



B.A. PART-I
SEMESTER-I

**DEFENCE AND
STRATEGIC STUDIES**
**PAPER : WAR AND ITS
VARIOUS ASPECTS**

UNIT - 1

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LESSON NOS :

- 1.1 WAR : CONCEPT, DEFINITION, ORIGIN
AND HISTORY
- 1.2 MODERN WARFARE
- 1.3 WAR AS AN INSTRUMENT OF POLICY

**Note:- The students can download the syllabus from
departmental website www.dccpbi.com**

LESSON NO. 1.1**I. War : Concept, Origin and History****Introduction :**

Men have been fighting wars from the remotest antiquity. They are fighting them today too. War is a human nature. The history of humankind can also be analysed as history of wars among groups, tribes and states. War has played a significant role in the emergence of states. After the emergence of state, war was used by the state for imposing its interests and desires upon other states. The rise and growth of civilisation has been influenced by a number of factors amongst which 'war' has been recognised as prominent one. Quincy Wright in his book 'A study of War', has considered war as the legal condition, which 'equally' permits two or more 'hostile groups' to carry on a conflict by 'armed force'. Before analysing the origin and history of war, it is essential to define war. War can be defined as a conflict between two nations or groups of nations by fire of arms. A war within a nation arising out of a conflict between rival groups is normally known as civil war or a revolt or an insurrection. War, in the strict sense of the term, means the use of armed forces for the infliction of loss and consequently defeat upon the enemy.

1. According to Lawrence, war may be defined as "A contest carried on by public force between states, or between states and communities having with regard to the contest the right of states, the parties to it having the intention of ending peaceful relations, and substituting for them those of hostility with all the legal incidents fixing."
2. Quincy Wright defines war as, "In broader sense, a violent contact of distinct but similar entities, and in narrower sense, the legal condition which equally permits two or more hostile groups to carry on conflict by armed forces."
3. Oppenheim says, "War is contention between two or more states through their armed forces for the purpose of overpowering, each other and imposing such conditions of peace as the victor pleases?"
4. Morgenthau considers "war to be an organised violence" and an

instrument in the hands of the foreign policy of the state.

All these definitions of war clearly illustrate the difficulty that characterises the attempt to conceptualise war. Some of the basic characteristics of war are:

1. War involves hostile relations between two or more states.
2. The parties to war are called belligerents and each party is totally opposed to the interests and policies of the other.
3. The purpose of war is to secure national interests which are incompatible with the interests of the enemy.
4. It involves the use of armed forces. Each state involved in war uses its armed forces for imposing a defeat upon the enemy by inflicting heavy material and human power loss.
5. War breaks out when two states fail to resolve a particular dispute or conflict through normal means and a resort to the use of armed forces is made by one state to force the other state into obedience.

The causes of war have varied at different times in different parts of the world. Though the basic motives for war have remained practically the same through out the history, it appears that every stage of increasing progress and advancing civilisation gave rise to inevitable conflict between nations or groups of nations which preferred to settle their claims by resort to war. War has thus been the arbiter when other methods of reaching agreement failed. Every war started on the assumption that might was right. However, many times right has prevailed over might.

The origin of a war may be some small incidental happening in an obscure place but the causes of war are deep seated reasons which give a deadly form to the conflict.

In a study of the causes of war it could be convenient to trace the historical sequence under the following scheme:

- (a) The Ancient Times - This includes the period from about 7000 BC to the beginning of the Christian era.
- (b) The Early Medieval Ages - The early medieval ages would cover the period from 1st century AD to 1000 AD.
- (c) The Central Middle Ages - 1000 AD to 15th century.
- (d) The Modern age - from 15th century to 2nd World War.

The history of war primarily consists of distinctive warlike behaviour of the group or sub-groups. To understand the nature of war during different times or period of times, a comparative analysis of the war manifesting events pertaining to certain warring entities ought to change the form of war which may be the emergence of a new war rather than mere evolution.

The origin of war between the human species can be traced from man's pre-human ancestors in relation to the behaviour of human and of the contemporary animals. To understand the war during these phases, a specific criteria has to be followed which is based on understanding the drives, functions, techniques and theory pertaining to war.

1. The Animal Warfare :

The period of animal warfare relates to the pre-human history wherein the man lived like animals though in a developed form which established the difference between the man and the animal. The difference in the animal warfare period concerning the end or the objectives of violent actions were mainly the need of food, sex, dominance, self-preservation, home, territory, independence in activity and the preservation of society. The techniques and the weapons used by the man during the animal warfare are included the parts of his body like the nails, hands, the feet and the teeth etc, though occasional use of stones was also made by certain species such as monkeys and apes. The hostilities were confined to the use of non-lethal weapons, used mainly for the purposes of possession of females among the males, the acquisition of food, territory and reproduction and also for the maintenance of leadership of the group. Aggressiveness of the males to defend the family and name appears to exist in both the men and the animals. Similarly, the species of colonial insects work collectively for the promotion of internal solidarity for defence from the external threat and for the acquisition of food as well as for reproduction.

2. Primitive Warfare :

The period in between the Animal Warfare and the civilised warfare is called the period of primitive warfare. Due to the lack of any written documents of this period, the information about this period is very limited. However, it has been found that the primitive man was equipped with speech but not with the writings. People and animals were used to live in groups for more security of their own, food and shelter. The groups of human beings, like the herds of animals, moving from one place to another,

gradually got themselves organised so as to live together on the basis of common racial, sociological, linguistic and cultural affinities provided by defined geographic limits.

The derives guiding the primitive warfare were more or less the same as during the animal warfare i.e. food, sex, territory, self-preservation, society, dominance and independence. The war was fought for hunting and food. Woman was also an important cause of war. The lack of adequate means of transportation and the failure to properly face the natural calamities. Proved to be major obstructions in the development of the art of warfare. The material use to make weapons included mainly wood, bones, stone and metals. Occasionally use of poison on the tip of the arrows and spears was also there.

3. Historical Warfare :

The beginning of the historical warfare may be traced from about 15th century BC with the inception of literature. The taming of the wild animals for the purpose of other than more domestic use, such as the horses and elephants, provided greater mobility. Chariots, carts and carriages pulled by animals became the mode of transportation. The cities were fortified with stronger defensive weapons, ammunition and storage of ration. With the involvement of large number of people, the techniques or methods to fight also underwent revolution any changes.

During the period, the factors of food and sex were no more the decisive factors. But power, class, population or state to dominate and emergene of political groups independence emerged as the dominating cause of war.

4. Modern War

The beginning of modern warfare can be indentified after the 17th century. It was the period of transition from middle to modern age.

The period between 1815 and 1870 saw the industrial revolution which brought in flood of inventions in weapons, armaments, and communications. This was also the period which witnessed the strength and prosperity of various empires and Russian Empire. The sociological uplift brought in national or peoples war. The basic derives to war did not change but war of new weapons and techniques started influencing the life of people more directly. With the invention of new weapons, transportation and communication, the role of population became more significant. The derives during this period were replaced from self-preservation and territory to political, for food to economic, from sex and society to cultural and from

dominance to religious motivations. Complete submission of enemy through the use of force became the accepted objective of war. Once the political, economic and psychological pressures fail to achieve the needful, the military means and techniques are brought to bear the brunt.

Suggested Books

Quincy Wright : A Study of War

LESSON NO. 2

2. MODERN WARFARE**Introduction**

War, which is fought with the modern (latest) means in present (those) times, may be defined as modern war. To explain the term modern means one has to study all those developments in the fields of armament, organization and technique of fighting, which have since been changed due to various invention in the field of science and technology.

Modern wars differ from the wars of medieval Europe or ancient India in two major respects. Firstly, wars today are total and secondly, they are immeasurably more destructive. Ancient and Medieval wars made a clear distinction between combatants and non combatants. Non combatants were women, farmers and artisans. Wars were to destroy the enemy's will to resist and no more of the enemy was destroyed than was necessary for this purpose. But with the rise of nation state and emergence of nationalism, all this changed. War was no longer a dynastic affair. It was a nation and its people at war with another nation and its people.

Seventeen century could be claimed as the period of transition from middle ages to modern age, so far military weaponry, tactics and organization is concerned. In this period spike (spike means light spear, its length varies from 5 feet to 8 feet) was replaced by musket. Infantry adopted linear formations and mobile artillery) used along with infantry and cavalry. Armies started being organized into various groups is very old and it goes back to 400 B.C. when Greeks applied it under Philip II and Alexander. But on scientific lines it started from 17th century.

In succeeding centuries after Industrial Revolution, science and technology has changed the entire pattern of war. Invention of press, telegraph and telephones made the communications fast and easy and that of railways, motors and aeroplanes made movements fast and certain.

Armour : Tanks, Armored cars, armored personnel carrier, etc., started replacing cavalry in land warfare and in ocean, iron clad steam ships made the old sails of line obsolete. Smokeless gun powder and experiments with refilling gave fire power and upper hand and range accuracy and rate of

fire were gradually increased.

Thus, the wars of nineteenth century were dominated by machine guns, quick firing guns and explosive shells. Mass armies could be easily mobilized through railways and motor trucks. Increased rate of fire power increased the cost of war which brought economic factors into considerations. System of supply became complicated and science of logistics started developing. Big armies became big burden on national exchequer.

French revolutionized the system of war and put forward the concept of nation in arms. It means that entire population had to support war either joining army or by supporting war through various other services like supply and manufacture. It was fully realized that for successful conduct of war entire nation had to support to and to achieve the aim of war, all resources of nation were to be mobilized. It was American Civil war (1861-65), Which gave verdict in the favor of above statements and brought the concept of 'Nation at war.' The ability of the nation to produce and supply its fighting forces with weapons and food became more important than more man power in uniform emergence of this concept made war total and modern in its real sense.

Invention of airplanes added the totality of war because, airplanes brought death and destruction even to the civilians, who were supporting war through production and supply. Centre of administration, transportation, communication and production became the primary sites for dive bombers. This unlimited death and destruction became the part of military strategy which aimed to shake the civilian morale to destroy the nations 'will to fight.' Developments of submarines and sea mines tried to achieve the same aim in sea warfare to challenge the movements of all those ships who supported enemy directly or indirectly in war. Complete blockade was practiced to starve the enemy population.

Under these circumstances, war became a specialized topic to be thoroughly studied by commanders. To achieve this, War Academies were opened to produce professionals in this field. Soldiers and officers had to undergo tough training mental as well as physical before they join army. They were thoroughly taught the ideals and objectives for which their nation cherished. They became messengers of national ideology on the foreign land during war. This was introduced by keeping the following statement in view that the war is an important instrument of policy.

Invention of various atomic, biological and chemical weapons during and after second world War (1939-45) war became fast, destructive, devastating

and total. Due to vast destructive potentialities of these weapons. Some people stated thinking that war could lose its importance as one of the means to settle disputes between two nation's. This idea proved to be wrong as even now war is one of very important means of settling international disputes. The same will be true for future also. Only change which could be attributed to the destructive potential of these weapons is that in place of all out total war, cold, guerilla, limited and localized wars would be preferred. The idea of total destruction itself put deterrence on all out unclear war. This continued the practice of preparing for conventional war with some improvements in conventional weapons. This did not mean that the nations stopped manufacturing the nuclear weapons instead armament race in continuing not only for nuclear weapons but for conventional weapons too. Any efforts to stop this suicidal race was not successful due to mistrust and suspicion among the various nations of the world, but the post war developments clearly reveal that nuclear weapons have become more political and psychological weapons than the military ones. This justifies the definition of war given by great German Military Thinker Clausewitz "war is the continuation of state policy by other means." Due to the fear of total destruction, countries try to attain the state objective through other means like psychological, economic and diplomatic, through war. This development has limited and localized wars in the modern age.

Modern wars have the following main features, which have been discussed one by one.

1. Modern Wars are World-Wide

Due to invention in the field of transportation and communication, mobility has been greatly increased. Now the people of one country could go and meet the people of other countries and exchange their views with them the journey of year, and months could be completed in days and hours. Inventions of railways, motors, airplanes and steamships and made the natural barriers like ocean, mountains and deserts relatively unimportant. Therefore, it is generally said that in modern age world has shrunk.

The growing interest among the nations for raw material for home based industries and for making the military bases to protect the lines of communication began the era of colonial rivalries. The faster means of transportation (Railways, steamships and aero planes) and communication (telegraphs, telephones and wireless) made military movement, command and control possible even in farfetched areas of the world. To provide the alarmed forces with food, clothes, arms and equipments country needs

self-sufficiency in these items. It is almost impossible to achieve self-sufficiency in all these fields therefore, countries started pooling resources for successful conduct of war by forming alliances among the like minded nations. In twentieth century this phenomenon played decisive role in defeating Germany and its friends. Formation of alliances was not only due to economic reasons but political and technological reasons were equally responsible for this phenomenon.

This trend enlarged the scope of war to the larger areas of the world and increased the number of participants. This aspect was systematically studied by Quincy Wright in his book "A study of War."

"In list of 284 wars from 1450 to 1960 the average number of participants in war of late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was 2.4 and in the following centuries 2.6, 3.7, 3.2 and 5. This reveals that apart from the nineteenth century in which there was a larger number of imperial and civil wars, the trend was towards an increase in the number of participants."

The tendency of wars to spread can be illustrated by studying the distribution of battles in following war. The battles of thirty years war (1618-48) were all concentrated in central Europe: those of the war of Spanish succession (1701-13) in the low countries central and Western Europe and America, those of Napoleonic wars in all over Europe and America; those of two world wars in all sections of Europe; North Africa and America; Far East, and the Waters of the Atlantic and the Pacific.

The post second world war developments are still alarming. The inventions of various types of missiles, which have ranges from few miles to few hundred thousand miles further reduced the distances of various targets. North and South poles are no more barriers for movements. Missiles could easily cross the poles and hit the target on other sides. Now the world could be really thought in the form of globe and all these factors should be taken into account by the future strategist.

2. Modern Wars are mechanised

This is the outstanding characteristic in which modern wars differ from the wars of earlier periods. The earlier were mostly fought with muscular, animal or very crumb mechanical powers. Even their fire arms like darts, leveling and arrows were fired by muscular powers. But after the invention of gun-powder in thirteenth century, there was a gradual development in the fire arms like rifles, machine guns, artillery, rockets and missiles in use. They made warfare a deadly affair and a master distance.

In the field of transportation, various power propelled means have been

invented. The power of steam was harnessed for railways and steamship. The intercombustion engines were used for motors, tanks and aero planes. Now a days even nuclear power is being used to drive submarines and ships. This modern means of transportation increased the power of March. Days have gone when armies used to march hardly 20 to 40 miles a day. Now some of the aero planes could fly three times faster than sound (speed of sound is 331 meter per second).

To command and control the armies moving fast of the modern means of transportation, various means of communication have been invented. Telegraphs, telephones and wireless come in that category. Various electronic systems like computers and RADARS have been invented to communicate with great speed and found very useful for detecting and guiding missiles and supersonic aeroplane.

Due to increased rate of fire and destructive potential of explosive shells, it was almost difficult to move in the battle- field. Some vehicle was required which could have the following characteristics:

(1) Cover from fire (2) fire power (3) cross country mobility.

To meet these requirements tanks were invented and successfully used in the last phase of I world war. Armour started widely used and Armoured cars, Armoured ships and personnel carriers etc were invented.

This overall mechanization has brought the problems of manufacturing before the nations. Sound scientific, technological and industrial base was required for successful conduct of war. In good old days one equipment lasted as long as the soldier. Now these equipments and ammunitions and other supplies required at such a fast rate that nearly 12 persons were required to feed one, soldier at front. J.F.C. Fuller in his book "Conduct of War" God of victory had marched with the biggest industries rather with the biggest battalions."

3. Nationalization of War Efforts

Nationalization of war effort means governments control over national resources and its proper utilization at the time of war.

J .F.C. Fuller in his book "Conduct of War", mentions, "The industry of war combines two techniques. The technique of peace which supplies war with his resource and the technique of destruction."

Due to mechanization and automation of weapons war became a costly affair and for its successful conduct all national resource were to be mobilized. This led to the government control of economy and public opinion. All types

of Government whether they are totalitarian (Dictatorship) or democratic tried to control the national economy. In war people were asked to do a number of sacrifices for the interest of the nation. Through taxation, their purchasing power was limited and through control the civilian consumption. Production was increased in the industries and priority was given production of military goods. All resources and all productive energies were directed to meet the war requirements. This practice is still existing and rather intensifying with the march of time.

In modern wars enemy by hitting the civilian targets or by unleashing a timely propaganda could easily civilian targets. Government through various civil defence measures and through proper propaganda has to counter their moves to restore confidence among the people.

4. Expansion in the Size of Armed Forces

After French Revolution, mass national armies or large standing armies became the universal phenomenon for national defence. Almost all countries increase the size of their armed forces.

After mechanization of forces during twentieth century, it was thought that there would be cut in the size of forces, due to three reasons. Firstly machine could replace men from the battle field, secondly to sustain war home front would be requiring more men for production and supply, thirdly sufficient man power could not be effectively mobilized in the battle field due to the limited means of transportation. But their ideas remained far from reality. With the increase in the number of machines in the battle field, more men were required to handle them. Man behind the machine became more important. His training for handling machines and 'will to fight' became more important than machines itself. Then, the faster means to transportation and communication facilitated mobilization of larger population for combat.

In this context, Quincy Wrights, book "Study of War" is quite revealing. He writes, "Where formerly one per cent of population was large number to mobilize, now over ten percent can be mobilized." But ten per cent mobilization requires the wholehearted support of other population which remained at home for production and supply. Therefore, it is said that the modern war fought by the entire nation. Although the home front needs more people for production and supply; yet even the small countries could afford to have more than 7% of this population in the form of armed forces. Mechanization, Automation and militarization of population are responsible for this trend. For militarization various countries have various methods of

militarization of population. Some achieve it through "conscription" which means compulsory military service for young people, who fall in the age group of 18 years to 30 years.

5. Modern Wars are Blitz

This is one of the very important features of modern war. 'Blitz means an action or operation with the speed of lightening which means starting of war against enemy with utmost speed and without giving chance of upstay. Time is always the greatest factor in war, particularly in modern blitz war, which is fought with the fastest means of transportation and communication along with the fatal or deadly means of destruction.

In modern times, the term, 'Blitz' was first used by Germans during second World War (1939-45) when they attacked the neighboring countries with top speed and by using all possible forces like army, air, armour and moral (through propaganda etc.) By this new technique of war they got so many victories in the earlier phase of war and conquered Poland, Belgium and France within no time.

Although German technique of fighting 'Blitz wars' looks very noble, yet it has its inception in the hoary past. The idea of using superior preparedness a reputation for ruthlessness and threats of war for bloodness victory was expounded by Machiavelly an Italian military thinker of 16th century. Concentration of superior' forces against the selected points of enemy is an age old tactics. Alexandar, Fredrick the Great, Napoleon and Hitler all tried the same with their different instruments of war.

From the time immemorial, efforts have been made to counter these concentration scheme of enemy. Various diversionary moves and the systems like "web defence" have been invented to absorb the shocks of Blitz tactics.

(Web Defence : It was the defensive system invented by Russians to counter the Blitz tacties of Germans during second world war. In that system, number of defensive localities were prepared by Russians on Eastern front which were fully manned with Anti-tank-guns to absorb the shock of German tank divisions).

Today, with the invention of thermonuclear weapons which have vast destructive potentialities, time and speed became vital factors in war. Now the Biltz war has assumed new importance. The survival of entire nation depends more upon its power of deterrence and retalliation in the atomic war. The theories of a preemptive attack or counter force are always

dangerous since it advocates for first strike. Any how, nuclear threats in the modern age, itself have the deterrence value but importance of Blitz war could never be ruled out. Nation should remain prepared for any such eventuality.

6. Modern Wars are Total

Modern wars are total. It means to achieve an objective of war, nation has to mobilize all resources, which it has at its disposal. Out of these resources, man power, material and moral forces are very important. The aim of war is now changed from the subjugation of enemy forces or government to destruction of nations will to fight. This finishes discrimination between military and civilian targets and between civilian and soldiers. The centres of administration, transportation, communication and sites of industries (places of production) became favourable targets for bombing. To destroy civilian morale, countries could adopt any of the following means. Like indiscriminate bombing on civilian targets, economic blockade (to starve the nation or to hinder its supplies), psychological war through propaganda, sabotage through fifth column activities, which were not allowed in the warfare of (Fifth column : means a group of people enemy country's The word has its origin from Spanish civil war).

Second world war gives brilliant example of total war, when Hitler without caring for international agreements and neutrality of the neighboring countries, mobilised all resources of Germany to occupy Poland, Holland and Belgium. He masterly handled propaganda as one of the instruments of war and created favourable opinion in the minds of some people of conquered countries for Germany. To him, his national interests were above all than any other moral or legal international commitments.

To explain the totality of war, it is desirable to quote few lines from 'Hundred Years of War', written by Cyril Fall. He writes, "The concept of total war does away with the formal declaration of war and all respects for neutrality. It encourages the use of lethal and other gases, the laying of undisclosed underwater mines, attack upon merchant and passenger shipping both without warning and without possibility of rescue. Its chief weapon is indiscriminate attack from the air against civilian population, for example bombardment cities in night. It does away all the laws of war."

The advocates of total war argue that without civilian bombardment the nation's will to fight could not be subdued. To achieve the decisive result in war, they justify any cruelty in war. But the theory of terror tactics

never last long as it has its own after effects and chances of repercussion. Moreover, supporting the theory of absolute and total war in the modern atomic age means propounding theory of total destruction. Before blindly accepting the theories of absolute and total wars one has to see the reality of total destruction and realise the limitations imposed by the scientific and technological developments. These limitations, in present time changed the entire characteristics of modern war. Now the wars are total but limited and localised.

7. Modern Wars are very Costly and Destructive and Expensive too

Arms and equipment used in modern wars are becoming very costly day by day. Modern combat plans, ships and tanks are very costly. The cost of modern sophisticated, bomber or ship goes in terms of few crore rupees. Automation of modern firing arms, like rifles and artillery gun, increase the destruction of enemy property, industries, power installations and times of communications like roads, railways and aerodromes further raises the cost of war. It takes long to recover from the ravages of war. The cost of human life and sufferings during any war can not be calculated in the terms of monetary loss. The idea of the increasing cost of war could be got from U.S. News and World Report, Feb. 27, 1957, "in 19th century the belligerent nations spent nearly 8% to 10% of their national income for fighting war which rose to 59% during the First World War and 60% to 70% during Second World War. It can be rightly said that modern wars are expensive too and these wars put surplus burden on national economy.

Books Suggested For Further Study

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| 1. | Quincy Wright | : | Study of War |
| 2. | Cyril Falls | : | Hundred Years of War |
| 3. | J.F.C.Fuller | : | The Conduct of War and Armament and History |
| 4. | Shiamlal and Mukerjee | : | Text Books of Military Science Vol. II |

LESSON NO. 1.3

WAR AS AN INSTRUMENT OF POLICY

Origin of War

The word "War" was derived from the Anglo-Saxon word "Werre" which owes its origin to an old high German word "Werra" which, in turn, means confusion, discord and strife. Thus, war is nothing but fighting and quarrelling. It comes about as a result of difference of opinion and ideology than is following ones own policy.

The origin of war can be traced back to the primitive times when men, animals and insects either fought amongst themselves or with others. They quarreled about almost the same things, that is food, territory, females. Their primary concern has, however, been food resulting in fight for their existence. The weak was the hunted and not the hunter and so faced protective problem; it meant non-survival of the unfit test. All this was war which has proved to be in the very nature of things.

To start with men were unarmed. Hands, feet and teeth were their sole weapons. Stones, fire, bones and wood came to be used as weapons which emerged in the shape of the hammer, the spade and the axe. With these innovations no human being could afford to remain unarmed to ensure his security. Implements used for domestic purposes, especially for agriculture, became the weapons for fighting. The need for effective weapons was felt. With the advent of war, the evolution of the art of warfare started. The taming of the horse brought about a radical change in the art of war; the warfare was revolutionised. The horse and the sword placed the rider in a very dominant position; the horse was used also for hauling war chariots and supply vehicles. This afforded greater chances of conquest.

The beginning of war amongst primitive people was really in the sociological sense, the main causes being economic, over-crowding groupism and women. Initially, men fought individually amongst themselves.

Subsequently they began to form themselves into groups, clans and tribes. Then followed the Palisaded villages signalling the opening of classical warfare. Just before the beginning of the Christian Era, kings started organising combined fighting forces and scientifically organised armies began to appear. Dianysius (430-367 B.C.) and Philip II of Macedonia (382-338 B.B.) can be quoted as the first to do this. Stress was laid also on the quality of the army. Tactics of fighting were formulated and adopted and the armies became formidable instruments of war. Great possibilities of conquest were opened up enabling Alexander, Phillip II's son to conquer whatever world he knew.

Primitive age is said to have come to an end in the 10th Century A. D. when writing came into use marking the beginning of civilization. The groups of men started enlarging their areas and acquiring wealth and power through use of violence with the advent of civilization. The groups of men started enlarging their areas and acquiring wealth and power through use of violence with the advent of civilization. This led to maintenance of more costly armies. Wars have always been used as an instrument for setting disputes and conflicts. The development of arms and equipment took place because of the necessity for fighting. Armament and social systems have played a great part in the evolution of warfare the techniques of war underwent rapid change and the improvement in weapons started bringing about more destruction, beginning of civilization, thus, led to different stages of warfare that is feudal wars, dynastic wars, peoples wars and total wars. No period of human history has been free from war. The character of war has been changing with civil and social progress and beliefs, Clausewitz writes "war belongs to the province of social life and that it is not an act performed by military men only, but is an expression of the conflict of ideas, objectives and way of life of an entire society with those of some other society."

Wars have been resorted to whenever peaceful means have failed to obtain the settlement for the cause of the dispute. It would appear that war, and not peace, has been the normal condition of civilized human society. Even after the end of World War II, there have been a number of wars inspite of the horrors and destruction known and feared as a result of the modern wars.

War and Policy

War is one of the instruments of national policy; amongst the others being

diplomacy, political, psychological and economic instruments which use many as a technique. The war has functioned so well and solved so many problems, that nations have been using it and are, in no way, reluctant to surrender this instrument. War and national policy are very much interlinked. In the military sense, war is the art of acquiring political ends by use of armed forces. Nations try to solve international disputes by diplomatic means; if they fail, armed forces are used to seek the solution, it can, therefore be said that a war follows in the immediate wake of diplomatic failures. Governments use wars as a rational mean to get what, they want. The causes of war establish the objectives of national policy and are related to war as an instrument of the national policy, Eagleton Clyde has pointed out, "War is a method of achieving purposes." The national policy dictates the amount of violence to be used to achieve the ends in war Clausewitz writes, "State policy is the womb in which war is developed in which its outlines lie hidden in a rudimentary state, like the qualities of living creatures in their germs." He insisted on the relationship of war and policy. He has called war as "nothing but a continuation of political intercourse, with a mixture of other means." He further says "War is to be regarded not an independent thing, but as a political instrument." The war, therefore, amounts to nothing but taking up the sword instead of the pen which is the normal weapon of national policy. War can never be separated from political intercourse.

War and National Aim

The national aim to be achieved should be very clear before resorting to war. An aimless war is bound to bring ruins and destruction to both the sides. The aim should, therefore, be selected and formulated judiciously and maintained. Fuller has very rightly said, "No war should be commenced without first seeking a reply to the question, what is to be attained by and in the same. Theory demands, therefore, that the commencement of every war, its character and main outline should be defined according to what political conditions and relations lead us to participate as probable." Sherman once uttered the noble words. "The legitimate object of war is a more perfect peace." According to Clausewitz, "The compulsory submission of the enemy to our will is the ultimate object." The wars must differ in character according to the nature of national aims and motives; if the national policy is grand and powerful the war will also be the same.

The events of war progress as per the general features of national policy till the aim is achieved. The main aim, from the point of view of national

policy should, therefore, always be kept in mind. As the policy declares war, war is then the only instrument being used. The political point of view, therefore remains supreme and should never be subordinated to military point of view. It is upto the policy to keep a constant watch on the progress of military events and decide as to the course it should prescribe or adopt to achieve its ultimate aim. If the policy fails to correctly determine the course and nature of events the results can be disastrous. It is, therefore, at times obligatory on the policy to affect changes in itself, consequently that art of war will also undergo changes. Policy and war can therefore, just not be separated : on the other hand their inter connection could not be more intimate. War, therefore, is an instrument of national policy. War must, of necessity, have policy's characters as it is policy itself. The policy should never take the first step unless what may be the less has been thought of. The political aims of both the sides should be judiciously weighed up, the capacity and position of the both should be considered and political connections of both with other states and the likely effect of war on the same should not be lost sight of. Only then will the national policy succeed in making the war its instrument, French Revolution can be quoted as an example of correct and wrong policies. The policy of the governments, failed to correctly appreciate the strength and the forces which sprang up in France and to arrive at a correct decision to make use of the sources at their disposal; they thus failed to foresee the consequences. The erroneous policy of these governments was responsible for the victories of the Revolution. On the other hand, the policy of the French Revolution appreciated correctly, called out other means and measures and succeeded in conducting the war.

Quincy Wright aptly sums up the relationship between war, politics and policy, "War might be defined as the utilization by a group of violent means to remove political obstruction in the path of group policy. War is simply policy when speed is deemed necessary and political obstructions will not yield to persuasion." War has been considered and accepted as a legitimate instrument of state policy by a member of most human group of modern society.

Utility of War as an Instrument

There is no doubt that states/nations have been indulging in war which they consider as their right. Obviously, the war must have performed their functions so well that nations are hesitant to surrender their right to use them as the instruments of their policies. Some feel that wars have been

useless without accruing any benefits to the belligerents. Millard Warrner writes, "The most unfortunate thing about war is that it accomplishes nothing. All the effort that goes into it is wasted; all its sacrifices are in vain. The issues between nations, over which they go to war still remain when the war is done : war goes not settle anything." On the other hand, facts contradict this contention and prove that war has often paid. Even though war is to be condemned for being inhuman, barbarous, costly in men and material and foolish way of achieving one's aims, yet it has performed functions which had been socially desirable and for which no other workable solutions were in sight. War has made contributions which no other mean/instrument could have. War has thus persisted because of its utility Eagleton writes, "For centuries, war has been regarded as a means of remedying unjust situations of setting disputes, of enforcing rights."

Even though war itself is an instrument of aggression, it has successfully been used an instrument against criminal aggression. Oppression has to be met with force. Professor Shotwell writes, "It (war) has played a beneficent role in history as well as a criminal one." There are innumerable instances of war having been used as an instrument to help people in escaping from oppression for example American Revolution, French Revolution, Latin American Wars of Independence, American Civil War, Balkan Wars, Spanish American War. Obviously wars do not produce only evil and do "good" also.

Communists have always considered conflict and revolution as the only means to overthrow capitalism and achieve their ultimate aims; war was thus inevitable. Lenin thought of collision between the Soviet Republic and the bourgeois states. Stalin predicted revolution for overthrowing capitalism; this, according to him, war to be a big struggle. Mao-Tse-tung wrote, "The central task and the highest form of resolution is to seize political power by force, to solve problems by war...political power emerges only from among the guns. Yes, we do uphold the revolutionary omnipotence of war...This is not bad. It is good, it is Marxist...The whole world must be recreated with guns."

All this brings out the distinction between just and unjust wars. There might be problems to which war may be the only alternative. Misery at use, poverty, intolerable conditions may find solution only in war to better the lot and conditions of the afflicted. Was may be the only hope for to regain there homeland & freedom. The hope of the Nationalist Chinese for

returning to their homeland may lie only in Communist China getting involved in a big war against a major power. History has proved that, in the past, resort to war has been the only course open to get grievances redressed. There can be no doubt that wars have been of real utility and have been a great help in getting the wrongs undown. Professor Shotwell writes, "War has been the instrument by which most of the great facts of political national history have been established and maintained. It has played a dominant part in nearly all political crises; it has been used to achieve liberty, to secure democracy and to attempt to make it secure against the menace of its use by other hands. The map of the world today has been largely determined upon the battlefield. The maintenance of civilization itself has been, and still continues to be, underwritten by the insurance of army and navy ready to strike at any time where danger threatens."

It is well known that great states of modern world, such as, China, England, France, Japan, Russia, Spain and United States are the creation of wars. They gained their territorial integrity through wars. Conquests through wars were instrumental in spreading civilization and Christianity to far off places. The strong navies have been instrumental in opening markets in other states. Raw materials to meet the requirements of industrial growth as a result of technical progress have been obtained force. Palmer and Perkins very rightly say. "War has been a chief marker of the modern world-its states, its industries, its morality and its cultural pattern. Man's use of war, often the only instrument that he knows-has given us the modern world." Quincy Wright substantiates this by writing. "War has been method actually used for achieving the major political changes of the modern world, the building of nation states, the expansion of modern civilization, and the changing of the dominant interests of the civilization."

Future of War as an Instrument of Policy

War has generally been regarded as a curse inspite of its recognised utility value. There have been long and bloody wars, some of them considered futile. It is generally felt that war does not pay; that is the gain are not commensurate with the losses suffered. There had, therefore, been thinking as to whether the wars could be averted and some other means used and also whether wars can be renuciated. The Kellog-Briand Pact (Pact of Paris of 1928, signed, be over 60 nations) was the first formal attempt to outlaw war through an internal agreement. It condemned "recourse to war for the solution of international controversies" and

renounced war "as an instrument of national policy, but did not, in fact, outlaw war. The Pact had no powers to prevent even small conflicts continued to be ignored by those who preferred wars. It is proved that wars cannot be prevented by prohibitory law which is just paper pledges. The states are reluctant to outlaw and because they accept it. An indispensable instrument of national policy. War has come to be viewed as a necessary evil.

It cannot, however, be concluded that efforts to prevent war as an instrument of policy have come to an end without making any gains. The destructive power of war has multiplied immensely with the enormous progress in nuclear weapons which are capable of wiping out of people in a country within one hour and have ushered in the age of overkill. These weapons may be used in the Third World War but not later. Dr. Albert Einstein once remarked. "I do not know the weapons with which World War III will be fought, I assure you the World War IV will be fought with sticks and stones."

The causes for which wars are fought have to cease and be prevented from being created. Will the oppression, criminal aggression, injustice abuses and other such causes which head to war will also be abolished. It is just, not possible. Palmer and Perkins write, "The door to war cannot be barred so long as the door to injustice is thereby also barred. The nations cannot, therefore, abandon wars as an instrument of policy. The solution lies in ensuring fewer and smaller wars. All possible efforts should be made to reduce international tensions, to bring about progress in disarmament, to develop international law and to deal with fundamental problems of human misery and unrest such steps may help to remove the scourge of war system. Till such a miracle is achieved, war will continue to be the instrument of national policy. All the post Independence warfare in which India was involved, Arab-Israeli Wars, Korean war and Indo-China War are the recent examples of how wars were used as instruments of national policy by the states who took the initiative.

BOOK SUGGESTED

1. Fuller J. F. C., Maj Gen : The Conduct of War (pp 63--66 and 202-205).
2. Palmer and Perkins : International Relations.

Type Setting :

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