

# 孔孟思想何以成為人類之真理

陳立夫

一個人成為全世界四分之一以上的人類所崇敬，稱之為大成至聖先師，繼續享受了兩千多年的普遍追祀，他並不是宗教家所稱的「神」，而是一個「人」。這樣一件極不平凡的事，難道還不值得我們來思考一下嗎？除非我們不承認自己是懂得科學的。

科學是人類為宇宙間的真理求得答案，事實乃是科學的先決條件，亦就是他的憑藉，根據已有的事實去尋求原理，是科學家的責任。

本人是學採礦工程學的，採礦工程師的責任，是去發掘地下的寶藏供人類享用，不過以往數十年本人受本黨的徵調，學非所用，失去機會，由于職務上須對共產主義者作理論的鬥爭，不期然而然地注意到思想問題。因此對於影響吾國文化最深最久的孔孟思想，稍加研究，曾經做了三種研究報告(一)唯生論(二)生之原理(三)四書道貫。今天又要做一篇短的報告，就是「孔孟思想何以成為人類之真理」以就正於諸君！

孔子生于基督降生前五百五十年，在那時候以前，吾國的典章文物已蔚然齊備，及周公乃達最高峯，周公是文武全才，奠定了中國大一統的基礎，到孔子的時候已快到周末，國家已漸漸由盛而衰，制度已漸漸崩潰，統一的局面僅存形式，孔子雖有極大的抱負，想振衰起敝復興中華，無奈不受重用，既無機會立功，祇能改作立言，周游列國廣收生徒，宣揚文化，並根據文獻可考的史科，由堯舜講起，約一千五百餘年，做了一番徹底整理的工夫，於是刪詩書，定禮樂贊周易作春秋，以一個人而做了那麼多的工作，已經是可稱為天才了，近人不察，以為孔子產生了中國文化，其實有了中國文化才產生出孔子來，中國做了次殖民地，不知自責，而歸咎于孔子，要打倒孔子，這不就是打倒中國文化嗎？中國文化如果打不倒，怎能打倒孔子呢？孟子生于戰國之時，自稱私淑孔子，其教受自子思（孔子之孫，中庸一書之作者）。子思受之曾子（孔子之門人，為大學一書之作者），其時天下涵涵，社會風氣，唯利是圖，唯力是尚，有似今日之世界，而楊子墨翟之言盈天下，天下之言不歸楊則歸墨，又似今日之思潮不趨向于資本主義即趨向于共產主義，冷戰空談，爾虞，我詐，人類之厄運，已不在遠，孟子本其不移之信念，鼓其「維千萬人吾往矣」之浩然之氣，闡揚孔子之道，兩面作戰，卒能使人類別于禽獸，遠異物種，而復歸於「人」，其有功于民族文化，可謂大矣，若以國父之言以評孔孟，則孔子可稱為先知先覺的發明家，孟子為後知後覺的宣傳家，似屬恰當。

吾人若將孔孟的全部作品放在一起，來給他一個名詞，則稱「人理學」（與物理學一名詞作對照）為最適當，因為他們所研究的對象全是「人」，其學說是包含下列若干問題：(一)怎樣才算是人？其所以不同于禽獸者是什麼(二)人性是什麼？怎樣率性，忍性與盡性？(三)人在天地間的地位是什麼？人怎樣法天與配天？(四)人與人間的關係怎樣分類及維繫（倫理）(五)造成自己的條件是什麼（成己）(六)人的責任是什麼（成物）(七)人的分類如君子小人聖賢等以什

麼爲標準？(ㄨ)集體生存(民生)的條件與原理是什麼？(ㄨ)個體生存的條件是什麼？(ㄨ)怎樣來認識人？(ㄨ)怎樣來樹人？(ㄨ)怎樣才是做人的正道？(ㄨ)人的動能是什麼，其源泉何來？(ㄨ)人與人間的凝結力又是什麼，怎樣發皇？(ㄨ)怎樣達到優生，廣生，與長生(ㄨ)其他以上若干問題，我在編著四書道貫一書時，已全部得到了答案，所以我在結論中第二答案，就說：「孔子之教，爲人生日常生活所遇諸問題之解答，以及人與人間之正常關係之闡明，合理(中)而平凡(庸)，爲人人所易知易行者，簡言之：「合乎人情」而已。其道用之于身則修，于家則齊，于國則治，于天下則平……」，以兩千五百年以前的一個人能够替我們解答今天的問題，這不是「聖之時者」而何？

吾人若再將六經加以簡單的分析，更可了解他對於「人理學」之集中注意了。(一)詩經——人莫不有情感和意志，詩，能使之進入高尚美化的境界，而且爲人首先要有其理想的目標，這就是立志。所以說：「詩以道志」。(二)書經——人與人相處，不能不有事，事應如何處理才得當，歷史上的實際教訓，爲最好的參考材料，書經就是歷史實錄。所以說：「書以道事」。(三)禮記——一個人在集體生活中的行爲必須合乎一般的標準，才能與衆人善于相處，集體才能井然有序。禮記是規定當時人的行爲規範，所以說：「禮以道行」。(四)樂記——一個人在集體生活中有了行爲的規範，還嫌不足，必須同時在情緒方面有所調和的方法。樂，就是發揮這個作用的。所以說：「樂以道和」(發而皆中節謂之和)試觀凡有典禮之舉行，無不配之以樂隊，其義易明。(五)易經——宇宙是無時無刻不在動不在變，生命者是一變動的過程(從存在以至于不存在)，宇宙本身，及其所覆載的萬物，均各有其生命，每一生命之產生必有其父與母，其長也必有賴于天地之養育，以及物質與精神兩種原素之供應，其相對的兩方面如何盈虛消長，有關於生命的休戚，凡相對的兩方面，都可以陰(一)陽(一)兩符號以代表之，在千變萬化之中，尋求其不變之法則，以遂其生，爲一部自然法則與人生法則統一研究之學，博大精深，不易瞭解之書也。簡言之易經是使人知天(環境)命(趨勢)，盡人力，以遂其生之學，所以說：「易以道陰陽」(六)春秋——凡人爲學之目的在明是非，別善惡，辨順逆，知本末，識先後，春秋是以古爲鏡，俾人知何去何從，在正名守分的目標下，以建立公是公非之標準，所以孔子成春秋，而亂臣賊子懼矣。所以說：「春秋以道名分」。

吾人若再讀了六經，自然對於人理通古曉今，爲人的道理，盡于此矣，所以中國文化可稱之爲人的文化，人類如欲異于禽獸，役物而不役于物，則人理學當能指引其重返人的道路。

或問曰，孔子對於人理學，固有極大之貢獻，何以舍物理學而不談？我願以孔子之言以答此問：

詩云：「天生蒸民，有物有則，民之秉彜，好是懿德」孔子曰：「爲此詩者，其知道乎，故有物必有則，民之秉彜也，故好是懿德」。孔子指出，凡有物必有理(則)，一切的物，是供人類共同享受的，一切的理，是供人類共同使用的，享受或使用無非是爲的人類共生共存共進化(道德)罷了，「惟天下之至誠，爲能盡其性，能盡其性，則能盡人之性，能盡人之性則能盡物之性，能盡物之性，則可以贊天地之化育，可以贊天地之化育，則可以與天地參矣」

孔子認爲盡己之性與盡人之性(人理學)重于盡物之性(物理學及化學、數學)有了物理學及化學數學，自然會有「生物化學及生物物理學」之產生，這就是贊天地之化育。

「惟天下之至誠，爲能經綸天下之大經，立天下之大本，知天地之化育……」

孔子認爲先把人類之大經大本（人理學）建立起來，則人類之生存有了保障，再談生活之豐富不遲，物理化學之應用，不過解決了人類生活之豐富問題而已，我們怎能對孔子苛求，對二千三百年後的自然科學，先替我們準備好呢！

現在讓我來談談物理學與化學：物理學在 1550A.D.（距今不過四百二十年）以後，才從玄學的冥想到實驗的開始，經過了兩百五十年（1550—1800），才將實驗方法建立和發展起來，同時將實驗的成果作爲科學上的根據，有了這些根據，古典物理學因之充份發展，其間經過了將近九十年（1800—1887），近代物理學才能開始。于是有光電應用之發現（1887），X 光之發現（1896），原子蛻變之發現（1897）進而有老量子論（1890—1925），相對論（1905），量子力學（1926—一現在）之次第發現，乃知「盡物之性」的工作成果，還是有限，人類對於自然界本身，似乎離全部了解的時候還很遠哩。至于化學，自從英法兩國的科學家發明養氣（1746）輕氣開始，漸漸成爲近代科學，爲時亦不過兩百多年，近年來生物化學之突飛猛進，對於「天地之化育」之謎，或許可以作進一步的了解，但是人類巧奪天工的結果，可是把宗教信仰打垮了一大半，因此「爲了神而要修身」的道理，亦漸漸失其效用，還不如如有遠見的孔子的：「爲了做人而要修身」的道理，來得屹立不動而好得多。因爲真理必須以客觀事實與人類良知爲標準，才能永遠存在。

物理學對於人類之最大貢獻，爲發現了物質的性與能，而予以利用，以福利人羣，例如，光、聲、電、磁、熱與力以達于量子能的進入應用科學等等。人理學對人類之最大貢獻，亦在發現了人的性（本能）與能，而爲之善導。（率性）在性的方面發現了人之所以異于禽獸者，除「求食」以維持生命與「求色（偶）」以延續生命兩大本能無所不同外，有「求仁」以光大生命的第三種本能，而且特別發達，一切宗教都是用盡力量和想盡方法，使一二兩種本能儘量減低，甚至于節食絕色以身作則以爲之教，而于第三種本能「求仁」（愛人）儘量使之擴展，一面「忍性」而節欲，一面「盡性」以利人，二者兼施，謂之「率性」。在能的方面發現了「誠」就是人的能，是智仁勇三達德的原動力（「智仁勇三者，天下之達德也，所以行之者，一也。」中庸一者何，曰誠是也），「至誠不息」，「至誠而不動者末之有也」，「精誠所至，金石爲開」，等等，都是可以證明誠就是能，沒有能，就沒有宇宙，所以說：「誠者物之終始，不誠無物」。人有了誠，就有了動力，能創造物，能仁民愛物，和宇宙有了能一樣，能化育萬物，所以說：「誠者天之道也，誠之者，人之道也」。天人合一之義，從誠字上奠其始基。中庸裏解釋誠爲信仰（誠之者，擇善而固執之者也），爲智慧（誠則明矣又曰至誠之道可以前知），爲仁愛（誠者，非自成己而已也，所以成物也，成己，仁也，成物智也）爲力量（至誠而不動者末之有也），爲能見其真（誠者毋自欺也，俗稱真誠），爲能成其大（惟天下之至誠，爲能經綸天下之大經，充天下之大本），爲能盡其性（惟天下之至誠，爲能盡其性……則可以與天地恭矣）爲能通其化（惟天下之至誠爲能化），與西方聖經中對於上帝之說明 God is Faith, is Wisdom, is love, is strength, is truth, is great, is almighty and is Power 幾乎全部吻合，至于「誠者物之終始，不誠無物」，更證明誠是創造宇宙的上帝。中國人以格物致知以成智，以誠意正心以立德，智德兼備謂之身修，身修則人格立，較之以宗教方式達同一之目的，更能使人增強自尊，而以德配天地自許也。

誠爲人之能，已如上述，茲再以光、聲、電、力、熱諸能比喻之。光波之集中于一點，

謂之焦點，爲最明亮，故曰：「誠則明矣」。聲波之集中于一處復轉換成電波，則可廣播至無遠弗屆，故至誠能成其大，能及其遠，故曰「至誠無息，不息則久，久則微，微則悠遠……悠久無疆」，電波聚積與透過極細微之電路，可以生熱，故曰：「熱誠」（熱忱者必爲誠懇之人），用電能以解析物資，謂之電化，故曰：「惟天下之至誠爲能化」，力之集中，則可推移他物，亦可無堅不摧，故曰：「至誠而不动者未之有也」。孔子稱誠爲智仁勇三達德之原動力，又稱誠爲「凡爲天下國家有九經」之原動力，雖未及「盡物之性」，而于盡人之性中獲得其原理，誠不愧爲聖人矣。

孔子除發明了類似物理之「能」之「誠」用之于人類外，又發明了類似化學方面之「能」之用之于人類，稱之曰「仁」。物質與物質之能互相化合，亦必賴有能，有時需要吸收，有時可以放出，看化合時之需要而定，人類如果將「仁」字去除，根本無情愛可言，成了一盤散沙，這就是極端的個人主義或功利主義，所造成的結果。孔子將人與人的公私關係分成五類——君（長官）與臣（部屬），父（母）與子（女），兄（姊）與弟（妹），夫與婦，朋友與朋友……稱之曰五倫或人倫，每一類之相互間的敬與愛給予專門名詞爲君仁臣敬，父慈子孝，兄友弟恭，夫婦和睦，朋友信義，使易明瞭由親親而仁民，再由仁民而愛物，由近及遠由親而疏，由小而大，以發展人類之情愛于無窮，一部論語，全力注意「仁」的實施，仁字從二從人，很明顯底告訴大家，在任何場合之中，應該想到有兩個人之存在，那自然會去私心，存公道了，所以說立己立人，達己達人，至于己所不欲，勿施于人，這就是忠恕之道，其檢查方法，就是絜矩之道（所惡于上無以使下，所惡于下無以事上，所惡于前，無以先後，所惡于後，無以從前，所惡于左，無以交于右，所惡于右，無以交于左）總之，人與人之間之路，稱之曰道，道之行曰德，道須常修，故曰「修道之謂教」，道德之本質，就是仁。去了仁，人類之生存失去保障，所以說「有德此有人」，財，不過人類用以豐富其生活而已，「德者，本也，財者，末也。」本末雖並存，但不可倒置，倒置了，人類的危機到了。

孔子除了上述兩大發明外，又發明了類似物理與化學方面的平衡律，稱之曰中，「不偏之謂中」，即物理方面的重心點，化學方面的公式之雙方平衡，這是最穩妥的一點或一情況，我嘗稱之曰「精神方面的重心點」，或稱之爲「恰到好處」，爲了時間關係不多發揮了。總之由中所產生的中和、中正、與中庸之道，是爲人類達致廣生與長生之大道，吾人從盡人之性，進而盡物之性，是先本而後末，其勢順，其缺點之補救，容易迎頭趕上，西方人太過重視盡物之性，由末而求本，其勢逆，其缺點不易從根救起，惟若能相互愛其所同，敬其所異，則進世界於大同，仍屬可能。

結論：吾中華民族之所以能集結六億人民爲一家，持續發展五千餘年光榮歷史而不墜者，以吾祖先發明人類共生共存共進化之真理，垂裕後人遵守弗渝，此一真理，稱之曰道于己而言，稱之曰誠；于人而言，稱之曰仁；于事而言，稱之曰中，綜合其應用而言稱之曰德，其見諸于日常生活者，稱之曰禮，孔子承吾祖先所遺下之偉大發明，而予以全部整理，使之成爲有系統之學術思想，孟子復從而闡揚之，此一孔孟思想，既爲人類生存之真理，人類不欲求生存則已，若欲繼續求生存，則此道永存，誠必能勝僞，仁必能勝暴，中必能勝偏，以此不移之自信，向前努力，必能復與吾國文化造福世界人類，願與諸君共勉之。

# THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF THE BALANCE OF POWER IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

(This article is based upon an unpublished research paper by the author when he was Research Associate (1946-47) at M. I. T.)

**By - Wu Teh-yao**  
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To different people the phrase "balance of power" conveys different meanings. To some it is a natural manifestation of the primitive instinct of self-defense and survival projected into the political arena of international relations.<sup>1</sup> To others it means two states or aggregation of states of power equally balanced against each other<sup>2</sup> or that the other powers provide the balance and the home state holds the scales, not an equilibrium but a generous margin in ones favor.<sup>3</sup> To still others it means a preponderance of power or overwhelming weight against the aggressor or a kind of mutual restraining power, by virtue of which no one state can be in position to injure the independence or rights of another without meeting with the effective resistance or opposition on some side and therefore exposing itself to danger and the threat to the security of its own position.<sup>4</sup> Yet to still others it is a political formula without moral principles adopted by one or a group of states to prevent the dominance of another state at once military powerful, economically efficient, and ambitious to extend its frontiers or spread its influence. The equilibrium established by the grouping of forces to restrain the ambition of such a state is technically known as the balance of power.<sup>5</sup>

As seen from the classifications of definitions, there is no common agreement as to the meaning of the balance of power. "The balance may mean almost anything and it is used not only in different sense by different people, or in different senses by the same people at the same time."<sup>6</sup> It was regarded by critics of the doctrine as a figment of imagination, signifying anything

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1. J. B. Moore, *International Law and Some Current Illusions*, New York, 1924, p. 310.
  2. S. F. Pollard, *Journal of the British Institute of International Affairs*, March 1923, p. 60.
  3. N. Spykman, *America's Strategy in world Politics*, New York, 1942, pp. 21-22.
  4. Quincy Wright, *A Study of War*, University of Chicago Press, Vol. 1 p. 254.
  5. Eyre Crowe, *Memorandum*, June 1, 1907, in *British Documents*, Vol. III p. 403. The author had in mind the rise of Germany before World War I.
  6. S. F. Pollard, *op. cit.* 58.

or nothing according to circumstances since each state had claimed the right to define, assert or repudiate it arbitrarily according to its temporary power and interests...Talk as rulers and statesmen might about the balance of power, it had meant always just a status as the strongest state or group of states had been able to create in any given time and circumstances."<sup>1</sup>

England, as Palmerston once said, had no perpetual enemies, or perpetual friends, but perpetual interests. She had fought onetime friends and foes alike to prevent the domination of Europe by a single state. Britain had successfully defeated Spanish, Portugese, Dutch, French and German sea power and had successsfully used Spain, Portugal, Holland, France and Prussia as allies. By invoking the balance of power England had at different times fought for or against every European state. "If Germany believes that greater relative preponderance of national powers, wider extent of territory, in violable frontiers, and supremacy at sea are the necessary preliminary possessions... then England must expect Germany will surely seek to diminish the power of any rivals, to enhance her own by extending her dominion to hinder the cooperation of other states, and ultimately to break up and supplant the British Empire."<sup>2</sup> In other words, Europe was to provide the balance and England to hold the scales. Such has been the classic example of the doctrine in its practice in international relations.

### Origins

Various interpretations have been offered for origins of the doctrine of the balance of power. One of the most common is that it was called into existence for reasons of self-preservation. Through trial and error, experiences of this kind are accumulated and applied in the political field by individuals, chieftains, barons, warlords, princes, popes, kings and statesmen of this national state era to this day. Thus the doctrine was evolved, more "due to an instinctive sentiment rather than to formulated reasons."<sup>3</sup>

Another interpretation asserts that the doctrine grew from the belief of a balanced existence of the universe, a sort of preestablished harmony which was believed to exist also in human society. Men saw balances in the heavenly bodies. The mechanical concept of the balance of forces was applied to the social world. If power is not to be abused, then it is necessary in the nature of things and human affairs that power be made a check to power. The power of government within a state for instance is to be divided into the executive, the legislative and the judiciary. Consequently the concept was applied to the international society, whereby states are to check and balance one another.

Another explanation is that since "politics require principles... sovereignties feel the necessity of invoking the authority of a principle which seems to draw its force from considerations superior to those that can inspire the political pretensions of a particular state. An appeal is made to a common interest, the supposed existence of which is taken for granted—equilibrium."<sup>4</sup>

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1. W. H. Dawson, *Richard Richard Cobden and Foreign Policy*, Loudon, 1926, p. 95.

2. Eyre Crowe, *op. cit.*, p. 407

3. T. H. Wistrand, "The Principle of Equilibrium in the Present Period", *American Journal of International Law*, Vol. XV, p. 525.

4. T. H. Wistrand, *op. cit.*, p. 524

Whatever is the origin of the balance of power, it must be interjected here that the doctrine was practiced in the early eras of recorded human history. It was clearly apparent in the early city-state systems of the Tigris-Euphrates Valley and in the relations of the monarchies of the ancient Middle East. It was skilfully practiced during the epoch of the Warring States of ancient China (403-221 B. C.) and the period of the Three Kingdoms (220-264 A. D.). It was a distinct political feature of the Greek City-States and it also emerged in the larger state systems of the whole Mediterranean basin during the second and third centuries B.C. David Hume remarked that Hiero, King of Syracuse through the ally of Rome, "sent assistance to the Carthaginians during the war of the auxiliaries, esteeming it requisite both in order to retain his dominions in Sicily, and to preserve the Roman friendship, that Carthage should be safe, lest by its fall the remaining power should be able, without contract or opposition to execute every purpose and undertaking. And here he acted with great wisdom and prudence for that is never, in any account, to be overlooked; nor ought such a force ever to be thrown into one hand, as to incapacitate the neighboring states from defending their rights against it. Here is the aim of modern politics pointed out in express terms." <sup>1</sup>

### Scope of Practice

Yet it may be well to remember here that as far as the scope and impact of the practice of the balance of power, Europe has been its hub and cradle. It was in Europe where history saw the rise of national kings which was followed by the rise of the national states and the rise of which led to the establishment of independent political units of power each zealous of its position and existence. The desire for continued independent existence led statesmen to formulate a doctrine of the balance of power which under the circumstances became the only kind of political guarantee of national security. Then there were the Italian City-States whose more extensive political sophistication colored by Machiavellian realism hatched the doctrine from an idea into an ideal in international relations.<sup>2</sup>

The doctrine then became a fixed feature in European national and international policy. It was given "official" recognition in the Treaty of Utrecht, 1713, by which Philip V of Spain had to renounce the French Crown for the sake of the equilibrium of Europe. It was from Europe that the political energies were released affecting all areas of the world for the last half millennium. With the doctrine already a common practice since the eighteenth century, the nation states of Europe adopted and practiced the same policy wherever they met and went. Countries, empires, continents, seas and oceans were neutralized, shared, partitioned or preserved in its application. If there was war in Europe, its echoes were felt in the Americas, Africa, Asia and all over the globe. If the balance of power shifted in Europe, it was felt abroad. The rise and fall of France and Germany; the advance of the Soviet Union under the banner of Communism; the

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1. David Hume, *Philosophical Works*, Vol. III, Essay VIII, "Of the Balance of Power", PP 367-369.

2. C. J. Friedrich, *Foreign Policy in the Making*, New York, 1938, PP. 22-23. Bernardo Rucellai (1449-1514) brother-in-law of Lorenzo de Medici, is usually credited with having given the first explicit statement of the idea in the West.

decline of the predominance of Great Britain—all these have great political repercussions both in Europe and in other parts of the world.

Thus the scope of application of the balance of power has widened. It originates from individuals in principle as a measure of self-defense and self-preservation, was formulated into a systematic principle as an ideal in international relations by the Italian City-States and then by the nation-states. Instead of thinking in terms of Florence and Venice, Germany or England, the United States of America or the Soviet Union, one has to think in terms of Asia and Europe, Africa or the Americas, the Atlantic or the Pacific, and even the world as a whole. Besides thinking in geographical terms, one has to think in terms of scientific progress, of technical inventions, or economic development and ties, of religious affiliations, of races and cultural heritage, of ideological influences of nationalism, socialism or communism<sup>1</sup>.

### Arguments for and against the Balance of Power.<sup>2</sup>

As seen from the scope of the complexity and implications of its practice, critics of the doctrine are quick to point out that the world has become too complicated and too intricate for one state or even a group of states, in spite of the sophisticated intelligence gathering devices to keep watch over other states about their intentions, development, and military might because of so many unknown factors. One may pertinently ask—How can the power of an organic set-up like a modern state be measured in light of the complexities? The factors which contribute to the power of a state are dynamic, not static.<sup>3</sup> A change in the form of government, the coming to power of an able leader, the passing of a new conscription law, a new military tactic or strategy, a new economic policy, an invention of a new weapon, an advent of a new martial spirit, the indoctrination of a slogan and the determination to fight or the unwillingness to fight...all these have the most profound influence upon the balance of power within a state and among states. As John Locke so well put it, "Things of this world are in so constant a flux that nothing remains long in the same state. Thus people, riches, trade power, change their stations, flourishing cities come to ruins, and prove in time neglected desolate corners, while other infrequented places grow into populous countries filled with wealth and inhabitants."<sup>4</sup> Thus centers of power have shifted and changed. So also are the status of nations as evidenced by the events of the last three decades.

Because of the variability and changing forces and changing factors in society the balance of power has never maintained a satisfactory equilibrium for any long period of time in nation-states relations. In spite of such an outcome, it has been argued that, in the present era of international relations, such a practice has enabled states, both strong and weak, to resort to

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1. Since man has reached the moon, perhaps a new dimension is emerging in the study of international relations, the implications of which have not been fully realized and explored.
  2. Arguments for and against the balance of power and its practice are not altogether conclusive. For instance it maintained periodic peace but also produced period wars; it helped to maintain and preserve some states but others are partitioned.. Only two fundamental arguments are put forth in this section.
  3. S. B. Fay, "Balance of Power" in *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*, Vol. II, P. 397. The static conception of the balance of power is a fundamental weakness.
  4. John Locke, *Locke's Works*, Vol. IV, P. 432.



negotiations, political bargainings, compromises and conciliations. It has further been argued that taking the international society as it is, each zealous of its own independence and existence, each against conquest by one and government by all, the practice of the balance of power policy is the most realistic and the closest approximation to international order. So far no system of security has yet been successful in establishing durable peace; no effective international machinery has yet been evolved to restrain the actions of a state. If the nation-state system exists, so will the balance of power which will continue to be the guiding principle in international relations.

### Limitations of Power.

But it must be observed here that there are certain limitations as to the use of power, especially military power which has and will influence the doctrine and its practice in international relations of the second half of the twentieth century and thereafter. For the first time in the long tortuous history of mankind, man has invented and stored enough of nuclear power to destroy the world many times over. It is a frightening thought and mankind is living in a very precarious existence. So precarious one often wonders how often has the fate of mankind come under the mercy of a pressed-button, or a mechanical error in signals, or in human mis-judgment!

While the destructive power created by man is non-limited, fear on the other hand is restraining him from using that power to destroy others and also himself. It may be said that fear of mutual destruction has prevented direct confrontations between the United States of America and the Soviet Union in the Cuban missile episode of 1962 and in the Czechoslovakian crisis of 1968. It is the terror of fear that has prevented the dangerous situation in the Middle East to explode into direct confrontations of the two giant nuclear powers.

Another factor of the limitations power is also very significant for the present and future era of international relations. Vast military power can become ineffective in some theatres of war. The case of the Vietnam War, brutally going on now and with no end in sight is a prime example. In spite of vastly superior military power of all sorts, the United States could not bring the Vietnam War to a successful conclusion. If anything is to be learned from this historic episode, it is that the will or spirit of man has to be seriously reckoned with in international relations. This episode further gives credence to the words of Mencius, Chinese Sage of the third century B.C., who said, "Opportunities of time vouchsafed by Heaven are not equal to advantages of situation afforded by the Earth, and advantages of situation afforded by the Earth are not equal to the union arising from the accord of men."

The third factor is that there is a general awakening of peoples all over the world wanting a better life and a better society in which to live that there is a growing feeling of repulsiveness to the brutal use of naked power and war. Small and tribal wars there will be; some states will shout warlike words; but the prevailing mood of the major centers of power and culture of the world are that of war-weariness. This, too, will exert a powerful influence in the course of events in international relations.

Lastly, a new world equilibrium or order is emerging. First human societies are isolated by physical barriers of geography; then they are separated by differences in culture and political and

social ideologies. They are now being brought slowly together by the advance of technology. When these diverse human societies of various stages of development and different cultural values are brought together, there are bound to be conflicts. However, parallel with the conflicts, human beings also have developed ways and means of cooperation. Thousands of official and unofficial international associations are in existence, embracing fields of education, sports, religion, business, labor, industry, medicine, press, agriculture, finance, and even politics. Perhaps the greatest advance is toward economic interdependence or cooperation which is laying the foundations of an emerging international community. Trade and commerce have cut across national boundaries and barriers.

Politically, human activity has not advanced as fast as the economic or even the social. But undoubtedly there is advancement. In those countries where the people have the political power by virtue of the secret ballot and voting process, there will be a demand for a more just distribution of wealth and economic and other social benefits. In other countries where the mass of the people have more economic and social benefits they would want more say in the affairs of government and politics. In history it must be remembered that the "little merchants" of the nineteenth century, first acquired wealth, rose, fought and restrained the power of kings and tyrants. The time is coming when the relatively well-fed proletariats will rise to restrain the power of the dominant few so that they can satisfy their inherent and inborn political desires.

These trends are taking place in the United States of America, the Soviet Union, and many other states in the world today. They will come to pass in all important states of the world in the future. Such is the social, economic and political egalitarian equilibrium that is taking shape in our international society.

### **The Balance of Power and its Future Practice.**

Nevertheless, the struggle for power and influence by states will continue in international relations. But fear of mutual extermination, a better understanding of the limitations of military power, and above all the general awakening of mankind wanting a better world to be in, will have a decisive influence in the thinking of the statesmen of the coming eras. It is conceivable that in the next few decades with a new international egalitarian society and equilibrium in the making, the old type of balance of power policy of territorial aggrandizement, of partitions of the weak states to pacify the strong, of periodic wars<sup>1</sup> which mankind no longer can afford or risk will be replaced by a new type of balance of power policy. With the trend already emerging in the international society of today, the display will be more and more engagement in competing for economic assistance or advantages, vying for social acceptance or political prestige or confined to the halls and conference rooms of international organizations or bilateral negotiations. It seems that for the rest of the twentieth century men will have to resort more and more to

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1. Quincy Wright, *op. cit.*, Vol 1, P. 639. Also appendixes, Table 45 P. 651. Summary of certain characteristics of war of modern civilization, by fifty year periods, 1480-1914. The number of wars fought was 278 and the balance of Power wars was 135.

the battle of the pen and the tongue instead of the gun and the bomb to win the loyalties and the hearts of men. For, after all, the power released by the union arising from the accord of men is much much mightier than that created by the splitting of the atom