population aged 15-45.



Florence Nightingale, aged thirty-seven.

(From a portrait, now in the National Portrait Gallery, by Sir George Smart; one of the first Directors of the National Portrait Gallery).

LINE DIAGRAMS from the Royal Commission's report compare conditions in the army to those in civilian life. Mortality in the peace-time army in Britain was nearly twice as high as it was among civilians. In the Crimean War "zymotic" diseases were the main causes of death and were far more prevalent than they were in Eu-

rope. (In fact, figures in the top diagram are percentages; those in the bottom one are per 1,000.) The report led to the adoption of a sanitation code for the army and to a series of physical improvements in military buildings. Like other diagrams in the report, this one exemplifies Nightingale's innovative approach to representation of statistics.

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PET OF THE MANCHESTER SCHOOL.

"He shall have a little Turk to pull to pieces—that he shall."

✍ Messrs. Bright and Cobden incurred much odium by their persistent opposition to the Anti-Russian feeling of the nation at the outbreak of the Crimean war—1854.



TOPIC 6

THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR (1870-71)

The Franco-Prussian war is important because it resulted in the formation of a unified German state by military means and the collapse of the Second Empire in France. During the 1860s Prussia had fought two wars in order to bring more German-speaking territory under its control. Rather than seeking peaceful economic or political forms of association Bismarck used the powerful Prussian army to achieve his ends. The final step in the process of German unification was the incorporation of Alsace and Lorraine which was achieved through the diplomatic and military blundering of Napoleon III of France. The military defeat of France and the loss of these territories led to the collapse of the Second Empire and a new revolution in Paris and the formation of the Paris Commune.

The events of the war and the formation of the Commune is described vividly by the French novelist Émile Zola. Zola did not see the fighting in the north east of France but he was a journalist who wrote on the political events of the time. Much later he interviewed participants and eyewitnesses, read numerous memoirs of the war, and retraced the steps of the French and Prussian armies in preparing his novel, *The Debacle (1870-71)* (1892). The result is a stunning and realistic account of the war and Paris Commune as seen through the eyes of two different soldiers, Jean and Maurice.

On the German side another novelist, Theodor Fontane was also a journalist who chronicled the Prussian wars of unification during the 1860s. Perhaps his most interesting work of this time is an account of his experiences as a prisoner of war. In *Kriegsgefangen. Erlebtes 1870*, (1871) Fontane describes his capture by the French and his treatment in prison. Unfortunately, I have not been able to find an English translation of any of Fontane's writings on war apart from his historical novel about the Napoleonic Wars, *Before the Storm: A Novel of the Winter of 1812-13* (see topic 4).

If the French could not resist the Prussian army by force they could and did resist by satire. Honoré Daumier caricatured much of French bourgeois society during the Second Empire (1851-1870), often falling foul of the censors. When he could not comment on the defects of French society he was free to criticise the rise of German militarism during the 1860s. I will show and discuss a selection of his political cartoons dealing with Bismarck, the Prussian army and the 1870 war.

TUTORIAL TOPICS

Discuss the response to war of one of the following authors/artists/composers/film makers. Refer in your answer to the specific war which stimulated their response, the historical context in which they worked, and to specific passages/images/phrases to support your analysis.

1. Honoré Daumier's satirical cartoons on militarism in the 1860s.
2. Theodor Fontane as war correspondent during the 1860s and a prisoner of war during the Franco-Prussian War: *Kriegsgefangen. Erlebtes 1870*, (1871).
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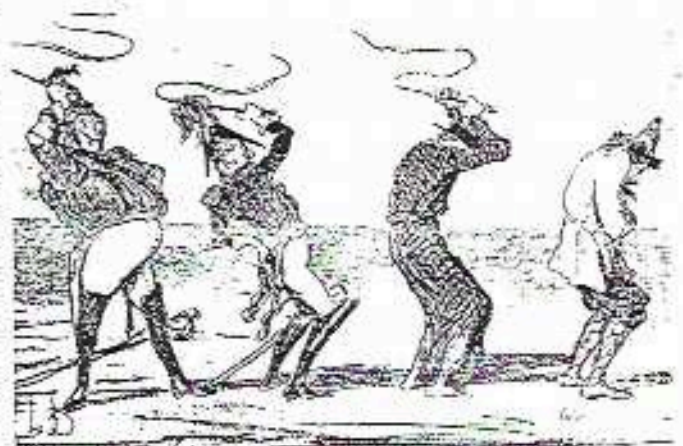
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100
The Arms Disarmers. Honoré Daumier, 1854.
Lithograph. (Private collection)

101
Disarmament. Honoré Daumier, 1869.
Lithograph. (Private collection)

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TOPIC 7

WAR, EMPIRE AND THE ARMS RACE, 1889-1910: THE BOER WAR (1899-1902) AND ORGANISED PACIFISM

The 25 years before the outbreak of the First World War was a period of increased international tensions which revolved around the naval arms race and the scramble for territory/colonies in the Third World. Not surprisingly many people reacted to these developments by participating in organised peace associations, particularly in Germany where the position of the military since the wars of unification in the 1860s and 1870 was especially powerful. Two of the most important figures in the German peace movement were the novelist Bertha von Suttner and the bookseller and publisher Alfred Fried. Suttner's novel *Die Waffen nieder!* (1889) ("Throw down your weapons") and Fried's *Handbook of the Peace Movement* (1905) were particularly influential. One of Suttner's greatest successes was to influence the wealthy Swedish chemist and munitions manufacturer, Alfred Nobel, to establish a Nobel Peace Prize with his estate.

Also in this period we see a concern by sociologists to explain the rise of a politically powerful "military-industrial complex" after all the signs of nineteenth-century economic development suggested to them the withering away of the military and the predominance of peaceful free trade and industry. Herbert Spencer, in several essays in *Facts and Comments* (1902), and Gustave de Molinari, in *Grandeur and décadence de la guerre* (1898), were two leading liberals who reacted to the arms race with considerable pessimism. Another sociologist, the Polish banker Jean de Bloch, carefully studied the technological changes in weaponry introduced during the late 19th century and made some very pessimistic but highly accurate predictions about the destructiveness of *The Future of War* (1899). Bloch's book so concerned the Tsar of Russia that he helped organise the Hague Peace Conferences. Nothing much came of the conferences and Bloch did not live to see the accuracy of his predictions in 1914-18.

Like the composer Hector Berlioz who, in the war-torn 1850s turned to the classical Greek story of the Trojan War, the British artist Aubrey Beardsley also expressed his concern in classical form. His illustrations to a new translation of Aristophanes play *Lysistrata* (1896, but first performed in 411 BC) about Greek women who attempt to end a war by refusing to have sex with their warrior husbands, are not only excellent examples of Victorian eroticism but also a powerful political statement.

In the scramble to divide the Third World into European empires many small-scale skirmishes took place. These conflicts antagonised the great powers of Europe but were not a real threat to their security as long as they remained peripheral, which they did up until 1914. The Boer War (1899-1902) in South Africa is a good example of the kind of war which was taking place at the time. The Boers, Dutch settlers who had gone to South Africa in the 16th century, were reluctant to submit to British control and attempted to establish a separate and independent Boer republic. To prevent them doing so the British sent troops (including Australian troops) to crush the uprising. The conflict developed along lines that would become familiar to the Americans in Vietnam - the Boers adopted guerrilla tactics, making it difficult for the British to distinguish between combatants and non-combatants, thus forcing the British to set up "concentration camps" in order to isolate the one from the other. The film *Breaker Morant* (1980) is about an Australian soldier in South Africa who adopts the same tactics as the Boer guerrillas (also like Colonel Kurtz in Coppola's film about Vietnam *Apocalypse Now*) but is court martialled and executed by the British for atrocities. The film, whilst anti-British, clearly shows the moral dilemma faced by imperial forces trying to suppress a popular revolt.

There are two very different eyewitness accounts of the Boer War which are worth looking at. Rudyard Kipling was a confirmed imperialist who supported British imperial policy in India and South Africa. He visited South Africa many times and wrote articles for British newspapers on the conflict as well as short stories about soldiers who had served in South Africa and the thrill of life

in the Royal Navy. His short stories on South Africa and the Navy are collected in a volume which first appeared in 1904, *Traffics and Discoveries*.

The other eyewitness could not be more different from Kipling. The left liberal John Hobson was a harsh critic of British imperial policy and he visited South Africa to write for the *Manchester Guardian* newspaper. His experience in South Africa stimulated him to analyse the system of imperialism which had led Britain into the war against the Boers in the first place. His analysis of imperialism, *Imperialism: A Study* (1902), based upon the case of South Africa, has been enormously influential.

The war in South Africa was proof to some such as Baden Powell (and strongly supported by Kipling) that the average British young man was not capable of using a rifle or surviving in the bush unaided. Baden-Powell dreamed of a system of quasi-military training for youth which would remedy this problem and thus make Britain truly ready to face a future war, either at home or in the empire. The Boy Scout movement which he inspired and helped found was the mechanism he hoped would achieve this and the *Scouting for Boys* (1908) which he wrote contains his philosophy of paramilitary training based upon the lessons of the Boer War.

Two other works in this period are of interest; Norman Angell's best-seller plea for peace in which he argued that the apparent gains of war were in fact *The Illusion of War* (1909) and the great American humorist and critic Mark Twain who wrote several short pieces in reaction and disgust to British imperialism in South Africa and American imperialism in the Philippines and Cuba. His "The War Prayer" (1904-5) is particularly scathing of religion in the Erasmian tradition.

FILM ABOUT THE BOER WAR

Bruce Beresford, *Breaker Morant* (1980), South Australian Film Corporation, 107 mins.



The Boer War, 'The Ballroom in Work' (standing on the right),
H. A. C. (standing) later edition of the *More by Post*, on the left

TUTORIAL TOPICS

Choose one of the following topics to read:

1. The pacifist novelist Bertha von Suttner: *Die Waffen nieder!* (1889).
2. Alfred Nobel and the Peace Prize.
3. Aubrey Beardsley's illustrations for the classical Greek attack on war: Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* (1896).
4. Gustave de Molinari's radical liberal critique of war: *Grandeur et décadence de la guerre* (1898).
5. Jean de Bloch's predictions of the destructiveness of the next war: *The Future of War* (1899).
6. Mark Twain on "the damned human race": "The Chronicle of Young Satan" (1900) and "The War Prayer" (1904-5).
7. The sociology of militarism: Herbert Spencer's essays on "Rebarbarization" and "Regimentation" and "Imperialism and Slavery" (1902)
8. John A. Hobson's liberal journalism and critique of empire: *Imperialism: A Study* (1902).
9. Rudyard Kipling's short stories about war and empire: *Traffics and Discoveries* (1904).
10. A key figure in the German peace movement: Alfred Hermann Fried's *Handbuch der Friedensbewegung* (1905).
11. Lord Baden-Powell and the scouting movement: *Scouting for Boys* (1908).
12. Norman Angell and the illusion of war: *The Illusion of War* (1909).
13. Military justice: Bruce Beresford's film of *Breaker Morant* (1980).



LORD BADEN-POWELL, OM, GBE, CVO
1857-1941



On the left is a copy of R-P.'s original design for the uniform of a Trooper of the South African Constabulary. On the right, a Boy Scout as he appears in most parts of the world to-day.

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Seine Lebensgeschichte

Bertha von Suttner.

Volks-Ausgabe.

G. Neumann Verlag
Dresden, Leipzig und Wien



Bertha von Suttner, 1886



Alfred Nobel

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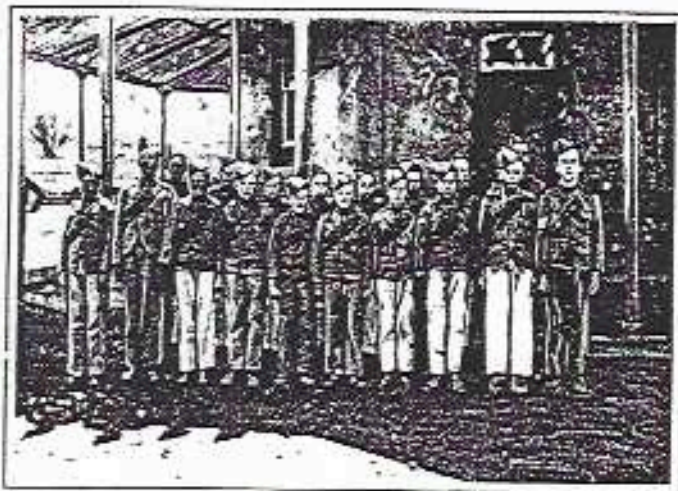
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What the Scoutmaster does, his boys will do. The Scoutmaster is reflected in his Scouts. From the self-sacrifice and patriotism of their Scoutmaster, Scouts inherit the practice of voluntary self-sacrifice and patriotic service.



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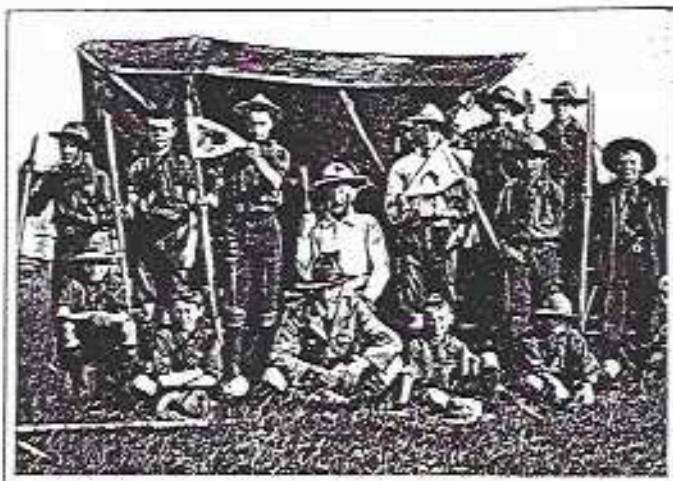
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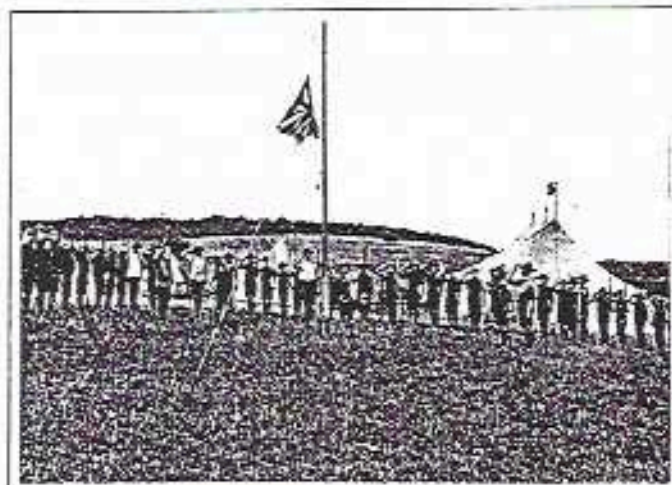
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THE CHIEF WITH SOME OF THE SCOUTS AT THE HUMSHAUGH CAMP



SALUTING THE FLAG AT THE HUMSHAUGH CAMP IN 1908
The flag is that which flew over Malakong.

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The vision of the boy is across the prairie and the seas. In Scouting he feels himself akin to the Indian, the Pioneer, the Backwoodsman.

BREAKER MORANT

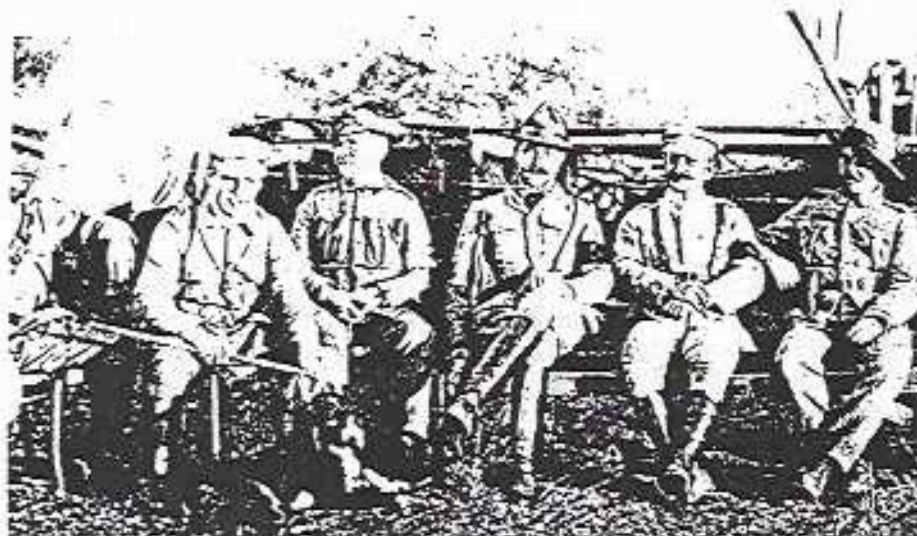
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BEFORE THE STORM

Left to Right: Lieut. Hindle, Lieut. Morant, Lieut. Johnson, Capt. Hume, Capt. Taylor and Troop. Captain.

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TOPIC 8

THE FIRST WORLD WAR (1914-1918)

For many people the image of war they have is one based upon the stalemate of the trench warfare of the First World War. This is understandable given the fact that the First World War is so significant for a number of reasons: it was the most destructive and far-reaching war up to that time, with millions of combatants killed; it led to the collapse and disappearance of the Austro-Hungarian, German and Russian monarchies; it introduced the concept of total warfare which involved the integration of the civilian economy into the war effort; and stimulated an extraordinary outpouring of novels, poems, plays, art, and of course the new medium of films, as no other previous war has done.

All the participants in the war believed it would be a short war and therefore had not made any provision for a long, drawn out and inconclusive war which would be fought in muddy trenches. The bitterness and disillusionment of the young men who had to fight under these conditions is well represented in that classic novel and film of the First World War, Erich Maria Remarque's *All Quiet on the Western Front* (1929). Remarque, with brutal realism, shows how the "iron youth" of Germany were indoctrinated at school about the Fatherland only to lose their faith, their hope for the future and their lives at the front.

A quite different account of the trenches is given by Adolf Hitler in *Mein Kampf* (1925-26) written while he was in prison for staging an attempted coup against the Weimar Republic. Hitler's experiences at the front were totally different from Remarque's. Hitler loved the comradeship and sense of purpose which the war gave him and his patriotism was not brought into question by the defeat in 1918. Rather Hitler blamed the Jews, pacifists, communists, and bourgeoisie at the home front for betraying the "undefeated" German army by surrendering. His remarks about war propaganda and the reasons for Germany's defeat are very revealing of his later actions as leader of Germany after 1933.

Hitler was not the only person to realise the importance of propaganda in total war although few learnt to use it as well as he did. All sides used posters and the newspapers to distort the public's image of the enemy and to stimulate support for the sacrifices demanded by the war. A study of war propaganda posters shows how civilians can be easily manipulated by vested interests.

In the Middle East the British attempted to destabilise the Turkish Empire by fomenting unrest amongst the Arabs. The young officer T.E. Lawrence was used to organise this because of his local knowledge gained from archaeological activity before the war. However, Lawrence came to regret his activities and became suspicious of British intentions. He came to support genuine independence for the Arabs and his outspokenness cost him his rank of colonel. His account of the Arab revolt, *Seven Pillars of Wisdom: A Triumph* (1926) has become a classic.

Since women did not serve in the army and did not fight in active combat there are fewer accounts by women of war. One of the small number of ways women could take a more active role was as a nurse. Florence Nightingale in the Crimean War and Vera Brittain in the First World War were two women who have made important contributions to our understanding of war. Vera Brittain served briefly as a nurse in Crete before returning to England and beginning a life-long career as a pacifist. Her memoir *Testament of Youth* (1933) and diary *Chronicle of Youth* (1981) show how she progressed from nurse to pacifist and feminist.

A young British poet, Wilfred Owen who was killed at the front in November 1918, put his experiences of trench warfare into moving verse. Without excessive sentimentality Owen shows the pity of war and expresses overwhelming sadness at the loss of so many young men. Some 40 years later the British composer and pacifist Benjamin Britten wrote a "War Requiem" using some of Owen's poetry to commemorate in 1962 the rebuilding of Coventry Cathedral which had been destroyed during the Second World War. Britten's music has been set to film by Derek Jarman (1988) with Sir Laurence Olivier as the old soldier.

The First World War also influenced a young French historian who was to become one of the most influential historians of the 20th century in founding the so-called "Annales School" of social history. Marc Bloch served in the French Army in the First World War and in the resistance during the Second before being executed by the Nazis in 1944 for his activities. He wrote two personal accounts of war, the *Memoirs of War* (1915) dealing with the early stages of the First World War before the stalemate of trench warfare and *Strange Defeat* (1940) on the sudden collapse of France in 1940.

The British philosopher Bertrand Russell was an early opponent of the war. In 1916 the first edition of *Justice in War Time* appeared with his arguments about the immorality of killing, the appeal of patriotism and the role of intellectuals in supporting the war. His activity in the "No Conscription Fellowship," an aide organisation for draft resisters, led to his imprisonment and loss of his lectureship at Trinity College, Cambridge in 1918. For the rest of his life Russell was to oppose war and the indiscriminate killing of human beings and as late as the 1960s he was involved in War Crimes Tribunals looking into American military activity in Vietnam.

FILMS ABOUT THE FIRST WORLD WAR

There are scores of films about the First World War but I have chosen only 4 which I believe are not only outstanding examples of cinema but which also have something important to say about the experience of war. Milestone's film of Remarque's best-selling novel *All Quiet on the Western Front* (1930) is interesting for two reasons: because it was banned by the Nazis for not showing war in a heroic light and because German soldiers were played sympathetically by unknown American actors in the early days of "talkies."

One of the most complex and rich films about war is Renoir's *La Grande Illusion* (1937) in which questions of class, nationality, language, and sex are dealt with in the context of a prisoner of war camp. Renoir was himself a pacifist and he made this film in 1937 when it was becoming clear that the Nazis were intent upon provoking another world war.

The question of military justice in the First World War is dealt with in two films: Kubrick's *Paths of Glory* (1957) and Losey's *King and Country* (1964) (compare with Beresford's *Breaker Morant* on the Boer War). Both deal in different ways with the problem of army discipline and the, until recently, little discussed issue of courts martial and executions in time of war. *Paths of Glory* is the first of three films by Kubrick on war (*Dr Strangelove* (1964) and *Full Metal Jacket* (1987)) which I will be showing and it is interesting to see how Kubrick's treatment of war differs from film to film.

1. Lewis Milestone's *All Quiet on the Western Front*, Universal 1930, 130 mins.
2. Jean Renoir, *La Grande Illusion*, RAC 1937, 117 mins.
3. Joseph Losey, *King and Country*, 1964, 86 mins.
4. Stanley Kubrick's *Paths of Glory*, UA 1957, 86 mins.

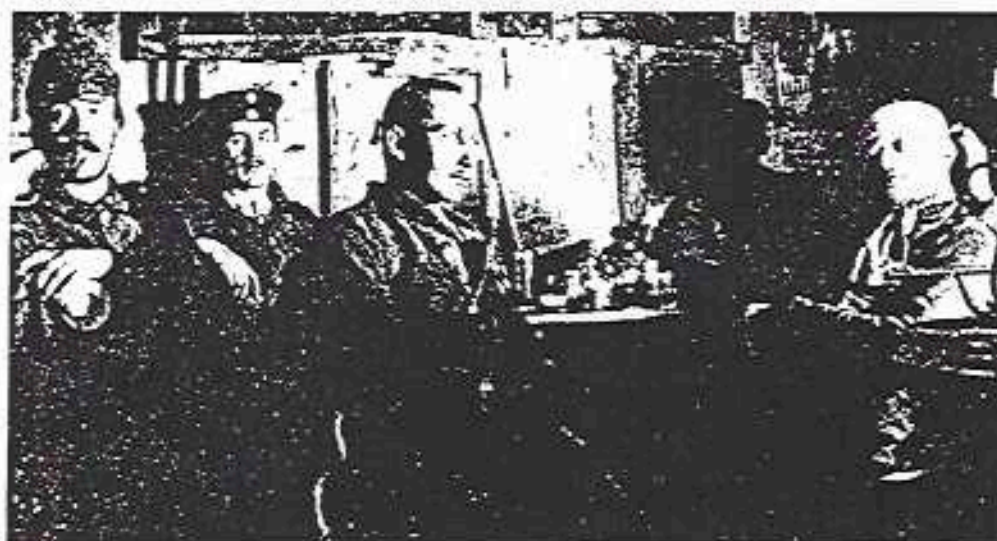


Lew Ayres and Raymond Griffith in the famous shellhole sequence from *ALL QUIET ON THE WESTERN FRONT*

TUTORIAL TOPICS

Discuss the response to war of one of the following authors/artists/composers/film makers. Refer in your answer to the specific war which stimulated their response, the historical context in which they worked, and to specific passages/images/phrases to support your analysis.

1. The experience of war by one of the greatest historians of the first half of the 20th century: Marc Bloch's *Memoirs of War* (1915) and *Strange Defeat* (1940).
2. A philosopher opposed to war: Bertrand Russell, *Justice in War Time* (1916, 1917).
3. Wilfred Owen's war poetry (1917-18).
4. Hitler's experience as a soldier during the First World War and his attitude to war: *Mein Kampf* (1925-26).
5. The experiences of a soldier who came to support Arab independence against the Turks, and later the British and French: T.E. Lawrence, *Seven Pillars of Wisdom: A Triumph* (1926).
6. A classic depiction of trench warfare: Erich Maria Remarque's novel *All Quiet on the Western Front* (1929) and Lewis Milestone's film (1930).
7. Vera Brittain's diary and memoir of her pacifism and nursing experience: *Testament of Youth* (1933) and *Chronicle of Youth* (1981).
8. Propaganda in the First World War.
9. Jean Renoir's "great illusion": *La Grande Illusion* (1937).
10. Benjamin Britten's combination of Owen's poetry and the Latin Requiem Mass: *War Requiem* (1962) and Derek Jarman's film of the *War Requiem* (1985?).
11. The courts martial and execution of soldiers: Stanley Kubrick's *Paths of Glory* (1957) and Joseph Losey's *King and Country* (1964).



Above, Hitler, extreme left, in
trenches. HOFFMANN

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11. Many shell victims were even worse mutilated than this man, but our photo archives only carefully vetted so that even less pictures of dead Britishers remain.

12. A soldier with extensive plastic surgery to his face exercises a mutilated hand. His uniform is the standard one worn by wounded men under treatment in Britain during the war.



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Peter O'Toole as a somewhat glorified LAWRENCE OF ARABIA.



One of the great comic characters to emerge from any literature about war is Jaroslav Hasek's "Good Soldier Svejk." Svejk copes with the dangers and absurdity of army life by feigning the excruciating stupidity and bumbling behaviour of the peasant. However, underneath the veneer of incompetence is a cunning and wily individual who manages to survive the rigours of war. Svejk's creator, the Czech satirical writer Hasek, served in the Austro-Hungarian army during the First World War having been conscripted in 1915. Svejk and the other characters in the book were modelled on the officers and men whom Hasek closely observed during his brief time in the army. He was captured by the Russians in September 1915 and after the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 joined both the Red Army and the Communist party. Inevitably his bohemian and anarchist inclinations created difficulties for him in Bolshevik Russia and he returned to Prague in 1920 where he wrote the Svejk stories before dying suddenly in 1923. Svejk's escapades give Hasek the opportunity to comment on the nature of military hierarchies and the men who wield power over others. Some commentators therefore conclude that the stories are essentially sad and pessimistic, yet one cannot read *The Good Soldier Svejk* without coming away with the impression that a single individual, no matter what the opposition, can not only survive an oppressive system but ridicule it mercilessly along the way. Surely a reason for hope and optimism rather than sadness.

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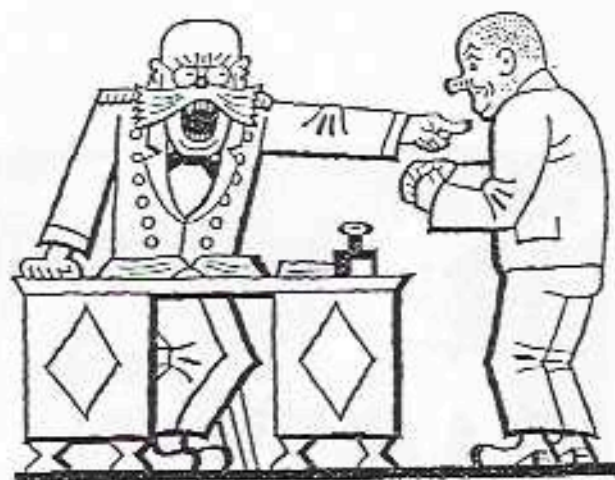
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SVEJK BOWS TO THE CHAPLAIN



The last photograph of the creator of the
Good Soldier Švejk, taken at Lipnice in 1922.



ŠVEJK AT POLICE HEADQUARTERS

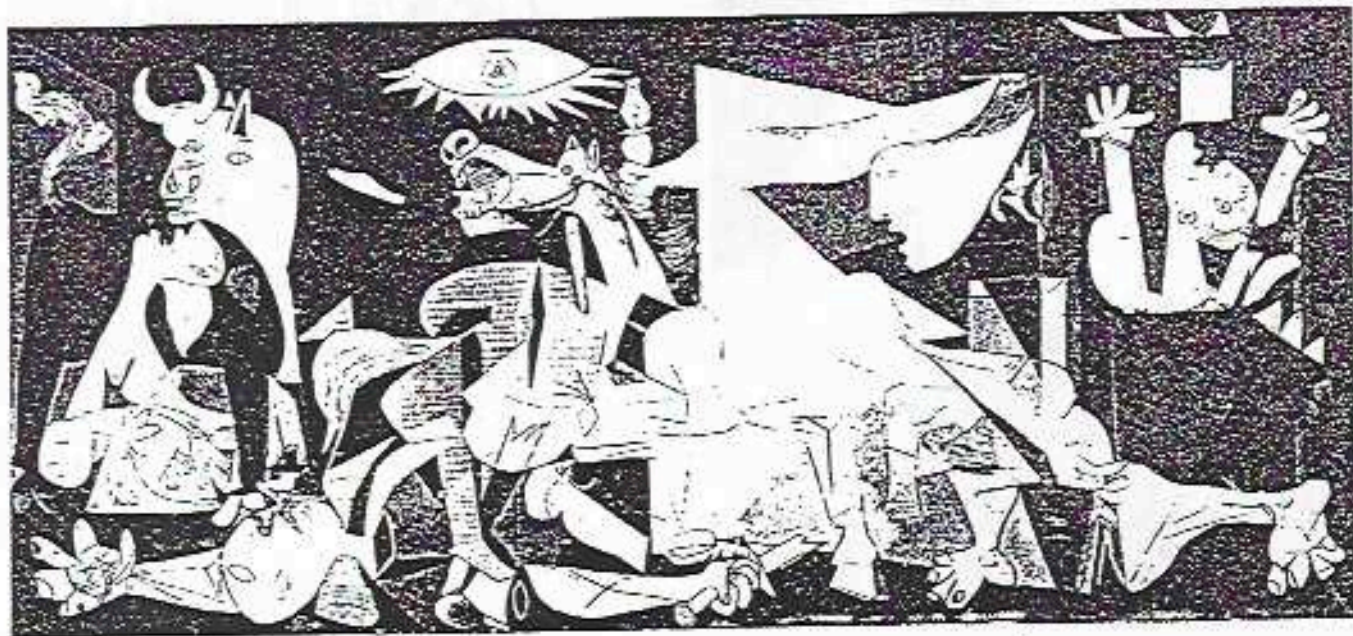


Black men after his call up in 1915 (right, marked with a cross)

PART C

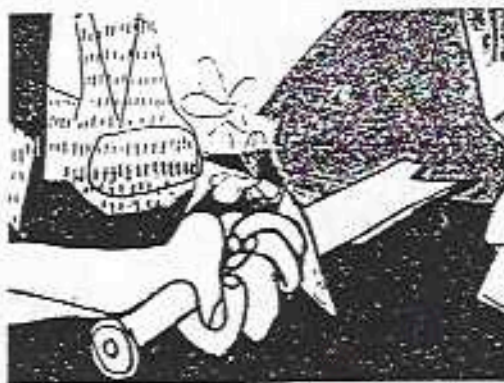
THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR TO THE VIETNAM WAR

TOPICS NINE TO THIRTEEN



What are the roots that clutch, what branches grow
Out of this stony rubbish?

T. S. Eliot, *The Waste Land*



TOPIC 9

THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR (1936-39)

In some respects the Spanish Civil War was a dress rehearsal for the Second World War in that it pitted the forces of fascism against those of democracy and communism. When the fascist general Franco attempted to overthrow the elected republican government the sides which were to confront each other in 1939 were clearly to be seen. On the one hand were the fascist states of Mussolini's Italy and Hitler's Germany who supported General Franco and on the other hand were the democratic and communist forces supported by Stalin's Communist Russia and indirectly by the democracies of France, Britain and America. Although, for example, the British government refused to directly assist the Republicans they did tolerate their own nationals going to Spain to form the International Brigades fighting against Franco.

The English socialist journalist and novelist George Orwell was one of many British and Americans who went to Spain to fight fascism. His account of the war was published soon after his return to Britain as *Homage to Catalonia* (1938). The civil war confirmed his socialist beliefs and revealed to him the anti-democratic and authoritarian behaviour of the Stalinists, supposedly fighting on behalf of the democratic forces.

One of the reasons Hitler was keen to assist Franco was so that the illegally reformed and expanded German airforce could get some combat experience before the Second World War broke out. On Franco's orders the German Condor Legion bombed the Basque town of Guernica in 1937 causing considerable civilian casualties. The bombing prompted the Spanish painter Pablo Picasso to portray the suffering of innocent victims in time of war in a mural he painted for the Spanish pavilion at the World Exposition in Paris that year. The picture of "Guernica" (1937) is now regarded as the greatest anti-war painting ever made.

TUTORIAL TOPICS

Discuss the response to war of one of the following authors/artists/composers/film makers. Refer in your answer to the specific war which stimulated their response, the historical context in which they worked, and to specific passages/images/phrases to support your analysis.

1. Pablo Picasso's reaction to the Nazi bombing of the city of Guernica: the mural "Guernica" (1937).
2. George Orwell, *Homage to Catalonia* (1938).



72 The writer at work.

George Orwell

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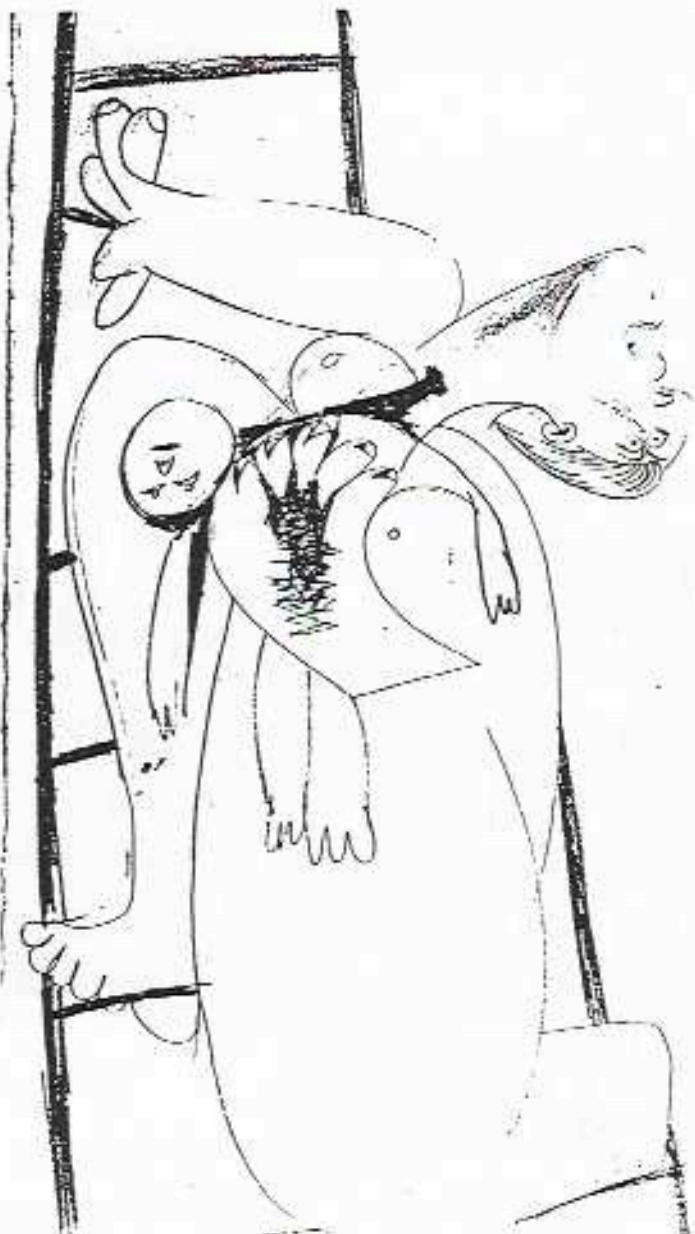
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16 Mother with dead child on ladder
Pencil on white paper. 9½" x
17⅞". Dated "May 9, 37 (III)."

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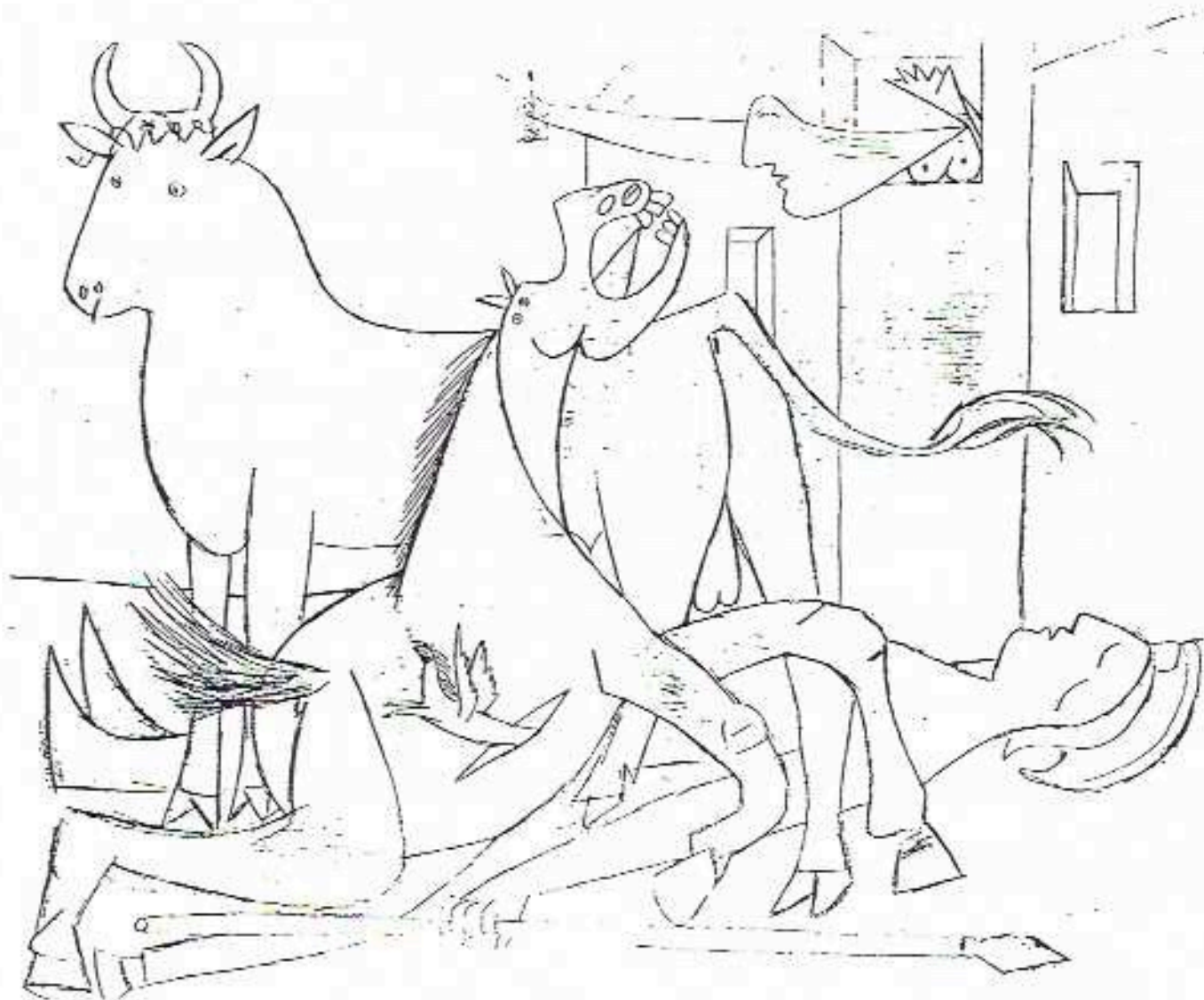
GEORGE ORWELL

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6 Composition study Pencil on gesso on wood. 25½" x 21⅞". Dated "May 1, 37"

THE SECOND WORLD WAR (1939-1945)

Whereas the First World War stagnated into a war of attrition in the trenches, the Second World War was a much more free flowing affair thanks to the tank and the aeroplane. Writers on the First World War were struck by the senseless slaughter caused by the repeated attempts of the generals to break out of the stalemate of the trenches. Writers on the Second World War were struck by a very different set of circumstances, in particular the unusual brutality of the Nazi régime and its policies towards Jews, Slavs, communists, Gypsies and so on; the problem of resistance to an occupying German army in France, the Netherlands, and Poland for example; the extraordinary loss of life on the Eastern or Russian front where the main conflict against the German army took place; and the particularly horrific effects of the atom bomb blast on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

As the topic of the Second World War is so immense (Professor Austin Gough devotes an entire year to the European part of the subject) I have selected a handful of topics which I believe are important but which have not received the attention they deserve: life in the German army towards the end of the war, the experience of fighting on the Eastern front from the perspective of the Russian Red Army, the reactions of American soldiers to fighting, and the response of victims and eyewitnesses to the bombing of Hiroshima.

The German perspective is provided by two influential novelists, Heinrich Böll and Günter Grass. Böll served in the German army and his poignant and simple short stories as well as his two earliest novels *And where were you, Adam?* (1947-51) and *The Train was on Time* reveal what it must have been like in the German army in the chaotic last months of the war. Grass on the other hand is a much more complex writer whose allegorical works, such as *The Tin Drum* (1959), are sometimes difficult at first sight to understand but which reveals much about the insanity of life under the Nazis.

For too long the West has refused to acknowledge the enormous contribution of the Russian Red Army to the defeat of Hitler. Some 20 million died as a result of Hitler's invasion and subsequent forced retreat. One of the bravest episodes in the Russian resistance to Hitler was the siege of Leningrad (September 1941-February 1943) which held out for over a year and which reduced the population to starvation. Dmitri Shostakovich, one of the greatest composers of the 20th century, was in Stalingrad at the beginning of the siege and began work on a war symphony, his symphony number 7 (first performed March 1942). I will play an extract of this powerful symphony in one of the lectures.

In spite of what I said earlier about the neglect of certain aspects of the Second World War, one must not overreact by ignoring the American perspective. On the home front most Americans were convinced that the Second World War was a "good" war. This attitude must be seen in the light of America's traditional policy of isolationism, i.e. of not getting involved in the affairs of other, especially European, nations. The Chicago radio personality and journalist Studs Turkel has collected hundreds of interviews in *The "Good War": An Oral History of World War Two* (1984) in which American veterans recall what it was like to live, work and fight during the Second World War. A recent and perceptive work on the experience of American soldiers in the Second World War by an historian who served there is Paul Fussell's *Wartime* (1987).

The war also had a profound effect on the way in which the economy was organised. With the need for total mobilisation of the economy in order to supply and fight a "total war" the individual needs of consumers had to be sacrificed. This process had begun in the First World War with the so-called "Kriegssozialismus" of Generals Ludendorff and Hindenberg in Germany and was continued with Hitler's "Four Year Plan" of 1936 to prepare the economy for war. Similar measures were taken in Britain and the USA. The Austrian liberal economist Friedrich A. Hayek, in *The Road to Serfdom* (1944), expressed the fear that the extensive controls placed on the economy as part of war-time economic planning would continue into peace-time with serious political and economic consequences.

In the Far East the Japanese began their military expansion into Manchuria in 1931 some 10 years before the Americans entered the war after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. Their aim was to create an empire called the Great East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere which included Manchuria, China, South East Asia, Micronesia, Indonesia, and New Guinea. The expansion of Japan was stopped by the United States Navy and Air Force and Japan was forced to surrender unconditionally with the dropping of two atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945.

The Japanese occupation of Manchuria and parts of China has not received the attention it deserves. It was a brutal and bloody occupation which resulted in the economic enslavement of hundreds of thousands of Chinese labourers and the dispossession, rape and murder of perhaps an equal number of non-combatants in cities such as Nanking. The nine hour film *The Human Condition* (1959) by Masaki Kobayashi is a quite successful attempt to show what the occupation of Manchuria was like through the eyes of a young Japanese conscript. Unfortunately I do not have time to show the entire film but one part dealing with the basic training of Japanese conscripts is essential viewing.

What makes the war against Japan so unlike the European theatre of operations was the use of the first atomic bombs against cities. The early atomic weapons were not more destructive than massed bombing raids (the fire bombing of Tokyo caused more casualties for example) but they were certainly more cost effective - one plane and one crew with one bomb could cause the same damage as hundreds of bombers with thousands of conventional weapons. It is difficult to imagine what it would be like to be the victim of such a blast, however we can read about the experience of eyewitnesses. One such work is the diary of a Hiroshima doctor, Michiko Hachiya, who was in the city when the bomb dropped. He was injured but survived and kept a diary during the first couple of months after the bomb was dropped. His confusion as to the cause of his injuries and his description of the chaos in the hospitals where a handful of surviving doctors attempted to deal with tens of thousands of dying and injured individuals are revealing of conditions at the time.

Somewhat later John Hersey, a journalist working for the *New Yorker* magazine, entered Hiroshima and described what he saw in a series of articles. Hersey's approach is an interesting one, to tell the story of the consequences of dropping the atomic bomb through the eyes of a small group of people who survived. By personalising the event in this way Hersey is able to make a powerful statement about war and its costs to both individuals and societies. In 1985 Hersey returned to Japan to bring his book up to date with a description of what has happened in the meantime to those he interviewed in 1946.

Those who were in the city of Hiroshima on the morning the bomb was dropped have images which have stayed with them ever since. The Japanese national radio NHK in 1976 collected hundreds of amateur drawings by survivors which show in a very moving way the difficulties faced by a confused population in the aftermath of the bombing. The drawings deal with problems such as looking for loved ones in the rubble, coping with massive burns, the disposal of the dead, and so on.

FILMS ABOUT THE SECOND WORLD WAR

The neglect of certain aspects of the war is partly due to the enormous power of the American media to influence our perspective on world events. As the victorious power with its economy at full strength and its civilian heartland untouched by the enemy the United States was able not only to control the political and economic reconstruction of Europe and Japan after the war but also, by means of the power of Hollywood, to create images of what fighting the Second World War was "really" like. The German and Russian experiences were ignored, the former because it was the defeated enemy and the latter because the war-time alliance with Stalin was soon forgotten in the new Cold War (see topic 11).

Günter Grass's first novel *The Tin Drum* (1959) has been filmed by one of Germany's younger directors Volker Schlöndorff. The film *The Tin Drum* (1979) can be viewed as an satirical allegory of the collapse of German democracy in the young boy Oscar's refusal to grow any more after the Nazis come to power.

Many millions died in Russia because of Hitler's policy of extermination of undesirable Slavic or communist occupants. Elem Klimov in the film *Come and See* (1983) shows how a young man, who is forced to join the resistance in Byelorussia, copes with the execution of his family and destruction of his village, witnessing the barbaric extermination of other villages by flame throwers and machine guns, and finally the capture and execution of the Nazis and local their sympathisers.

In occupied France and Italy some of the local population collaborated with the Nazis while others courageously joined the underground resistance. The French historian Marc Bloch, who also served in the First World War (see reading in topic 8), joined the French resistance and was shot by the Nazis in 1944 for his underground activities. In Italy the heroic exploits of an underground leader killed by the Nazis is depicted in Rossellini's film *Rome: Open City* (1945) which was actually filmed in the last days of the Nazi occupation.

Josch Heller served in the US airforce stationed Italy and his novel *Catch-22* (1961) is a combination of his war-time experiences and his reflections on the nature of war and society in general. He presents a very bleak and pessimistic picture (also a very funny one) of the behaviour of Americans in war.

If I am able to get hold of them I would like show an example of Nazi propaganda films made during the war. Goebbels oversaw a huge film-making industry which was forced to serve the needs of Hitler and the Nazi Party. During the war they endeavoured to maintain public support with historical films such as *Der Grosse König* (1942) and *Kohlberg* (1945) which harked back to previous great victories in German history (Frederick the Great and the resistance of the town of Kohlberg to Napoleon).

One of the great epics of the cinema is the film *The Human Condition* (1959) by Masaki Kobayashi. Over 9 hours it depicts the plight of a young Japanese man with left-wing pacifist inclinations who is sent to manage the slave labourers in occupied Manchuria and then is conscripted to fight in the army against the Russians. It is too long to show in its entirety so I will show the section dealing with the brutal way in which the Japanese army imposed basic training on conscripts.

1. Elem Klimov's film *Come and See*, USSR 1984, 142 mins and interview with Klimov.
2. Mike Nichol's *Catch 22*, Rank 1971, 122 mins.
3. Nazi war propaganda film: *Der Grosse König* (1942) or *Kohlberg* (1945)
4. Volker Schlöndorff's *The Tin Drum* West Germany/France 1979, 142 mins.
5. Roberto Rossellini's *Rome: Open City* 1945, 101 mins.
6. Masaki Kobayashi, *The Human Condition* (1959) part 3.

TUTORIAL TOPICS

Discuss the response to war of one of the following authors/artists/composers/film makers. Refer in your answer to the specific war which stimulated their response, the historical context in which they worked, and to specific passages/images/phrases to support your analysis.

1. Dmitri Shostakovich's reactions to Stalin and the Nazi invasion of Russia: *Testimony* and the War Symphony number 7 (1941-2).
2. A liberal attack on war-time economic planning: Friedrich Hayek's *The Road to Serfdom* (1944).
3. The Italian resistance: Rossellini's *Rome: Open City* (1945).
4. The diary of a Japanese doctor, Michiko Hachiya, in Hiroshima: *Hiroshima Diary* (1945).
5. John Hersey's interviews with Japanese survivors and reconstruction of events on the day the atomic bomb was dropped: John Hersey, *Hiroshima* (1946).
6. Heinrich Böll's novels and short stories about life in the German army: *And where were you, Adam?* (1947-51).
7. Black comedy on war: Günter Grass, *The Tin Drum* (the film 1979 and the novel 1959).
8. Kobayashi's film about the Japanese occupation of Manchuria: *The Human Condition* (1959).
9. Black comedy on war: Joseph Heller's *Catch-22* (1961).
10. The view of nuclear war in the art of the Hiroshima survivors: *Unforgettable Fire: Pictures Drawn by Atomic Bomb Survivors* (1975).
11. Elem Klimov's reaction to the Nazi invasion of Russia: *Come and See* (1983).
12. An oral history of the war by American soldiers: Studs Turkel *The "Good War"* (1984).
13. An account of war by an American historian who has also written on the First World War: Paul Fussell's *Wartime* (1987).



Left: Jack Clifford Bell examines the arm of a survivor of the atomic bombing in Hiroshima, in *Catch-22* (1961).

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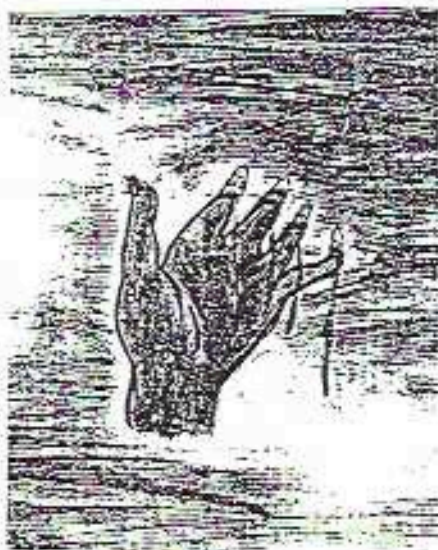
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1. *Not a bad idea, but...*

The corpse lying on its back on the road had been killed immediately when the A-100s was stopped. Its head was tilted to the side and the fingers were burning with blue flames. The fingers were shortened to one third and discolored. A dark liquid was running on the ground along the hand. The hand seems to be a combination of a child's and



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Meanwhile, if you are an older parent, you know that all over the world, there are more and more children being born to older parents. So, I believe that the second part of the theory, that we have to understand better, is that the older generation is not just a burden on the younger generation, but it is a resource. And that is what I want to say.

THE COLD WAR AND NUCLEAR DETERRENCE

No sooner had the war against Nazi Germany and the Japanese Empire come to an end in mid-1945 than tensions between the Soviet Union and the United States arose about the rebuilding of Europe and Japan. The two countries which had been allies against Germany now became global rivals with the onset of what is called the Cold War in the late 1940s: the division of Europe into American, French, and British controlled "western" Europe and Russian controlled "eastern" Europe; the exclusion of Russia from control of defeated Japan and its territories in Asia; and the scramble to bring other nations into one's own armed camp, or at least prevent the other side from doing the same. The cold war became "hot" in the Korean peninsula in 1950 when war broke out between Russian and Chinese (communist since 1949) supported communists in the north and American supported anti-communists in the south. After some inconclusive fighting a truce was signed and Korea was divided into two countries much like the division of Europe into a communist East and a non-communist West.

George Orwell, the English socialist journalist and novelist, quickly realised the nature of the Cold War - an atmosphere of suspicion and confrontation, the presence of spies and saboteurs, the actuality or the threat of continual war, the public sacrifices that need to be made in order to maintain expenditure on arms, the use of the fear of war to keep the population under political control. All these themes are brilliantly combined in Orwell's novel *Nineteen Eighty Four* written in 1948 just as the cold war was becoming an unpleasant fact.

Nuclear weapons quickly became part of the arsenal of the cold war. The American's monopoly was broken by the Russians (the Americans blamed Julius and Ethel Rosenberg for selling their atomic secrets to the Russians and promptly executed them - an event well covered in the documentary *Atomic Café*) thus beginning the nuclear arms race and with it the theory of nuclear deterrence. According to this theory the possession of nuclear weapons deterred the enemy from attacking because enough weapons could be protected from an enemy to guarantee a retaliation of such destructiveness that the enemy would not contemplate it to begin with. The ultimate *reductio ad absurdum* of nuclear deterrence theory was the strategy of "M.A.D." or mutual assured destruction which meant that not only could one inflict great damage on an attacking enemy but even totally destroy the enemy as a functioning society. To allay public fears about nuclear weapons and the sanity of deterrence theory the United States government during the 1950s and 1960s made army training and public propaganda films which served to misinform and confuse rather than enlighten the public as to the true dangers they faced. The recent documentary film *Atomic Café* (1983) presents extracts from these official films to give a good idea of the spirit of the times during the height of the cold war.

FILMS ABOUT THE COLD WAR AND NUCLEAR DETERRENCE

Robert Altman's film about conscripted American doctors during the Korean War uses black comedy and innovative camera work to show the bloody but boring routine of army hospital life and to criticise the mindless and irritating discipline of the military. *M*A*S*H** is set in the Korean War but it was made in 1970 during the Vietnam War, so in some respects it is a film just as much about the latter as the former war.

Kubrick's classic satire about the insanity of nuclear deterrence is *Dr Strangelove, or I how I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb* (1964) in which Kubrick brilliantly and wittily links sex, the extreme right wing fear of flouridation of the water supply and communist conspiracies, and the danger of technology getting out of control to the problem of the arms race and nuclear deterrence. Kubrick's fanciful "Doomsday Machine" has become the nuclear winter described by Carl Sagan and others.

The semi-documentary film, *War Game* (1964), was commissioned by the BBC to show the effects of a nuclear war on Britain. Peter Watkins had a low budget to make the film but

nevertheless is able to realistically recreate the problems of civil defense, the destruction of a nuclear weapon dropped on a British city, and the difficulties of reconstructing British society afterwards. Unfortunately the BBC refused to show the film at the time, fearing that it might cause panic in their viewers, and it was not shown on the BBC until a couple of years ago.

1. Robert Altman's *M*A*S*H**, TCF 1970, 116 min.
2. Stanley Kubrick's *Dr Strangelove or: How I learned to stop worrying and love the bomb*, Hawk Films, 1964, 102 mins.
3. *Atomic Café* (1983)
4. *The War Game*, 1966, directed by Peter Watkins, 49 mins.

TUTORIAL TOPICS

Discuss the response to war of one of the following authors/artists/composers/film makers. Refer in your answer to the specific war which stimulated their response, the historical context in which they worked, and to specific passages/images/phrases to support your analysis.

1. George Orwell's vision of a society in perpetual war: *Nineteen Eighty-Four* (1949).
2. Nuclear Deterrence in Film: Stanley Kubrick's *Dr Strangelove* (1964).
3. The BBC's suppression of a realistic account of the effects of a nuclear bomb attack: Peter Watkin's *War Game* (1966).
4. Black comedy in Altman's *M*A*S*H** (1970)
5. American propaganda and misinformation about nuclear weapons: *Atomic Café* (1983)



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TOPIC 12

THE VIETNAM WAR (1965-1975)

It has taken a long time for Americans to begin to come to terms with the Vietnam War. For many Americans it was their greatest military defeat since Pearl Harbor; for veterans it was a war which Americans wanted to forget even before it was over; for others who opposed American intervention it was an unjust and brutal war of aggression against a much smaller, poorer and weaker Third World nation.

Vietnam has a long history of colonialism, war and foreign occupation beginning with the Chinese, then the French in the late 19th century, the occupation of the Japanese during the Second World War, the reoccupation by the French after 1945 (with considerable American assistance), and finally the invasion by American combat troops in large numbers after 1965. The nationalist and communist Vietnamese forces (not always the same group) have in turn fought against all three occupying powers with final "victory" coming with the defeat and withdrawal of the Americans from Saigon in 1975.

Although American "advisors" had been present in Vietnam since the 1950s the real build-up of American ground forces began in 1965 and reached a peak in 1968 of well over 500,000 men. Most of these men were conscripts, typically poor southern whites and urban blacks who could not get exemptions from their draft boards (such as going to college). Their story of the war is told by two journalists Mark Baker and Michael Herr who give a graphic account of what it was like to be in Vietnam at that time. Terry provides insights into the experience of the black soldiers in *Bloods* (1984).

For a long time the war in Vietnam was ignored by the American public who neither knew much about nor was interested in foreign wars until the student protest movement and the gradual arrival of the 50,000 dead soldiers brought it to their attention. One way the war was brought to public attention, especially to the young, were the protest songs of a small number of politically committed popular song writers and singers such as Joan Baez, Bob Dylan, Phil Ochs to mention only a few. I will play a selection of these protest songs in one of the lectures. Joan Baez was the most committed of the political song writers and singers and her autobiographies reveal that her opposition to the war in Vietnam was based on a strong philosophical platform.

Red-In in Montreal, 1969, Photo
by Ray Kerswood



FILMS ABOUT VIETNAM

Only quite recently have many films been made about the Vietnam War. There is still to be made a film about Vietnam like the 1930 version of *All Quiet on the Western Front* in which young American actors play the role of their enemy. All films about the war continue to show the effects on American soldiers alone (sometimes extended to American society at large) as if the death and suffering of the Vietnamese peasants had never occurred or was of no consequence.

I have selected a range of films to show you, beginning with the very right-wing movie directed by and starring John Wayne, *The Green Berets* (1968). For John Wayne, and many Americans, the war in Vietnam was an extension of the war against the American Indians, part of the American destiny of territorial expansion and its "civilising" mission. The release of Wayne's film was greeted by public protests by people who reacted against its crude version of events.

Oliver Stone is one of the few veterans who have served in Vietnam and made a film of their experiences: *Platoon* (1986). Stone excels in recreating what it must have been like for young Americans to be in the jungle facing an unseen and frightening enemy.

Kubrick in *Full Metal Jacket* presents us with his third film about war in which the brutalising effects of basic training are well presented in the first half of the film.

1. John Wayne and Ray Kellogg, *The Green Berets* 1968, 141 mins.
2. Oliver Stone, *Platoon* 1986, 120 mins.
3. Stanley Kubrick, *Full Metal Jacket* 1987, 116 mins.

TUTORIAL TOPICS

Discuss the response to war of one of the following authors/artists/composers/film makers. Refer in your answer to the specific war which stimulated their response, the historical context in which they worked, and to specific passages/images/phrases to support your analysis.

1. Anti-Vietnam War protest songs of the 1960s: Bob Dylan, Phil Ochs, Joan Baez et al.,
2. Mark Baker's interviews with American combat soldiers about their experiences in Vietnam: *Nam: The Vietnam War in the Words of the Men and Women who fought there* (1982).
3. Gung-ho Americanism: John Wayne's *The Green Berets* (1968).
4. Autobiography of a pacifist opponent of the Vietnam War: Joan Baez (1968, 1989).
5. An account by a *New Yorker* journalist: Michael Herr, *Dispatches* (1977).
6. The perspective of the black soldier in Vietnam: W. Terry, *Bloods* (1984).
7. A film about Vietnam by a veteran: Oliver Stone's *Platoon* (1986).
8. Kubrick's third film about war: Stanley Kubrick's *Full Metal Jacket* (1987).



Peter, Paul and Mary.
Photograph by Paul Narkin

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Associated sheet music: songs of antiwar sentiment during the Vietnam War (Carl Fischer Music)

POPULAR SONGS AGAINST THE WAR

A selection of anti-war protest songs:

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2. The Animals, "Eric Burdon and the Animals," Rainbow, "Sky Pilot."
3. Bob Dylan, "Bob Dylan," ; "The Times They are a-changing," "With God on Our Side."
4. Phil Ochs, "The War is Over: The Best of Phil Ochs," A & M Records, Hollywood California, 1988, "The War is Over," "White Boots Marching in a Yellow Land," "I Ain't marchin' Anymore."

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A member of the MCs in the Navy, 1967
© 1988 by the MCs



Songbook, The War is Over, by Phil Ochs ©
Harcourt Brace, Inc., 1968, 7 x 11 1/2 in. The Old
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Joan Baez and Bob Dylan on stage. Photo: Henry Ditz (Museum of Rock Art).

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