UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN—EAU CLAIRE

ARCHIDAMUS' AND PERICLES' FOREIGN POLICIES:
AN APPLICATION OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS THEORY

HISTORY 489
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Abstract

In 431 B.C.E., with the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, the Greek world entered into the most violent, divisive, and overall devastating conflict of its history. Myriad scholars have attempted to explain the causes of this catastrophic war, the reasons for the course it ultimately took, and the forces at work that impeded the peace process, the result of which is a robust body of literature that has substantially increased our knowledge of the war. However, a new perspective, focusing primarily on key individuals and making use of international relations theory, will give rise to novel explanations to the above issue. Specifically, the paper explores the foreign policies of two early Peloponnesian War leaders—the Spartan King Archidamus and the Athenian general Pericles. The application of international relations theory to the lives of these leaders and the exclusive focus of the paper on foreign policy offers a unique perspective and some new considerations to ponder.

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Map of the Delian and Peloponnesian Leagues

Figure one: Map of neutral states (tan), Delian League members (dark Green), and Peloponessian League members (Light Green).

The Peloponnesian War

In the years preceding the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, the longtime hegemon of ancient Greece, Sparta, warily watched its Athenian rival forge an empire comprising nearly 200 states, develop a fleet unmatched in all of Greece, attain control over the Aegean, export democracy, which threatened the precarious oligarchic/democratic balance that had been in place, and amass great wealth.[1] Fearing the consequences of Athens' ascendance, in 432 the Spartan headed Peloponnesian League voted for war.[2] From 431 to 404 B.C.E., while at the height of their great powers, Sparta and Athens led the city states of ancient Greece into a devastating clash, the result of which was unprecedented upheaval in the Greek world, horrific acts of barbarism, untold death and suffering and, in the end, the unfortunate conclusion of one of the most vibrant periods in human history.[3]

However, the war does not capture the attention of modern audiences as a result of its brutality and destructiveness. Rather, it is the salience and timelessness of the themes embodied in the ancient conflict that hold our attention. As classicist Victor Davis Hanson colorfully puts it, "Athens and Sparta are states in a real war, but they are also metaphysical representations of opposite ways of looking at the universe, whose corollaries are often emphasized in a variety of contexts."[4] Indeed, Sparta was an authoritarian slave state devoted entirely to austerity and militarism. Their city was the equivalent of an armed camp, their society was closed, and pleasure seeking, far from being tolerated, was viewed as

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[1] Alan L. Boegehold, "Appendix B: The Athenian Empire in Thucydides," *The Landmark Thucydides: A Comprehensive Guide to the Peloponnesian War,* edited by Robert B Strassler (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996), 585; Donald Kagan, *The Outbreak of the Peloponnesian War* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969), 106

[2] Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*, trans. Steven Lattimore (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 1998), 1:23.

[3] Kagan calls the golden age of Greece "a time of extraordinary cultural achievement, as well, probably unmatched in originality and richness in all of human history." Donald Kagan, *The Peloponnesian War* (New York: Penguin, 2003), XXIII.

[4] Victor Davis Hanson, "Introduction," *The Landmark Thucydides*, XI.

subversive and a threat to the stability of the state.[5] The Athenians, on the other hand, adorned their

city with beautiful buildings and monuments, devoted much of their time to leisure and pursuing

pleasure, esteemed intellectualism, creativity, and artistry, and enjoyed the full blessings of freedom.

This sharp contrast between regimes, lifestyles, cultures, and outlooks make the Peloponnesian War

much more than a war between belligerents. The Peloponnesian War is a treatise on human nature, a

war of ideals and ways of life.

Timeline

Pentekontaetia[6] Dates

464/3[7]	Earthquake destroys Sparta; helots seize opportunity to revolt
460	Spartan/Athenian alliance broken
459	Athenian fleet sails to assist Egyptian rebellion
454	Helot revolt suppressed by Peloponnesians
454	Athenian fleet in Egypt destroyed
454	Delian League treasury transferred to Athens
454	Athenians defeat Persian fleet returning from Egypt, reasserting their dominance over the Aegean after the catastrophic defeat earlier in the year[8]
453	Athenians begin collecting tribute from the allies
453 or 452	Peace of Callias[9]
451	Five Years Peace concluded between Sparta and Athens
451	Pericles proposes Pan-Hellenic Congress[10]

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[5] Richard J.A. Talbert, "Plutarch and Sparta," *Plutarch on Sparta (London: Penguin, 1988),* xiii.

[6] Pentekontaetia: "fifty years," that is, the roughly fifty year interval between the conclusion of the Persian Wars and the commencement of the Peloponnesian War (479-431). Historian Ron Unz claims that this period may have been of "greater historical significance" than the twenty-seven year Peloponnesian War itself. Among other things, during this period the Athenian/Spartan alliance was broken, Sparta was rocked to its knees by a massive earthquake and subsequent helot uprising, Athens formed an empire, and numerous allies switched their alliances between the Spartan and Athenian camps. Ron K. Unz, "The Chronology of the Pentekontaetia*," The Classical Quarterly*, New Series 1 (1986): 68-85.

[7] All dates in the paper are B.C.E.

[8] Donald Kagan, *Outbreak of the Peloponnesian War* (Cornell: Cornell University Press,) 106

[9] Whether or not a formal peace was actually reached between Persia and Athens, no one disputes that fighting between the two belligerents ceased; Kagan, *Outbreak of the Peloponnesian War*, 107

450/49	League funds used for building projects in Athens
446/5	Thirty Years Peace concluded between Sparta and Athens
435[11]	Tension between Corinth and Cocyra over the fate of Epidamnus
433	Athens drawn into the conflict; forms a defensive alliance with Corcyra
433, Aug[12]	Battle of Sybota; Corinth defeated
432	Against the wishes of king Archidamus, Congress at Sparta votes to go to war with Athens.

Peloponnesian War Dates

432/1	Pericles advices Athens to refuse Sparta's offer to remove the Megarian Decree in exchange for peace
431, summer	Archidamus leads Peloponnesians in an attack on Attica; sends one final ambassador to sue for peace before commencing invasion. Athens rejects offer, refuses to fight a pitched battle, choosing instead to dispatch a fleet to raid the Peloponnesus
431/0	Pericles delivers funeral oration at close of first year of conflict
430, summer	Plague ravages Athens
430, summer	Pericles addresses Athens, bidding them to keep their composure and remain steadfast
430	Death of Pericles
427?	Death of Archidamus

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[10] Historicity of this event is dubious as it is only mentioned in one source, Plutarch. Kagan does not question it (1969, 110-112); Croix does not take a firm stand, stating "the whole story…may possibly be a fabrication" (1972, 195); Robin Seager, arguing the text contains numerous 4th century "usages and ideology," holds the decree to be a fabrication (; and Ira S Mark argues that the decree is legitimate because it is impossible for him to believe that anyone could have had a motive to create a story of a proposed decree that resulted in nothing (the congress was only proposed, never held, according to Plutarch), (1993,103).

[11] Not dated precisely by Thucydides. Dated by Hornblower as "the months before August 435."

[12] ibid

Introduction

In the almost two and a half thousand years that have elapsed since Thucydides confidently proclaimed his narrative on the Peloponnesian War a "possession for all times,"[13] myriad historians have analyzed, critiqued, and elaborated on the Athenian's epic work. Such gifted scholars as G.E.M. de Ste. Croix, A.W. Gomme, Jacqueline de Romilly, W.R. Connor, Donald Kagan, Simon Hornblower, and others have provided invaluable elaborations on the history and reconciled many of the problems and irregularities of the work. The result of these efforts is a body of scholarship that has significantly clarified and enhanced our understanding of the Peloponnesian War. However, it is not a perfect or complete body of work, and there are still new perspectives, methodologies, and explanations that can further enhance our knowledge of the war. This study proposes to add a modest layer to the aforementioned foundation by utilizing international relations theory to provide some novel explanations for why Greek leaders undertook certain actions and advocated certain policies. Specifically, it will address the actions and policies of the Athenian general Pericles and the Spartan king Archidamus and give a new perspective regarding the foreign policy goals, actions, and strategies of these Peloponnesian War leaders.

Explanation of the Foreign Policy Logics

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[13] Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*, 1:22.

International relations theory can best be understood as a body of "foreign policy logics,"[14] designed by political scientists to facilitate a clearer understanding of foreign policy actions, goals, motivations, and strategies. The most significant of these logics are realism, hegemonism, isolationism, and liberal internationalism, although realism and hegemonism, with a brief comment on liberal internationalism, will be the focus of this study. Each of the foreign policy logics is based on a unique philosophy/worldview, and thus great variance exists from one logic to another, the most notable differences being the way each school defines national interests, the prospects each logic holds for peaceable relations to exist between states, the position of each logic on the importance of power and morality in international relations, and the significance each attributes to the three foreign policy "images"—"the individual, the state, and the international system."[15]

Realism

Those who hold realism to be the preeminent logic for maximizing a state's position in the international arena argue that the state and its relative power[16] are of paramount and exclusive importance. Realists place such emphasis on relative power because they believe states operate in a Hobbesian state of nature where entities lacking sufficient strength suffer existences that are "solitary, nasty, brutish, and short." The only way to survive in such a state, realists contend, is through acquiring power, and therefore its pursuit should be the greatest factor guiding state's actions. Furthermore, realists believe there is no way to transform the international arena from a Hobbesian state of nature into a "Lockean world."[17] States that place their security in a hegemon, appeals to justice, international institutions, or interdependence, will only have themselves to blame when they are subjugated by a

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[14] Patrick Callahan, *Logics of American Foreign Policy: Theories of America's World Role* (New York: Pearson Longman), 4
Also referred to as schools, grand strategies, frameworks, and theories
[15] Joseph Nye, *Understanding International Conflicts: an Introduction to Theory and History*, (New York: Longman, 1997), 29, 41.
[16] Its power in relation to that of the rest of the states in the international system.
[17] Charles Krauthammer, *Democratic Realism: An American Foreign Policy for a Unipolar World*.

great power.[18] To change this bleak scenario, according to international relations theorist Charles

Krauthammer, would "require a revolution in human nature… and realists do not believe in revolutions

in human nature."[19]

Also of importance, realists are diametrically opposed to states "crusading" and attempting to

establish global hegemony, for such antagonistic actions make all other states insecure, and the

inevitable result is upheaval and war as the other states in the system dedicate themselves to restoring

the balance of power and reestablishing a geopolitical equilibrium. Thus, states pursue power, but not

blindly and without regard to the balance of power.   Finally, although realists are not very optimistic

about the prospects for peace, tending to subscribe to Ambrose Bierce's pessimistic definition of the

term in *the Devil's Dictionary,*[20] a realist foreign policy's ultimate goal is peace. By possessing such a

sober disposition regarding the potential for peace, realists contend, peace actually becomes more

attainable, for the impediments that hinder its achievement become clearer and a realistic, non-utopian

strategy to seize it when possible is made more likely.[21]

Hegemonism

The other foreign policy logic of major importance to this study is hegemonism. According to

hegemonists, a single state possessing a preponderance of power is the most desirable composition of

the international system, for all states benefit from the presence of an entity with the power to maintain

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[18] Though the concept of international institutions is not directly relevant to discussion of ancient Greece, and obviously there was no formal "UN" of the Greek world, interestingly, on occasion there were attempts to bring together all of Greece and hold conferences that aimed to perform a role analogous to that of the UN today. For example, see Plutarch, *Life of Pericles*, 17.4: "Pericles…introduced a proposal that all Greeks, whether living in Europe or in Asia, in small or in large cities alike, should be invited to send delegates to a congress at Athens." Also, a provision of the thirty years peace stipulated that "both sides [Sparta and Athens] submit future grievances to binding arbitration," a very traditional goal of international institutions.
Donald Kagan, *The Peloponnesian War*, (London: Penguin Boooks), 18.

[19] Charles Krauthammer, *Democratic Realism: An American Foreign Policy for a Unipolar World*.

[20] "Peace: noun, in international affairs, a period of cheating between two periods of fighting;"Cited in Krauthammer, *Democratic Realism.*

[21]Steven Forde, The Realists Tradition and Contemporary International Relations, *Thucydides on Peace,* William David Clinton, ed (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press), *24.*

stability (a concept termed hegemonic stability theory). Although a hegemon does not perform this role

out of an altruistic desire to help others, a hegemon has the power to enforce a peace, and because a

hegemon tends to have "vital interests" all over the world, it willingly takes on the role of world

policeman and fiercely opposes all acts of aggression that could potentially disrupt global order.[22] Also

of importance is the theory of counter hegemonic balancing, which holds that should a hegemon fail to

appease its allies and reassure states that its intentions are benign, a coalition of states will unite in

order to oppose the hegemon out of fear of its great power.[23] Thus, hegemons tend to rigorously

pursue positive relations with lesser powers, refrain from taking selfish actions, and do all within their

power to make their hegemony acceptable to the states of the international system.

A Note on Organization and Methodology

Each statesman will be treated in a separate section. Each section will open with a brief

introduction contextualizing the leader's place in Greek history and in the Peloponnesian War

specifically. Following this general sort of introduction, application of the international relations

theories will be set up by addressing specific background details of the leader's foreign policy. Finally,

while performing an analysis by logic, i.e. demarcating the paper between the realist, hegemonist, and

liberal internationalist theories and examining the leader's foreign policies jointly, has its merit, as it

would better enable the reader to compare and contrast the theories and would emphasize the

successes and failures of their implementation, the goal of this analysis is not to make or facilitate a

judgment on the worth of the theories. Rather, the goal of this project is to utilize the theories to

provide a novel perspective on the foreign policy maneuverings and goals of Archidamus and Pericles.

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[22] Callahan, *Logics of American Foreign Policy*, 20

[23] Though Athens was probably not so concerned with the danger of counter hegemonic balancing as America is
today, for example, pacifying the allies certainly was a concern of the Athenians and manifested itself in a number
of ways, such as in Athens' treatment of her more powerful allies who were allowed to maintain fleets of their own
rather than contribute funds to the Athenian treasury and, in some cases, even retain oligarchic regimes. Mytiline
and Samos before they rebelled are two examples of this, though the fact that they rebelled may say something
about the legitimacy of the theory. This will be discussed at greater length bellow. (Donald Kagan, *The
Peloponnesian War, 22, 100).*

Archidamus' Foreign Policy

Archidamus ascended to the Spartan kingship in the midst of one of the most turbulent periods in Greek history, the *pentekontaetia.*[24] During this dynamic fifty year interval, the Spartan state was nearly destroyed in a massive earthquake and subsequent helot[25] revolt, the Spartan/Athenian alliance collapsed, leading to a rigid division of Greece into two hostile camps, Athens upset the balance of power by forging an empire and, as put by Ron Unz, "drastic political realignment involving nearly every state in Hellas" threatened the stability of the Greek city-state system.[26] During these turbulent years Archidamus provided Sparta with steady leadership, earning himself a reputation as a brave, intelligent, and prudent king. Of his more significant exploits, the king is credited with playing an instrumental role in suppressing the helot revolt of 464, leading Sparta on successful campaigns against Peloponnesian defectors, specifically the Arcadians at Tegea and Dipaea,[27] and admirably performing his duties as king during the trying years of the *pentekontaetia*. By the start of the Peloponnesian War, Archidamus had

[24] "Pentekontaetia:" see footnote number six.
[25] Helots—Messenians defeated by the Spartans early in their history who were subsequently forced into a condition that is best understood as being somewhere between slavery and serfdom. The helots were a crucial component of Spartan society as their labor freed the Spartans to devote themselves entirely to military training and, in turn, forced them to devote themselves to military training, as they lived with the constant threat of revolt from their slave population who grossly outnumbered them and, as Xenophon tells us, would have "gladly eaten their masters raw." Plutarch, *Plutarch on Sparta*, with an introduction by Richard J.A. Talbert (London: Penguin, 1988), 2, 7.
[26]Ron Unz, The Chronology of the Pentekontaetia, 68.
 Most notable of these changes was Megara becoming an Athenian ally. Croix tells us that "we cannot doubt that Sparta regarded herself as being at war with Athens from the time that Megara deserted the Peloponnesian League and entered into alliance with Athens. Croix believes Megara was essential to the balance of power because of its strategic position, that is, while Athens controlled it, Sparta was totally unable to attack Attica. Croix, *The Origins of the Peloponnesian War*, 187-191
[27]Beyond Tegea and Dipaea, no specific examples can be given, but the circumstantial evidence for more rebellions is quite strong. For example, Thucydides tells us of Athens and Sparta in I.18 that "Over the whole time from the Persian wars to this war, sometimes making truces, otherwise fighting either each other or any allies that revolted, they became well prepared militarily and grew more experienced by getting their training in combat" (Lattimore translation). Also, Archidamus introduced himself as a man experienced in many wars, but only three have come down to us—war with the helots, Tegea, and Dipaea—so it is no great leap to assume Archidamus commanded the Peloponnesian forces in campaigns against other Peloponnesian defectors. See De Ste. Croix, *Origins of the Peloponnesian War*, 95
John Bagnell Bury, A History of Greece to the Death of Alexander the Great (London: Macmillan and Company, 1913), 387; Diodorus, *The Historical Library of Diodorus the Sicilian*, trans. G. Booth (London), XI: XIV; G.E.M. de Ste. Croix, *The Origins of the Peloponnesian War* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press), p 142; Plutarch, *The Rise and Fall of Athens: Nine Greek Lives,* trans Ian Scott Kilvert (New York: Penguin Books, 1960), Life of Cimon, book 31

been king for nearly forty years and, through his many years of dedicated service to the state, had

acquired great respect and prestige. As the threat of war with Athens threatened to rip apart the Greek

world, Archidamus hoped his great prestige would give him the necessary sway to dissuade his

countrymen from hastily undertaking a devastating war with the Athenians, and in a speech to the

Peloponnesian Alliance in 432, Archidamus outlined a foreign policy he believed capable of both staving

off war with the Athenians and achieving the security all states seek.

Archidamus' foreign policy speech[28] addressed two considerations—that outright war with

Athens would bear an unacceptably high cost, while remaining inactive had the potential of leaving

Sparta vulnerable, a totally unacceptable outcome in a game where the stakes are survival. As for war

with Athens being too costly, the Spartan king likely believed Athens and Sparta possessed roughly

equivalent power, and he clearly understood that because states of equal power are in unique positions

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[28] The reliability of the Thucydidean dialogues will always be debated, for although Thucydides explained his methodology for constructing his speeches, he did so ambiguously and may have raised as many questions as he answered. For example, Thucydides explicitly admitted that a major component of his methodology was contextualizing an event and attributing to speakers what seemed likely, given the situation, for them to have said. However, he also made it clear that he heard numerous speeches in person, and for many of those he did not, he was able to acquire information from "informants" (1:22). In other words, as put by Steven Lattimore, the speeches are a "combination of summarizing and invention" (1998, p. 13) or a combination of "contrivance and historical exactitude" (Hanson, 1996, xvi). But knowing this is relatively unhelpful without having access to specific information explaining what the "combination" looks like. We simply have no way of knowing how much liberty the historian took in constructing the speeches generally, which speeches are "summary" and which are "creation" specifically and, perhaps most importantly, because of the above ambiguities, whether or not he even stuck to his methodology and resisted the temptation to create speeches that have no historicity at all. Thucydides' failure to be clearer has left the floor wide open to debate on the issue. For instance, Peloponnesian War scholar Jacqueline De Romilly finds it likely that several speeches were distorted by Thucydides but believes others to be quite accurate, such as Thucydides' renditions of Pericles' speeches. She states, "It is highly probable that he borrowed from one or more of Pericles' actual speeches, and limited his own contribution to bringing out certain of the arguments" (Romilly, 1963, p.118). Victor Davis Hanson argues that all Thucydides' speeches were likely historically accurate (in so far as they were real and actually spoken) but that the historian "contrived" when he lacked specific details on speeches (1996, xvi). Gomme seems to hold a position between Romilly and Hanson. He states "We can believe, in most cases, that the debates referred to actually took place, and that their practical aims, were as Thucydides records" (1937, 158). On the extreme end of the debate are scholars such as Donald Kagan, who has been accused by some of holding a "near religious belief in the authenticity of Thucydides' speeches" (Hanson, 1992, p. 119), and opposite that position, scholars who hold the speeches to be free inventions. The author subscribes to a position very near that of Hanson, but the speeches treated in this paper tend to be some of the less controversial ones and therefore the author hopes to limit his input on the matter. The speeches addressed, unless otherwise noted, are done so from the premise that the main points of the dialogues are summary. When there are especially convincing arguments to do otherwise, they will be noted.

to fight protracted wars, as it is very difficult for an equal to achieve an advantage over an equal and compel it to capitulate, such wars tend to more resemble mutual suicide than traditional combat. At the same time, however, Archidamus' lengthy enumeration of the components of Athen's power[29] suggests that he probably believed that Athens' acquisition of its empire had enhanced Athens' power to the point that it had become a threat to Spartan security. Therefore, he certainly understood that Sparta could have been threatened at any moment by a resurfacing of Athens' lust for empire.[30] To remedy this, he put forward a highly realist foreign policy that aimed to increase Sparta's relative power, deter Athenian aggression, and create conditions more conducive to peace. Though Archidamus obviously did not employ contemporary realist terminology in his speech, realist notions, such as the balance of power, internal and external balancing, realist alliances, and deterrence dominated his speech. Indeed, Archidamus' primary argument, that war with Athens was ill-advised, was premised on the balance of power logic, i.e., that such parity existed between Sparta and Athens that war would likely be one of particular devastation and one the Greeks would "bequeath" to their children.[31]

The king began his argument on the balance of power by attempting to educate the Spartan assembly on the magnitude of Athens' power, which was little understood throughout the Greek world as a result of the revolution in warfare the Athenians had achieved earlier in the century under the guidance of the brilliant Athenian general Themistocles.[32] The Spartans, and indeed virtually all of Greece, having been educated in a model of warfare where victories were ultimately won or lost on the

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[29] Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*, 1:82

[30] Kagan convincingly argues that in 450 Athens had become a "saturated power" and that Pericles halted expansion of the empire to prevent the Athenians from overreaching. Kagan states, "[Athens] sought no additional territory, but would take the necessary measures to insure the security of what she already held…The Periclean program, then, was peace with both Persia and Sparta, the defense of Athenian dignity, and firm control of the empire" (Kagan, 1969, 107). However, Thucydides also spoke about the increase in power the Athenians enjoyed through tightening control over their empire, and thus it should not be considered that Athens increase in power had halted completely.

[31] Thucydides quoted in Hornblower, *A commentary on Thucydides* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2003), 126; Jacqueline De Romilly, trans by Philip Thody, *Thucydides and Athenian Imperialism* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1963), 114

[32] Barry Strauss, *The Battle of Salamis: The Navel Encounter that Saved Greece—and Western Civilization*, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2004), 241.

ground in pitched battles, reasonably believed the Peloponnesian's vastly superior land forces would march on Athens, force her into fighting a battle she could not win, and receive her surrender in a "quick, easy and almost bloodless victory."[33] However, a navy unmatched in Greece, unassailable walls, a robust economy, and an expansive empire capable of providing the Athenians a tremendous amount of resources, argued Archidamus, allowed the Athenians to reject the traditional model of Greek warfare.[34] They had no need to defend their fields as the other states in Greece did, as they could easily import whatever they needed,[35] and thus they could not be forced into fighting a battle on the Peloponnesian's terms for fear of loss of their food supply.[36] Rather, they would conduct their war as if they were islanders, avoiding all potentially costly confrontations on land and forcing the Spartans to take to the sea, and on the sea, Archidamus was convinced, Sparta would "sustain the greater damage."[37]

Archidamus premised his appeal for peace upon the balance of power because he believed it to be a major deterrent to war. According to realists, the composition of the international system most conducive to peace and stability is one in which states have prudently balanced each other's power, making the risks of war far greater than the potential rewards. "Equal respect for equal power," realists contend, lead states that prudently perform cost benefit analyses to conclude there is more to be lost than gained by taking provocative action, for an equal power will not be taken advantage of the way a lesser power would.[38] In his foreign policy speech, then, Archidamus' foremost priority was to explain to the Spartan assembly that, although in traditional Greek warfare the Peloponnesians would have the upper hand, the Athenians would not partake in traditional combat, and Athens' new brand of warfare

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[33] De Ste. Croix, *The Origins of the Peloponnesian War*, 208

[34] Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*, 1:80

[35] Thucydides, Peloponnesian War, 1:81.

[36] Gomme nicely treats the impact farming and economics played on Greek warfare and why Sparta and Athens were unconstrained by these two factors. That is, Sparta's slave population freed the Spartans from having to worry about farming and Athens navy and empire allowed her attain her sustenance elsewhere; Gomme, Historical Commentary on Thucydides, 12.

[37] Ibid; Romilly

[38] Steven Forde, *Thucydides on Peace*, 42

had effectively balanced the power and ensured that Sparta had far more to lose by provoking war with Athens than they could possibly gain.

After addressing the reasons why war was to be avoided, Archidamus significantly altered his tone, advising the Spartan assembly not to, "allow [Athens] to injure our allies, or to shut your eyes to their plotting."[39] He followed that advice by recommending Sparta begin enhancing its power and addressing its vulnerabilities by forging alliances with other states, "Hellenic and barbarian alike, wherever you can find source of either naval or financial strength." He then advocated that Sparta work toward developing its own resources as well.[40] Because this second part of the speech seems to contradict the major premise of the speech— that war was to be avoided—several Peloponnesian War historians have considered it pandering to the war party and an attempt to delay. For example, A.W. Gomme states, "Archidamus is the typical pacific statesmen, sensibly anxious to postpone a war and hoping by postponement to avoid it altogether." Ste. Croix, while more open in his analysis than most of the others, still "allow[s] for the possibility that [Archidamus] did not really want war with Athens at all but thought it politic not to be entirely frank in public about this, in view of the obvious bellicosity of a large proportion of his audience, whom he could best hope to influence by sharing their desire to punish Athens."[41]

Though it is likely that Archidamus hoped to avoid war with the Athenians, one should be hesitant to assume the second half of the speech was mere pandering, and one should certainly be hesitant to view him as the "typical pacific statesmen." First, Archidamus was introduced in the *Peloponnesian War* as a man "experienced [in] many wars,"[42] and, as noted above, his major achievements were the product of his effective command of the Spartan military. An even harder fact to reconcile with the "pacific statesmen" theory is that Archidamus was the head of a state that tightly

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[39] Connor, *Thucydides*, 51; Thucydides, *Peloponnesian War*, 1:82.
[40] Thucydides, The Peloponnesian War, 1:82.
[41] G.E.M. de Ste. Croix, *The Origins of the Peloponnesian War*, 142.
[42] Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*, 1:80.

exercised control over the Peloponnese.[43] When Peloponnesian states threatened to withdrawal from

the Peloponnesian League, he was at the head of the Spartan army to force them back in. Archidamus

was a man whose life had been defined by the wars he had fought and the honors he had won on the

battlefield, and therefore, even though in this instance he may have been for peace, it is hard to accept

a general depiction of him as the "pacific statesmen."

A further problem with accepting the theory that Archidamus was merely pandering to the

Spartan war party and seeking delay is that such an interpretation ignores numerous other parts of the

speech, such as Archidamus' obvious fear that Athens' power was not only a match for Sparta's but

perhaps greater. If Athens had made such "great advances in [its] own power," as Thucydides tells us

and Archidamus seems to agree, could it really have been a viable strategy to advocate doing nothing?

Such an interpretation reduces the "prudent" and "intelligent"[44] king to a statesman without a plan,

blindly grasping for peace with no real policy to achieve it. Among rational individuals, peace is always

strongly desired and highly valued, but peace, like anything else, must be earned, and such an

interpretation does not address how Archidamus intended to earn his peace.

Finally, though a side note, a quick discussion of the tone of Archidamus' foreign policy speech

will provide one final important consideration on the issue. Arhidamus' tone, which was often bellicose

and inflammatory, was hardly indicative of a leader attempting to make a situation go away. For

instance, at one point Archidamus bluntly stated "no one who is the object of Athenian plots like

ourselves can be blamed for saving himself by enlisting not only Hellenes but barbarians," and "I

certainly do not bid you to have the insensitivity to…shut your eyes to their plotting."[45] Unless

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[43] Croix persuasively argues that one should be hesitant to accept the traditional interpretation of Spartan foreign policy as slow, unaggressive, and lenient on Peloponnesian League members (at least in compassion to Athens' treatment of the Delian League). He notes the Spartans "reducing unwilling allies who had 'revolted'" and argues that "Sparta infringed the autonomy of most of her allies at least as seriously as Athens did" by forcing oligarchic regimes on her league members; Croix, *Origins of the Peloponnesian War*; 95-97.

[44] Thucydides, Peloponnesian War, 1:79

[45] Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*, 1:82

Archidamus got over-zealous or Thucydides failed miserably in relaying the content and tone of the speech, it would be hard to reconcile the content of the speech with the purpose attributed to it by Gomme. However, to my knowledge, of the speeches historians have found suspect in Thucydides,[46] Archidamus' is generally not one of them, and we have little reason to suspect Thucydides depicted the tone so opposite of what it must have been had Archidamus' primary goal been to merely push off the war and have it be forgotten. As for the possibility of Archidamus getting over zealous, that too seems unlikely. It would be an uncharacteristic mistake by the "prudent" and "wise" king to conjure up images of "Athenian plotting," which no reasonable person could expect a crowd to respond toward indifferently. Rather, the tone of Archidamus is characteristic of a leader attempting to provoke a crowd to action by appealing to its base emotions, not provoke it to war, but provoke it into taking the necessary action to ensure Sparta was secure. It is quite clear that the Spartan king was against hastily undertaking war with Athens, but it is also quite clear he was opposed to inaction.

Some scholars believe the other end of the spectrum on the debate over Archidamus' intentions is more accurate. For example, in *The Outbreak of the Peloponnesian War*, famed Peloponnesian War scholar Donald Kagan asserts, "Although Archidamus was opposed to a rash decision for war, he did not advocate a supine policy of allowing Athens to do whatever she liked.[47] Kagan believes Archidamus' recommendation that Sparta prepare for war was not pandering, and that he was not in favor of an unqualified peace or a "do-nothing" policy. However, Kagan may make slightly too much out of the "preparing for war" aspect of Archidamus speech. For a realist, the key of the speech is Archidamus statement that, "And it may be that when they look at us, now displaying both preparation and words to match it perfectly, they would tend to give way."[48] In other words, he was suggesting that by "Preparing for war," war can be avoided, a very realist sentiment, although in this case a realist would not

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[46] See footnote number 28
[47] Donald Kagan, *The Outbreak of the Peloponnesian War* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969), 237,302
[48] Thucydides, *Peloponnesian War*, 1:82

necessarily call Archidamus' proposal "preparing" for war, but rather would term it a recommendation to balance the power through both external and internal balancing, forging realist alliances, and pursuing détente.

As for as Archidamus' balancing policy, his foremost consideration undoubtedly would have been Athens' naval strength. At the start of the Peloponnesian War, Athens' navy had become so powerful and so effective that talk of invading Sicily, and even Carthage and Etruria, had become more than expansionist dreams.[49] Sparta, a state naturally slow to act as a result of its massive slave population,[50] and certainly more focused on the helot problem than ever after the earthquake and subsequent rebellion of 464,[51] had resisted the natural urge to undertake an arms race with its rival. To realists, this concept very much resembles a "law" of international relations: in any interstate system, when one country pursues policies that alter the balance of power, such as Athens' building an immensely powerful navy, other power's security is undermined, and they react to restore the balance. It is clear from Archidamus' speech that he understood the danger Athens' naval power presented to Sparta. For example, at one point in his speech he stated, "For unless we are able either to beat them at sea or deprive them of the revenues from which they support their navy, we will sustain the greater damage."[52] In other words, failing to impede Athens' building of her magnificent navy had allowed Athens to become "fortress Athens," and this made her very nearly invulnerable. For Sparta, this was a conspicuous weakness that had to be remedied, for it undermined the balance of power and threatened Sparta's security.

To remedy this, Archidamus first mentioned an internal balancing policy, which is defined as an attempt by a state to develop its own "power resources," through increasing economic output, making

[49] Plutarch. *Life of Pericles*, 20.
[50] See footnote 26
[51] Diodorus, he Historical Library of Diodorus the Sicilian, 410.
[52] Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*, 1:81

more efficient use of state resources, and enhancing military power.[53] Archidamus directly advocated

such a policy, stating that, in addition to seeking aid from potential allies, Sparta should immediately

begin preparing its own resources.[54] For Sparta, internal balancing would have primarily entailed the

building of ships and the training of her navy, though such a policy was necessarily dependent upon

financial assistance from outside, most notably Persia. The reason for this dependence can be traced to

the fundamentals of trireme warfare. Though by no means complex ships,[55] the maneuvers the crews

manning the triremes had to execute were highly elaborate, and for a crew to master them, much

training was required. This was a huge problem for Sparta, whose potential rowing population were

nautically inept farmers who could not be pulled away from their farms for prolonged periods to acquire

the necessary training to be successful on the sea. Furthermore, the Peloponnesians would be unable to

recruit rowers from the Athenian empire as they had done in the past because, as Spartan foreign policy

expert P.A. Brunt puts it, Athens subjects were unlikely "to risk exile from their own homes to serve in a

fleet with small prospects for victory."[56]

Archidamus sought to remedy this weakness by directing the Spartans to pursue a policy of

"add[ing] any source of either naval or financial strength" to the state's power resources, essentially an

external balancing policy, which is defined as an attempt to alter the balance of power through adjusting

the system of alliances, extending a states' sphere of influence, or weakening an adversary state.[57]

Archidamus' external balancing was primarily concerned with shifting the balance of power through

altering the system of alliances. This goal was to be achieved by improving relations with Persia and

attempting to acquire the financial resources and ships the Peloponnesians desperately needed from

the wealthy empire to the east. Also noteworthy about the king's policy was his demonstrated realism

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[53] Patrick Callahan, *Logics of American Foreign Policy*, 39.
[54] Thucydides, *Peloponnesian War*, 1:82.
[55] Croix calls triremes aggrandized rowing boats; Croix, *The Origins of the Peloponnesian War,* 47.
[56] Brunt, Spartan Policy and Strategy in the Archidamian War, 259.
[57] Callahan, *Logics of American Foreign Policy*, 39, 40.

in advocating that Sparta forge alliances with barbarian states, namely Persia, a nation the Greeks had

much enmity for as a result of the war king Xerxes had instigated fifty years prior to the outbreak of the

Peloponnesian War. Realists, unique among the foreign policy schools, are not concerned with a

potential ally's regime, its history, or virtually any criterion that does not affect the balance of power.

Because states are driven by self interest, traits other than power simply are considered irrelevant. For

this reason, a communist country, pursuing its interests just like every other nation within the

international system, makes every bit the potential partner a democracy would. This explains why

Archidamus had no qualms about requesting aid from the Persians.

Also of pertinence is the extent of the external balancing policy promoted by Archidamus. The

policy was actually quite mild and reserved, which is indicative of the high prospects for peace held by

the king. Had Archidamus considered war inevitable, as Thucydides claims Sparta did in 1:23,[58] he would

have advocated an aggressive and antagonistic balancing policy, recommending the Sparta take such

actions as prying away Athens' allies, chipping away at her sphere of influence, and undertaking

preventative wars to make absolutely certain the balance of power was in Sparta's favor.[59] Although the

king never got a chance to implement his policy of soft balancing, [60] as the Spartans hastily rushed to war

against his advice, his recommendations indicate to a realist that the king certainly did not intend his

policy to lead to war. Thus, the "preparing for war" theory is undermined yet again by the fact that the

balancing advocated by the king was so mild.

The final realist component of Archidamus' policy was his recommendation of détente, i.e., his

proposal to send embassies to the Athenians in hopes of reaching an agreement. This is a key

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[58] This is not to say Thucydides is wrong, but that Sparta clearly did not hold a uniform position on this matter, and that the Spartan king, the individual most important to carrying out foreign policy endeavors in Sparta (Croix, 1972, 206), rejected the inevitability of the war is of significance.

[59] Callahan, *Logics of American Foreign Policy*, 40.

[60] This paper asserts that he planned to use the ships as a deterrent, not to pursue war with Athens. Had he gotten his way, there would not have been war, as the reason for Sparta's fear of Athens would have been alleviated without fighting.

component of any realist foreign policy where tension between two powers exists but peace appears to be attainable and beneficial to both parties. A possible parallel to the atmosphere present before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War is the environment present during the Cold War. In *Real Peace*, Richard M. Nixon stated that war between the U.S. and U.S.S.R. could not happen, "at any time or under any circumstances, …[for] to continue our political differences by means of war would be to discontinue civilization as we know it." Therefore, along with advocating a traditional realist balancing policy, Nixon recommended a strategy of "hard-headed détente," which "provides a means of peacefully resolving those disagreements that can be resolved, and of living with those that cannot."[61] This very much parallels what Archidamus appears to have desired. As is evident from his speech, he believed the costs of going to war to be far too great for it to have been a legitimate option, and thus he aggressively pushed his policy of détente while pushing the Spartans to balance the power.

Also paralleling Nixon's above sentiment, Archidamus was open to negotiation, a matter that set him at great odds with the Spartan war party. Before the war broke out, Archidamus advocated that Sparta uphold the treaty of the thirty years peace and submit its complaints to arbitration, a proposal the war party vehemently rejected.[62] When that effort failed, even after war had been declared, he prodded and cajoled the Spartans and the allies to offer the Athenians a legitimate concession for peace, the result of which was a proposal declaring that war would be avoided if Athens only "lift[ed] their embargo against the Megarians."[63] However, as will be addressed later, Pericles refused to yield and demanded Sparta comply with the stipulation of the thirty years peace.[64] Sparta's war party, unable to appreciate that Athens' great power necessitated a change in the way relations were conducted with the Athenians, refused arbitration, instead insisting on addressing Athens in the same manner as when

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[61] Richard M. Nixon, *Real Peace* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1983), 1,26.
[62] Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*, 1:85.
[63] Plutarch. *Life of Pericles,* 29.
[64] Namely, that when disputes arouse, the aggrieved party had to submit to arbitration and could not lawfully resort to war until arbitration had been carried out.

Sparta was unquestioned hegemon of Greece—making outright demands and threatening war when anyone dared not comply.[65] Thus, Archidamus' policy of détente was undermined by the war party, and though he believed there were enough conditions for peace present to avoid war, opposition within Sparta ensured his efforts would fail.

Pericles' Foreign Policy

Praised by Donald Kagan as "the most famous and brilliant individual ever to have led the Athenian democracy,"[66] a powerful orator, one of the most educated and cultured men of his time, and innovative by nature, Pericles was the very embodiment of vibrant 5th century Athens. For virtually three decades, Pericles exercised unprecedented sway over the Athenian democracy, achieving almost a virtual mandate to lead. Thucydides informs us that Pericles gained such prestige that during the decades he exercised power "what was in name a democracy became in actuality rule by the first man."[67] Overall, Pericles' foreign policy was a realist one, but it also featured strong hegemonic elements, especially during the *Pentekontaetia,* and to a lesser extent elements of liberal internationalism.

It has been suggested by Peloponnesian War scholar Jacqueline De Romilly that there is a natural tendency among historians to downplay the fervor with which the Athenians pursued empire and hegemony under Pericles because Thucydides only discussed in detail the last two years of Pericles reign when "imperialist aims were necessarily subordinated to the immediate needs of the war."[68] Therefore, Pericles is remembered as being the inhibitor of the Athenian lust for empire, a lust that,

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[65] Robert W. Connor, *Thucydides*.

[66] Kagan, *The Peloponnesian War*, 12.

[67] Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*, 2:65.
For debate on Thucydides meaning here, W.R. Connor is probably most useful. Connor argues that Kagan and others have analyzed this excerpt out of context, and as a result have taken it literally, which Thucydides never intended. Connor states, "The context is vital: Pericles has just been fined and removed from the generalship. His power was always dependent on his ability to persuade the leaders of the city and the assembly. He could always be outvoted and repudiated. In a constitutional sense his powers were very limited, though his influence was great."

[68] De Romilly, *Thucydides and Athenian Imperialism*, 110.

when Pericles was no longer alive to control, ended up destroying the Athenians. [69] However, such a description is somewhat deceptive and inadequate for understanding Pericles' foreign policy, and therefore it is necessary to add nuance to the traditional picture by looking further into the past.

Under Pericles direction, numerous adventurous enterprises indicative of a hegemonic foreign policy were undertaken, foremost among them an expedition to oppose the Persians in Egypt, fighting a dual war with the Persians and Peloponnesian League, transforming the Delian League (see figure one) into an empire and exploiting the empire as a source of revenue, and undertaking a "beautification" program on the ally's dollar. These policies were considered so forceful and unjust that at the time it was commented that Pericles "insulted Greece," and allies were treated so harshly under Pericles that Telecleides, a Greek poet of the 5th century, bluntly stated that "the cities themselves" became the property of the Athenians.[70] Clearly there was more to Pericles' foreign policy than, "keeping quiet, looking after the fleet, not extending the empire, and not endangering the city."[71]

Actions such as Pericles' transformation and exploitation of the Delian League are highly indicative of a hegemonist foreign policy. Three hegemonic goals are served by manipulating alliances like the Delian League—the ability of a hegemon to project power can be accentuated, the rise of challenger states can be impeded, and control over spheres of influence can be strengthened. Pericles' foremost goal, it is reasonable to believe, was to "neuter"[72] the allies to secure Athens' hegemony. The primary way hegemons achieve this goal is through taking on the burden of providing the allies security, which effectively removes the allies from the state of nature, and as a result, removes the incentives for the allies to develop a robust enough fighting force to be capable of impeding a hegemon's supremacy. In other words, by transforming the Delian League, Pericles was able to convert the allies into mere

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[69] Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*, 2:65.
[70] De Romilly, *Thucydides and Athenian Imperialism*, 110;
Plutarch quoting Greek response to Pericles actions in De Romilly.
[71] Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War,* 2:65.
[72] Glen P. Hastedt, ed, Annual Editions: American Foreign Policy. America as European Hegemon, by Christopher Layne (Dubuque: McGraw Hill, 2006), 48

"free-riders" who posed no legitimate threat to the Athenians. Indeed, at the outbreak of the

Peloponnesian War, only three of the 150 members of the Delian League were permitted their own

fleets.[73] Lulled into a feeling of security, most of the allies voluntarily gave up their fleets and chose to

pay tribute.[74] However, this gave Pericles the opportunity to further tighten control over the allies, and

without ships or a legitimate fighting force, the allies were at the mercy of the Athenians.

Not only are potential threats removed through the effective manipulation of alliances, but

control over the allies is exponentially increased through the accumulation of "debt." Hegemons have a

propensity to demand compliance with their policies because, in the words of Pericles himself,

protection is a "service," and services are not free. When challenged by several Athenians for frivolously

spending the ally's financial contributions, Pericles replied by stating that the Athenians "carried on the

war for [the allies] and kept the Persians away,"[75] and therefore the Athenians owed the allies no report

on how their contributions were spent. In other words, the allies had sold their right to autonomously

govern themselves by contracting their security to the Athenians, and therefore they needed to submit

and allow the Athenians to act as they pleased.[76]

A further hegemonic component of the Delian League was Athens' desire/need for military

bases. Hegemony is a near impossibility without the necessary resources in place to facilitate the

projection of power; the most obvious of these resources, perhaps, is military bases. This was especially

true for the Athenians, whose primary vessel of war was the trireme—"a glorified racing eight"[77] (see

image number two bellow). Triremes were ill-equipped for prolonged voyages, lacking room for

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[73] Aristotle, The Athenian Constitution, Part 24.
[74] Thucydides, The *Peloponnesian War*, 1.99.
[75] Plutarch, *Life of Pericles*: 12
[76] This same tactic was utilized by the United States in 2003 when it was assumed all "free riders" would leap onto the back of the train and ride into Iraq. However, this was only partially effective. The Eastern Europeans, eager to repay their "Cold War debt," gave the invasion their overwhelming blessing, but the Western Europeans were not so eager to repay the "debt" that they had incurred over the years. Yet, because America practices "benevolent" imperialism, the consequences of failure to comply was punished only with name calling, i.e. Donald Rumsfeld's old Europe comment. The Athenian allies were not nearly so fortunate.
[77] I.e., a racing row boat.

sleeping and the necessities for cooking, and were generally powered by human exertion. What all this

meant was that typically a trireme could only be at sea for few hours at a time and, obviously, friendly

locations were needed so that the Athenians could land their vessels, rest, eat, and take care of their

other needs before setting back out to sea.[78] Equally as crucial, Athens' war strategies centered on

controlling the seas, and without numerous bases located around the Aegean, this would have been

impossible.[79] Thus, the Delian League was not only a manifestation of the Athenian's ability to project

power, it was a indispensible means through which Athens enhanced its ability to project power and

enforce its hegemony.

The height of Pericles' hegemonic policy was reached in the 450s. In that decade, Pericles led

the Athenians into a catastrophic invasion of Egypt where Athens suffered a tremendous loss at the

hands of the Persians, was in the midst of a dual war, fighting both the Peloponnesians and the Persians,

and put down a number of rebellions within the empire.[80] Pericles, realizing that continuation of such

an aggressive foreign policy would be the Athenians undoing, began reducing Athens' commitments,

and a definite shift in foreign policy occurred at this time. Kagan calls this initial change a turn back to a

"Cimonian" foreign policy, where the defining principles were peaceable relations with the Spartans and

war with the Persians.[81] However, even this new, reduced foreign policy was soon curtailed. Kagan

asserts that Pericles supported the sending of a grand fleet, comprising 200 triremes, to Cyprus on one

final offensive against the Persians to reaffirm Athenian dominance over the Aegean, but after this final

success against the Persians, Pericles instituted the "Periclean Program," which focused on maintaining

peace with both Sparta and Persia, and consolidating the Athenian Empire.[82]

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[78] Ste Croix, *Origins of the Peloponnesian War*, 47
[79] Thomas Kelly, *Thucydides and Spartan Strategy in the Archidamian War,* 38; P.A. Brunt, *Spartan Policy and Strategy in the Archidamian War, 17*
[80] Thucydides, *Peloponnesian War,* 1:104-1:114
[81] Kagan, *The Outbreak of the Peloponnesian War*, 105
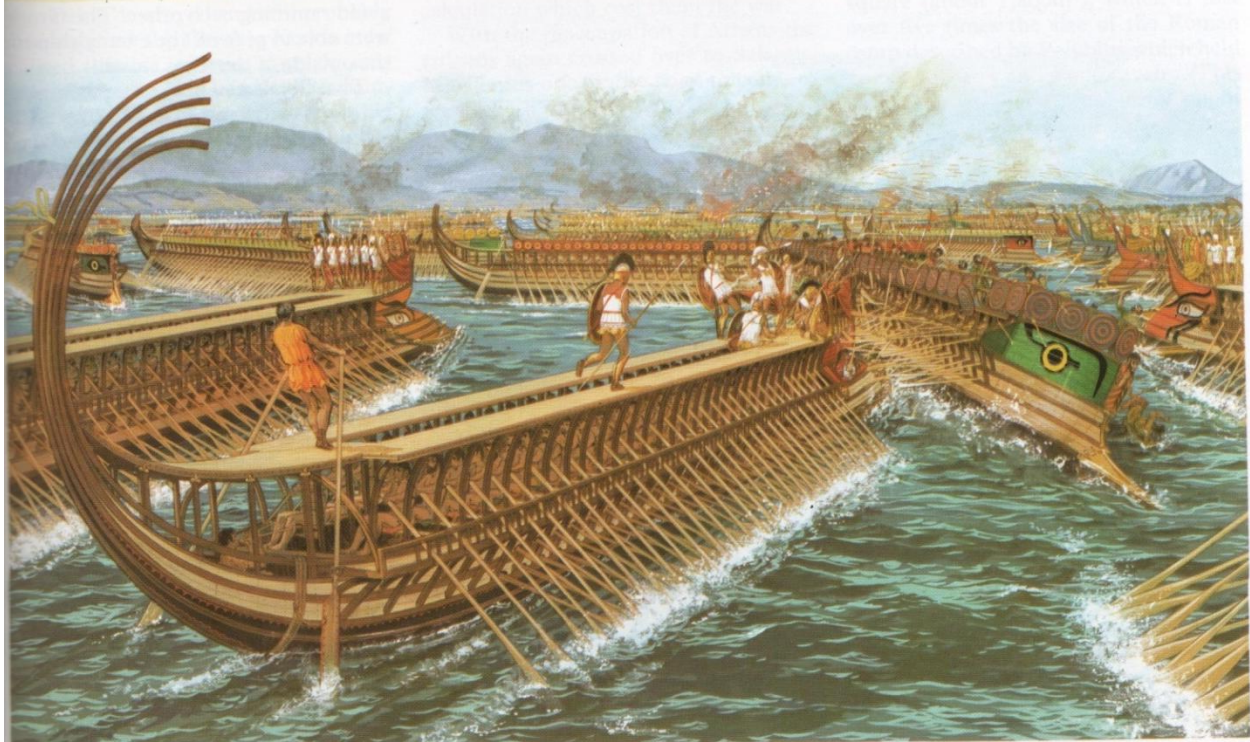[82] Ibid, 107

Figure 2: An image created by classicist and artist Peter Connolly depicting Hellenistic trireme warfare.[83]

The transformation was profound enough to earn him the praise of many ancients, even

Aristotle, who thought of Pericles as somewhat of a demagogue and hardly admired him. Aristotle

conceded that, "So long…as Pericles was leader of the people, things went tolerably well with the state;

but when he was dead there was a great change for the worse." The cause of this "change for the

worse," according to Aristotle, was largely the "wild undertakings" of subsequent leaders.[84] Plutarch

also addressed the change, citing that "Pericles constantly strove to curb this extravagant spirit of

conquest, to restrain the desire to meddle with foreign states and devote Athens' main strength to

guarding and consolidating what she had already won."[85] It is evident that in 449, after a final offensive

against the Persians, Pericles transitioned from a hegemonist foreign policy to something very different.

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[83] Peter Connolly, Greece and Rome at War (London: Greenhill Books, 1998), 27
[84] Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*.
[85] Plutarch, Life of Pericles 21

The new foreign policy was primarily realist. However, this does not mean Athens' ended its attempt to dominate the lands it controlled; as has been demonstrated, quite the opposite is true. What it means is that the "wild" foreign policy undertakings so characteristic of a hegemonic foreign policy ended, and a strategy that attempted to balance the power was put in its place.

 However, Pericles attempted one foreign policy initiative during the Pentekontaetia that appears rather anomalous, seemingly more a liberal internationalist ambition than anything else. Interestingly, toward the end of the Pentekontaetia, Pericles attempted to gather together an assembly of all the Greeks for the purpose of discussing "Greek sanctuaries which had been burned down by the Persians; the sacrifices owed to the gods on behalf of Hellas to fulfill the vows made when they were fighting the Persians; and the security of the seas, so that all ships could sail them without fear and keep the peace."[86] It is not certain whether this was a sincere effort on Pericles part to reconcile the Greeks and alleviate the conditions that would lead to war in 431 or whether this was a hegemonic ploy intended to trick the Spartans into conceding "Athenian hegemony throughout Greece," as has been suggested by Ian Scott-Kivlert.[87] Unfortunately, the Spartans, always wary of the high brow, overeducated Athenians and their foreign ways, declined the invitation outright, leaving no way to know Pericles motives. Had the Spartans accepted the invitation, but on the condition that the meeting be held at a neutral site, we would be in a much better position to determine whether Pericles' motives were "liberal internationalist" or "hegemonic," for if Pericles agreed, it would have been clear that the goal was not so much hegemonic. However, the Spartans did not bother attempting to get the location altered, and therefore only postulations can be made on what Pericles' intentions were. Still, as a result of the aggressiveness of Pericles' original foreign policy, it is hard to believe Pericles put much merit in

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[86] Plutarch, Life of Pericles; as this incident is only discussed by Plutarch, its hisotirisity is sometimes questioned. See footnote number ten.
[87] ibid

the prospects of interaction and discussion reducing the security dilemma and enabling peace. If that was his goal, it was highly uncharacteristic.

The above discussion brings us to Pericles' realism at the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War. A series of provocative actions by Corinth, a state that possessed the third largest fleet in Greece and was Sparta's most important ally, set in motion a series of interstate maneuverings that made an already precarious situation even more so, and helped facilitate the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war.[88] In 433, Corinth pursued war with Corcyra, a state that possessed the second largest navy in the Greece and thus was crucial to the balance of power.[89] This undertaking brought Athens, whose position as mistress of the sea would have been threatened had Corcyra's formidable fleet fallen into the hands of the Peloponnesians, into direct contention with Sparta, who would find it difficult to remain on the sidelines should its most important ally get crushed by the Athenians.[90]

Pericles' genius is nowhere more prominently displayed than by his reaction to this most undesirable situation. His options were rather limited; he could support sending the Athenian fleet in force to oppose the Corinthians, a move sure not only to infuriate the Corinthians but give the Spartan war party more than enough fodder for provoking war, or Pericles could advocate that Athens do nothing and allow Corcyra's 120 ships to be taken by the Peloponnesians, a rather impractical idea considering the significance of Corcyra to the balance of power. Pericles demonstrated both his realism and the ingenuity he had become famous for, settling on a middle path policy of "minimal deterrence." It was decided that ten warships would be sent to Corcyra to deter the Corinthians from making war on Corcyra.[91]

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[88] Thucydides, Peloponnesian War, 1:36
[89] Thucydides, Peloponnesian War, 1:33
[90] P.A. Brunt, *Spartan Policy and Strategy in the Archidamian War,* Phoenix, Vol. 19, No. 4. (Winter, 1965), pp. 255-280.
[91] Kagan, Outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, 242

Pericles' "middle path" policy of minimal deterrence is a superb demonstration of realpolitik.

Pericles could have taken on a full alliance with Corcyra, brought the second largest fleet in Greece

under his control, and significantly increased Athens' power,[92] but his cost benefit analysis made him

think better of it. Indicative of the point on realism made above, Pericles rejected the temptation of

blindly grasping for power with no concern for the balance of power, for such an action would have

ultimately undermined Athens' security. However, at the same time, his actions were motivated by the

balance of power. Had the Peloponnesians acquired Corcyra's fleet, the effect on the balance of power

would have been far more pronounced than had the fleet come under Athenian control.[93] The

Peloponnesian navy, as addressed above, was woefully outmatched by the Athenian fleet, but the

Peloponnesians could have made a significant stride toward remedying that by bringing Corcyra's fleet

under the control of the alliance. Because the Peloponnesians already possessed overwhelming

superiority on the land, allowing Corinth the opportunity to win the Corcyrean fleet was simply not a

realistic option for the Athenians, and so Pericles devised a strategy to ensure that did not happen.

Pericles second major demonstration of his realism in the period before the outbreak of the war

is evident from his insistence that Athens refuse the Spartan's offer of peace in return for repealing the

Megarian Decree.[94] Instead, Pericles urged the Athenians to remain firm in demanding that the

stipulations of the thirty years peace be upheld, that the arbitration clause[95] be honored, and that

Sparta end its insistence on making orders and threats of force rather than undertaking diplomatic

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[92] Thucydides, Peloponnesian War, 1:33.

[93] Kagan has suggested a further element to Pericles' "diplomatic maneuver." By only sending ten ships, Kagan contends, Pericles could still hope to avoid a shift in the balance of power by having the second and third largest fleets in Greece destroy each other, thereby not only removing the potential threat of Corcyra falling into Peloponnesian hands, but also removing the Peloponnesians main source of naval strength; Kagan; outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, 245.

[94] The Megarian Decree was an order passed by the Athenians "barring the Megairians from the harbors of the Athenian Empire and from the Athenian Agora:" Kagan, Peloponnesian War, 39; Plutarch, Rise and Fall of Athens, Life of Pericles, book 29

[95] Stipulation of the thirty years peace that mandated all grievances be brought to arbitration and that war could not be lawfully undertaken without arbitration.

relations with the Athenians.[96] Athens was a great power at the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War,

and great powers do not take orders. Therefore, when Sparta refused arbitration, it became clear to

Pericles that nothing short of a demonstration of Athenian might would teach the Spartans that a new

age of diplomacy was necessary, and this is why Pericles insisted on going to war with Sparta. A nation

cannot survive in the state of nature if it openly shows weakness, which is what Pericles believed

capitulating to Spartan demands would have amounted to. Pericles is quoted by Thucydides as having

said, "let none of you think we would be going to war over an unimportant matter if we do not revoke

the Megaran Decree…This unimportant matter involves the confirmation and test of your entire policy;

if you give way to them, you will immediately receive another command…as though you could concede

this as well out of fear."[97] Diodorus went even further, recording that Pericles insisted that failing to

hold firm would be a step toward "bondage and slavery."[98]

To ensure the Athenians did not put themselves in danger by appearing feeble, Pericles

advocated the fighting of a realist style war—one in which objectives were limited and clearly defined.

He told the Athenians that by, "keeping quiet, looking after the fleet, not extending the empire, and not

endangering the city they would prevail."[99] The goal was not to crush the Spartans, break up the

Peloponnesian League, or anything of the like; Pericles merely proposed that Athens "concede nothing

and retain her existing possessions,"[100] and by limiting herself to that, he believed Athens would ensure

her security within the Greek city-state system.

Though it may be hard to believe that a state could "prevail" by doing almost nothing, Athens

was in a unique position, and Pericles knew it. The course Themistocles, "the father of the new

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[96] Thucydides, *Peloponnesian War*, 1:140.
[97] ibid
[98] Diodorus, *The Historical Library,* 457
[99] Thucydides, Peloponnesian War, 2:65.
[100] *Brunt, Spartan Strategy and Policy in the Achidamian War,* 259

Athens,"[101] had set the Athenians on at the end of the Persian Wars had transformed Athens from a traditional Greek city state into one of immense wealth, tremendous naval strength, strong defensive walls, and great resources. Thus Pericles was certain that by avoiding costly battles on land, striking the Peloponnese on occasion, and demonstrating to the Spartans that they could not penetrate Athens' walls, he could compel the Spartans to sue for peace in a relatively short period of time.

Although there were difficulties with the Periclean strategy, "Athens had both the power and the qualities that should [have] prevail[ed] in a war with Sparta and her allies,"[102] and indeed, in 425 at Pylos, the Athenians had achieved exactly what Pericles had desired—the Spartans had tired of the war and offered a peace to the Athenians. However, the Athenians' ambitions got the better of them, and they decided to continue the war, and later totally deviated from Pericles policy by "pursu[ing] other policies…to the detriment of both themselves and the allies."[103]

Conclusion

Applying the concepts of international relations theory to the foreign policies of Archidamus and Pericles has given rise to a few novel explanations, arguments, and considerations. For example, scrutinizing Archidamus' 432 foreign policy speech alongside the principles of realist theory has led to an argument that Archidamus advocated a policy somewhere between that attributed to him by Croix and Gomme on the one hand and Kagan on the other. Utilizing realist balance of power logic, the position Archidamus takes in his speech—that Athens' great naval power made war with her a precarious endeavor, while doing nothing was equally as undesirable—is reconciled by the principles of internal and external balancing. By carrying out these two balancing techniques, Archidamus could reasonably argue that leaving Athens great power intact was a tenable position, because the balancing Sparta

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[101] Straus, The Battle of Salamis, 240.
[102] Connor, *Thucydides,* 41
[103] Thucydides, *Peloponnesian War*, 1:65

performed would have maintained a balance of power and ensured "equal respect for equal power" persisted, thus deterring war.

Pericles' foreign policy was less homogenous than Archidamus', and thus a wider variety of theories were utilized to scrutinize his actions. Application of hegemonic theory to Pericles' treatment of the Delian League provides a new consideration for Percicles' motivation in transitioning the alliance into an empire. Far more than creating a new revenue source, Pericles enhanced Athens' ability to project its power, frustrated rebellion, and stabilized Athens' position as hegemon of her sphere of influence. Also, application of realist theory to Pericles' actions at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, i.e., his refusing to accept Sparta's peace terms, has lead to the consideration that Pericles' motivation was not to undertake a war with Sparta for hegemony of Greece, but rather to assert the balance of power by demonstrating to the Spartans that they could no longer expect to dictate terms to the Athenians, thus putting in place conditions for peaceful relations in a dual hegemonic Greece.

Works Cited

Foreign Policy Books and Articles

Callahan, Patrick. <u>Logics of American Foreign Policy: Theories of America's World Role.</u> New York:
        Pearson Longman, 2004

This book provides a clear and concise overview of the primary international relations theories. It also
provides novel examples of how the theories can be applied to various foreign policies, which the author
does by applying the theories to the foreign policies of several U.S. administrations. The book is both a
natural starting point for IR theory research and a great example of one way in which the logics can be
applied to historical examples.   As far its place in the paper, the book was especially useful as a source
for background detail on the theories, and in some cases was helpful in applying the theories.

Clinton, William David. <u>The Realist Tradition and Contemporary International Relations.</u> Baton Rouge:
        Louisiana State University Press, 2007

This volume is an excellent compilation of renowned realist scholars works. In the book, the
philosophical origins of the realist tradition are addressed, several of the core principles of the foreign
policy logic are scrutinized, and realisms place in both history and the modern world is examined.
Where more specific details on the realist theory were needed, this book's in-depth analysis of the
realist tradition was of great help.

Hastedt, Glenn P. , ed. <u>Annual Editions: American Foreign Policy.</u> America as European Hegemon,
        by Christopher Layne. Dubuque: McGrawHill, 2006.

In this article, realist scholar Christopher Layne scrutinizes the various ways in which America has
manipulated the NATO Alliance in pursuit of hegemony in Western Europe.   Although Layne exclusively
addresses a contemporary phenomenon in the piece, he presents several themes that are strikingly
applicable to the Helene world of 2,500 years ago. The article is a great modern day explanation of
phenomena with roots deep in history, and truly an invaluable aid to the project. The section of the
paper treating the Delian League would not have been what it was without this source.

Krauthammer, Charles. "Democratic Realism." <u>American Enterprise Institute</u> 16382 10/2/2004
        <http://www.aei.org/publications/pubID.19912,filter.all/pub_detail.asp>.

In this article, conservative columnist Charles Krauthammer argues the strengths and weaknesses of the
international relations theories and concludes that the U.S.'s foreign policy ought to be a combination of
hegemony and realism. Though combative and disparaging of the isolationist and liberal internationalist

traditions, Krauthammer does a commendable job relaying the core principles of the hegemonic and realists logics and contributes some thoughts on IR theory worthy of some consideration, which were used in the introduction of this paper.

Nixon, Richard. Real Peace. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1983

Richard Nixon, being one of the rare leaders in history who openly advocated an international relations theory as a guide for foreign policy, is an invaluable source on the application of foreign policy logic. In *Real Peace*, Nixon described why he believed his realist foreign policy was successful during the cold war, what it was about realism that facilitated an improvement in relations between the US and USSR, and why he believed realism would always be the most useful of the foreign policy logics in conducting international relations. Also enhancing Nixon's value as a source was his great knowledge of realist theory. He was not a leader who superficially utilized IR theory. He was dedicated to the theory, knew what goals it would serve, and employed it whole heartedly to achieve those goals. All of this adds to his credibility and usefulness as a source on the realists foreign policy logic.

Nye, Joseph S. Understanding International Conflicts: An Introduction to Theory and History. 2nd. New York: Longman, 1997.

In this book, Joseph Nye analyzes the primary foreign policy logics and applies them to several conflicts. The book was used as a supplement to Callahan's *Logics of American Foreign Policy.*

Sterling-Folker, Jennifer. Making Sense of International Relations Theory. London: Lynne Rienner, 2006.

This volume was not used in much detail. However, the author's analysis and concise description of the foreign policy logics was of use in the introduction of the paper.

Ancient Sources

Aristotle. The Athenian Constitution. Translated by Sir Frederic G. Kenyon. eBooks@Adelaide, 2007.

Although not a contemporary of Archidamus or Pericles and not a historian, Aristotle is an important supplementary source for authors treating this period of Greek history. He often alludes to the war, providing valuable pieces of auxiliary information, and sometimes comments directly on Peloponnesian War actors and events.

Aristotle. The Politics. Translated by Carnes Lord. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984

Diodorus. The Historical Library of Diodorus the Sicilian: In Fifteen Books. Translated by George Booth. London: W. McDowall, 1814.

Diodorus is a crucial, though at times unreliable, source on the years preceding the Peloponnesian War, which Thucydides only treated in passing. Diodorus' history was primarily used in this study for his position on Archidamus' character and his treating of the Spartan king's military achievements in the years preceding the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, though his analysis of the Megarian Decree are usually what he is most noted for, which was taken into consideration in the paper.

Plutarch. The Rise and Fall of Athens: Nine Greek Lives. Translated by Ian Scott—Kilvert. London:
        Penguin Books, 1960.

Plutarch. Plutarch on Sparta. Translated by Richard J.A. Talbert. London: Penguin Books, 1988

Thucydides. The Peloponnesian War. Translated by Steven Lattimore. Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing
        Company, 1998.

This book is considered to be the truest translation to the actual Greek edition, and thus was selected
for accuracy. Thucydides was the foremost source used in the paper, and thus having a reliable and
accurate translation was highly desirable.

Thucydides. The Landmark Thucydides: A comprehensive guide to the The Peloponnesian War.
        Translated by Richard Crawley. Edited by Robert B. Strassler. New York: Simon and Schuster,
        1996.

This book was used as a second translation of Thucydides (the translations vary widely and thus it is
desirable to consult more than one), but more importantly, the volume contains a great amount of
background information that was very helpful in writing the papers introduction and numerous
footnotes.

Brunt, P.A. Spartan Policy and Strategy in the Archidamian War. Phoenix, Vol. 19, No. 4. (Winter, 1965),
        pp. 255-280.

Brunt's expertise on Spartan foreign policy was of much value to the paper.

Connor, W. Robert. Thucydides. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1984.

Connor's book on the Peloponnesian War is unique in that he attempts to perform much the same task
as Gomme and Hornblower, but approaches the task from a new direction. Connor was valuable in the
paper mainly for his depiction of Thucydides as a proponent of the theory that Sparta was slow to act
and sluggish in the foreign policy arena, which provided a nice contrast to Croix.

De Romilly, Jacqueline. Thucydides and Athenian Imperialism. Translated by Philip Thody. New York:
        Barnes and Noble, 1963

Romilly is an excellent source on Pericles' foreign policy during the Pentekontaetia, which is often not
treated in much detail. Romilly also seems to be more forceful in her condemnation of Pericles as an
imperialist, and though this is considered a unique position, it is desirable to take into consideration as
many views as possible.

De Ste. Croix, G.E.M. The Origins of the Peloponnesian War. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1972.

Croix's book on the origins of the war is truly a masterpiece; his insights and analysis are secondary to none. Among other things, the historian combatively rebuffs longstanding Peloponnesian War axioms, such as the generally accepted position that Sparta was a state that only acted in the foreign policy arena when absolutely forced to and that Thucydides differentiated between remote and underlying causes of war. Croix's "revisions" and unique insights provided one of the major pillars that propped up this studies application of IR theory.

Gomme, A.W. A Historical Commentary on Thucydides: Volumes II—III. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956.

Gomme, A.W. Essays in Greek History and Literature. Freeport: Books for Libraries Press, 1937.

In this volume Gomme addresses several of the biggest questions that

Hornblower, Simon. A Commentary on Thucydides: Volume I: Books I-III. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2003.

Hornblower's commentary, which takes into account modern developments in the field and recent archeological finds (Hanson, 1996, 633), is essentially an updated supplement to Gomme's tour de force on Thucydides and the Peloponnesian War. However, Hornblower also provides unique analysis of the speeches, actions, issues, and events of the war, making his source valuable for more reasons than its newness. Finally, Hornblower translates numerous components of Thucydides work, and oftentimes his translation is preferable to others (for example, his rendition of Archidamus' comment on bequeathing a war they started to their children, cited on page 13).

Kagan, Donald. The Fall of the Athenian Empire. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987.

Kagan, Donald. The Outbreak of the Peloponnesian War. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969.

Kagan, Donald. The Peloponnesian War. New York: Penguin, 2004.

This abridged version of Kagan's four volume series on the Peloponnesian War is highly accessible and a wonderful tool for quickly finding background information on key events.

Mark, Ira S. The Sanctuary of Athena Nike in Athens: Architectural Stages and Chronology. Princeton: The Archeological Institute of America, 1993.

Ira's piece is not used extensively in the paper, but his thoughts on the veracity of the supposed Pan-Hellenic Congress are of interest and provide a further position on the debate that I believe to be of value.

Appendix One

The Speeches