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978-0-521-29651-9 - Philosophers of Peace and War: Kant, Clausewitz, Marx Engles and Tolstoy

W. B. Gallie

Frontmatter

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THE WILES LECTURES GIVEN AT
THE QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY BELFAST

PHILOSOPHERS OF
PEACE AND WAR

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PHILOSOPHERS OF PEACE AND WAR



KANT, CLAUSEWITZ, MARX
ENGELS AND TOLSTOY



W. B. GALLIE

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*To my daughter Didi
this book is gratefully dedicated*

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Wo aber Gefahr ist, wächst
Das Rettende auch.
Hölderlin, *Patmos*

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PREFACE

This book contains, in slightly extended form, the Wiles Lectures which I delivered in the Queen's University, Belfast, in May 1976. My first and pleasant duty, therefore, is to express my gratitude to Mrs Janet Boyd and the other Trustees of the Wiles Foundation, for inviting me to the lectureship. They thus did me a signal honour, and also supplied me with a motive for presenting in generally assimilable form some results of my research and reflection over the last ten years.

An important feature of the Wiles Lectures is that a number of scholars, eminent in fields connected with the topic chosen, are invited to attend and to lead the discussion which follows each lecture. I was very fortunate in those who were invited to hear and to comment on my lectures. Mr B. J. Bond corrected my account of Clausewitz in a number of important places, and also alerted me to the flow of important books on Clausewitz which were to appear in the succeeding six weeks. (I refer to those of Professor Raymond Aron and Professor Peter Paret, and to the new translation of *On War* by Professor Paret and Professor Howard.) Professor J. J. Lee had already called my attention to the extensive literature in German on the Marxists' reception of Clausewitz; for which I am greatly indebted to him. My gratitude to Professor A. J. M. Milne and Professor Ernest Gellner is of a deeper and more general kind. Both have unfailingly encouraged me in the researches which lie behind this book. Among many other lessons, Professor Milne first persuaded me of the importance of Kant's political philosophy, both for the history of political thought and for understanding Kant's philosophy as a whole; while Professor Gellner, through his writings and his loyal friendship, has sustained me in the belief that a philosopher is not necessarily precluded from the discussion of vitally important questions. To these names, I must add those of two older scholars, from whom I have learnt much in recent years. In a number of places in the chapters that follow I express my indebtedness to

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Professor F. H. Hinsley's expositions of Kant's theory of international relations, without which I could hardly have made headway in that obscure but (as I believe) immensely important field. Professor Sir Herbert Butterfield has given me, over the years, the greatest possible encouragement, always understanding what I was trying to do, and impressing upon me that I must never confuse what war has made of men with what historians have made of war.

Among many others who have helped me with this book in ways too various to be mentioned here, I would like to thank those who have so patiently typed and re-typed my manuscript, in particular Mrs Lesley Bower, Secretary of the Social and Political Sciences Committee at Cambridge, and Mrs Hazel Dunn, the Fellows' Secretary at Peterhouse.

Since, as I mention in Chapter 2, this book is primarily a commentary on a number of outstanding, yet difficult, incomplete and confusing texts, I have confined my references, as far as possible, to these texts themselves, and, very occasionally, to a few indispensable works of commentary and criticism. The historical settings in which I place my philosophers of peace and war are matters of common knowledge, if not of universally agreed interpretation, and it would have been pretentious to note the many different books from which they have been derived. Again, because the bibliographical literature, for each of my authors, is largely concerned with works that fall outside my purview, it would have been both clumsy and unsatisfactory to extract from it a selection of works or passages possessing some relevance to my chosen topic. I have, however, indicated where such bibliographical information can be found, except in the case of Tolstoy. My ignorance of Russian has confined me to the study of English translations of his major and finished works: a limitation which, I suppose, will be shared by most of my readers.

Peterhouse, Cambridge
St Patrick's Day 1977

W.B.G.