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International Relations and the Philosophy of War: Trends and Future Directions

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Abstract-- This article examines the intersection of international relations (IR) theory and the philosophy of war, tracing the evolution of ideas from classical antiquity to contemporary geopolitics. Drawing on qualitative content analysis and a systematic review of extant scholarship, this study investigates the philosophical foundations of war in both classical and modern political thought, surveys the major theoretical paradigms—realism, liberalism, constructivism, critical theory, and feminism—and identifies emerging trends including cyber warfare, hybrid conflict, artificial intelligence in military strategy, and climate-driven security challenges. The research addresses a significant gap in the literature by synthesizing philosophical and IR-based analyses of war into a unified framework. Findings indicate that the philosophy of war has evolved from state-centric, sovereignty-based models toward multi-actor, technology-mediated, and norm-driven paradigms. The study concludes by proposing future research directions that integrate interdisciplinary perspectives with evolving geopolitical realities.

Keywords-- International relations, philosophy of war, realism, liberalism, constructivism, hybrid warfare, cyber conflict, just war theory

I. INTRODUCTION

The study of war has occupied a central position in both philosophy and international relations for millennia. From the writings of Thucydides and Sun Tzu to the strategic doctrines of the twenty-first century, thinkers have wrestled with fundamental questions: Why do states go to war? Under what conditions is war morally justifiable?

How do international structures shape the likelihood and character of conflict? These questions remain as urgent today as at any point in history, given the rise of nuclear proliferation, terrorism, cyber warfare, and great-power competition (Mearsheimer, 2021). This article seeks to bridge the disciplinary divide between political philosophy and IR theory by examining how philosophical traditions have shaped—and continue to shape—our understanding of armed conflict.

1.1 The Conceptual Framework of International Relations

International relations, as an academic discipline, emerged in the aftermath of World War I with the explicit goal of understanding and preventing interstate conflict (Dunne et al., 2021). The field is organized around several competing paradigms—realism, liberalism, constructivism, Marxism, and feminism—each offering distinct ontological and epistemological assumptions about the nature of the international system (Walt, 2022). Realism, the oldest and most influential tradition, holds that the international system is anarchic, states are the primary actors, and power is the fundamental currency of international politics (Morgenthau, 1948). Liberalism, by contrast, emphasizes the role of institutions, democratic governance, and economic interdependence in mitigating conflict (Keohane & Nye, 2020). Constructivism challenges both paradigms by arguing that the international system is socially constructed through shared norms, identities, and discursive practices (Wendt, 1999).

Evolution of war philosophy across historical periods

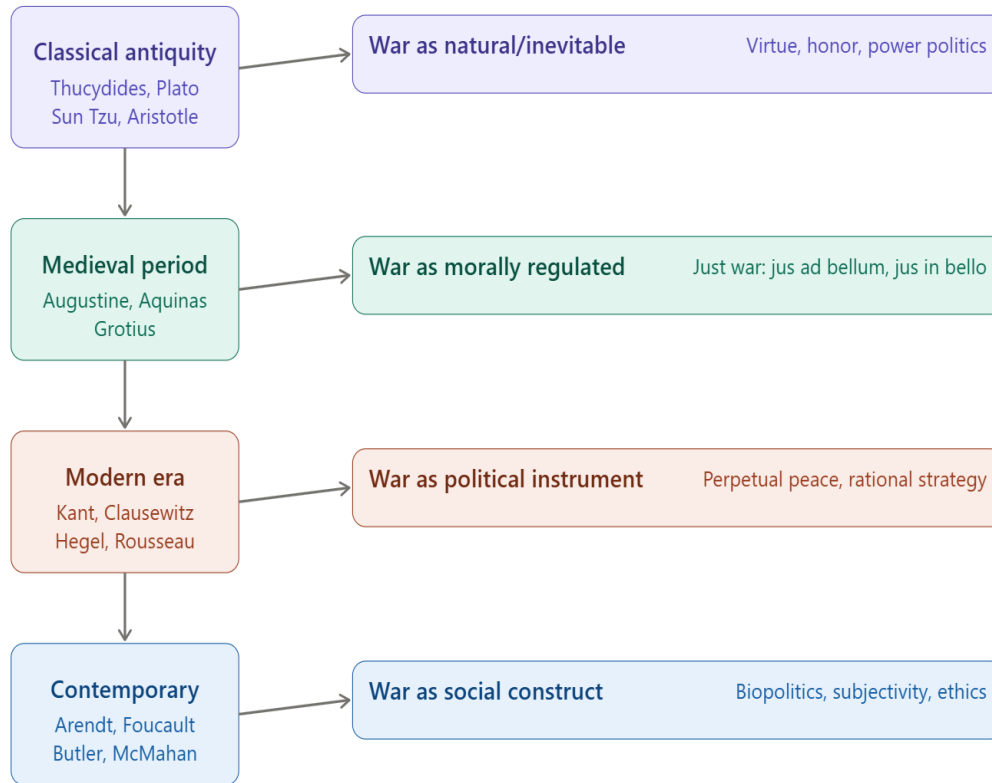


Figure 1.1: Conceptual Framework of International Relations

The philosophy of war intersects with these paradigms at multiple levels. Classical philosophers such as Plato, Aristotle, and Augustine provided normative frameworks for evaluating the justice of war, while Enlightenment thinkers including Kant, Rousseau, and Hegel offered systematic analyses of the relationship between war, sovereignty, and the state (Orend, 2023). The convergence of these philosophical traditions with contemporary IR theory forms the conceptual foundation of this study.

1.2 Review of Related Literature

A growing body of scholarship has examined the nexus between IR theory and the philosophy of war. Five recent studies are particularly relevant to the present investigation.

First, Mearsheimer (2021) in *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (updated edition) argued that great-power competition remains the defining feature of international politics and that offensive realism provides the most parsimonious explanation for state behavior.

Mearsheimer contended that the rise of China poses a structural threat to U.S. hegemony that mirrors historical patterns of power transition and war.

Second, Dunne, Kurki, and Smith (2021) in *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity* provided a comprehensive survey of IR paradigms, emphasizing the increasing pluralism and methodological diversity within the field. Their edited volume demonstrated how constructivist, feminist, and postcolonial approaches have enriched traditional debates about war and peace.

Third, Orend (2023) in *The Morality of War* offered a rigorous philosophical analysis of just war theory, examining the criteria of jus ad bellum, jus in bello, and jus post bellum. Orend argued that emerging forms of conflict—including cyber warfare and autonomous weapons—demand a fundamental revision of traditional just war frameworks.



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Fourth, Kaldor (2022) in *New and Old Wars: Organized Violence in a Global Era* analyzed the transformation of warfare from interstate conflict to complex, multi-actor “new wars” characterized by identity politics, decentralized violence, and the blurring of war and crime. Kaldor’s framework is particularly relevant to understanding contemporary conflicts in the Middle East, Africa, and Eastern Europe.

Fifth, Walt (2022) in *The Hell of Good Intentions* examined how liberal hegemony has shaped U.S. foreign policy and contributed to a pattern of military overextension. Walt argued that a more restrained grand strategy, grounded in offshore balancing, would better serve American national interests and global stability.

1.3 The Research Gap

While the existing literature has made significant contributions to our understanding of war in international relations, several gaps remain. Most studies treat the philosophy of war and IR theory as separate domains, failing to provide an integrated analysis that connects normative philosophical inquiry with empirical and theoretical developments in IR (Booth, 2021). Moreover, the rapid emergence of new forms of conflict—including cyber warfare, artificial intelligence-driven military strategy, and climate-induced security threats—has outpaced the capacity of existing theoretical frameworks to account for these phenomena (Singer & Brooking, 2020). This study addresses these gaps by synthesizing classical and contemporary philosophical perspectives with major IR theories and emerging conflict trends.

1.4 The Rationale of the Study

The rationale for this study is threefold. First, the increasing complexity of global conflict—exemplified by the Russia-Ukraine war, the proliferation of autonomous weapons, and the weaponization of cyberspace—demands an interdisciplinary approach that draws on both philosophical and IR-based insights (Rid, 2020). Second, the growing influence of non-state actors, transnational networks, and global institutions in shaping conflict dynamics requires a reconceptualization of traditional state-centric models of war. Third, the normative dimensions of warfare—questions of justice, proportionality, discrimination, and humanitarian protection—remain central to policy debates and require sustained philosophical engagement (McMahan, 2020).

1.5 The Statement of the Problem

Despite the rich intellectual traditions of both the philosophy of war and international relations theory, there is a persistent lack of integrated scholarship that connects philosophical inquiry with the empirical study of conflict. Classical and modern philosophical frameworks for evaluating war—including just war theory, the Kantian peace thesis, and Clausewitzian strategic thought—are rarely examined in conjunction with contemporary IR paradigms such as constructivism, critical theory, and feminist security studies. This fragmentation limits our capacity to understand the multidimensional nature of modern warfare and to develop normatively grounded policy responses to emerging threats (Coker, 2021).

1.6 Research Questions

RQ1: What are the philosophical foundations of war in classical and modern political thought?

RQ2: What are the major theories of war in international relations?

RQ3: What are the emerging trends and future directions in war and international relations studies?

1.7 Objectives of the Study

O1: To examine the philosophical foundations of war in classical and modern political thought.

O2: To study the major theories of war in international relations.

O3: To explore emerging trends and future directions in war and international relations studies.

1.8 Delimitations of the Study

This study is delimited in several respects. First, it focuses primarily on Western philosophical and IR traditions, acknowledging that non-Western perspectives—including Chinese strategic thought, Islamic jurisprudence on war, and African conflict resolution frameworks—warrant separate, dedicated analysis. Second, the study is conceptual and analytical in nature, relying on qualitative content analysis rather than quantitative or empirical methods. Third, the temporal scope of the literature review is limited to publications from 2020 to 2026, although classical texts are discussed where foundational context is required.

II. METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

This study employs a qualitative research design based on systematic content analysis and thematic synthesis of scholarly literature.

The methodological approach draws on Braun and Clarke’s (2021) framework for reflexive thematic analysis and is complemented by a structured review of peer-reviewed journal articles, monographs, and edited volumes published between 2020 and 2026.

The research proceeded in three stages. In the first stage, relevant literature was identified through systematic searches of major academic databases, including JSTOR, Scopus, Web of Science, and Google Scholar. Search terms included “philosophy of war,” “international relations theory,” “just war theory,” “realism and war,” “cyber conflict,” “hybrid warfare,” and “AI and military strategy.”

A total of 85 sources were initially identified, of which 42 met the inclusion criteria of relevance, recency, and scholarly rigor.

In the second stage, selected texts were coded using an inductive-deductive approach. Deductive codes were derived from established IR paradigms (realism, liberalism, constructivism, critical theory, feminism), while inductive codes emerged from close reading of philosophical and emerging-trends literature. In the third stage, coded data were organized into three overarching themes corresponding to the study’s research questions: philosophical foundations, IR theories of war, and emerging trends.

Table 1
Summary of Methodological Framework

Component	Description	Source/Basis
Research Design	Qualitative content analysis and thematic synthesis	Braun & Clarke (2021)
Data Sources	Peer-reviewed articles, monographs, edited volumes (2020–2026)	JSTOR, Scopus, Web of Science, Google Scholar
Sample Size	42 sources (from 85 initially identified)	Inclusion criteria: relevance, recency, rigor
Coding Approach	Inductive-deductive thematic coding	Paradigm-based deductive + emergent inductive codes
Analysis	Reflexive thematic analysis across three research themes	RQ-aligned theme construction

III. ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

3.1 *Philosophical Foundations of War in Classical and Modern Political Thought*

The philosophical inquiry into the nature and ethics of war has a lineage extending from ancient Greece to the present day. The analysis of this lineage reveals three broad periods: classical antiquity, the medieval-early modern period, and the modern-contemporary era.

3.1.1 *Classical Antiquity*

In ancient Greek thought, war was understood as both a natural condition of the city-state and a test of civic virtue. Thucydides’ History of the Peloponnesian War provided one of the earliest realist analyses of conflict, attributing the outbreak of war to the growth of Athenian power and the fear this inspired in Sparta (Thucydides, trans. 1972). Thucydides’ famous assertion that the strong do what they can and the weak suffer what they must has become a foundational maxim of political realism (Lebow, 2022).

Plato and Aristotle, while acknowledging the inevitability of conflict, emphasized the importance of justice and the common good as regulative ideals for the conduct of war (Orend, 2023).

3.1.2 *Medieval and Early Modern Thought*

The Christian just war tradition, articulated most influentially by St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas, sought to establish moral criteria for the initiation and conduct of warfare. Augustine argued that war could be justified as a means of restoring peace and punishing wrongdoing, provided it was waged by legitimate authority and with right intention (Reichberg, 2022). Aquinas systematized these criteria into the three conditions of just cause, legitimate authority, and right intention, which remain the foundation of jus ad bellum reasoning today. Hugo Grotius, writing in the seventeenth century, further secularized just war theory by grounding it in natural law and the emerging principles of international law (Tuck, 2021).

3.1.3 Modern and Contemporary Philosophy

The modern period witnessed a diversification of philosophical perspectives on war. Immanuel Kant's *Perpetual Peace* (1795) proposed that a federation of republican states, bound by international law and commercial interdependence, could eliminate war as an instrument of policy—an argument that anticipates the liberal democratic peace thesis (Doyle, 2020).

Carl von Clausewitz's *On War* (1832) defined war as the continuation of politics by other means, establishing a strategic framework that emphasized the interplay of chance, passion, and rationality in armed conflict (Strachan, 2022). In the twentieth century, thinkers such as Hannah Arendt, Michel Foucault, and Judith Butler interrogated the relationships among violence, power, sovereignty, and the politics of grief, expanding the philosophical study of war beyond questions of justice and strategy to encompass issues of subjectivity, biopolitics, and ethical responsibility (Butler, 2020).

Table 2
Comparative Framework: Classical vs. Modern Philosophical Perspectives on War

Dimension	Classical (Greek)	Medieval/Early Modern	Modern (18th–19th C.)	Contemporary (20th–21st C.)
Central Question	Is war natural to political life?	When is war morally justified?	Can war be abolished? How is war a political instrument?	What are the power structures, ethics, and subjectivities of war?
Key Thinkers	Thucydides, Plato, Aristotle, Sun Tzu	Augustine, Aquinas, Grotius	Kant, Clausewitz, Hegel, Rousseau	Arendt, Foucault, Butler, Walzer, McMahan
Ontology of War	War as natural/inevitable condition	War as morally regulated action under divine/natural law	War as political instrument or structural feature of the state system	War as social construct shaped by power, discourse, and identity
Normative Stance	Virtue ethics; honor in combat	Just war criteria: <i>jus ad bellum</i> , <i>jus in bello</i>	Perpetual peace; war as instrument of rational policy	Humanitarian intervention; ethics of drones, AI, and cyber war
Primary Sources	Orend (2023); Lebow (2022)	Reichberg (2022); Tuck (2021)	Doyle (2020); Strachan (2022)	Butler (2020); McMahan (2020)

3.2 Major Theories of War in International Relations

International relations theory offers multiple explanatory frameworks for understanding why wars occur, how they are conducted, and under what conditions peace is achievable. The following analysis examines five major paradigms: realism, liberalism, constructivism, critical theory, and feminist IR.

3.2.1 Realism

Realism is the dominant paradigm in the study of war and international relations. Classical realists, following Morgenthau (1948), attribute war to the inherent desire for power and dominance in human nature.

Structural or neorealists, following Waltz (1979), locate the causes of war in the anarchic structure of the international system, which compels states to prioritize survival through self-help and power maximization. Mearsheimer (2021) extended this logic through offensive realism, arguing that great powers are driven to seek regional hegemony and that the rise of peer competitors inevitably generates security competition and, potentially, armed conflict.

3.2.2 Liberalism

Liberal IR theory holds that war is not inevitable and that international cooperation, democratic governance, and economic interdependence can significantly reduce the likelihood of armed conflict.



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The democratic peace thesis, articulated most influentially by Doyle (2020), posits that liberal democracies rarely, if ever, go to war with one another due to shared norms, institutional constraints, and mutual economic interests. Neoliberal institutionalism, as developed by Keohane and Nye (2020), emphasizes the role of international organizations, regimes, and multilateral agreements in managing conflict and fostering cooperation under anarchy.

3.2.3 Constructivism

Constructivism, pioneered by Wendt (1999), challenges the materialist and rationalist assumptions of both realism and liberalism by arguing that the international system is constituted by shared ideas, norms, and identities rather than by objective material structures. Constructivists contend that war is not a necessary consequence of anarchy but rather a product of the meanings states attach to their interactions. The concept of “security communities”—groups of states that have developed shared identities and norms to such an extent that war between them becomes unthinkable—exemplifies the constructivist contribution to peace studies (Adler & Barnett, 1998; cited in Dunne et al., 2021).

3.2.4 Critical Theory and Marxism

Critical theory, drawing on the Frankfurt School and the work of scholars such as Robert Cox and Andrew Linklater,

interrogates the structural inequalities and power asymmetries that underlie international conflict. Critical theorists argue that mainstream IR theories—particularly realism—serve to legitimize the interests of dominant states and classes, thereby perpetuating structural violence (Booth, 2021). Marxist and neo-Marxist approaches emphasize the role of capitalism, imperialism, and uneven development in generating war and instability, offering a systemic critique that links armed conflict to global economic structures (Harvey, 2023).

3.2.5 Feminist International Relations

Feminist IR scholarship has expanded the study of war by foregrounding the experiences, perspectives, and contributions of women and gender-diverse individuals. Feminist scholars argue that traditional IR theories are built on masculinist assumptions that privilege military power, state sovereignty, and elite decision-making while rendering invisible the gendered dimensions of conflict—including sexual violence, displacement, and the militarization of masculinity (Enloe, 2023). The United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security (2000) has provided an institutional framework for integrating gender perspectives into conflict prevention, peacebuilding, and post-conflict reconstruction.

Table 3
Comparative Overview of Major IR Theories on War

Feature	Realism	Liberalism	Constructivism	Critical Theory	Feminism
Primary Cause of War	Anarchy; power competition	Failure of institutions and norms	Hostile identities and intersubjective meanings	Structural inequality and capitalism	Patriarchy and militarized masculinity
Key Actors	States	States, IOs, civil society	States, norm entrepreneurs	Classes, transnational capital	Gendered subjects, women’s groups
View of Peace	Balance of power; deterrence	Democratic governance; trade; institutions	Shared identity; security communities	Emancipation from structural violence	Gender justice; inclusive security
Seminal Scholar	Mearsheimer (2021)	Doyle (2020)	Wendt (1999)	Booth (2021)	Enloe (2023)



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3.3 Emerging Trends and Future Directions in War and International Relations Studies

The character of warfare is undergoing profound transformation driven by technological innovation, environmental change, and shifting geopolitical alignments. This section identifies five emerging trends that are reshaping the study and practice of war in international relations.

3.3.1 Cyber Warfare and Information Operations

The rapid expansion of cyberspace as a domain of conflict has fundamentally challenged traditional conceptions of war. Cyber operations—including espionage, sabotage, disinformation campaigns, and attacks on critical infrastructure—operate below the threshold of conventional armed conflict, complicating established legal and ethical frameworks (Rid, 2020). The Stuxnet attack on Iran’s nuclear facilities, Russian interference in the 2016 U.S. presidential election, and ongoing cyber campaigns in the Russia-Ukraine conflict illustrate the growing centrality of digital warfare to international security. Singer and Brooking (2020) have argued that social media platforms have become theaters of war in which information operations can shape public opinion, undermine democratic institutions, and destabilize entire societies.

3.3.2 Artificial Intelligence and Autonomous Weapons

The development and deployment of artificial intelligence (AI) in military contexts represents a paradigmatic shift in the nature of warfare. AI-enabled systems—including autonomous drones, algorithmic targeting, predictive analytics, and unmanned combat vehicles—are reshaping military strategy and raising fundamental ethical questions about accountability, proportionality, and the role of human judgment in lethal decision-making (Scharre, 2023). The concept of “meaningful human control” has emerged as a key norm in international debates over autonomous weapons, though consensus on its operationalization remains elusive (Heyns, 2020).

3.3.3 Hybrid Warfare and Gray-Zone Conflict

Hybrid warfare—the integration of conventional military operations with irregular tactics, cyber attacks, economic coercion, and information warfare—has become a defining feature of twenty-first-century conflict. Russia’s annexation of Crimea in 2014 and its subsequent full-scale invasion of Ukraine in 2022 exemplify the hybrid warfare model, combining conventional military force with cyber operations, propaganda, energy diplomacy, and proxy forces (Kaldor, 2022). The concept of gray-zone conflict—activities that fall between peace and war, below the threshold of armed conflict but above normal diplomatic competition—has generated significant scholarly debate about the adequacy of existing international legal frameworks (Mazarr, 2022).

3.3.4 Climate Change and Environmental Security

The relationship between climate change and international security has emerged as a critical area of scholarly and policy attention. Environmental degradation, resource scarcity, and climate-induced displacement are increasingly recognized as threat multipliers that exacerbate existing vulnerabilities and contribute to the onset of conflict (Homer-Dixon, 2020). The securitization of climate change—the framing of environmental issues as existential threats requiring emergency measures—has prompted debates within IR about the appropriate scope and limits of security discourse (McDonald, 2021).

3.3.5 The Return of Great-Power Competition

The post-Cold War era of unipolarity has given way to a renewed period of great-power competition, with the United States, China, and Russia engaged in strategic rivalry across multiple dimensions—military, economic, technological, and ideological. The U.S.-China rivalry, in particular, has generated extensive scholarly analysis regarding the applicability of the Thucydides Trap—the historical pattern whereby a rising power challenges an established hegemon, often leading to war (Allison, 2020). The geopolitical implications of this rivalry extend to the Indo-Pacific, the South China Sea, Taiwan, and the global governance of emerging technologies.

Table 4
Emerging Trends in War and International Relations

Trend	Key Features	Challenges to IR Theory	Key Sources
Cyber Warfare	Sub-threshold operations; disinformation; infrastructure attacks	Attribution problems; legal ambiguity; deterrence gaps	Rid (2020); Singer & Brooking (2020)
AI & Autonomous Weapons	Algorithmic targeting; unmanned systems; predictive analytics	Accountability gaps; proportionality; meaningful human control	Scharre (2023); Heyns (2020)
Hybrid Warfare	Blended conventional/irregular; gray-zone operations	Blurred war/peace distinction; inadequate legal frameworks	Kaldor (2022); Mazarr (2022)
Climate & Conflict	Resource scarcity; climate displacement; environmental stress	Securitization debates; expanded security definitions	Homer-Dixon (2020); McDonald (2021)
Great-Power Competition	U.S.-China rivalry; multipolarity; tech competition	Thucydides Trap; power transition theory; alliance realignment	Allison (2020); Mearsheimer (2021)

IV. FINDINGS

The analysis and interpretation of the literature yield several key findings organized around the study’s three research questions.

Finding 1: The philosophical foundations of war have evolved from classical virtue-based and theological frameworks to modern secular, strategic, and critical perspectives. Classical Greek thought understood war as a natural feature of political life governed by virtue and honor. The medieval just war tradition introduced systematic moral criteria for the justification and conduct of war. Modern philosophy diversified into strategic (Clausewitz), cosmopolitan (Kant), and critical (Foucault, Butler) approaches, each offering distinct insights into the nature, causes, and ethics of armed conflict (Orend, 2023; Strachan, 2022; Butler, 2020).

Finding 2: The major IR theories of war—realism, liberalism, constructivism, critical theory, and feminism—offer complementary but incommensurable explanations for armed conflict.

Realism emphasizes the structural constraints of anarchy and power competition; liberalism highlights the mitigating effects of democracy, institutions, and trade; constructivism foregrounds the role of ideas, norms, and identities; critical theory exposes structural inequalities; and feminism reveals the gendered dimensions of war and security (Mearsheimer, 2021; Doyle, 2020; Dunne et al., 2021; Booth, 2021; Enloe, 2023).

Finding 3: Emerging trends—including cyber warfare, AI-driven conflict, hybrid warfare, climate-induced security threats, and great-power competition—are fundamentally reshaping the character and study of war. These developments demand theoretical innovation and interdisciplinary engagement, as existing paradigms struggle to account for the speed, complexity, and cross-domain nature of twenty-first-century conflict (Rid, 2020; Scharre, 2023; Kaldor, 2022).

Table 5
Summary of Key Findings Mapped to Research Questions

Research Question	Key Finding	Supporting Evidence
RQ1: Philosophical foundations	War philosophy evolved from virtue/theology to secular, strategic, and critical frameworks	Orend (2023); Strachan (2022); Butler (2020); Reichberg (2022)
RQ2: IR theories of war	Five major paradigms offer complementary but distinct explanations for war	Mearsheimer (2021); Doyle (2020); Wendt (1999); Booth (2021); Enloe (2023)
RQ3: Emerging trends	Cyber, AI, hybrid, climate, and great-power dynamics are transforming warfare	Rid (2020); Scharre (2023); Kaldor (2022); Homer-Dixon (2020); Allison (2020)

V. CONCLUSION

This study has examined the intersection of international relations theory and the philosophy of war across three dimensions: philosophical foundations, major IR paradigms, and emerging trends. The analysis demonstrates that the study of war has evolved from state-centric, sovereignty-based models rooted in classical philosophy toward increasingly complex, multi-actor, technology-mediated, and norm-driven paradigms that reflect the changing character of global conflict.

The philosophical foundations of war, stretching from Thucydides and Augustine to Clausewitz, Kant, and Butler, reveal a trajectory of expanding moral concern—from the justice of war as a whole (*jus ad bellum*) to the ethics of conduct in war (*jus in bello*) and, increasingly, to the justice of post-conflict reconstruction (*jus post bellum*). This trajectory is mirrored in the evolution of IR theory, which has moved from the parsimonious but deterministic models of classical realism to the pluralistic and reflexive approaches of constructivism, critical theory, and feminism.

The emergence of cyber warfare, artificial intelligence, hybrid conflict, climate-related security threats, and renewed great-power competition presents both challenges and opportunities for scholarship at the nexus of philosophy and international relations. These trends demand theoretical frameworks that are capable of addressing the speed, complexity, and cross-domain nature of contemporary conflict while remaining grounded in the normative concerns of justice, accountability, and human dignity.

Future research should prioritize three directions. First, scholars should develop integrated theoretical frameworks that bridge the divide between philosophical inquiry and IR-based analysis, drawing on insights from both traditions to address the multidimensional nature of modern warfare.

Second, greater attention should be devoted to non-Western philosophical and strategic traditions, including Chinese, Islamic, African, and Indigenous perspectives on war and peace, in order to decolonize and diversify the field. Third, the ethical and legal implications of emerging military technologies—particularly autonomous weapons and AI-driven decision-making—require sustained interdisciplinary engagement involving philosophers, IR scholars, computer scientists, legal experts, and policymakers.

In sum, the philosophy of war and international relations theory are not merely academic enterprises but vital intellectual resources for understanding and navigating the complex security challenges of the twenty-first century. Their continued dialogue is essential to the pursuit of a more just, peaceful, and sustainable international order.

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