

English Essay Outline

War Made the State and State Made The War

Outline

1. Introduction

2. Historical Evolution of the State through Warfare

2.1 States emerged from the need to organise communities for warfare.

2.2 Treaty of Westphalia (1648) provided the concept of state sovereignty to preserve power and resources of states.

2.3 Napoleonic wars in the 19th century stimulated the concept of nationalism and internal state power.

2.4 Wars united fragmented nations through effective utilisation of negative integration.

2.5 Wars provided a passage to citizens to attain independence and form states.

2.6 Wars sparked revolutions to change the prevalent status-quo and form States as per self-determination.

3. State's Role in Initiating and Sustaining Wars

3.1 States inherently pursue power and seek domination which culminates into wars.

3.2 States fostered nationalistic principles which transformed into Fascism.

3.3 Preserving state sovereignty leads to preemptive wars.

3.4 Territorial ambitions to expand States resulted in multiple wars.

3.5 Realist narrative that states by nature are aggressive and wage wars to attain prominence.

3.6 Neo-realist narrative that states operate in an anarchy with information asymmetry leading to war.

3.7 States, autocratic or democratic, are led by individuals which wage war to retain importance and power.

4.

Overcoming Wars While Maintaining State Sovereignty

4.1

Adoption of Neoliberal ideology of complex interdependence to maintain peace.

4.2

Utilising international organisations for impartial conflict resolutions.

4.3

Implementation of international law to prevent violation of territorial integrity.

4.4

Promote globalisation in a mutually beneficial manner to counter nationalist and ultra-nationalist ideologies.

5.

Conclusion

"War made the state and state made the war" is a quotation of Charles Tilly. Tilly in his theory of conflict of states asserts that war is the primary driver behind the creation of modern states. The formation of states in sociology was observed when patriarchal societies transformed into hunting societies with the development of tools. Soon after the evolution of society communities began consolidating power through wars to preserve themselves and their resources. The concept of nation-state system emerged after centuries after the peace treaty ended the thirty years war (1618-1648). The concept of state sovereignty promoted utilisation of wars to gain power and territory. Eventually with the formation of formal state structures, states began employing wars as a medium to attain power, prominence, resources, and territory. The method of warfare has evolved but the reasons for waging wars remain the same at core. Thinkers and philosophers along with world leaders have worked ^{with} effort to maintain peace,

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Overcome the war dilemma, and maintain state sovereignty.

The concept of a state is an ancient one. City-state structure was observed in Greece during the 8th century B.C. Aristotle referred to state as "the highest form of human association." However, the need for state emerged way back when hunting gathering societies were evolving and the agricultural revolution was emerging. The concept of private goods and private land commodified everything. To protect one's resources, communities began to consolidate to increase their power for warfare. The consolidated communities waged wars to attain further territory and to protect their own territory. The underlying reason for consolidation was ~~for~~ warfare for power. The organised communities laid the framework for future generations to build states.

Centuries later a major war broke out in Europe. The war is commonly known as the "Thirty Years War." The war continued from

1618 till 1648. The war ended with the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648. The treaty laid down the concept of state sovereignty and territorial integrity. The fixed demarcation of state territory with formal recognition gave birth to modern nation-states. The nation-state system was focused on preserving power and resources of states while maintaining a formal structure. Charles Tilly's quotation becomes relevant here as it was indeed war which gave birth to the modern system of state.

The Westphalian system contributed effectively towards building international law, maintaining international relations, and preserving peace to an extent until the Napoleonic wars. However, when Napoleon Bonaparte assumed power in 1801, he started a series of wars from 1803 till 1815. These wars not only upset the balance of power within Europe, rather they also promoted nationalist principles as a reason for war. The state

System which emerged in 1648 had provided European nations the concept of their nationalist identity. However, it were the Napoleonic wars where the manifestation of these nationalist identities were observed. The wars provided the concept of nationalism linked to state power which was exhibited through wars. The concept evolved states further with a focus on internal identity and ambition to impose this identity across different territories through wars for territorial expansion. Consequently, the nationalist fervour across Europe intensified and ideas of national autonomy, unity, identity, and integration spread throughout.

The newly emerged principles of national identity connected with fragmented states such as German Confederation and Italian units. The fragmented nations saw the opportunity to integrate and unite as a single nation under the umbrella of nationalist principle, commonly language. These ideas of state building were adopted

by a pragmatic German politician known as Otto von Bismarck and Italian politician Camillo di Cavour. Bismarck utilised the principles of negative integration to consolidate the 31 German states into Germany. He utilised strategic wars with Austria and later France to consolidate the fragmented German states into a unified Germany. Similarly, Cavour effectively utilised nationalistic fervour among Italians to unify them and form a consolidated state. Both unifications achieved their purpose through utilisation of war as a tool of state formation.

Throughout history wars have acted as a tool to attain independence. The unification of Germany and Italy differ in nature as they required consolidation of fragmented states into one. However, colonised states required war to attain independence and form their own states. For example, the Greek War of Independence (1821-1830) serves a prime incident where war was utilised

by citizens to attain independence. The Greeks fought against the Ottoman rule to establish their own sovereign state. Another example is the Haitian Revolution (1791-1804), where enslaved Africans and free people of colour waged a war against French colonial rule. The war allowed Haiti to become the first independent Black-led state. Similarly, the Bangladeshi nationalists which were part of East Pakistan at the time, waged a war against the Pakistani state and managed to establish an independent state in 1971. Thus, war since ancient times till the 21st century has remained pivotal to state formation.

Wars have also been sparked to challenge the status-quo. The American Revolutionary war (1775-1783), consolidated 13 states to fight against British rule. The war allowed them to establish a democratic republic known as the United States of America. The French Revolution (1789), on the other hand, waged a domestic violent struggle

to eliminate the monarchical system to establish a sovereign Republic State which operated at the will of the people. Thus, state formation and state organisation can be linked with war as history illustrates that war indeed made states.

The pivot, which is the second part of Tilly's quote refers to state actions post-formation. After formation states inherently focus on power consolidation. The concept of modern states is engineered in a way that it breeds nationalist principles.

Every state aims at increasing its power to dominate other states. To achieve the stature of domination, states wage wars. The Napoleonic wars were focused on attaining maximum power to dominate Europe. As Napoleon famously stated, "Power is my Mistress", reflects that the wars he waged were to achieve and consolidate maximum power.

Nationalism which emerged from the Westphalian system and became more prevalent during the Napoleonic

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war is the testament to the nature of States. Post-World War I these nationalist principles transformed into Ultra-nationalism, taking the shape of Fascism. Both Adolph Hitler and Benito Mussolini were Ultranationalist. Their actions such as Hitler's invasion of Poland in 1939 and Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia in 1935 were centered around attaining power for their states through war. Actions of both leaders in initiating war culminated in the outbreak of World War II.

On the contrary, states at times start wars as a preemptive measure rather than seeking power. The preemptive wars take place to protect state sovereignty and territorial integrity which emerged after the formation of states. For example, Bismarck initiated the Austro-Prussian War (1866) to pre-empt Austrian attempts to reassert dominance within German Confederation, thereby protecting Prussia's sovereignty. Similarly, the Falklands War (1982) between the United Kingdom and Argentina is another example of pre-emptive war. The

UK responded pre-emptively to Argentina's invasion of Falkland Islands to protect its sovereignty over the territory.

Throughout history, the examples of genuine pre-emptive wars remain rare. States initiating wars has a strong correlation with power which is further broken down to territorial ambitions. States have majorly fought wars over territorial expansion. World War I and World War II are the most prominent examples of state initiating wars to attain territory. Germany's and Japan's territorial ambitions engulfed the entire world into a destructive war. In modern day, Israel has destabilised the Middle East due to its territorial ambitions and historic Greater Israel narrative. Even the entire colonisation period which emerged in the 15th Century and lasted till the 20th Century was linked to territorial ambitions and linked with war. Russia's invasion of Ukraine in 2021 is another example of historical territorial claim and war.

The linkage between expansionism

and war is explained in an optimal manner through an international theory known as realism. The realist school of thought states that humans by nature are power-seeking, aggressive, and motivated by self-interest. Because states are made and run by humans, states themselves become power-seeking. The power-seeking tendency is reflected within their ambitions for territorial expansion which is achieved through wars. Moreover, realist state that states aim at creating a perception of power which is manifested through wars to achieve prominence and recognition within the global system.

The realist school of thought was later modified by renowned scholars such as Kenneth Waltz and John Mearsheimer which developed the strand of neo-realism. Their school of thought explains states initiating wars due to anarchy in the international system. They explain that domestically the power hierarchy is vertical while in the international system it is horizontal which creates anarchy. This connects with a famous Latin phrase by a Roman

poet Juvenal who said, "Who will guard the guard themselves?" Provided there is no international police, states behave aggressively at times and wage war. John Mearschimer who believes in offensive neo-realism asserts that states act aggressively and wage wars to attain hegemony in the international system. This explains America's aggressive behaviour since Soviet Union collapsed in 1991 and it also explains the recent surge in Chinese aggressive stance on Taiwan and South China Sea.

The central role of states actions regardless of form of government is played by the leader. States have initiated and sustained wars because of a select group of people which are in the leadership position. Leaders wage wars to strengthen their state, increase their own power, to remain relevant, or to fulfill their ideological beliefs. For example, the American Political Science Review analysed Bush's decision to invade ~~is~~ Iraq in 2003 as a means to get re-elected. Hitler's continuation in

World War II despite imminent defeat has been traced as a decision he undertook to save his face. Thus, while wars have dimensions of power and territorial ambitions, at times the leaders self-interest results in states sustaining wars. Regardless of the reason, the states which were formed as products of war have continued utilization of war as a means to achieve other objectives.

The central question since World War I has been: "How to avoid wars and maintain peace?" Post-WWI The Chair of International Relations was established in 1919 to solve this yet it failed as WWII broke out in 1939. However, peace in Europe has been achieved through a neo-liberal concept of complex interdependence. The formation of ESCS in 1951, EEC in 1957, and EU in 1991 has maintained peace in Europe since WWII till the Russia-Ukraine war in 2021. The concept is focused on integrating all economies in a complex system which makes the cost of war unfeasible due to dependency dilemma. Adoption of this

concept globally especially in the case of India and Pakistan which have fought four wars, (1948, 1965, 1971, and 1999) since independence is crucial to maintain peace.

The complex interdependence can be created through effective utilisation of international organisations.

These organisations have played a significant role in maintaining peace, building networks of coalitions, and ensuring peaceful conflict resolutions. For example, the World Trade Organisation (WTO) have ensured the ease of global trade making all countries dependent on each other. The United Nations and its peacekeeping missions along with conflict resolution mechanisms have secured the world from outbreak of World War III.

Implementation of international law is crucial so that states are unable to "make war" for reasons which have been prevalent since ancient times. The UN Charter (1945), restricts intervention ⁱⁿ other states under Article 2(4), violating the

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Sovereignty of other states under Article 2(1), and explicitly implies territorial integrity under Article 2(4) which restricts unnecessary use of force. Under international law the only legitimate use of force is in the case of self-defence under UN Charter Article 51. If these articles are implemented in full spirit and the problem of anarchy is mitigated, wars will be avoided and state sovereignty will be preserved.

The reduced incidence of wars since the end of WW2 is because of globalisation and interdependent structure of the world. The interdependence reduced nationalist principles significantly across the world and ended ultranationalist ideologies. Thus, globalisation needs to be promoted in a mutually beneficial manner which aids and supports all countries to ensure nationalist principles remain suppressed and war is avoided.

Wars laid the foundation of the modern nation-state system, unified fragmented states, allowed suppressed and colonised states to attain independence, and to an extent evolved society. However, after the formation of states, war remained

constant. Some thinkers blame human nature for prevalence of wars, some find anarchy as a cause of war, some see the conflict of states a never-ending norm. However, liberal thought produced the complex interdependence concept, application of international law, and adoption of international organisations, which to a certain extent has reduced the frequency of wars. While wars might not be fully eliminated from the international system, it has been limited which is a reason why the world did not witness World War III. The reality of war due to theory of conflict of states might remain present, the purpose of war will change as the cost of war in terms of potential destruction and economic cost rises. Wars can be overcome if international organisations continue to play a crucial role and international law maintains state sovereignty.