

A reflection on war and Peace.

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Throughout the ages, there had not been any society without conflict and violence. From the beginning of the human history there had also been doctrines, attempts and ways suggesting how war and conflict among the nations could be contained, limited or eradicated once for ever. But as we see, all of them have so far failed since it seems that conflict and war are almost the natural phenomena of social entities and political institutions. But why ?

The aim of this inquiry is to find out theoretically the sources and causes of war and the conditions of peace.

There is no shortage of theories about the sources of conflict and violence, whether at the international level or at any level below¹. There are in fact many ideas and theories about the origins and roots of political violence and war.

Some writers have thought it as mainly caused by socio-economic, and others by Psycho-social causes. Some regarded war as permanent and others as transitional. Few writers have thought war as a rational thing, and others as irrational phenomenon.

1- See for a more detailed study of the causes of war and conflict, *Politics and the International Systems*. By Legg/Morison (New York, Harper and Row) 1971, pp. 267-287.

The problem, so, is how to organize and, systematically, analyse the divergent theories of war in international arena. It seems to me that one of the best scientific analysis of war has been presented by professor Waltz in his well-known book- *Man, the State and war*. (Columbia University Press, 1964).

In this causal analysis and inquiry into the views of political theorists on the causes of war and means to peace, Professor Waltz studies three principal images (school) of international politics: War as a consequence of behavior and nature of man; war as an outcome of the internal system, and finally war as a product of international anarchy-international system. The first school is held by St. Augustine, Spinoza, Niebuhr, Morgenthau, and Hadley Cantril.

The pessimists of this image—Spinoza, Niebuhr, Augustine, and Morgenthau—differ with optimists—behaviorists—in whether the conflict is eradicable. Waltz explains the pessimists position as follows: Spinoza's explanation of political and Social ills is Based on the conflict he detects between reason and passion. St. Augustine, Niebuhr, and Morgenthau reject the dualism explicit in Spinoza's thought: the whole man, his mind and his body, are, according to them, defective." (P-24).

Niebuhr rejects Marx's idea that exploitation of man by man is caused by the division of society into classes, with the belief that both the class division and exploitation are resulted from a "tendency in the human heart." Morgenthau believes that "the ubiquity of evil in human action arises from man's ineradicable lust for power..." and Augustine attributes to "man's love of so many vain and hurtful things" a long list of human tribulations, ranging from quarrels and robberies, to murders and war. Spinoza thought passion displaces reason, therefore, men and rulers, engage in quarrels (p. 24-25).

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Niebuhr writes simply that war has its origin in dark, unconscious sources in the human Psyche.

Spinoza and Augustine are, however, close to each other in terms of solutions of war and peace. Both agree that when men are united under a government "they often enjoy at least a modicum of peace and security." (P. 32) It is the restraints of government and different conditions that individuals act differently. It is for this very reason that they thought war between nations are inevitable.

Niebuhr and Morgenthau thought that all the political and economic solutions of war and peace deal with the secondary causes and are utopian in perfecting the imperfect nature of man. But, Niebuhr agrees that "from a correct understanding of secondary causes comes the real chance for peace, and The same overbalancing of primary by secondary causes is evident in Morgenthau—war comes from man's lust for power, he says, peace from world government. And, with world government presently impossible, Morgenthau, like Niebuhr, argues convincingly the inescapable necessity of balance-of-power politics." (p. 34).

Waltz's objection to this group is that "the attempt to derive a philosophy of politics from an assumed nature of man leads one to a concern with the role of ethics in statecraft without providing criteria for distinguishing ethical from unethical behavior." (p. 37).

The optimists-like Cantril and other behaviorists-find war caused by lack of proper education, the evil quality of the statesmen and rulers, and the misunderstanding among the peoples of the world which can be eradicated. "It is widely held that increased understanding among peoples

means increased peace. It is almost as widely held that the improved social adjustment of individuals would, by decreasing feelings of frustration and insecurity, lessen the incidence of war." (p. 47).

Waltz thinks these groups (behaviorists) are guilty of refuting power politics and political analysis and believes that aside from the contradiction among the behaviorists, it is very difficult to follow their advice in international politics "because most of the advice given by one man,....., is either hopelessly vague or downright impossible to follow." (p. 65). Finally, he correctly notices that close cultural affinity has not slowed the flow of blood as is amply illustrated in the history of western Europe.

The *second image* which finds the cause of war in the very nature of internal institutions and governments, are held by Marx, Mill, Kant, Woodrow Wilson, and Bentham. These liberals and utilitarians while believing in the goodness of man and Laissez-Faire policy," assumed an objective harmony of interests in society. The same assumption is applied to international relations." In other words, "the political doctrine of international peace is a parallel to the economic doctrine of Adam Smith, for it rests similarly upon a recognition of common and reciprocal material interests, which extend beyond national frontiers." (pp. 97-98).

Kant, Woodrow Wilson, and some other liberals' position, however, would be as paine's who says "democracy is pre-eminently the peaceful form of the state. Control of policy by the people would mean peace." (p. 101).

Waltz says "faith in public opinion or, more generally, faith in the uniformity peaceful proclivities of democracies has proved utopian" (p. 102) and "the optimism of eighteenth-century French rationalists was confounded

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by the First and Second war." (p. 121).

The idea that capitalist states cause war and socialist states spell peace is the idea which is elaborated by Marx and Engles on the basis that under socialism, simply state "withers away" and there will be only one class behaving automatically in harmony.

The author believes this analysis may be true "but even so it doesn't follow automatically that among socialist states there will always be peace" (p. 15); "Tito split with Stalin." (p. 121) Today, as we know, Red China split with Russia.

The *third image* is advocated by Rousseau and Montesquieu who thought that conflict between man arises from the social institutions: "As soon as man enters into a state of society he loses the sense of his weakness; equality ceases, and then commences the state of war."¹

Rousseau thinks that conflict is the by-product of competition and attempts at cooperation in society. (That which he proves through the stag-hunt example).

Rousseau solves the internal conflict by advocating a "general will" regulating the individual behaviors and strong enough to suppress disunity and opposition. In international relations, Rousseau applies the same theory and believes that as long as there is not any "general will" to regulate the states behaviors, to act prudently is futile "when everything is left to chance" and "if in such a world prudence is futile, then sanity is downright dangerous, for to be sane in a world of madmen is in itself a kind of madness." (p. 181) If, therefore, the nations want to live in a peaceful environment, they must bind themselves to a "general will" — world government—to

1— It is quoted from *The Spirit of the Laws* by the author. p. 166.

watch their business under the authority of law¹.

This is the position which is taken by the author who says that "the force of the logical relation between the third image and the world government prescription is great enough to cause some to argue not only the merits of world government but also the ease with which it can be realized. It is of course true that with world government there would no longer be international wars, though with ineffective world government there would no doubt be civil wars." (p. 228).

It could be concluded and theorized from the foregoing analysis that almost all the designs and proposed instrumentalities for world peace based upon and derived from the divergent theories about the primary causes of war. Those, for example, who see the roots of violent conflict in man's aggressive instincts, suggest plans for reforming and remodelling human nature and character.

Political theorists who lament the anarchy prevailing in international arena and thinks the main cause of war in this, offer peace plans that involve world order through world government. others who see the roots of war in "communications gaps" among peoples, hope that international peace and harmony could be a product of a world made "smaller" through

1- After attributing the international conflict to the international environment—*anarchy*—, as asserted by Rousseau, the author goes to modern economics and game theory in order to show situations in which the environment plays the major role in the decisions that states or players may have to make. However, it is the environment that forces the political actors to choose a highly war-like or competitive behavior if they and their nations wish to survive and protect their social values that their systems represent.

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communications technology and heightened intercultural contact.

Those who are pessimistic about the international institutionalization and human reform, suggest that peace could be maintained in two ways: Through disarmament that states would deny themselves war-making capabilities, or each state could be armed to the teeth and participate in a system of globally balanced power¹. This seems to me to be the best solution to peace problem.

1. see, Puchala, Donald. *International Politics today*.

New York: Dodd, Mead and Co, 1971, p. 90.

Reference

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- 3- Glover, E. *War, Sadism, and Pacifism* (London: George Allen & Unwin), 1945.
- 4- Legg/Morison, *Politics and the International Systems* (New York: Harper and Row) 1971.
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- 6- Moneil, E. B., ed., *The Nature of Human Conflict*, (Englewood Cliffs, N. J: Prentice-Hall) 1965.
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- 8- Waltz, K. N. *Man the State and War* (New York: Columbia University Press) 1959.