

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO LAW REVIEW

VOLUME 16

SPRING 1949

NUMBER 3

REFLECTIONS ON LAW, PSYCHOLOGY, AND WORLD GOVERNMENT

IN ANY list of the issues of our time, peace must stand at the top. If every nation can regard itself as sovereign, then we cannot have peace long. It is hard to say that we have it now. At any moment the cold war may become hot.

Nobody believes that it is possible to *guarantee* peace by any form of world organization. We ought to be able, however, to minimize the chances of war. It is certainly Utopian, as Dean Katz points out, to hope that in some mysterious way, when nobody is looking, the United Nations, which is a league of independent, sovereign states, will imperceptibly and sweetly turn into a world government.

It is equally unrealistic to think that we can have peace by force. Nothing in history suggests that peoples can be permanently intimidated. Nobody knows of any defense against the atomic bomb. Hence any country that can make an atomic bomb can have some hope of doing a good deal of damage with it. The American monopoly of the bomb cannot last for more than a few years more.

It is not too much to say that the day of force as the means of getting what you want in international affairs is over as soon as two nations can make atomic bombs. Then neither can go to war without being destroyed. This does not mean that neither will go to war. On the contrary, the uncertainties surrounding the bomb may lead to gross miscalculations on the part of the aggressor. But the fact that one country has more and better bombs than another does not mean that either country can protect itself from another that has some.

Force is necessary in human affairs because human beings are human. But there is force and force. There is the force of the policeman and the force of the robber. The force of the policeman is the kind of force that

human beings need to keep them in order. The policeman is enforcing obedience to law. The robber's force is used to break the law.

The force that we need in the world today is the force behind world law, not the illegal, or at most non-legal, force of those who set themselves up as a law unto themselves. That force means the degradation and impoverishment of those who employ it—and war at last.

ROBERT M. HUTCHINS*

A PLEA FOR A RATIONAL APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM OF WAR AND PEACE

THE tragic paradox of the life of our world today is that the thing for which we strive eludes us. As a general proposition this is not a new one. Some of our saddest human thought, some of our greatest literature has been upon just this theme of the appearance of a malignant fate balking man's best efforts *ad hoc*, a fate which suddenly sets him reeling just when his feet seem firmly planted upon the road of heart's desire.

Nor has human thought and great literature been free of the haunting deeper dread, the niggling doubt, the sudden flash of light—that it is we ourselves who often defeat ourselves, that what we strive with is so often our own shadows, and that it is they who suddenly lay us in our turn upon the grass.

It is to the thought of the last fifty years that we owe a clearer enlightenment which we must no longer shun; thought fed upon observations hammered out inexorably and with pain by one great enquirer. Sigmund Freud of Vienna was as obsessed a man as Jean Jacques Rousseau and is destined to be as great a revolutionary. He is the real source of our discovery of man's thwarting self by the road of psychoanalysis.

It is more than time for psychoanalysis to cease to be a cult, at least in the social and political implications of some of its surest truths. Among Freud's great sticks of dynamite was the following contribution to knowledge:

Men are not gentle friendly creatures wishing for love, who simply defend themselves if they are attacked. A powerful measure of desire for aggression has to be reckoned as part of their instinctual endowment. . . . All the institutions and laws of civilization are directed to protect it against the normal individual.

This finding, not undreamt of by earlier philosophers, is confirmed by the many "analysts" and the much more ordinary doctors like the present writer who have tried to cure the fears, obsessions, and prejudices of their

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