

**TEACHING THUCYDIDES:
Athens, Sparta, and the Politics of History**

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ABSTRACT

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In this paper I report on a comparative study of the ways in which elementary and middle school students learn about Athens and Sparta. I show that in contrast to the dominant lesson drawn from the story by international relations specialists – the inexorable role of power in international relations – the lesson most often taught at these early levels concerns the relative merits and failings of democracy and authoritarianism. Moreover, from the Nazis who taught about the racial elements of the story to the Soviets who used the story to illustrate the nature of class conflict, there is considerable variation in the teaching about classical Greece. This variation demonstrates both the strength of history – its role in our understanding of who we are and what we value – and its fragility – its malleability in the hands of states with particular political agendas.

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[T]here were an exceeding great number of men of the better sort, that had been so educated, as that in their youth having read the books written by famous men of the ancient Grecian and Roman commonwealths concerning their polity and great actions; in which books the popular government was extolled by the glorious name of liberty, and monarchy disgraced by the name of tyranny.¹

- Thomas Hobbes

Among the causes of corruption in the English body politic enumerated by Thomas Hobbes in his book *Behemoth* was the attitude toward democracy engendered by learning about the ancient Greek and Roman republics. Hobbes produced the first English translation of Thucydides' great *History of the Peloponnesian War* in part to correct the common understandings of the merits of the ancient Greek constitutions. In an essay that accompanied his translation he describes Thucydides' attitude toward democracy:

For his opinion touching the government of the state, it is manifest that he least of all liked the democracy. ... So that it seemeth, that as he was of regal descent, so he best approved of the regal government.²

This motivation is somewhat puzzling to the modern ear. Not only do we not often hear of the dangers of a classical education, but the story of Athens and Sparta is familiar to the school child and to the scholar of international relations: it is unlikely that either would draw the same conclusions as Hobbes.

The story of the war between Athens and Sparta between 460 and 404B.C.E. is foundational in the study of international relations. Thucydides, who provides us with the central historical account of that conflict, is often held up as the patriarch of realism.³ Realism, the dominant modern analytic approach to international relations, treats

¹ Hobbes, *Behemoth*, 1889[1668], dialogue 1, para 12, p. 3. Hobbes expresses a similar sentiment in *Leviathan*, 1994[1651]ch. XXI, para. 9, pp. 140-141. Ch. XXIX, para. 14 pp. 214-215.

² Hobbes "On the Life and History of Thucydides" 1989[1629], pp. 572-573.

³ See, for example, Waltz, *Man the State, and War*, 1959[1954], pp. 210-211. and Keohane, *Neorealism and its Critics*, 1986, p. 7.

states as functionally similar actors driven by the exigencies of international anarchy to maximize their own security and power. When we teach about Thucydides as realist, we focus on his emphasis on the fundamental role of power and the self-oriented nature of all international actors. For these purposes, the center of Thucydides' thought can be found in his statement that the real cause of the war was "the growth in power of Athens, and the alarm which this inspired in Sparta."⁴ In this view all states are expected to act in a similar fashion, responding solely to the demands of international power, irrespective of their differing domestic characteristics.⁵

Like millions of other Americans, I first learned of Athens and Sparta in public elementary school in the 1960's. From that context, I remember the story of Athens as a democratic society of philosophers and poets that stood in stark contrast to the Spartan society of rigid discipline and military training. At the height of the Cold War, the contemporary referents of this story were not subtle: the free and vibrant culture of America and its allies, as contrasted to the dreary and regimented militarism of the Soviet Union and its communist satellites.

Here, then, are at least three different views of the fundamental lesson of the Peloponnesian War as related by Thucydides: the Hobbesian lesson about the failings of democratic Athens, the Cold War lesson about the contrast between democracy and authoritarianism, and the international relations theory lesson about the inexorable demands of the international system and the essential irrelevance of internal political forms.

In fact, there are many more lessons that can and have been drawn from this story. The variety of interpretations of the Athens-Sparta story shows the fundamentally mutable nature of history. In different contexts the same basic story has been read in dramatically different ways. These various interpretations cast light on the values and perspectives of the interpreters. In this way, the Athens-Sparta story functions as a kind of political Rorschach test.⁶

⁴ Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*, 1996[c. 400B.C.E.], 1.23.6, p. 16.

⁵ Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, Chapter 2. Waltz applies this argument directly to Thucydides on p. 187n.

⁶ I am indebted to Bruce Russett for this notion.

The Research

Although both Hobbes and contemporary international relations theory will receive some discussion, my focus in this paper will return us to the grade school level. I report here on a research project involving the collection and analysis of primary and middle school world history textbooks.⁷ This is a revealing level at which to look at the cultural context of the Athens-Sparta story, in that it shows us how this historical episode is presented when it is boiled down to its most basic elements for presentation to young children.

The analysis of children's textbooks is obviously of relevance to the ongoing debates about appropriate school curriculums and to the nature of political socialization of the young. I will argue here that it can also tell us something broader about the role of ideas and shared understandings in international relations. Ultimately I will argue that the varied retellings of the Athens-Sparta story speak at once to the strength of history – its role in our understanding of who we are and what we value – and its fragility – its malleability in the hands of states with particular ideological agendas.

The Universality of the Athens-Sparta Story

The golden age of Athens occupied a mere 50 years and involved a relatively small part of the world. Nonetheless, this historical episode is now almost universally taught in basic world history courses. It often receives as much coverage as the Roman Empire, which grew for some seven centuries and extended its influence from Northern Africa and the Middle East to England. The only context in which I did not find classical Greek history in the curriculum was in Turkey, where the social studies and national history books of the elementary and middle schools skip from Egypt to Rome with only a brief mention of the Ionians (Greeks living along the Aegean coast of what is now Turkey). It is noted that scholarly advances were made by the “Ionians” Thales, Pythagoras, Herodotus, and Hippocrates. The Ionians, in this telling, benefited from the advances of Egyptian and Indian civilization, and built many palaces, temples, stadiums, and statues.⁸ Athens, Sparta, and

⁷ See Appendix 1 for a list of the textbooks used.

⁸ Kitapçı, *Social Science, Class 4 (Sosyal Bilgiler, Sınıf 4)*, 1996, p. 147.

even Alexander the Great are absent, and the school students read nothing of the contributions of the Greeks to Turkish culture.

What accounts for the fact that students all over the world learn about Athens and Sparta? Partly, of course, it is the important and lasting effect that Greek culture has had throughout history – the Athenian playwrights and poets, the architects and sculptors, the philosophers of democracy. But also important, I think, is the resonance of the story of conflict between these two city-states. The story of Athens and Sparta is pedagogically malleable, and as I will show here, can be put to a wide variety of purposes that fit specific historical and cultural needs. In fact, this universal story is used in strikingly different ways in different societies at different points in time.

One of the clearest places to see the interpretive variety in the use of the Athens-Sparta story is in the different kinds of questions children are expected to be able to answer after studying ancient Greece:

- Children in the new South Africa are still reading primary texts from the old South Africa. A discussion question invites students to compare a picture of some fierce-looking Spartan soldiers behind their shields and spears with a picture of Zulu warriors in another part of the book.⁹
- A Soviet fifth grade textbook of the 1970's poses the following questions after the section on ancient Greece:
 1. What were the classes in Sparta?
 2. What is class struggle? How was the social composition in Sparta different from that in Athens? How was class struggle expressed in Sparta? Provide examples of class struggle in the countries of the ancient Orient.
 3. Whose interests did the state of Sparta defend?¹⁰
- In an aptly titled American textbook from 1952, *The Past that Lives Today*, the following question is posed: "The Spartans have often been compared with the Nazis. Discuss the similarities and differences of the two groups. Which was more civilized? In which society would you have preferred to live?"¹¹

⁹ Marneweck, et al. *Making History*, 1991, p. 73.

¹⁰ Korovkin, *History of the Ancient World (Istoria Drevnego Mira)*, 1976, p. 127.

¹¹ Becker, et al., *The Past that Lives Today*, 1952, p.77.

- In an American textbook from 1942: “Over and over again, through the long course of history, the East and the West have met again in battle. Can you tell how the same thing happened again in 1941?”¹²

These discussion questions suggest some of the ways in which this one historical episode can be connected to more contemporary contexts. But variation in the stories extends well beyond the level of childrens’ study questions. Even the most basic themes of the story are open to widely disparate interpretations.

Athens and Democracy

In modern international relations theory, realists have appropriated the story of Athens and Sparta to teach about the inexorable role of power in world affairs and the relative unimportance of domestic political forms. It is ironic, then, that the most common context for the presentation of ancient Greece in the elementary and middle school curriculum is in discussing the relative merits and failings of democracy and authoritarianism. Even a contemporary Chinese textbook that has little else to say about democratic political systems attaches the democracy label to the heading of the section on Athens, though with the significant qualifier: “Athens – A Slave Democracy.” In the majority of textbooks from democratic states, Athens is treated as the source of democracy. Teaching about ancient Greece is a chance to begin teaching students about the nature of democracy.

On the other hand, there are also some contexts in which democracy is surprisingly absent from the story. A French sixth-grade textbook from 1969 devotes twenty-one pages to ancient Greece without ever using the word ‘democracy’.¹³ It is difficult not to think of DeGaulle in reading instead of the contributions of the “*excellent tyran*” Peisistratos and the dominating role of Pericles – “*un général extrêmement intelligent*.”¹⁴ This perspective changes significantly in the French curriculum reforms of 1985 under the Socialist Government. In one post-reform text, the section on Athens is now entitled

¹² Kelty, *Other Lands and Other Times*, 1942. p. 241.

¹³ Petrus, *The Discovery of the Past (A la Découverte de L’Antiquité)*. 1969.

¹⁴ Petrus, *The Discovery of the Past (A la Découverte de L’Antiquité)*. 1969, pp. 54 (Peisistratos) and 65 (Pericles).

“Athens, the Dawn of Democracy,” and treats at length the “astonishing” invention of democracy.¹⁵ In this text, the focus is on the virtues of democratic institutions with relatively little discussion of individual leaders. Peisistratos is treated kindly in a brief excerpt from Aristotle’s *The Athenian Constitution*, though this passage is introduced by a paragraph emphasizing Peisistratos’ use of treachery and dishonesty in taking power.¹⁶ There is surprisingly little discussion of Pericles, except to criticize his imperialistic foreign policy, and to mention his clever strategy of using public works programs – rebuilding the monuments destroyed by the Persians – to achieve full employment in Athens.¹⁷

The non-democracies, too, have to deal with the democratic implications of the story of Athens and Sparta. Of course, as evinced by the so-called “people’s democracies,” a large number of states have found some logic – however convoluted – by which to identify themselves as democracies or republics in the past fifty years.¹⁸ These states have also been able to find useful lessons in the story of Athens and Sparta. One of the most dramatic instances of this kind of interpretation is apartheid-era South Africa (indeed, even after the end of apartheid, the apartheid-era textbooks were still being used and presenting a particular view of ancient Greece). A third grade teachers’ manual from 1993 makes the assertion that “democracy worked easily in Athens because the number of citizens was limited.”¹⁹

Mexico, a country that sits somewhat awkwardly between authoritarian traditions and democratic institutions, presents another interesting study in the appropriation of the story within a particular context. In the Mexican context the politics of urban/rural dynamics are a notable emphasis, with three different textbooks all mentioning the movement from a rural-based monarchical system to an urban-based democracy. For example:

“The conflicts that emerged between the urban and rural classes as a result of economic development produced ... a

¹⁵ Drouillon and Flonneau, *History and Geography (Histoire Géographie)*, 1987, p. 72.

¹⁶ Drouillon and Flonneau, *History and Geography (Histoire Géographie)*, 1987, p. 71.

¹⁷ Drouillon and Flonneau, *History and Geography (Histoire Géographie)*, 1987, p. 74.

¹⁸ As of 1994, 123 out of 194 sovereign states had the term “Republic” in their formal title. *World Almanac*, 1995.

¹⁹ Torr, et. al., *Making History*, 1993, p. 58.

social and political reorganization, above all in Athens and Sparta, where citizens exercised their political rights; they replaced the monarchy with a republic, and established a democracy in Athens.²⁰

As the passage from Hobbes at the beginning of this paper suggests, the story of Athens and Sparta can also be used as a base from which to criticize democracy. A sixth grade textbook from the Nazi era in Germany takes this line quite explicitly:

It was a dangerous job to serve the people of Athens. The people were sovereign and irresponsible. They would not take responsibility for any failures. Rather, the ones who gave the advice were blamed.... The majority of Athens' great men have had to endure the inconsistency and arbitrariness of the masses; they have lived in exile for entire decades, have died in prison, or have been condemned.²¹

This textbook goes on to discuss the role of Pericles in avoiding the dangers of democracy:

Thanks to a stroke of destiny, it so happened that all the dangers of Athenian democracy were avoided for several decades through the monarchical leadership of one individual. Under his leadership Athens reached its greatness. Pericles, even more assuredly than Themistocles, led the masses according to his will. ... Under his leadership the tension between the mass and the state leader was resolved.²²

The Nazi use of classical Greece to criticize democracy is particularly dramatic. But even many textbooks from democratic states are quick to point out some of the limitations of Athenian democracy. The treatment of women, foreigners, and slaves often come in for rebuke. The excessive passions of the masses are also often criticized. Still, these criticisms – particularly of slavery – are often rather mild. An example of these kinds of critiques is the treatment of Athenian imperialism.

²⁰ Villafuerte, et al. *History 1 (Historia 1)*, 1995, p. 59.

²¹ Kumstaller, et al. *History Book for the German Youth (Geschichtsbuch für die Deutsche Jugend)*, 1940, p. 87.

²² Kumstaller, et al. *History Book for the German Youth (Geschichtsbuch für die Deutsche Jugend)*, 1940, p. 87.

Athenian Imperialism

Many – but by no means all – of the reviewed textbooks mention that Athens changed the Delian League from an alliance into an empire; but Athenian imperialism is often presented without particular criticism.²³ A South African third-grade textbook provides an example of a textbook skipping the issue of imperialism altogether. It describes the relationship between Athens and its allies in these terms:

Athens protected many small city-states. The small city-states paid Athens money to keep them safe from enemies. Athenians used this money for beautiful buildings and statues.²⁴

An example of a more balanced, but still relatively uncritical approach can be found in a contemporary American textbook:

[D]uring the Golden Age, Athens had taken over the league, changing it from an alliance to an empire. Athens forced many Greek city-states to remain in the league, even when these cities wanted to withdraw. The Athenians used the money they collected from this league to rebuild Athens after the Persian Wars.

In addition, Athens had begun to attack cities outside Greece. During its Golden Age, the population of Athens had increased tremendously. To ensure that everyone would have enough food, Pericles insisted that Athens control the trade routes through which grain and other food reached Athens. As a result, the mighty Athenian navy attacked and captured cities along both shores of the Aegean Sea.²⁵

A more explicit, though still relatively mild, critique can be found in a French textbook from 1987, written after the Socialist education reforms. In this text, the terms ‘imperialist’ and ‘imperialism’ are defined in a sidebar. An ‘imperialist’ is “one who tries to dominate” while ‘imperialism’ is “the domination of one state over

²³ Gagnon argues that there is a similar lack in American high-school world history textbooks. *Democracy's Untold Story*, 1987, pp. 50-51.

²⁴ Marneweck, et al. *Making History*, 1991. p. 76.

²⁵ Armento, et al. *A Message of Ancient Days*, 1991, pp. 369-370.

another.”²⁶ The text states explicitly that the policy of imperialism created difficulties for Athens.²⁷ But, after the French conservatives return to power in the early nineties, the curriculum is reformed again and imperialism seems to return to the shadows. In the 1996 text the word ‘imperialism’ is dropped, and the discussion of the Athenian empire takes on the same more neutral character of the American textbook excerpted above.²⁸

An even less critical perspective is that of the Nazis. Though criticizing Athens’ administration of its empire, the Nazi texts do not fault Athens for taking a leadership role:

Athens offered equality within the Polis. Equality was not an option in the Sea Alliance. It is right that the leadership of the alliance should be firmly in Athens’ hands. Indeed, the Ionians in the colonies had no strong political will, did not like military service, and thought more about themselves than about the state.²⁹

In the Nazi interpretation, Athens failed to lead the alliance in a way that could have unified Greece into a greater empire with Athens as the center. The comparison to Germany is made explicit on this point: “This is the way in which Germany was unified from the Prussian core.”³⁰

The Missing Melians

The most dramatic example of the excesses of Athenian imperialism is the oppression of the Melians. After the funeral oration of Pericles, the most famous passage in Thucydides’ *History of the Peloponnesian Wars* is the Melian dialogue. In the Melian dialogue representatives of the city on the island of Melos debated their fate with the Athenian generals who had been sent to force the island to join in the Athenian alliance. The debate concerns the nature of morality in international

²⁶ Drouillon and Flonneau, *History and Geography (Histoire Géographie)*, 1987, p. 74.

²⁷ Drouillon and Flonneau, *History and Geography (Histoire Géographie)*, 1987, p. 74.

²⁸ Arnal, et al. *History and Geography (Histoire Géographie)*, 1996.

²⁹ Kumsteller, et al. *History Book for the German Youth: Grade 6 (Geschichtsbuch für die Deutsche Jugend: Klasse 6)*, 1940, p. 89.

³⁰ Kumsteller, et al. *History Book for the German Youth: Grade 6 (Geschichtsbuch für die Deutsche Jugend: Klasse 6)*, 1940, p. 89.

affairs. The Melians argued for the practical and moral benefits of adhering to a general moral code. The Athenians responded that might makes right: “The strong do what they can and the weak suffer what they must.”³¹ Ultimately, the Melians refused to submit to the more powerful Athenians, who responded by attacking Melos in force and who then “put to death all the grown men whom they took, and sold the women and children for slaves.”³²

The Melian dialogue is one of the richest pedagogical moments in *The Peloponnesian War*. It is frequently used as the central message from Thucydides in college-level international relations textbooks.³³ Nonetheless, the fate of the Melians is not recounted in *any* elementary or middle school textbook I have examined. My own daughter’s current sixth grade world history textbook, used in the San Francisco public schools, highlights a famous quote from Xenophon’s *Hellenica* which describes the Athenians’ reaction to news of their devastating military defeat at Aegospotami in 405B.C.E.. In Xenophon’s telling, the Athenians worried not only about the human losses their forces had suffered, but also feared that in defeat they would be treated as they had treated the Melians and many other Greek cities. In this textbook, since no mention of the Melians is ever made, the textbook writers apparently felt a need to alter the Xenophon quote:

³¹ Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*, 1996[c. 400B.C.E.], 5.89, p. 352.

³² Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*, 1996[c. 400B.C.E.], 5.116.4, p. 357.

³³ In an informal review of six major college-level international relations textbooks three of the six present the “strong do what they can” quote from the Melian dialogue as representative of Thucydides’ realism. See Appendix for list of texts.

Original Xenophon Passage ³⁴	1991 U.S. Textbook Passage ³⁵
<p>[D]uring that night no one slept, all mourning, not for the lost alone, but far more for their own selves, thinking that they would suffer <i>such treatment as they had visited upon the Melians</i> ... and many other Greek peoples.</p>	<p>On that night no man slept. There was mourning and sorrow for those that were lost, but the lamentation [expression of grief] was merged in even greater sorrow for themselves, as they pictured the evils they were about to suffer.</p>

This relatively gentle treatment of Athenian imperialism reflects the general bias towards Athens in contemporary accounts. While it seems natural to us that Athens should receive the primary emphasis, given its extraordinary cultural and political achievements, this has not always been the case. Indeed, prior to the middle of the nineteenth century, it was more often Sparta that was held up as a model.³⁶ After all, it was Sparta that defeated Athens – as many, but not all, the textbooks acknowledge. And it was not just Sparta’s military prowess that gained it praise.

The Spartan Virtues

If Athens is the model of democracy, how is Sparta portrayed? The obvious contrast is between the artistic and trading culture of Athens and the military culture of Sparta. “Sparta excelled in war and Athens in things of the mind” is how an American textbook from 1933 summarizes the contrast.³⁷ And of course Sparta has always been praised for its military virtues. Most textbooks at least mention the role of the 300 Spartans led by King Leonidas who sacrificed themselves to slow the advance of the 200,000 Persians under Xerxes

³⁴ Xenophon, *Hellenica*, 1985/1918 [400B.C.E.], 2.2.3, p. 105 (emphasis added).

³⁵ Armento, *et al. A Message of Ancient Days*, 1991, p. 371.

³⁶ See Rawson, *The Spartan Tradition in European Thought*, 1969.

³⁷ Gilbert, *The Dawn of History*, 1933, p. 116.

at Thermopylae in 480B.C.E..³⁸ Thereafter it is relatively easy to move from the military virtues of the Spartans to the broader virtues of discipline and rigorous education. Fifteen years after the end of the Peloponnesian War, Plato notes the Athenian fascination with the Spartan model when he writes mockingly of the many young men of Athens who “go in for muscular exercises and wear dashing little cloaks, as though it were by these means that the Spartans were the masters of Greece.”³⁹

More seriously, starting with Aristotle, many philosophers have praised the Spartans for recognizing the importance of education and the state’s responsibility for education policy.⁴⁰ In the texts reviewed here, one of the most popular themes in teaching about Sparta is the nature of Spartan education, though it is no longer held up as an ideal. Few textbooks miss the opportunity to describe the rigors of Spartan education. Perhaps it is a relief for the beleaguered middle school teacher to be able to point to the rigid discipline and severe privations visited upon young Spartans, in contrast to the flexibility of current educational practices.

Education policy is not the only aspect of Spartan governance that has been widely praised in the past. Many philosophers have also praised its constitution and style of government.

Spartan Government as a Model

For most of the past two thousand years it has been Sparta rather than Athens that has been held up as a model of good governance.⁴¹ Walter Moyle – the English advocate of republican government -- recommends Sparta as a model for Britain to follow in his 1698 “Essay on the Lacedaemonian Government”:

This wise lawgiver [Lycurgus] made such checks in the executive part of government, that in the administration they reciprocally controlled each other. ...The basis of [the

³⁸ See Bradford, *Thermopylae*, 1980.

³⁹ Plato, *Protagoras*, 1962, [c. 390 B.C.E.], 342c.

⁴⁰ Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, 1180.a.25 1962[c. 330B.C.E.] p. 297. See also *The Politics*, Book VIII, 1979[c. 330B.C.E.].

⁴¹ Rawson, *The Spartan Tradition in European Thought*, 1969.

Lacedaemonian government] was settled upon this maxim,
'that liberty is the chiefest good of civil society.'"⁴²

Moyle's interpretations of the ancient republics were influential in eighteenth century America as well.⁴³ His essay on Lacedaemonia was in Jefferson's personal library.⁴⁴ Though you would not know it from modern textbooks, the model of the Spartan "republic" was also invoked favorably in the formative days of the American Constitution. Americans at that time had what Gordon Wood has called "a compulsive interest in the ancient republics." Samuel Adams called for making the United States "the Christian Sparta."⁴⁵ In Federalist Sixty-three Madison discusses the virtues of the Senate as a counterweight to popular passions. Sparta is presented as a rare case of a long-lived republic. The reason cited for its longevity is the role of the Spartan Senate in providing stability as a check on liberty. The contrast to Athens is made explicit:

What bitter anguish would not the people of Athens have often escaped if their government had contained so provident a safeguard against the tyranny of their own passions?⁴⁶

Sparta's constitution gets no such praise in any of the texts in this study. Even the Nazi textbooks have little positive to say about the Spartan political system. The Spartans are praised for their bravery, their military feats, their simplicity of living, and even their love of freedom. But at best their system of government is simply ignored. More often it is described as authoritarian and aristocratic. An American textbook from 1960 describes Sparta as "that military community under the stern ancient Laws of Lycurgus, where warrior aristocrats still ruled the helots or serfs with an iron hand and looked down on art, literature, luxury, and trade."⁴⁷ An American textbook from 1991 has a more detailed description of the Spartan constitution, describing the system of Kings, Ephors, Senate, and Citizens' Assembly. The voting rules, and the process of lawmaking are described. At the end, however, this is all qualified:

⁴² Moyle, "An Essay on the Lacedaemonian Government," 1750[1698] pp. 193-194.

⁴³ Wood, *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776-1787*, 1969, p. 50.

⁴⁴ Jefferson's copy is now in the rare books room at the Library of Congress.

⁴⁵ Wood, *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776-1787*, 1969, p. 118.

⁴⁶ Hamilton, et. al. *The Federalist Papers*, no. 63. 1961[1788] p. 384.

⁴⁷ Falls, *The First 3000 Years*, 1960, p. 162.

Although the Spartans had an assembly and held elections for government offices, power was really in the hands of a few families. These families dominated the senate and could control the ephors. A truly democratic government never developed in Sparta. This city-state remained an oligarchy throughout its history.⁴⁸

France is one of the most intriguing cases under study here, in that the national school curriculum is closely monitored and regulated by the state. There have been several major curriculum reforms in France since WWII. The effect of each of these reforms can be seen starkly in the recasting of Sparta. In 1969, Sparta gets five pages of coverage. It is described as a “cruel and brave city” that became the most powerful city in Greece.⁴⁹ The Spartan stand at Thermopylae gets a full page of discussion.⁵⁰ After the Socialists’ curriculum reforms in 1985, Sparta is reduced to half a page, and “the Spartans’ heroic defense under Leonides at Thermopylae” gets just that much discussion.⁵¹ The French disillusionment with Sparta reaches its peak in the most recent curriculum reforms. In the current French sixth grade text, Sparta almost completely disappears. The Peloponnesian War is now covered in three short sentences and Sparta is lumped together with the “other independent cities” that opposed the Athenian Empire.⁵² Although the Athenian victory at Marathon and the naval victory at Salamis receive relatively extensive coverage, there is no mention of Leonidas and his Spartans at Thermopylae.⁵³ French sixth graders now learn nothing of Spartan education, military prowess, or political ideas.

A Lesser Known Spartan Virtue

There are other Spartan virtues that have been highlighted in some textbooks, but that are more tendentious. Most dramatic in this regard is certainly the Nazi fascination with ancient Greece and particularly with the Spartans. In *Mein Kampf*, Hitler advances a very Spartan ideal

⁴⁸ Armento, et al. *A Message of Ancient Days*, 1991.

⁴⁹ Petrus, *The Discovery of the Past* (A la Découverte de L’Antiquité) 1969, p. 48.

⁵⁰ Petrus, *The Discovery of the Past* (A la Découverte de L’Antiquité) 1969, p. 62.

⁵¹ Drouillon and Flonneau, *History and Geography 6* (*Histoire Géographie*), 1987, p. 74.

⁵² Arnal, et al. *History and Geography 6* (*Histoire Géographie*), 1996, p. 78. There is also a brief excerpt from Xenophon on Sparta’s decisions at the end of the war.

⁵³ Arnal, et al. *History and Geography 6* (*Histoire Géographie*), 1996, pp. 76-78.

of physical training for youth,⁵⁴ and calls for the advancement of a culture “embracing Hellenism and Germanism.”⁵⁵ While the Nazis clearly adopted many elements of the Spartan model of education,⁵⁶ the real attention in looking at ancient Greece and Sparta in particular is focused on issues of race. This approach is foreshadowed in *Mein Kampf*:

[I]t is the task of the folkish state to see to it that a world history is finally written in which the racial question is raised to a dominant position.⁵⁷

The textbook writers clearly adopted this task in their interpretation of Greek history. A second grade history book from 1939 is focused on the origins of the people of Europe. The title of the chapter on ancient Greece is “Northern People in a Southern Land.”⁵⁸ The Nazis emphasized a direct racial link between the Germans and the Greeks. It was, in this view, ancient Germanic influences that sparked Hellenic civilization:

Unremittingly, the Indo-Germanic people developed and their spirit of enterprise grew ever more... Soon the whole of German territory was not enough for them; their troops flowed out on all sides. ... The people who were conquered by the Indo-Germans were no Barbarians. They also had craftwork, architecture, religion, and poetry. But, as soon as the Northern people took the reins of leadership in the South, all that those people had so far invented was forgotten and outdone by the creations of the new masters. *Light was brought from the North to the whole of Europe.* ... From the Indo-Germanic gabled house was constructed on Greek soil the most beautiful building ever conceived by human beings: the Greek temple. ... The Northern sporting spirit and fighting mind created the Olympic games of the Greek people. The statues that Greek artists sculpted in marble had

⁵⁴ Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 1971[1925], pp. 407-422.

⁵⁵ Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 1971[1925], p. 423.

⁵⁶ Ziemer, *Education for Death*, 1972[1941].

⁵⁷ Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 1971[1925], p. 422.

⁵⁸ Kumstler, et al. *History Book for the German Youth: Grade 2 (Geschichtsbuch für die Deutsche Jugend: Klasse 2)*, 1939, Chapter 7, pp. 22-24.

Northern traits. ... Achilles the Greek and Siegfried the German are brothers by blood and by beliefs.⁵⁹

German children in the Nazi era learned that the Spartans were the dominant Greeks because of their racial purity and their bold use of eugenics. Where for most contemporary textbooks the Spartan practice of killing weak babies is *prima facie* evidence of the excesses of the Spartan creed, the Nazis paint these practices in a quite different light:

The main worry of the Spartans was the task of conserving the power of their race...Weak children were put out to die...the Spartans were the first ones who wanted to purify through breeding not just dogs and horses, but also human beings.⁶⁰

More generally, the dilution of the race is blamed for the ultimate decline of Greece:

The deepest cause for these transformations in vision and custom was that the people itself had become different in its blood. The ruling layer from the northern race, which was responsible for the great deeds and creations of the Greek people had died out.⁶¹

Ultimately the conflict between Athens and Sparta became a military confrontation rather than just a conflict of culture and style. The treatment of this war further illuminates the particularities of political socialization across time and place.

⁵⁹ Kumsteller, et al. *History Book for the German Youth: Grade 6 (Geschichtsbuch für die Deutsche Jugend: Klasse 2)*, 1939, pp. 22-23. Emphasis in original. The Nazis were not the only ones to claim a racial connection to the Spartans. It is safe to assume that they did not put much credence in the claim in the Apocrypha that the Spartans and Jews were brothers, both descendent from Abraham. I Maccabees 12:21.

⁶⁰ Kumsteller, et al. *History Book for the German Youth: Grade 6 (Geschichtsbuch für die Deutsche Jugend: Klasse 6)*, 1940, p. 67.

⁶¹ Kumsteller, et al. *History Book for the German Youth: Grade 6 (Geschichtsbuch für die Deutsche Jugend: Klasse 6)*, 1940, p. 107.

The War Between Athens and Sparta

The amount of attention given to the actual war between Athens and Sparta varies significantly. One series of American textbooks that was in use from the 1930's to the 1960's devotes considerable space to Greek culture, but says only that "The Greek city-states had many wars among themselves" with no further explanation.⁶² An American text from 1960 treats the Peloponnesian War only briefly, describing it as a "fratricidal struggle" and blaming it on outside sources, with "Persian gold pitting one Greek city against another."⁶³ The most recent American textbook in my collection gives the Peloponnesian War almost four pages. The trend is the other direction in the French texts. The war goes from a full page in the 1969 text to one half a page in 1987, and then just nine short lines in 1996. In Germany, the Nazis gave the Peloponnesian War fourteen pages.⁶⁴ In 1975 it received just two pages.⁶⁵ More important than the space devoted to the war is the discussion of its causes and consequences.

The Causes of the Peloponnesian War

Thucydides' famous explanation for the Peloponnesian War is that it was caused by "the growth in the power of Athens and the alarm which this inspired in Sparta."⁶⁶ This has been a focal point for the realist's appropriation of Thucydides. Many textbooks adopt this basic line, but there is room for embellishment and interpretation. One of the most common changes is to substitute the concept of "jealousy" for the concept of "fear." Though unjustifiable in terms of Thucydides' original text,⁶⁷ this interpretation follows easily from the

⁶² McGuire, *Backgrounds of American Freedom*, 1964, p. 162.

⁶³ Falls, *The First 3000 Years*, 1960, p. 162.

⁶⁴ Kumsteller, et al. *History Book for the German Youth: Grade 6 (Geschichtsbuch für die Deutsche Jugend: Klasse 6)*, 1940.

⁶⁵ Voelske, et al. *Time and People (Zeiten und Menschen)*, 1980[1975].

⁶⁶ Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*, 1.23.6. See also 1.88.1.

⁶⁷ *Fobon* is the word used by Thucydides in 1.23.6. This is a form of *fobos*, which means fear or panic and should be recognizable as the root of the English word 'phobia.' Thucydides records the speech in which the Corcyran representatives ask the Athenian assembly for help in their conflict with Corinth. The Corcyraeans argue that war is coming because of the Spartan fear [*fobw*] of Athens (1.33.3). Crawley mistakenly translates this as jealousy, but it is clearly a less important passage than Thucydides' own explanation for the war (1.23.6).

usual comparative descriptions of the art and culture of Athens and the relative privation of life in Sparta. A few examples:

- An American textbook of 1933 goes so far as to suggest that “[t]he Spartans were also jealous of the greater rights of the Athenian citizens. In their assembly, or public meeting, the Athenians had much more to say in running their government than the Spartans had in running theirs.”⁶⁸
- A Chinese middle school textbook from 1930: “As Athens grew in power, Sparta became very jealous. Conflicts over land led to the Peloponnesian War. But this was a superficial reason; in reality, the national temperaments were completely at odds.” A table showing the contrasts between Athens and Sparta is then provided. Athens is listed as democratic and free while Sparta is aristocratic and authoritarian.⁶⁹
- A French sixth grade textbook from 1969: “The glory of Athens provoked numerous jealousies in other cities. In Sparta, the army barracks city, jealousy turned to hate. A ridiculous and futile dispute started a war between Athens and Sparta that lasted for thirty years.”
- An American textbook from 1870 in which “the author has aimed at an impartial presentation of every subject treated.”⁷⁰ “The prosperity of Athens caused jealousy on the part of the Spartans, and about the year 430B.C. the Peloponnesian states formed an alliance to oppose the Athenians and their allies, who were favored by the democratic party in all states. A pretext for war was not long wanting...”⁷¹
- An American textbook from 1933: “After the Persian wars Sparta became jealous of Athens. ... The Spartans were also jealous of the greater rights of the Athenian citizens.”⁷² This

⁶⁸ Southworth and Southworth, *America's Old World Background*, 1943, p. 191.

⁶⁹ Chen and Zhu, *World History*, 1930, p.p. 47-48.

⁷⁰ Gilman, *First Steps in General History*, 1870, p. iv.

⁷¹ Gilman, *First Steps in General History*, 1870, p. 28.

⁷² Southworth and Southworth. *The Story of Long Ago*, 1933, p. 191.

same book later asks the readers: “Why was Sparta jealous of Athens? Using the story of these Greek cities as an example, tell why you think jealousy is very foolish.”⁷³

- An American textbook from 1941: “Athens and Sparta were especially jealous of each other... Instead of helping each other, they grew more and more jealous. When Sparta saw that Athens was becoming the more powerful city, she decided to go to war.”⁷⁴
- An American textbook from 1960: “Pericles in his desire to make Athens great, subdued many smaller cities and took away their freedom. They began to look to Sparta to help them to throw off the Athenian yoke, for Sparta, as well as Corinth, was already jealous of the wealth and power of Athens.”⁷⁵

Other explanations for the war are given as well. A Soviet middle school teacher’s manual of 1956 identifies the power-fear nexus as a central cause, but then embellishes that with a good Leninist story about competition for markets:

The reasons for the war were as follows: first, the growing strength of Athens and its aspiration to spread its influence not only in neutral regions, but within the Peloponnesian union; second, the struggle for economic development in the cities of the Peloponnesian union, above all in Corinth, for commercial predominance in western markets and in northern markets. Finally, a large role was played by the political order of the city of Athens and of the Peloponnesian union.⁷⁶

A Soviet fifth-grade textbook of the same era focuses on this third cause. It treats the Peloponnesian War as an ideological conflict

⁷³ Southworth and Southworth, *The Story of Long Ago*, 1933, p. 199.

⁷⁴ McClure, *A World Background for the United States*, 1941, 1946, pp. 102-103.

⁷⁵ Unstead, *Looking at Ancient History*, New York: MacMillan, 1960, p. 72.

⁷⁶ Struve, *Historical Reader of the Ancient World (Kbrestomatia po Istorii Drevnego Mira)*, 1956 p. 189.

between the democratic states in the Athenian alliance and the aristocratic states in the Peloponnesian alliance.⁷⁷

A German textbook of 1980 puts the war in a context that clearly resonates with Germany's position in the Cold War:

The peace of 446 between Athens and Sparta could only stand if both powers paid attention to the interests and zones of influence of the other... When Corinth supported one of Athens' renegade colonies, Pericles responded by launching a blockade... Because both sides had undermined the peace of 446 by failing to pay attention to the borders of each alliance system, they saw war as unavoidable. Sparta sought to defend the freedom of the Greek cities. Athens feared the loss of status and power in the Attic sea alliance if it tolerated the exit of one of the allies.⁷⁸

This is one of the rare versions that emphasizes the role of Sparta in defending freedom generally against Athenian imperialism, and not just against the Persians.

The Outcome of the Peloponnesian War

One of the inconveniences of the history of Athens and Sparta for many textbook writers seems to be the fact that Athens, despite its vibrant and democratic culture, eventually lost the war to Sparta. Many texts gloss over this fact and simply present the war as a fratricidal struggle that led to the general decline of Greece.

Other texts address Athens' loss more directly. The Nazis have an easy explanation: Athens would have won the war if it had stuck to Pericles' plans. But, the plague – “a stroke of bad luck coming from the Orient” – struck Pericles down.⁷⁹ Then, “since the supreme leader [*der Fuehrer*] was no longer there, all the evils of radical democracy came

⁷⁷ Kovalev, *History of the Ancient World (Istoria Drevnego Mira)*, 1956, p. 97.

⁷⁸ Voelske, et al. *Time and People (Zeiten und Menschen)*, 1980[1975] p. 98.

⁷⁹ Kumstaller, et al. *History Book for the German Youth (Geschichtsbuch für die Deutsche Jugend)*, 1940, p. 98.

out to strike at once.”⁸⁰ In particular, foreign elements came to dominate the state:

Until Pericles, men from the old aristocracy of the northern race had led the state and had held in check all the foreign elements which had come to political influence through the demos. Now power fell into the hands of men from the industrial class, men like owners of lamp factories, owners of small businesses.⁸¹

The Soviet text of 1956 attributes Athens’ loss to the deterioration of the democratic alliance, as “rich aristocrats [in the other cities] were seizing power and destroying the democratic system, and then switching to the Spartan side.”⁸²

The Greeks and the Persians

While for most texts Athens and Sparta provide sufficient contrast for a lesson about the relative merits of autocracy and democracy, some texts have transferred this dichotomy to the conflict between Greece and Persia. An American text from 1960 takes this approach, treating Athens and Greece as essentially synonymous with only the occasional mention of Sparta:

In the simplest terms, Persia stood for Eastern despotism, while Greece represented Western democracy.... Persia’s mighty host, one of the most gigantic of ancient times, was turned back by relatively small Greek armies. This surprising outcome revealed a dramatic fact: free men could fight better than slaves or mercenaries.⁸³

⁸⁰ Kumsteller, et al. *History Book for the German Youth (Geschichtsbuch für die Deutsche Jugend)*, 1940, p. 98. This perspective is not too far removed from Thucydides’ own assessment. See *The Peloponnesian War*, 1996[c. 400B.C.E.], 2.65 pp. 127-8.

⁸¹ Kumsteller, et al. *History Book for the German Youth (Geschichtsbuch für die Deutsche Jugend)*, 1940, pp. 98-99.

⁸² Kovalev, *History of the Ancient World (Istoria Drevnego Mira)*, 1956, pp. 102-103.

Compare this treatment with same author’s explanation for the victory of the Greeks over the Persians discussed below.

⁸³ Falls, *The First 3000 Years*, 1960 pp. 144-145.

Another American text from the World War II years presents the conflict between Greece and Persia in terms that surely resonated with the war with Japan.

The first Persian war ended in [Athens'] favor. Because of this war, the free West was saved from rule by the East. Democracy still had a chance to grow.⁸⁴

This comparison is made explicit in the discussion questions when the students are asked to tell how the East and West met again in battle in 1941.

A Soviet fifth grade textbook from 1956 that attributes the victory of Sparta over Athens to military failures and the seizure of power by aristocrats in the allied cities, sets out a different reason for the Greek victory over the numerically superior Persians:

The Greeks won, first of all, because they were conducting a just war of liberation. They were defending their motherland and that is why they were fighting with courage and inspiration. The Persians were conducting an unjust, expansionist war which was in the interest of the rich and the powerful and therefore [the soldiers] were fighting unwillingly.⁸⁵

Conclusions

The fact that classical Greece has been used in such disparate ways suggests several important lessons. Three stand out for particular emphasis: the nature of curriculums, the growth of liberalism, and the role of ideas in international relations.

⁸⁴ Kelty, *Other Lands and Other Times*, 1942, p. 240.

⁸⁵ Kovalev, *History of the Ancient World (Istoria Drevnego Mira)*, 1956, p. 90.

The Classics in the Curriculum

John Dewey asserts that “[t]he use of history for cultivating a socialized intelligence constitutes its moral significance.”⁸⁶ Surely, we would expect a well-done children’s textbook to make connections between the past and the present. It is not a condemnation of historical teaching that it has been put into the context of current realities within given cultures. The mistake is the belief that certain historical episodes have clear and unambiguous moral and social content. Apart from the most dramatic Nazi exaggerations, it is relatively rare that these children’s texts contain outright untruths. The use of creative interpretations that sometimes subvert what would seem the basic nature of the history of Athens and Sparta is much more common. What is emphasized and what is not emphasized can significantly change the lessons of history.

We are currently in the midst of a war over world history curricula in the schools. In 1992 the Bush administration proposed the creation of a set of national history standards. The resulting document raised such a protest that the U.S. Senate voted 99 to 1 to condemn the result.⁸⁷ A revised version is now circulating that has achieved a more favorable response, but the underlying controversies continue.⁸⁸ As we face these continuing battles over what world history students should learn, it is important to remember that even the most basic history of ancient times is not an immutable reality passed down through the ages. Rather, it is viewed and taught through specific cultural and political lenses. In this study I have used the story of Athens and Sparta to show how significant the variation can be when history is presented for quite particular purposes. In this light, it seems unlikely that the requirement in the proposed national history standards that fifth through twelfth grade students be able to “compare Athenian democracy with the military aristocracy of Sparta” will be much of a constraint on the varying interpretations of this historical episode.⁸⁹

⁸⁶ Dewey, *Democracy and Education*, 1916, p. 217.

⁸⁷ On the battle over the original history standards, see Diegmueller and Viadero. “Playing Games with History”, 1995.

⁸⁸ The new standards can be found online at the website for the National Center for History in the Schools at UCLA: <http://www.sscnet.ucla.edu/nchs/wrld3-3.html>

⁸⁹ Standard 2A for grade levels 5-12. World History Standards, 1996.

The Liberal Democratic Revolution

While there is clearly significant variation in the story of Athens and Sparta across different states and cultural contexts in the twentieth century, there is one area of consistency that stands out. Elizabeth Rawson argues that until the middle of the nineteenth century, Sparta was a more common model than Athens. She attributes the increasing attention given to Athens over Sparta to the growth of liberalism:

Many different lessons can be drawn from Sparta, but the one ideal that Sparta cannot be made to reflect is the radical belief in individual liberty, and thus liberal democracy. Only Athens can be squashed into that box (though that too takes some distortion). So, this is why Athens has eclipsed Sparta.⁹⁰

Rawson's focus is on the traditions of European philosophy. If she is right about the association of Athens and liberalism, then this study of children's texts suggests an even broader impact of the liberal model. Athens is clearly the dominant model in all of these texts from every context. Even in Nazi Germany, Stalinist Russia, China, and the South Africa of Apartheid, the focus is on Athens and the culture of the individual rather than Sparta and the culture of the phalanx. In this way, the consistent transmission of the story of Athens and Sparta to generations of school children points to the increasing importance of liberal and individualistic models as the dominant approaches to legitimation available to states today.⁹¹

Implications for International Relations

There is a growing interest in the role of ideas in international politics.⁹² I have shown here how ideas about what is important in history, and even beliefs about historical realities, can vary systematically across states and across time. The notion that there is one immutable reality that all states must confront is belied by the variety of historical interpretations of even this foundational episode of political realism.

⁹⁰ Rawson, *The Spartan Tradition in European Thought*, 1969, p. 10.

⁹¹ Gaubatz, "The Hobbesian Problem and the Microfoundations of International Relations Theory," 1997.

⁹² See Goldstein and Keohane, *Ideas and Foreign Policy*, 1993.

For realists, the consistent behavior of states in the anarchic environment of international politics is generated by the dynamics of selection and socialization.⁹³ Selection has been widely criticized as a mechanism given the fact that states very rarely disappear.⁹⁴ This study points to the limitations of the socialization mechanism. The lessons of the past are learned through the lens of domestic political ideologies. The same historical episode which has traditionally been identified by realists as demonstrating the inexorable demands of power has been interpreted in different cultures and contexts in significantly different ways. The culturally specific lessons of Athens and Sparta are passed on to children as part of their most basic political socialization.⁹⁵ When these children grow up, whole cohorts of political leaders within a given country are more likely to share a culturally specific view of the lessons of history. If these views affect their behaviors, then behavior in the international system will vary systematically by state.

On the other hand, this project also points to some of the limitations of ideas in international politics. The widespread ability to read history in ways convenient to one's own historical context suggests an important universal in human experience that may ultimately lend support to the pessimism of realists about the potential for common understandings across cultures. The creation of educational standards or the dissemination of uniform curriculums across states will not be adequate to ensure that the actual normative content of education is consistent. Individual states that have been willing to exercise strong controls over the teaching of history have consistently played a significant role in defining the meaning of the past. But even without strong central control, cultural contexts have clearly influenced the way historical lessons are passed on to new generations.

The myriad ways in which the story of Athens and Sparta has been taught is important in and of itself, for this is a foundational story in Western philosophy. Moreover, the Athens/Sparta story is also a useful window through which we can see the variation across states in

⁹³ Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, 1979, pp. 73-77.

⁹⁴ See, for example, Keohane, "Structural Realism and Beyond" in *Neorealism and Its Critics*, 1986, p. 173.

⁹⁵ On the political socialization of children, see Greenstein, *Children and Politics*, 1969[1965].

underlying values and ideas both about domestic political and social organization and about the nature of relations between states. This one short historical episode has been translated into a wide diversity of languages and cultural settings. It is through such mechanisms that common worldviews are created and perpetuated within states. My focus here has been on early-grade textbooks and on the teaching of children. At first blush this may not seem the stuff of national policies and high politics. But we would do well to remember here the aphorism of Wordsworth that “the child is father of the man.”

Appendix: List of Textbooks

Finding textbooks for the purposes of research is notoriously difficult. Few libraries collect textbooks. The Library of Congress, for example, has an explicit policy *against* collecting textbooks. The callous attitude towards textbooks is suggested by the fact that the Library of Congress lost, or disposed of fourteen boxes of Nazi textbooks sometime between 1983 and 1996. Where textbooks are collected, they are rarely catalogued by grade level or directly by subject matter. Thus, if you do not know the author or the title, finding textbooks can be very difficult. The situation in foreign countries is often even worse.

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I have also benefited greatly from the collections at Teachers College at Columbia University, The Hoover Institution at Stanford University, the Cubberly Education Library at Stanford University, and the Library of Congress.

Note: Within each country the texts are listed either chronologically or in grade order.

China

Chen, and Zhu. *World History (A Teachers' Manual)*, Shanghai: World Bookstore, 1930.

Yin. *Foreign History I* Central Bookstore. 1946 [1939]

Shin. *Foreign History I*, Shanghai: Xinhua Bookstore. 1951 [1949].

France

Petrus, Jean. *The Discovery of the Past*, (A la Découverte de l'Antiquité) Paris: Nathan, 1969.

Douillon, M.T., and M. Flonneau, *History and Geography 6*, (*Histoire Géographie 6*). Paris: Nathan, 1987.

Arnal, François. Catherine Biaggi, Éric Chaudron, Jean-Christophe Gay, Rémy Knafou, Françoise Martinetti. *History and Geography 6, (Histoire Géographie 6)*. Paris: Belin. 1996.

Germany

Kumsteller, B., U. Haache, and B. Schneider. *History Book for the German Youth: Grade 2 (Geschichtsbuch für die Deutsche Jugend: Klasse 2)*, 1939.

Kumsteller, B., U. Haache, and B. Schneider. *History Book for the German Youth: Grade 6 (Geschichtsbuch für die Deutsche Jugend: Klasse 6)*, 1940.

Voelske, Arnold, Robert Hermann Tenbrock, and Kurt Kluxen. *Time and People (Zeiten und Menschen)*. Schöningh-Schroedel, 1980[1975].

Mexico

Jaimes, Juan de Dios Gonzá. Translation, *History: First Lesson (Historia: Primer Curso)*, Mexico City: Santillana Publishers. 1995.

Villafuerte, Amilcar Luis González, Ana Maria Muñoz Serrano, Isabel Ruiz López, Margarita Rosier Manrique, and Enrique Tapia Ortega. *History 1: Discovering the Past (Historia 1: Descubriendo el Pasado)*. Mexico: Larousse, 1995.

South Africa

Marneweck, Lorraine, Rob Siebörger, and Louise Torr. *Making History: Standard Three*. Pietermaritzburg, South Africa: Centaur Publications. First Edition, 1991.

Torr, Louise, Lorraine Marneweck, and Rob Siebörger. *Making History: Standard Three, Teacher's Book*. Pietermaritzburg, South Africa: Centaur Publications. First Edition, 1993.

The Soviet Union

Struve, V.V, ed. *Historical Reader of the Ancient World (Khrestomatia po Istorii Drevnego Mira)* Moscow: State Educational-Pedagogical Press. 1956.

Kovalev, S.I. *History of the Ancient World: A Handbook for the Fifth and Sixth Grade (Istoria Drevnego Mira)*. Moscow: Ministry of Education of the USSR. 1956.

Korovkin, F.P. *History of the Ancient World: A Handbook for the Fifth Grade (Istoria Drevnego Mira)*. Moscow: Enlightenment/Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of the USSR. 1976.

Turkey

Kitapçı, V. Senihi, *Social Studies, Level 4 (Sosyal Bilgiler, Sınıf 4)*, Ankara, Özgün Matbaacılık Sanayii Ve Tic. 1996.

Kitapçı, V. Senihi, *Social Studies, Level 5 (Sosyal Bilgiler, Sınıf 5)*, Ankara, Özgün Matbaacılık Sanayii Ve Tic. 1995.

Ergezer, Nevin. *National History 6 (Millî Tarih 6)*, Ankara, Ocak Yayınları, 1996.

Ergezer, Nevin. *National History 7 (Millî Tarih 7)*, Ankara, Ocak Yayınları, 1994.

The United States

Gilman, Arthur. *First Steps in General History: A Suggestive History*, New York, A.S. Barnes and Co., 1870.

Gilbert, Mary. *The Dawn of History: A First Book in History for the Grades*. Chicago: Loyola University Press. 1933.

Southworth, Gertrude Van Duyn and John Van Duyn Southworth. *The Story of Long Ago*. Syracuse, Iroquois Publishing, 1933.

McClure, C.H. Charles Scheck, and W.W. Wright. *A World Background for the United States*. New York: Laidlaw. 1941, 1946.

Kelty, Mary G. *Other Lands and Other Times: Their Gifts to American Life*, Boston: Ginn and Co., 1942.

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Armiento, Beverly, Gary Nash, Christopher Salter, and Karen Wixson. *A Message of Ancient Days*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. 1991.

American College Level International Relations Textbooks

- Goldstein, Joshua. *International Relations*. New York: Harper Collins. 1994
- Papp, Daniel S. *Contemporary International Relations: Frameworks for Understanding*. New York: Macmillan. 4th Edition. 1994.
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