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## Vom Kriege

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associated with a politicized Marx). Solzhenitsyn is a respectable (even venerated) Russian, persecuted and exiled by Communists. Yet, he does not choose—does not love—the “free” world. Second and related: A non-Communist Russia may not be a comfort to the Western World, if Solzhenitsyn and the right wing surging *Russity* throw off Marxism (which they view as an outmoded Western conception—foreign to Russia, and therefore, antipathetical). There can be little expectation of a lessening of tensions. In fact, antagonism to the West is essential to their existence. And finally: perhaps those who suffer as has Solzhenitsyn (and Admiral Stockdale) reach moral conclusions and dimensions beyond communication to any but their peers—of which there are only a few alive in any epoch. However, even if we cannot probe their depths, it is useful to learn that the deep is not destructive of every human spirit—quite the contrary.

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Colonel, U.S. Army (Ret.)

Clausewitz, Carl von. *Vom Kriege. Neunzehnte Auflage . . . von Prof. Dr. Werner Hahlweg*. Bonn: Duemmler, 1980. 1406pp.

*Wehrwissenschaftliche Rundschau*, May-June 1980, containing the proceedings of an international Clausewitzsymposium held in Hamburg in 1980.

Clausewitz-Gesellschaft, ed. *Freiheit ohne Krieg? Beitrage zur Strategie-Diskussion der Gegenwart im Spiegel der Theorie von Carl von Clausewitz*. Bonn: Duemmler, 1980. 412pp.

The three items under review dominate the literature, both policy-oriented and historical, occasioned by the 1980 bicentennial of the birth of Clausewitz.

From 1853 to 1952 the real Clausewitz was hidden from view by the serious corruption of all editions of *On*

*War* on the crucial point of civil-military relations. After World War I Rothfels supplied the first intellectual biography of Clausewitz; this was reprinted in 1980 with an epilogue by J. Niemeyer. The interwar period produced numerous examinations of the philosophical, political, and strategic aspects of *On War*. In 1952, finally, Professor Hahlweg's massive 16th edition restored the original text and signaled the start of the contemporary Clausewitz renaissance.

Hahlweg's 19th edition cited above begins with a brief new preface and acknowledgments; the preface of the 18th edition (1973) is reproduced together with its very substantial study of Clausewitz' interpretation past and present. This study examined the life and personality of Clausewitz, the genesis and emphases of *On War*, its reception by contemporaries, Moltke, Ludendorff, Seeckt, Engels, Marx, Lenin, and Stalin and his critics. A section on World War II contrasts General Beck with Hitler, touches on American attitudes, and compares the German defeats of 1918 and 1945 in Clausewitzian terms. A brief description of the first 15 editions of *On War* (1832-1937) is followed by an account of its reception before and after the two world wars in Europe including Russia, Japan, and the English-speaking world. A section on the contemporary relevance of Clausewitz ranges from guerrilla warfare to strategic theory, and surveys American, Chinese, English, German and Vietnamese analysts and commentators. Some pages on textual and editorial problems conclude this introduction of 1973.

The story is then brought up to date in another 100 pages showing the progress of Clausewitz' scholarship with respect to contemporary international relations, socialism, revolutionary movements, and Soviet perceptions. Hahlweg takes into account practically all American writings including the works of

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Paret and valuable essays in the journals of our senior service institutions. Similarly, British authors (Howard, Mason, Trythall) and Danish, Dutch, and Italian contributions are covered. The chief concentrations of extant scholarship are identified and the philosophical foundations and aspects of the work of Clausewitz are emphasized. The most recent scholarship on Clausewitz from around the world is surveyed; this includes Hahlweg's own most meritorious edition of the unpublished (and, in part, previously unrecognized) memoranda, studies, and correspondence of Clausewitz. An assessment of the Clausewitz renaissance to date touches on the relevance of Clausewitz to peace research and concludes with a research agenda. There follows a bibliography of writings by Clausewitz and a selective bibliography of the most important literature about him and his work. An international list of editions of *On War* covers the years from 1832 to 1980. Finally, the index refers to the 19th edition sandwiched between the introductory study of 1973 and the study of 1980 just described. The advantage of this arrangement is that page references to the text of Clausewitz are the same for the 18th and the 19th editions. All in all, Hahlweg's 19th edition ranks with, complements, and updates the Howard-Paret edition of *On War* (discussed in the Fall 1977 issue of this journal).

*Wehrwissenschaftliche Rundschau* records the remarks of General de Maizière, president of the Clausewitz Society, at the opening of an international symposium. General J. Brandt, chief of staff of the Bundeswehr, then discusses the military contribution to the securing of peace. Professor Arndt (Heidelberg) examines maritime and economic aspects of security policy. The West German defense minister, H. Apel, reflects on the principles of contemporary international security, stressing the fundamental differences between the contemporary European state

system and the concert of Europe in the days of Clausewitz. Apel specifies German perceptions of a deteriorating international environment and the required Western responses. Professor Wallach (Tel Aviv) concentrates on the economic and political aspects of military assistance, while Professor Paret (Stanford) compares the balance of power as a peacekeeping device in the days of Clausewitz and at present. Finally, Professor Hahlweg (Muenster) highlights recent major research on Clausewitzian topics by Aron, Gembbruch, Kitchen, Marwedel, Paret, Tuerpe, and others. He concludes by emphasizing the two major desiderata, namely a critical edition of the complete works of Clausewitz and a comprehensive and thorough biography.

The Clausewitz Society, founded in 1961, sponsored a notable anthology of defense studies in 1971 (*Clausewitz in unserer Zeit*, ed. R. Elble). In *Freiheit ohne Krieg* the Society has produced an even more commendable volume. This book begins with a brief introduction by Maizière and eight pages by Apel on West German security policy. Major General Wagemann, lately commandant of the *Führungsakademie* of the Bundeswehr, then juxtaposes the conceptual resources of Clausewitz and the intellectual needs of the contemporary defense analyst. The remainder of the book is devoted equally to politico-military subjects and to the dimensions of contemporary strategy. Only the concluding 80 pages study Clausewitz with respect to his conception of theory (Hahlweg), his political views (Paret), guerrilla warfare (Hahlweg), and his reception in the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic, and in Japan since the Meiji Restoration.

The section on politico-military matters contains essays by Aron on political strategy and on coalitions. Maizière then compares civil-military relations in communist and noncommunist systems, discussing some of the

most sensitive aspects of national command authorities. Dr. Pauls, the West German permanent representative to NATO, examines the political environment, structure, deterrent philosophy, and strategic problems of NATO, concluding with references to the Warsaw Pact and the prospects for the eighties. Major General Pilster rounds off this part of the volume with a very incisive picture of policy and strategy in the Warsaw Pact.

In part two Dr. Woerner, chairman of the defense committee of the West German legislature, places the current concern with theater nuclear weapons into its historical context and outlines a general American-European consensus in the NATO Nuclear Planning Group. Professor Arndt makes a contribution of particular interest to devotees of Corbett: he confronts head-on the apparent contradiction between the claim of Clausewitzian theory to have grasped the whole of war and the indisputably continental limitations of its empirical foundations. The essay presents the deepest and most acute statement of the issue known to the reviewer. As Clausewitz also failed to treat airpower for obvious reasons, the examination of "the validity of Clausewitz' judgments for the sphere of air and space war" by Lieutenant General Furlong, USAF, provides an extreme test of the longevity of the Clausewitzian constellation of insights. An equally contemporary perspective underlies the chapter by Colonel F.J. Wissing on the technological variable in strategy: this concentrates on the era from flexible response and the Harmel Report to the current intricacies of rationalization, standardization, and interoperability. The very different but concomitant dimension of civic support is examined by L. Ruehl. Professor Wallach presents Israel as an example of the importance of spiritual and moral factors emphasized by Clausewitz, tracing his theme back to the

"haganah," the illegal underground army in Palestine during the British mandate. A very knowledgeable point of view finds expression in Dr. Kurz' exposition of the congruence between Swiss security concepts and Clausewitzian axioms. Finally Colonel E. Sobik delineates politicomilitary control in the Soviet Union and the concomitant training of military forces.

Enough has been said, perhaps, to suggest that the Clausewitz renaissance girdles the globe and fans out into all major functional specialties. The American reader will be struck by the new circumstance that American contributions are now part of the mainstream of Clausewitz' scholarship. The harvest has begun from the seeds of postwar scholarship.

JOHN TASHJIAN

Delbrück, Hans. *History of the Art of War within the Framework of Political History, Vol. 2, The Germans*. Translated by Walter J. Renfroe, Jr. Westport, Conn. and London: Greenwood Press, 1980. 505pp.

Walter Renfroe has now reached the midpoint in his valuable work of translating *Geschichte der Kriegskunst im Rahmen der politischen Geschichte*. The first volume has already been reviewed in this journal with a general comment on Delbrück's work (*NWCR*, Winter 1979, pp. 104-5).

In the second volume, Delbrück continues his work in attempting to explain the broad course of military developments while relating them to the major developments in general European history. His subject is *The Germans* in the period between the first century A.D. to the ninth century. Of the four volumes that spanned the ages from ancient history to Napoleon, Delbrück believed that the second volume was the most important for its contribution to our understanding. In his preface, he stated,