



ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY
GENERAL STUDIES COURSE PROPOSAL COVER FORM

Course information:

Copy and paste current course information from Class Search/Course Catalog.

Academic Unit School of Hist, Phil & Rel Studies Department Religious Studies

Subject REL Number 378 Title Religion, War, and Peace Units: 3

Is this a cross-listed course? Yes
If yes, please identify course(s) POS 378

Is this a shared course? No If so, list all academic units offering this course _____
Course description: _____

Requested designation: Literacy and Critical Inquiry-L

Note- a separate proposal is required for each designation requested

Eligibility:

Permanent numbered courses must have completed the university's review and approval process.
For the rules governing approval of omnibus courses, contact the General Studies Program Office at (480) 965-0739.

Area(s) proposed course will serve:

A single course may be proposed for more than one core or awareness area. A course may satisfy a core area requirement and more than one awareness area requirements concurrently, but may not satisfy requirements in two core areas simultaneously, even if approved for those areas. With departmental consent, an approved General Studies course may be counted toward both the General Studies requirement and the major program of study.

Checklists for general studies designations:

Complete and attach the appropriate checklist

- Literacy and Critical Inquiry core courses (L)
- Mathematics core courses (MA)
- Computer/statistics/quantitative applications core courses (CS)
- Humanities, Fine Arts and Design core courses (HU)
- Social and Behavioral Sciences core courses (SB)
- Natural Sciences core courses (SQ/SG)
- Global Awareness courses (G)
- Historical Awareness courses (H)
- Cultural Diversity in the United States courses (C)

A complete proposal should include:

- Signed General Studies Program Course Proposal Cover Form
- Criteria Checklist for the area
- Course Syllabus
- Table of Contents from the textbook, and/or lists of course materials

Contact information:

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Department Chair/Director approval: (Required)

Chair/Director name (Typed): Matthew J. Garcia Date: 9/9/13

Chair/Director (Signature):

Arizona State University Criteria Checklist for
LITERACY AND CRITICAL INQUIRY - [L]

Rationale and Objectives

Literacy is here defined broadly as communicative competence in written and oral discourse. **Critical inquiry** involves the gathering, interpretation, and evaluation of evidence. Any field of university study may require unique critical skills which have little to do with language in the usual sense (words), but the analysis of spoken and written evidence pervades university study and everyday life. Thus, the General Studies requirements assume that all undergraduates should develop the ability to reason critically and communicate using the medium of language.

The requirement in Literacy and Critical Inquiry presumes, first, that training in literacy and critical inquiry must be sustained beyond traditional First Year English in order to create a habitual skill in every student; and, second, that the skills become more expert, as well as more secure, as the student learns challenging subject matter. Thus, the Literacy and Critical Inquiry requirement stipulates two courses beyond First Year English.

Most lower-level [L] courses are devoted primarily to the further development of critical skills in reading, writing, listening, speaking, or analysis of discourse. Upper-division [L] courses generally are courses in a particular discipline into which writing and critical thinking have been fully integrated as means of learning the content and, in most cases, demonstrating that it has been learned.

Students must complete six credit hours from courses designated as [L], at least three credit hours of which must be chosen from approved upper-division courses, preferably in their major. Students must have completed ENG 101, 107, or 105 to take an [L] course.

Notes:

1. ENG 101, 107 or ENG 105 must be prerequisites
2. Honors theses, XXX 493 meet [L] requirements
3. The list of criteria that must be satisfied for designation as a Literacy and Critical Inquiry [L] course is presented on the following page. This list will help you determine whether the current version of your course meets all of these requirements. If you decide to apply, please attach a current syllabus, or handouts, or other documentation that will provide sufficient information for the General Studies Council to make an informed decision regarding the status of your proposal.

ASU - [L] CRITERIA			
YES	NO		Identify Documentation Submitted
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	CRITERION 4: These substantial writing or speaking assignments should be arranged so that the students will get timely feedback from the instructor on each assignment in time to help them do better on subsequent assignments. <i>Intervention at earlier stages in the writing process is especially welcomed</i>	Syllabus; writing assignments; guidance for writing papers
1. Please describe the sequence of course assignments--and the nature of the feedback the current (or most recent) course instructor provides to help students do better on subsequent assignments			
2. Also: <div style="border: 1px solid black; border-radius: 50%; padding: 10px; margin: 10px 0;"> Please circle, underline, or otherwise mark the information presented in the most recent course syllabus (or other material you have submitted) that verifies this description of the grading process--and label this information "C-4". </div>			
C-4			

		<p>readings--and to do so numerous (4-6) times before students ever write their papers. Second, film reflection assignments provide another informal opportunity for students to work out their understanding of the assigned texts before writing a formal paper on them. Third, students must turn in a paper outline for each paper assignment, which is reviewed and returned (though not graded) before the actual paper is due. Finally, students receive instructor feedback on Paper 1 before Paper 2 is assigned; and students receive instructor feedback on Paper 2 before turnin in their take-home final exams or their research papers.</p>
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Class format & attendance: The course will be interactive in nature, so student engagement and preparedness for class are essential. The course relies heavily upon students to set the tone and carry the momentum. Class will usually begin with a short lecture, followed by short student presentations on the readings, and class discussion. Complete the readings and daily assignment *before* coming to class, since they will serve as a basis for class discussion. This brief daily assignment consists of the following: 1) a statement of what you understand to be the thesis or main claim of the assigned reading(s); and 2) one question you have about the reading. This is not intended to be onerous. Ideally, these assignments will be typed, though I will accept them in handwritten form. It's best to complete them while you are doing the reading. Frequently, I will collect and review them (they are part of the class participation grade). Daily assignments are due in class and will not be accepted late. Students also may expect to be called upon in class to share these assignments and their thoughts, questions, or reactions to the readings.

Obviously, active participation requires attending class. I do not formally take roll, but I do take notice of students who are absent. Kindly let me know by email or in person (if possible in advance) if you need to miss a class. If class attendance does become a problem, I reserve the option to implement "alternative measures." If, for some reason, you are not able to complete the reading or assignment on a given day, please do not skip class: it is better to have a poor showing in class than to have no showing at all.

Films will be used to help illuminate the themes and readings of the course. Students will watch and write short (two-page) reflection assignments for the assigned films. The films will be screened outside of class, though you may watch them on your own. Where possible, I will place films on reserve at the library; most are also available through Netflix or at local video stores. In any case, be prepared to discuss the film during the next class period (at which time I will collect the film reflections). The credit/no-credit reflections need not be polished prose; they are designed to stimulate thinking and serve as a basis for class discussion. Students are also encouraged to attend related lectures and events that appear on the syllabus. Finally, keep up with the news and consider how course readings and themes bear upon or improve understanding of current events.

Requirements & Grading: Students may choose either to take a final exam (cumulative) or to conduct a research project on a topic approved by me and which includes several interim assignments.

Option 1: Research Paper

C-2	C-1	First paper (5 pp.)	15%
C-3		Second paper (7 pp.)	25%
C-4		Three film reflections	10%
		Research paper (12 pp.)	25%
		Class Participation	20%
		-Daily assignments	
		-Discussion	
		-Class presentation	
C-1(3)	-	Research paper presentation	5%

Option 2: Final Exam

C-1		First paper (5 pp.)	15%
C-2		Second paper (7 pp.)	25%
C-3		Three film reflections	10%
C-4		Final Exam	25%
		Class Participation	25%
		-Daily assignments	
		-Discussion	
		-Class presentation	

→ Final exam is take-home involving two 4-page essays (in addition to short in-class closed book portion).

Required Reading (books ordered through the bookstore):

- James Turner Johnson, *The Holy War Idea in Western and Islamic Tradition*
- John Kelsay, *Arguing the Just War in Islam*
- Michael Walzer, *Arguing about War*
- Arthur Holmes, ed., *War and Christian Ethics* (2nd ed.) (WCE)
- D. B. Robertson, ed., *Love and Justice: Selections from the Shorter Writings of Reinhold Niebuhr*
- Other readings from course pack (Alpha Graphics, 815 W. University Dr., 968-7821) or Blackboard

Email Policy: Email too easily displaces conversations that best occur during office hours. Please use email for brief logistical matters (e.g., absences, questions about class meetings, assignments, etc.).

Policies on Academic Honesty, Withdrawals, and Incompletes

http://www.asu.edu/studentaffairs/studentlife/judicial/academic_integrity.htm

<http://provost.asu.edu/academicintegrity> ;

<http://www.asu.edu/aad/catalogs/general/ug-enrollment.html#grading-system>

<u>Week 9</u>		<u>Just War: Humanitarian Intervention, Terrorism, and Supreme Emergencies</u>	
T 17 Mar	Ramsey, "Justice in War"	Film reflection due in class	
	Walzer, <i>Arguing about War</i> , Chs. 1, 5, 7		
R 19 Mar	Walzer, "Supreme Emergency"		
	Walzer, <i>Arguing about War</i> , Chs. 4, 10		
<u>Week 10</u>		<u>Just War: The Iraq War</u>	
T 24 Mar	J. Carter, "Just War—or a Just War?"		
	Miller, "Justifications of the Iraq War Examined" (Blackboard)		
	Elshtain, "Thinking about War and Justice"		
	Walzer, <i>Arguing about War</i> , Ch. 11		
R 26 Mar	Weigel & Williams exchange, (WCE, 373-399)		
<u>Week 11</u>		<u>Just War and Islam</u>	
T 31 Mar	Kelsay, <i>Arguing the Just War in Islam</i> , Intro, Chs. 1 & 3	Research paper idea(s) due	
T 31 Mar	Martha Nussbaum talk: "The Clash Within," 4:30 pm, Law School		
R 02 Apr	Kelsay, <i>Arguing the Just War in Islam</i> , Ch. 4	Distribute 2 nd paper topic	
<u>Week 12</u>		<u>Just War, Islam, and Judaism</u>	
T 07 Apr	Kelsay, <i>Arguing the Just War in Islam</i> , Chs. 5 & 6	2 nd paper outline due C-4	
R 09 Apr	Broyde, "Just Wars, Battles & Conduct in Jewish Law" (Blackboard)		
<u>Week 13</u>		<u>Christian Realism</u>	
T 14 Apr	R. Niebuhr, "Augustine's Political Realism"; Niebuhr, "Why the Christian Church Is Not Pacifist," (WCE, pp. 301-313) Niebuhr, <i>Irony of American History</i> , selections (BB)	Research outlines due C-4	
TBD	Film viewing: <i>Black Hawk Down</i>		
R 16 Apr	Robin Lovin, "An Introduction to Christian Realism" Niebuhr, <i>Shorter Writings of Niebuhr</i> , 1, 2, 7 Readings on <i>Black Hawk Down</i>	Film reflection due in class	
<u>Week 14</u>		<u>Christian Realism</u>	
M 20 Apr		2 nd paper due C-4	
T 21 Apr	Niebuhr, <i>Shorter Writings</i> , 33, 35, 38, 48, 49, 50, 59 Niebuhr, <i>Shorter Writings</i> , 42, 44, 47, 51, 52		
R 23 Apr	Carlson, "The Morality, Politics, and Irony of War" (BB)		
<u>Week 15</u>		<u>Student Research Projects</u>	
T 28 Apr	Student research presentations (attendance is mandatory)		
R 30 Apr	Student research presentations (attendance is mandatory)		
<u>Week 16</u>		<u>Exam Week</u>	
T 05 May	In class portion of final exam (no books/notes) Distribute take-home (essay) portion of the exam (open book/notes).	Distribute take-home exam	
T 12 May	All research paper and final exams due by noon	Take-home portion exam due Final research projects due C-4	

* = Recommended readings; will be helpful for paper assignments

Final Research Paper Guidelines

For those pursuing the research paper option (rather than the essay final exam), there are two ungraded requirements that must be submitted before the final paper: one is your research topic and sources; the other an outline of your paper (with refined sources). You will also make a short presentation of your project to the class during one of the final class periods. Here are a few guidelines and pointers to keep in mind as you undertake your research paper/project. As well, review the paper suggestions handed out earlier in the class!

- Purpose: The goal of this course is for each student (1) to adopt for him or herself a moral framework for evaluating the legitimacy of war and the use of violence or force; and (2) to ascertain the ways that religion does or does not, should or should not, shape that perspective. The final research paper can be a step in furthering these goals. For this project, though, you should focus on a very specific theme, issue, problem, question, case study, thinker, or tradition that will help you advance your thinking on these broader questions of religion, war, and peace.
- Topic ideas: In submitting your topic idea(s), formulate a specific question or theme you want to explore. Do not undertake sweeping topics like “violence in the Middle East” or “terrorism.” Find a small chunk to bite off and chew over. Given many of the events going on in the world today—wars in Iraq against terrorism; Islamic militancy; genocide in the Darfur; Israeli interventions—there are many contemporary events one might explore. Here are some examples of possible paper topics, questions, or projects that previous students have undertaken:
 - Rethinking how the “national interest” is defined.
 - Is there a Jewish ethic of war and peace?
 - *Jus post bellum* (justice following war)
 - Analysis of two types of pacifism within/across religious traditions
 - Did the ___ war or battle conform to rules of war?
 - Depictions of religious and moral commitments in film.
 - The “Responsibility to Protect” and/or the failure to intervene
 - A contemporary form of holy war
- Sources: When you turn in your paper topic, include the sources you will draw from. While this is a research paper of your own design, you are encouraged to build on readings, ideas, and examples from class to launch or develop your project. You likely will need to rely on outside readings as well. Such sources should be scholarly in nature—primarily from academic books and journals or from established policy experts. The web is an excellent research tool, but much that is on the web is not reliable or appropriate for this assignment (e.g., Wikipedia). Use a standardized citation format to cite your sources (e.g., footnotes, endnotes, and various citation styles).
- Outline: The purpose of the outline is to provide me an opportunity to give you feedback at an early stage of your research. The more information you provide me in your outline(s), the better. At a minimum, your outlines (and papers) should include:

Guidelines for Class Presentations

Here are some guidelines for class presentations of assigned readings. Presentations should be about 10 minutes long. To help you prepare your remarks succinctly and carefully, you might try preparing a short paper (say, 2-3 pp.) or a detailed outline. You may read your paper or speak *from* it, but, in either case, having some prepared materials will help you efficiently focus your ideas during your presentation. You will be graded on the quality of your oral presentation—not your paper or notes. Still, I ask that you turn in a copy of your paper or outline at the beginning of class so that I can use it to follow along.

During your presentation you should:

1. State what you take to be the major claim, thesis, or argument the author is making or the key position he or she stakes out. What do you think the author is saying? There may be several ways to capture or frame a thesis, so don't worry about whether your formulation is the "right one." Presumably other people will have different ideas, which will give us something to discuss in class. When there is more than one assigned reading, you may choose to concentrate more on one than the other(s), though you should give *some* attention to all of the texts.
2. Select 2-3 passages from the reading that you think illuminate—offer evidence for—the most vital themes. What does the author mean in these passages? Help us (the class) *interpret* the passages, don't simply recapitulate them. Do not try to summarize the entire reading; rather, find a few issues or lines of inquiry that you found particularly poignant or relevant to the class or the author's larger argument. What do the passages say or mean to you? How do they hold up or appear in the light of broader themes explored in the course? What are the implications for our world today?
3. Prepare 2-3 questions to help kick off the class discussion. These can be questions that try to clarify the text or its meaning. You might also offer questions that analyze, critique, compare, contrast, and/or evaluate the readings.

You are not expected to be an expert on the subject matter simply because you are the designated presenter for the day. To the contrary, feel free to use your presentation to put forward your own uncertainties about the material, themes, or other aspects of the text about which you are unclear.

Again, do not simply summarize "what the author talks about" but rather help the class to engage, interpret, analyze, and understand the text. Why is the text or the author's position important, insightful, unclear, interesting, or worrisome? What questions, issues, or problems do the readings raise?

- Your thesis. *Italicize it so that it is clear to you what you are arguing and so that it will be clear to me as well.* A thesis is a claim or position for which you will argue and offer evidence in your paper. Do not confuse the thesis of your paper with your topic. As well, your thesis is more than simply your opinion. Sentences beginning with “I like...” “I think that...” or “I believe that...” are signals that you may be replacing your thesis with a personal opinion (e.g., “I think the war in Iraq is moral or not”). While your argument will definitely entail your own view involving your own unique thoughts and perspectives, it is more than simply an opinion. Think of it as though you are making a case to a jury (your audience and readers) that needs to be presented with evidence and your reasoning in order to persuade them. Your thesis should be a claim that stands on its own (i.e., not “I think that” but, rather, “I will show that...”). For example: “The war in Iraq was moral/immoral because it did/did not adhere to the principles set down by just war thought, a tradition that is authoritative *because* [and then you should show why one should be compelled by just war tradition says....)”.
 - A method statement. This describes briefly and clearly the process you will use to demonstrate your case to your reader. It’s only a sentence or two long in your intro, but it will greatly help to engender patience with your reader so that he or she doesn’t have to read five or ten or pages before understanding why you chose the path of your paper that you did. As well, it forces you to think about how you are going to make an argument before you actually start writing. (Or if you don’t discover your thesis until after you’ve written your paper, it helps to clarify what your paper demonstrates all along!)
 - The main points, themes and issues you intend to take up in your essay. These will be mentioned in your method statement. Good topic sentences will help your reader recognize the progression of thought moving through the essay.
 - Conclusion. Restates your thesis (and how you’ve come to that) and what the implications or applications might be; how you think about the conclusions you’ve reached (you don’t necessarily have to like them); etc.
 - A solid outline and paper often can be distilled to these main points: thesis; method statement; topic sentences; and conclusion.
- Paper length: Your papers should be 12-14 pages (3000-3500 words); about 20 pp. for grad students. Include a word count on your paper.
- Class presentations: Plan on making a 15 minute presentation. Half of your time should be devoted to presenting your project orally. Based on past experience, I might recommend reading from a distilled version of your paper (say, 3 pages double-spaced). The rest of the time you will entertain discussion, field comments, and respond to questions from your classmates (and me). This will be a time to hear potential objections and critiques, which you should plan to address (or redress) in the final paper you turn in.

Take Home Final Exam

Answer three of the following questions—one from each category below. Each essay has an assigned length; please include a word count for each. The take home portion of the final exam is open book and open note and comprises 70% of the final exam grade (see break-down below). You should draw from relevant textual support for your answers. Where applicable, cite page numbers. Again, stay close to the texts—and stay away from the internet. *Academic dishonesty will be dealt with severely.* Exam is due in my office by **5 pm on Tuesday, Dec 10.**

A. Christian Realism (30%) (choose one; answer should be 800-900 words)

1. Reinhold Niebuhr's Christian realism seeks to distinguish itself from several other approaches to the ethics of war and peace—including some we've explored in this class. Drawing from course readings in our unit on Niebuhr, describe this Christian realist approach in relation to one other approach/perspective/tradition. How do they come to different understandings of the resort to war or the use of force? To illustrate Niebuhr's approach, discuss at least one specific case or historical example—either one that he discusses or perhaps a more contemporary example. Close by considering whether you think Niebuhr's position or the other approach serves as a more helpful guide for thinking about war or the use of force in our own times. Why or why not?

2. Niebuhr's approach to problems of war and peace often emerges through various tensions: for example, between love and justice, between realism and idealism, between order and tyranny, between complete selflessness and self-interestedness, between vice and virtue, between isolationism and imperialism. Drawing from the course readings on or by Niebuhr, consider how at least one of these (or other) tensions helps to explain Niebuhr's outlook concerning the resort to and/or limits of using military force. Be sure to discuss a specific example that Niebuhr takes up or one that illustrates Niebuhr's ideas. How, if at all, does this framework help us deliberate about the use of force in our own day?

B. Just War in Islam (30%) (choose one; answer should be 800-900 words)

3. John Kelsay's discussion of Islamic thought includes many principles, concepts, and approaches that are comparable to or similar to just war thinking in Western thought. He also makes clear, though, that there are important differences, not only in content but also in style or approach between these two forms of moral reasoning about war. Which are more important—the similarities or the differences? In your essay, be sure to discuss at least two similarities and two differences between arguing the just war in Islam and just war thought in the West. Your essay should focus primarily on Kelsay's work rather than upon thinkers discussed earlier in class (though you will obviously need to make reference to Western concepts, thinkers, or traditions at various points in your essay). Having discussed these similarities/differences, close by considering whether you think Islamic approaches can or should embrace a more secular approach to just war reflection. Why or why not?

4. John Kelsay contends that Shariah reasoning offers a promising way for Muslims to deliberate on moral questions about war and peace. Why does he believe this to be so? In your essay, discuss at least two different illustrations of Shariah reasoning, including one from a Muslim militant and one from a Muslim democrat. How does Kelsay reconcile or choose between these two different approaches to Shariah reasoning?

C. Personal Statement (10%) (answer the following question—about 300 words)

5. Drawing upon any of the assigned readings or traditions discussed in the course, write a brief statement of your personal philosophy concerning war and the use of force, including what role (if any) you believe religion can or should play. You might give some attention to thinkers or readings that most closely represent your view, but you can also refer to thinkers or readings with whom you disagree. In any case, argue (briefly) for why you believe as you do.

JAMES TURNER JOHNSON

THE
HOLY WAR IDEA
IN
WESTERN
AND
ISLAMIC
TRADITIONS

1997

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ARGUING
THE JUST WAR
IN ISLAM

JOHN KELSAY

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Michael
Walzer

ARGUING
ABOUT
WAR



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INTRODUCTION

Clausewitz's famous line, that war is the continuation of politics by other means, was probably meant to be provocative, but it seems to me obviously true. And the claim is equally obvious the other way around: politics is the continuation of war by other means. It is very important, however, that the means are different. Politics is a form of peaceful contention, and war is organized violence. All the participants, all the activists and militants, survive a political defeat (unless the victor is a tyrant, at war with his own people), whereas many participants, soldiers and civilians alike, do not survive a military defeat — or a victory either. War kills, and that is why the argument about war is so intense.

The theory of just war, which I defended in *Just and Unjust Wars* (1977) and which is further developed and applied in the essays collected here, is, first of all, an argument about the moral standing of warfare as a human activity. The argument is twofold: that war is sometimes justifiable and that the conduct of war is always subject to moral criticism. The first of these propositions is denied by pacifists, who believe that war is a criminal act; and the second is denied by realists, for whom "all's fair in love and war": *inter arma silent leges* (in time of war, the laws are silent). So just war theorists set themselves in opposition to pacifists and realists, of whom there are a great number, although some of the pacifists are selective in their opposition to war and some of the realists have been heard, in the heat of battle, to express moral sentiments.

But just war theory is not only an argument about war in

War and Christian Ethics

Second Edition

CLASSIC AND CONTEMPORARY READINGS
ON THE MORALITY OF WAR

Arthur F. Holmes, editor

B
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INTRODUCTION

THUCYDIDES:
HISTORY OF THE
PELOPONNESIAN
WAR,

*

TRANSLATED WITH
AN INTRODUCTION BY

REX WARNER © 1954

PENGUIN BOOKS
BALTIMORE · MARYLAND

An island, previously uninhabited, lying off the coast of Opuntian Locris.

Corinthians to sail there with forty ships and 1,500 hoplites and restore him to power. He himself hired a certain number of mercenaries. The commanders of this expedition were Euphamidas, the son of Aristonymus, Timoxenus, the son of Timocrates, and Eumachus, the son of Chrysis. After sailing to Astracis and restoring Evarchus they made some unsuccessful attempts at winning over other places which they wanted to secure on the coast of Acarnania. They then returned home and on their way down the coast put in at Cephalonia, landing in the territory of the Cranians. Here they lost some men, as the Cranians deceitfully pretended to make a pact with them and then suddenly set upon them. Thus they embarked with some difficulty and returned to Corinth.

CHAPTER 4: Pericles' Funeral Speech

IN the same winter the Athenians, following their annual custom, gave a public funeral for those who had been the first to die in the war. These funerals are held in the following way: two days before the ceremony the bones of the fallen are brought and put in a tent which has been erected, and people make whatever offerings they wish to their own dead. Then there is a funeral procession in which coffins of cypress wood are carried on wagons. There is one coffin for each tribe, which contains the bones of members of that tribe. One empty bier is decorated and carried in the procession: this is for the missing, whose bodies could not be recovered. Everyone who wishes to, both citizens and foreigners, can join in the procession, and the women who are related to the dead are there to make their lamentations at the tomb. The bones are laid in the public burial-place, which is in the most beautiful quarter outside the city walls. Here the Athenians always bury those who have fallen in war. The only exception is those who died at Marathon, who, because their achievement was considered absolutely outstanding, were buried on the battlefield itself.

When the bones have been laid in the earth, a man chosen by the city for his intellectual gifts and for his general reputation makes an appropriate speech in praise of the dead, and after the speech all depart. This is the procedure at these burials, and all through the war, when

THE PRINCE Niccolò Machiavelli

Translated and
with an Introduction by
Harvey C. Mansfield

Second Edition 1988

First ed. 1985

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
Chicago and London

tain himself in his state unless there is an extraordinary and excessive force which deprives him of it; and should he be deprived of it, if any mishap whatever befalls the occupier, he reacquires it.

We have in Italy, for example, the duke of Ferrara, who, for no other cause than that his line was ancient in that dominion, did not succumb to the attacks of the Venetians in '84, nor to those of Pope Julius in '10.⁴ For the natural prince has less cause and less necessity to offend;⁵ hence it is fitting that he be more loved. And if extraordinary vices do not make him hated, it is reasonable that he will naturally have the good will of his own. In the antiquity and continuity of the dominion the memories and causes of innovations are eliminated; for one change always leaves a denotation⁶ for the building of another.

4. NIM speaks of two dukes of Ferrara as if they were one: Ercole d'Este (1431-1505) and his son Alfonso d'Este (1476-1534). Ercole was defeated by the Venetians in 1484, and Alfonso was temporarily deprived of his principality by Pope Julius in 1510.

5. *Offendere* is not merely to slight, but to harm so as to cause offense.

6. A denotation is a toothed wall left on the side of a building so that another building may be attached to it. NIM's metaphor compares the hereditary, or "natural," principality to a row of houses continually added to but never finished and, as it were, not begun from the beginning.



Of Mixed Principalities

But the difficulties reside in the new principality. First, if it is not altogether new but like an added member (so that taken as a whole it can be called almost mixed), its instability arises in the first place from a natural difficulty that

Part II. Of Commonwealth

refuse, or by war subdueth his enemies to his will, giving them their lives on that condition. The other is when men agree amongst themselves to submit to some man, or assembly of men, voluntarily, on confidence to be protected by him against all others. This latter may be called a political commonwealth, or commonwealth by *institution*, and the former, a commonwealth by *acquisition*. And first, I shall speak of a commonwealth by institution.

THOMAS HOBBES

Leviathan

with selected variants
from the Latin edition of 1668

Edited,
with Introduction and Notes by
Edwin Curley

Hackett Publishing Company, Inc.
Indianapolis/Cambridge

1994

same cause, and that is, displeasing priests, * and those not only amongst Catholics, but even in that church that hath presumed * most of reformation.²⁰

CHAPTER XIII Of the NATURAL CONDITION of MANKIND, As Concerning Their Felicity, and Misery!

Men by nature Equal.

[1] Nature hath made men so equal in the faculties of body and mind as that, though there be found one man sometimes manifestly stronger in body or of quicker mind than another, yet when all is reckoned together the difference between man and man is not so considerable as that one man can thereupon claim to himself any benefit to which another may not pretend* as well as he. For as to the strength of body, the weakest has strength enough to kill the strongest, either by secret machination, * or by confederacy* with others that are in the same danger with himself.

[2] And as to the faculties of the mind—setting aside the arts grounded upon words, and especially that skill of proceeding upon general and inflexible rules called science (which very few have, and but in few things), as being not a native faculty (born with us), nor attained (as prudence) while we look after somewhat else—I find yet a greater equality amongst men

20. Omitted in OL. Clarendon professed to see here a reference to the Church of England (*Brief View*, p. 25). Certainly Archbishop Laud alienated many members of that church by his policies, which did lead to schism in the Church. But one central criticism of the Laudians was that they were too inclined to Romanism. I think it more natural to take the church that "presumed most of reformation" to be the Presbyterians, who, according to Hobbes, claimed to outdo the reformation both of Luther and of Calvin, departing as much from them as they had from the pope. (Cf. *Behemoth*, p. 136) In the ms. version Hobbes presented to Charles II the last clause is replaced by the following: "On whom men by common fairly are carried to execute their anger. They bear down not only religion, which they reduce to private fancy, but also the civil government that would uphold it, reducing it to the natural condition of private force."

1. OL: "Of the condition of mankind, as concerning their felicity in the present life."

than that of strength. For prudence is but experience, which equal time equally bestows on all men in those things they equally apply themselves unto. That which may perhaps make such equality incredible is but a vain conceit of one's own wisdom, which almost all men think they have in a greater degree than the vulgar, that is, than all men but themselves and a few others whom, by fame or for concurring with themselves, they approve. For such is the nature of men that howsoever they may acknowledge many others to be more witty, or more eloquent, or more learned, yet they will hardly believe there be many so wise as themselves. For they see their own wit at hand, and other men's at a distance. But this proveth rather that men are in that point equal, than unequal. For there is not ordinarily a greater sign of the equal distribution of anything than that every man is contented with his share.

[3] From this equality of ability ariseth equality of hope in the attaining of our ends. And therefore, if any two men desire the same thing, which nevertheless they cannot both enjoy, they become enemies; and in the way to their end, which is principally their own conservation, and sometimes their delectation* only, endeavour to destroy or subdue one another. And from hence it comes to pass that, where an invader hath no more to fear than another man's single power, if one plant, sow, build, or possess a convenient seat, others may probably be expected to come prepared with forces united, to dispossess and deprive him, not only of the fruit of his labour, but also of his life or liberty. And the invader again is in the like danger of another.

[4] And from this diffidence* of one another, there is no way for any man to secure himself so reasonable as anticipation*, that is, by force or wiles to master the persons of all men he can, so long till he see no other power great enough to endanger him. And this is no more than his own conservation requireth, and is generally allowed. *Also, because there be some that taking pleasure in contemplating their own power in the acts of conquest, which they pursue farther than their security requires,²¹ if others (that otherwise would be glad to be at ease within modest bounds) should not by invasion increase their power, they would not be able, long time, by standing only on their defence, to subsist. And by consequence, such augmentation* of dominion over men being necessary to a man's conservation, it ought to be allowed him.

[5] Again, men have no pleasure, but on the contrary a great deal of grief in keeping company where there is no power able to overawe them all. For every man looketh that his companion should value him at the

OL: "For since there are those who, from pride and a desire for glory, would conquer the whole world . . ."

Carlson F02

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BIBLE

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with the

Apocryphal / Deuterocanonical Books

Edited by

BRUCE M. METZGER ROLAND E. MURPHY

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STANDARD VERSION

New York
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

1989, 91, 94

18 As he walked by the Sea of Galilee, he saw two brothers, Simon, who is called Peter, and Andrew his brother, casting a net into the sea—for they were fishermen. 19 And he said to them, "Follow me, and I will make you fish for people." 20 Immediately they left their nets and followed him. 21 As he went from there, he saw two other brothers, James son of Zebedee and his brother John, in the boat with their father Zebedee, mending their nets, and he called them. 22 Immediately they left the boat and their father, and followed him.

23 Jesus went throughout Galilee, teaching in their synagogues and proclaiming the good news of the kingdom and curing every disease and every sickness among the people. 24 So his fame spread throughout all Syria, and they brought to him all the sick, those who were afflicted with various diseases and pains, demoniacs, epileptics, and paralytics, and he cured them. 25 And great crowds followed him from Galilee, the Decapolis, Jerusalem, Judea, and from beyond the Jordan.

5 When Jesus saw the crowds, he went up the mountain; and after he sat down, his disciples came to him. 2 Then he began to speak, and taught them, saying:

3 "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.

4 "Blessed are those who mourn, for they will be comforted.

5 "Blessed are the meek, for they will inherit the earth.

6 "Blessed are those who hunger and thirst for righteousness, for they will be filled.

7 "Blessed are the merciful, for they will receive mercy.

8 "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they will see God.

9 "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they will be called children of God.

10 "Blessed are those who are persecuted for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.

11 "Blessed are you when people revile you and persecute you and utter all kinds of evil against you falsely on my account. 12 Rejoice and be glad, for your reward is great in heaven, for in the same way they persecuted the prophets who were before you.

13 "You are the salt of the earth; but if salt has lost its taste, how can its saltiness be restored? It is no longer good for anything, but is thrown out and trampled under foot.

14 "You are the light of the world. A city built on a hill cannot be hidden. No one after lighting a lamp puts it under the bushel basket, but on the lampstand, and

s Gk He t Gk gospel u Gk he v Other ancient authorities lack falsely

4.18-22: Mk 1.16-20; Lk 5.1-11; Jn 1.35-42. 24: *Demoniacs*, persons controlled in body or will, or in both, by evil forces (Mt 8.16, 28; 9.32; 15.22; Mk 5.15; see Lk 13.11, 16 n.). *Demons*, see Lk 4.33 n. 25: *Decapolis*, see Mk 5.20 n.

5.1-7.27: **The Sermon on the Mount** sounds the keynote of the new age that Jesus came to introduce. Internal analysis and comparison with Luke's Gospel suggest that the Evangelist (in accord with his habit of synthesis) has inserted into this account of the Sermon portions of Jesus' teaching given on other occasions. 1: *He sat down*, the usual position of Jewish rabbis while teaching (compare Lk 4.20-21).

5.3-12: **The Beatitudes** (Lk 6.17, 20-23) proclaim God's favor toward those who aspire to live under his rule. 3: *Poor in spirit*,

those who feel a deep sense of spiritual poverty (Isa 66.2). 4: *Comforted*, the word implies strengthening as well as consolation.

5.5: Ps 37.11. 6: Isa 55.1-2; Jn 4.14; 6.45. 7: *Will receive mercy*, on the day of judgment. 8: *Purity of heart* is single-mindedness or sincerity, freedom from mixed motives; it is not synonymous with chastity, but includes it (Ps 24.4; Heb 12.14). See God, 13.12; 1 Jn 3.2; Rev 22.4.

5.9: *Peacemakers* are not merely "peaceable," but those who work earnestly "make" peace. *Will be called children of God* will be acknowledged as such by God (1 Pet 3.14; 4.14. 12: 2 Chr 36.15-16; 23.37; Acts 7.52.

5.13-16: **The witness of the disciples** 13: Mk 9.49-50; Lk 14.34-35. 14: Phil 2.15. 8.12. 15: See Mk 4.21 n. 16: 1 Pet 2.12.

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The Peaceable Kingdom:

A PRIMER IN CHRISTIAN ETHICS

Stanley Hauerwas

Other Books by Stanley Hauerwas

*Character and the Christian Life:
A Study in Theological Ethics*

Vision and Virtue: Essays in Christian Ethical Reflection

*Truthfulness and Tragedy: Further Investigations into
Christian Ethics*

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Christian Social Ethic*

*Responsibility for Devalued Persons: Ethical Interaction
between Society, the Family, and the Retarded* (editor)

Revisions: Changing Perspectives in Moral Theology
(editor, with Alasdair MacIntyre)

University of Notre Dame Press
Notre Dame London

1983

but only the Jesus given to us by the early church, which had its own particular axes to grind. There is no alternative but to provide a "hermeneutical principle" prior to the Gospels that can establish Jesus' nature and significance.

Yet there is a deep difficulty with the strategy that attempts to avoid dealing with Jesus as he is portrayed in the Gospels. Christologies which emphasize the cosmic and ontological Christ tend to make Jesus' life almost incidental to what is assumed to be a more profound theological point. In particular the eschatological aspects of Jesus' message are downplayed. Yet there is widespread agreement that one of the most significant "discoveries" of recent scholarship is that Jesus' teaching was not first of all focused on his own status but on the proclamation of the kingdom of God.¹ Jesus, it seems, did not direct attention to himself, but through his teaching, healings, and miracles tried to indicate the nature and immediacy of God's kingdom.² It may be objected that even this conclusion about him seems to presuppose exactly what we just said could *not* be assumed — namely, that we are able to isolate the real Jesus from the Jesus created by the early churches. Yet we can at least say that Jesus as depicted in Mark, Matthew, and Luke does not call attention to himself, but to the kingdom which the early Christians felt had been made present and yet was still to come.

It is not my intention to settle to what extent we can know the "real Jesus." I am quite content to assume that the Jesus we have in Scripture is the Jesus of the early church. Even more important, I want to maintain that it cannot or should not be otherwise, since the very demands Jesus placed on his followers means he cannot be known abstracted from the disciples' response. The historical fact that we only learn who Jesus is as he is reflected through the eyes of his followers, a fact that has driven many to despair because it seems they cannot know the real Jesus, in fact is a theological necessity. For the "real Jesus" did not come to leave us unchanged, but rather to transform us to be worthy members of the community of the new age.

It is a startling fact, so obvious that its significance is missed time and time again, that when the early Christians began to witness to the significance of Jesus for their lives they necessarily resorted to a telling of his life. Their "Christology" did not consist first in claims about Jesus' ontological status, though such claims were made; their Christology was not limited to assessing the significance of Jesus' death and resurrection, though certainly these were attributed great significance; rather their "Christology," if it can be called that,³

5. Jesus:

The Presence of the Peaceable Kingdom

1. THE ETHICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF JESUS

Everything I have done in this book has been preparation for this chapter. The emphasis on the qualified nature of Christian ethics, the significance of narrative, the historic nature of human agency, the character of our sinfulness have been attempts to establish a framework that can help us understand the moral significance of Jesus' life, death, and resurrection. That such a preparation was necessary may seem odd, for it would be natural to assume that what makes Christian ethics Christian is the overriding significance of Jesus. But how that significance is understood has varied, and the ways in which Jesus is claimed to be morally significant often bear little likeness to the Jesus we find portrayed in the Gospels.

Indeed Christian ethics has tended to make "Christology" rather than Jesus its starting point. His relevance is seen as resting in more substantive claims about the incarnation. Christian ethics then often begins with some broadly drawn theological claims about the significance of God becoming man, but the life of the man whom God made his representative is ignored or used selectively. Some have placed such great emphasis on Jesus' death and resurrection as the source of salvation that there is almost no recognition of him as the teacher of righteousness. Or even Jesus' death and resurrection are secondary to claims concerning Jesus as very God and very man — for it is God taking on himself our nature that saves, rather than the life of this man Jesus.

This emphasis on Jesus' ontological significance strikes many as absolutely essential, especially in light of modern historical criticism on the Gospels. For it has become obvious that the writers of the Gospels were not trying to write "objective history" but rather told the story of Jesus in terms of the needs and concerns of their communities. There is no possibility of knowing the "historical Jesus,"

The Hauerwas Reader

Stanley Hauerwas

Edited by John Berkman and Michael Cartwright

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2001

we should drastically reduce the kind and number of our nuclear stockpile. This latter group includes such highly respected persons as George Kennan and Robert McNamara, the sort who cannot be accused of political naïveté. As yet, however, these many voices have precipitated no change in public policy and they seem unlikely to do so in the near future. Indeed, we are told that the peace movement threatens the peace, as peace can be guaranteed only through strength, which means more, not fewer, nuclear missiles. And so the stockpiles continue to grow.

Why do we seem caught in this dilemma? Why, when all admit that nuclear weapons threaten our very existence as nations, if not as a species, do we seem so unable to free ourselves from their power? Some suppose that people want peace, but our leaders, inspired by some nefarious motive, do not. Such explanations are far too simple; the problem is much more recalcitrant than a change in leadership can solve. We all, leaders and followers alike, seem caught in a web of powers that is one of our own making yet not under our control. We say we want peace, but we seem destined for war.

Why is this the case? Why do all our attempts to think morally about war often seem so futile in the face of war's irresistible inevitability? In spite of its horror and destructiveness, its insanity and irrationality, might it be that we have overlooked the fact that war has a moral purpose? Could that be the reason why, no matter how compelling the logic against nuclear weapons, we still seem defeated by those who say, "All that may be quite right, but . . . ?" What are the moral presuppositions that make that "but" seem so powerful?

In order to try to understand these kinds of questions I am going to propose a thought experiment that may help us reconsider our assumptions about war and its place in our lives. The experiment is to provide the best negative answer I am able to the question: "Should war be eliminated?" We tend to think such a question absurd. After all, it is not a question of "should" at all, but of "can." We all know we should eliminate war; the problem is we cannot. Asking if we should eliminate war is like asking if we should eliminate sin. Of course we should, but the problem is that we cannot. Therefore, to ask such a question is to start us off in the wrong direction.

While I admit that there may be aspects of the question bordering on the absurd, I hope to show that by pressing it seriously we may be able to illuminate why war is such an intractable aspect of our existence. Moreover, by insisting on using the language of *should* I want to force us to consider what is at stake morally by the very fact that we describe some forms of violence as war. Too often those concerned to make moral judgments about war, whether

20. Should War Be Eliminated?

A Thought Experiment (1984)

In 1983 the National Conference of Catholic Bishops of the United States issued a pastoral letter entitled The Challenge of Peace: God's Promise and Our Response. Hauerwas takes the occasion of its publication to engage in a "thought experiment" on Roman Catholic ambivalence to warfare more generally. Hauerwas shows how the pastoral letter's two viewpoints about war (i.e., just war and pacifism) issue from ethical perspectives (one beginning with the gospel vs. one beginning with the natural law) that have different starting points. Though not strictly incompatible, Hauerwas wonders "how one can hold both at once." Examining the defense of war on natural law grounds as presented in both The Challenge of Peace and the work of the Catholic theologian David Hollenbach, Hauerwas concludes that neither is successful at resolving the obvious tension between the just war and pacifist viewpoints. "Should war be eliminated?" is not the appropriate question because "war has been eliminated for those who participate in God's history." Drawing on the conception of "eschatological peace" developed by the Mennonite theologian ethicist John Howard Yoder, Hauerwas argues that the church is properly understood as "God's sign that war is not part of his providential care of the world" and therefore as "the carrier of a history other than the history of war."

On Getting the Problems Right

Large numbers of people are now convinced that we should eliminate all nuclear weapons. In their recent pastoral letter the Roman Catholic Bishops of America seem virtually to have joined these ranks. Still more people, while they do not call for the complete destruction of nuclear weapons, suggest that

[Originally published as the "1984 Pere Marquette Theology Lecture: Should War Be Eliminated?" By Stanley Hauerwas, Marquette University Press, 1984. Subsequently reprinted in *AN*. It has been edited for clarity.]

Carlson, FO

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EDITED BY STANLEY HAUERWAS

AND FRANK LENTRICCHIA

STANLEY HAUERWAS
September 11, 2001

A Pacifist Response

DISSENT FROM THE HOMELAND


essays after September 11

DUKE UNIVERSITY PRESS • DURHAM & LONDON • 2003

I want to write honestly about September 11, 2001. But it is not easy. Even now, some months after that horrible event, I find it hard to know what can be said or, perhaps more difficult, what should be said. Even more difficult, I am not sure for what or how I should pray. I am a Christian. I am a Christian pacifist. Being Christian and being a pacifist are not two things for me. I would not be a pacifist if I were not a Christian, and I find it hard to understand how one can be a Christian without being a pacifist. But what does a pacifist have to say in the face of terror? Pray for peace? I have no use for sentimentality.

Indeed some have suggested pacifists have nothing to say in a time like the time after September 11, 2001. The editors of the magazine *First Things* assert that "those who in principle oppose the use of military force have no legitimate part in the discussion about how military force should be used."¹ They make this assertion because according to them the only form of pacifism that is defensible requires the disavowal by the pacifist of any political relevance. That is not the kind of pacifism I represent. I am a pacifist because I think nonviolence is the necessary condition for a politics not based on death. A politics that is not determined by the fear of death means no strong distinction can be drawn between politics and military force.

Yet I cannot deny that September 11, 2001, creates and requires a kind of silence. We desperately want to "explain" what happened. Explanation domesticates terror, making it part of "our" world. I believe attempts to explain must be resisted. Rather, we should learn to wait before what we know not, hoping to gain time and space sufficient to learn how to speak without lying. I should like to think pacifism names the habits and community necessary to gain the time and place that is

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The Tonto Principle

by Stanley Hauerwas

Some people think that if you have a position of Christian nonviolence, you don't have anything to say because you're excluded from making discriminating political judgments. In a sense that is right. I always say I represent the "Tonto principle of Christian ethics." When Tonto and the Lone Ranger found themselves surrounded by 20,000 Sioux, the Lone Ranger turned to Tonto and said, "This looks pretty tough; what do you think we ought to do?" Tonto replied, "What do you mean 'we,' white man?"

The assumption is that our reaction should be one that identifies a "we" that combines both the American and the Christian. Yet "we" Christians are called to respond to this terrorizing event in a way that is different from that shaped by American presuppositions. I want to be very clear. Nothing that the United States has done in its foreign policy—and it's done some very wicked things—can justify what was done at the World Trade Center. We have to step back and ask what we Christians have done that we find ourselves so implicated in the world that we cannot differentiate our response as God's people from the American people's response.


Stanley Hauerwas is Gilbert T. Rowe professor of theological ethics at Duke Divinity School and the author of many books including The Peaceable Kingdom, After Christendom, and most recently With the Grain of the Universe.

The Tonto Principle, by Stanley Hauerwas. Sojourners Magazine, January-February 2002 (Vol. 31, No. 1, pp. 30). Cover.

(Source: http://www.sojournersmagazine.com/index.cfm?action=magazine_article&issue=soj0201&article=020113a)

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March 3, 2003

By: Stanley Hauerwas (in Time Magazine/Time.Com)

No, This War Would Not Be Moral

(a companion article to 'Yes, a War Would Be Moral' by Andrew Sullivan)

The impending war against Saddam Hussein seems morally coherent to many because Saddam is "evil." After all, who in the world is against eliminating evil? Well, I am, if war is the means for its elimination. I am an advocate of Christian nonviolence, but I don't think that means I have nothing to say about the war fever gripping much of America. I believe that Christians, of all people, should worry when the President of the United States uses the word evil to justify war.

I have no doubt that Saddam is a brutal dictator. And I am well aware that he has failed to live up to the conditions of the 1991 truce. But I doubt that any of this makes him more "evil" than a number of other current officeholders around the world. Nor do I understand why President George W. Bush thinks it is the job of the U.S. to eliminate brutal dictators. America's foreign policy has often supported these same brutal dictators — including Saddam — when they have been on "our side." Bush's use of the word evil comes close to being evil — to the extent that it gives this war a religious justification (which Christians should resist). For Christians, the proper home for the language of evil is the liturgy: it is God who deals with evil, and it's presumptuous for humans to assume that our task is to do what only God can do. Advocates of "just war" should be the first to object to the language of evil because that characterization threatens to turn war into a crusade.

Does that mean there is nothing we can do? No, I think that a lot can be done — once we free our imaginations from the presumption that the only alternative is capitulation or war. Nonviolence means finding alternatives to the notion that it is ultimately a matter of kill or be killed. Christians might consider, for example, asking the many Christians in Iraq what we can do to make their lives more bearable. A small step, to be sure, but peace is made from small steps.

At the same time, we must insist on being told the truth about why this war seems so inevitable. The moral justifications for war against Saddam would surely lack any persuasive power had Sept. 11, 2001, not happened. As Rowan Williams, the Archbishop of Canterbury, has rightly observed, any attempt to sustain truthful speech was lost as soon as the word war was used to describe the events of Sept. 11. What happened on that day was not war; it was murder. In his rush to assure the American people that everything could return to normal, President Bush declared a "war on terrorism." Oddly, knowing we are at war makes many Americans feel safe. Thus the metaphorical wars against drugs and crime are now stretched beyond all sense to become a war on terrorism. It's not clear,

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TRADITIONS OF INTERNATIONAL ETHICS

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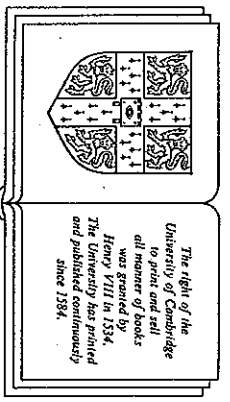
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4 CLASSICAL REALISM

STEVEN FORDE

"Realism" is probably the second oldest perspective we have on the place of ethics in international politics. The oldest, of course, is the patriotic moralism that sees a simple struggle between right and wrong in international affairs, with one's own community infallibly in the right. Realism appears against this background as a skepticism concerning the relevance of moral categories to the relations among states. The realist tradition in Western thought dates to ancient Greece, particularly to the writing of the historian and political thinker Thucydides. The "classical realism" that is the subject of this chapter is a tradition that begins with Thucydides and extends through Machiavelli to the early social contract theorists Hobbes, Spinoza, and Rousseau. Though this tradition has been immensely powerful, it is to some extent an artificial construct - these thinkers did not by and large think of themselves as adherents to a tradition, but as innovators. Nevertheless, as we shall see, they share a fundamental perspective that puts them on the same side of the important questions of ethics and international politics.

The essence of international realism is its belief in the primacy of self-interest over moral principle, of necessity and therefore *as of right*, in international politics. This can mean either that self-interest confers a positive right of some kind, as when the "national interest" is seen as a moral principle, or that morality is wholly inapplicable to international politics. In the second understanding, states have a "right" to pursue their self-interest only in the sense that they have no duty to do otherwise. Realists, as we shall see in this chapter and the next, may take either position, or some position in between (see also the discussion of realism in "Ethical judgment as judgment within a tradition," Chapter 1). The classical realists differ from their successors in general in being more uncompromising in their realism. The classical realists tend as well to be more philosophical in their approach and orientation. They are engaged in a serious dialogue with moral philosophy, and are aware of the need

to explain theoretically why moral principle does not apply to relations among states.

It is sometimes proposed that particular features are essential to realism, such as a belief in the primacy of the nation-state, or the principle that states behave rationally, or the balance of power. These views are advanced by some realists, but not by all. Thucydides and Machiavelli, for example, ascribe as much importance to individual actors (Alcibiades, Cesare Borgia) as to states, under the proper circumstances. Machiavelli had nothing but scorn for the balance-of-power advocates of his day and, for him at least, realism represents an attempt to improve on what he regards as the woefully defective rationality of modern Christian states. All realists do agree that the international environment is inherently anarchic, lacking any central, order-enforcing power. Since ethical restraints are not enforced in this environment, the argument holds, they lose their binding character. The realists often speak in terms of *necessity*: international conditions compel states to defend their interests by frequently immoral means, and this compulsion of self-defense dissolves moral duties.

The fact that the international system may at times be characterized by harmony and ethical behavior does not, in the realist view, change the matter. International harmony may be broken at any time, leaving states that continue to behave morally at a serious disadvantage, perhaps even threatening their existence. Whatever appearance international politics may wear at a given time, the reality behind it is the "jungle." The formulation that this view received in the early modern period was that the international environment is naturally or intrinsically a "state of war." As both Hobbes and Rousseau used this phrase, it implies not that states are perpetually assaulting each other on the field of battle, but that they are in a chronic state of opposition or conflict that may break out into battle at any time. No power prevents a resort to arms whenever states find it advantageous, and no power protects the victims of aggression except the victims themselves. If there is a "society of nations," it is not strong enough to overcome the state of war. If there is a common good among states, it is not significant enough to outweigh the conflicts of interest among them. No actual international institutions, or any reasonably to be expected, have the capacity to remedy this situation. States are left to fend for themselves in an environment that places them all at risk, and that especially jeopardizes those states that allow moral inhibitions to block the pursuit of their own interests.

These are the outlines of the realist position. As we shall see, realist authors differ among themselves on the interpretation and the

Give War a Chance

Edward N. Luttwak

PREMATURE PEACEMAKING

AN UNPLEASANT truth often overlooked is that although war is a great evil, it does have a great virtue: it can resolve political conflicts and lead to peace. This can happen when all belligerents become exhausted or when one wins decisively. Either way the key is that the fighting must continue until a resolution is reached. War brings peace only after passing a culminating phase of violence. Hopes of military success must fade for accommodation to become more attractive than further combat.

Since the establishment of the United Nations and the enshrinement of great-power politics in its Security Council, however, wars among lesser powers have rarely been allowed to run their natural course. Instead, they have typically been interrupted early on, before they could burn themselves out and establish the preconditions for a lasting settlement. Cease-fires and armistices have frequently been imposed under the aegis of the Security Council in order to halt fighting. NATO's intervention in the Kosovo crisis follows this pattern.

But a cease-fire tends to arrest war-induced exhaustion and lets belligerents reconstitute and rearm their forces. It intensifies and prolongs the struggle once the cease-fire ends—and it does usually end. This was true of the Arab-Israeli war of 1948–49, which might have come to closure in a matter of weeks if two cease-fires ordained by the Security Council had not let the combatants recuperate. It has recently been true in the Balkans. Imposed cease-fires frequently interrupted the fighting between Serbs and Croats in Krajina, between

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[36]

Promoting the National Interest

Condoleezza Rice

LIFE AFTER THE COLD WAR

THE UNITED STATES has found it exceedingly difficult to define its “national interest” in the absence of Soviet power. That we do not know how to think about what follows the U.S.-Soviet confrontation is clear from the continued references to the “post-Cold War period.” Yet such periods of transition are important, because they offer strategic opportunities. During these fluid times, one can affect the shape of the world to come.

The enormity of the moment is obvious. The Soviet Union was more than just a traditional global competitor; it strove to lead a universal socialist alternative to markets and democracy. The Soviet Union quarantined itself and many often-unwitting captives and clients from the rigors of international capitalism. In the end, it sowed the seeds of its own destruction, becoming in isolation an economic and technological dinosaur.

But this is only part of the story. The Soviet Union’s collapse coincided with another great revolution. Dramatic changes in information technology and the growth of “knowledge-based” industries altered

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Editors' Note: Democratic views will be published in forthcoming issues.

Transcript of Hillary Clinton's Confirmation Hearing for Secretary of State

January 13, 2009

...I look forward to working with all of you to renew America's leadership through diplomacy that enhances our security, advances our interests and reflects our values.

Today, nine years into a new century, Americans know that our nation and our world face great perils: from ongoing wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, to the continuing threat posed by terrorist extremists, to the spread of weapons of mass destruction; from the dangers of climate change to pandemic disease; from financial meltdown to worldwide poverty.

The 70 days since the presidential election offer fresh evidence of the urgency of these challenges. New conflict in Gaza; terrorist attacks in Mumbai; mass killings and rapes in the Congo; cholera in Zimbabwe; reports of record high greenhouse gases and rapidly melting glaciers; and even an ancient form of terror — piracy — asserting itself in modern form off the Horn of Africa.

Always, and especially in the crucible of these global challenges, our overriding duty is to protect and advance America's security, interests and values: First, we must keep our people, our nation and our allies secure. Second, we must promote economic growth and shared prosperity at home and abroad. Finally, we must strengthen America's position of global leadership — ensuring that we remain a positive force in the world, whether in working to preserve the health of our planet or expanding dignity and opportunity for people on the margins whose progress and prosperity will add to our own.

Our world has undergone an extraordinary transformation in the last two decades. In 1989, a wall fell and old barriers began to crumble after 40 years of a Cold War that had influenced every aspect of our foreign policy. By 1999, the rise of more democratic and open societies, the expanding reach of world markets, and the explosion of information technology had made "globalization" the word of the day. For most people, it had primarily an economic connotation, but in fact, we were already living in a profoundly interdependent world in which old rules and boundaries no longer held fast — one in which both the promise and the peril of the 21st century could not be contained by national borders or vast distances.

Economic growth has lifted more people out of poverty faster than at any time in history, but economic crises can sweep across the globe even more quickly. A coalition of nations stopped ethnic cleansing in the Balkans, but the conflict in the Middle East continues to inflame tensions from Asia to Africa. Non-state actors fight poverty, improve health and expand education in the poorest parts of the world, while other non-state actors traffic in drugs, children, and women and kill innocent civilians across the globe.

the oracle of the man whose eye is clear,^d and his seed shall have abundant water, his king shall be higher than Agag, and his kingdom shall be exalted.

8 God who brings him out of Egypt, is like the horns of a wild ox for him; he shall devour the nations that are his foes and break their bones. He shall strike with his arrows,^f and like a lion, and like a lioness; who will rouse him up? Blessed is everyone who blesses you, and curses you.^g

10 Then Balaam's anger was kindled against Balaam, and he struck his hands

together. Balaam said to Balaam, "I summoned you to curse my enemies, but instead you have blessed them these three times. ¹¹ Now be off with you! Go home! I said, 'I will reward you richly,' but the LORD has denied you any reward." ¹² And Balaam said to Balak, "Did I not tell your messengers whom you sent to me, ¹³ 'If Balak should give me his house full of silver and gold, I would not be able to go beyond the word of the LORD, to do either good or bad of my own will; what the LORD says, that is what I will say?' ¹⁴ So now, I am going to my people; let me advise you what this people will do to your people in days to come."

15 So he uttered his oracle, saying: "The oracle of Balaam son of Beor, the oracle of the man whose eye is clear,^d words of God, and knows the knowledge of the Most High,^e who sees the vision of the Almighty,^e who falls down, but with his eyes uncovered: I see him, but not now; I behold him, but not near—a star shall come out of Jacob, and a scepter shall rise out of Israel; it shall crush the borderlands^h of Moab, and the territoryⁱ of all the Shethites.

^d Or closed or open
 Heb *Shaddai*
^e Meaning of Heb uncertain
^f Or of Eliphaz
^g Or forehead
^h Some MSS read *skull*

which the oracle was received. *The Almighty*, see Gen 17.1 n. ⁷: If Agag refers to the Amalekite king of Saul's time (1 Sam 15.8), the poem must have been composed in the early monarchy. ^{9b}: Gen 12.3. ^{24:10}: Striking the hands together was a gesture of anger and reproach (Job 27.23). ¹⁴: Balaam not only defies Balak's command to

18 Edom will become a possession, Seir a possession of its enemies,^j while Israel does valiantly. ¹⁹ One out of Jacob shall rule, and destroy the survivors of Ir. ²⁰ Then he looked on Amalek, and uttered his oracle, saying: "First among the nations was Amalek, but its end is to perish forever." ²¹ Then he looked on the Kenite, and uttered his oracle, saying: "Enduring is your dwelling place, and your nest is set in the rock; yet Kan is destined for burning. How long shall Asshur take you away captive?" ²³ Again he uttered his oracle, saying: "Alas, who shall live when God does this? But ships shall come from Kittim and shall afflict Asshur and Eber; and he also shall perish forever." ²⁵ Then Balaam got up and went back to his place, and Balak also went his way.

25 While Israel was staying at Shittim, the people began to have sexual relations with the women of Moab. ² These invited the people to the sacrifices of their gods, and the people ate and bowed down to their gods. ³ Thus Israel yoked itself to the Baal of Peor, and

fit a leader like David whose empire embraced the promised land (see Gen 49.10 n.). ¹⁸: *Seir*, a synonym for Edom. ^{24:20-24}: Supplementary oracles. ²⁰: Ex 17.14-16. ²¹⁻²⁴: The meaning of these verses is obscure, owing to the uncertainty of the names. ^{25:4-18}: Incidents of apostasy in Moab. The protest against intermarriage with foreign peoples was based on the fear of the corruption of Israel's faith (Deut 7.1-5). ¹: *Shittim* (Abel-shittim), opposite Jericho. ²: The Moabite women lured Israelites into idolatrous rites. *Air*, a reference to a sacred meal in connection with the sacrifices (compare Ex 32.6). ³: *Baal*, the Canaanite god of storm and fertility who was worshipped at the

the LORD's anger was kindled against Israel. ⁴ The LORD said to Moses, "Take all the chiefs of the people, and impale them in the sun before the LORD, in order that the fierce anger of the LORD may turn away from Israel." ⁵ And Moses said to the judges of Israel, "Each of you shall kill any of your people who have yoked themselves to the Baal of Peor." ⁶ Just then one of the Israelites came and brought a Midianite woman into his family, in the sight of Moses and in the sight of the whole congregation of the Israelites, while they were weeping at the entrance of the tent of meeting. ⁷ When Phinehas son of Eleazar, son of Aaron the priest, saw it, he got up and left the congregation. Taking a spear in his hand, ⁸ he went after the Israelite man into the tent, and pierced the two of them, the Israelite and the woman, through the belly. So the plague was stopped among the people of Israel. ⁹ Nevertheless those that died by the plague were twenty-four thousand.

10 The LORD spoke to Moses, saying: "Phinehas son of Eleazar, son of Aaron the priest, has turned back my wrath from the Israelites by manifesting such zeal among them on my behalf that in my jealousy I did not consume the Israelites. ¹² Therefore say, 'I hereby grant him my covenant of peace. ¹³ It shall be for him and for his descendants after him a

^j Heb *Seir*, its enemies, a possession

cult center of Peor or Beth-peor (23.28; Deut 3.29). ⁴: The execution of the *chigi's* was an expiation for the people, according to the ancient conception of corporate guilt (compare 2 Sam 21.1-6). ⁵: *Judges*, Ex 18.25-26. ⁶⁻¹⁸: Phinehas' zeal, compare Ex 32.25-29. ⁶: The story assumes an attempt to seduce Israelites into intermarriage with Midianites, with the result that divine judgment came in the form of a plague (v. 9). In 31.16 Balaam is blamed for this incident. ^{25:11}: *Zealous*, or jealous, see Ex 34.14 n.; 1 Kings 19.10. ¹²: A covenant of peace (*Ezek* 34.25; 37.26) is one of welfare and well-being, based on right relation with God and harmonious relations in the community. ¹³: The Aaronic line, traced through Phinehas

within her father's house, in her youth, and her father hears of her vow or her pledge by which she has bound herself, and says nothing to her; then all her vows shall stand, and any pledge by which she has bound herself shall stand. 5 But if her father expresses disapproval to her at the time that he hears of it, no vow of hers, and no pledge by which she has bound herself, shall stand; and the Lord will forgive her, because her father had expressed to her his disapproval.

6 If she marries, while obligated by her vows or any thoughtless utterance of her lips by which she has bound herself, and her husband hears of it and says nothing to her at the time that he hears, then her vows shall stand, and her pledges by which she has bound herself shall stand. 8 But if, at the time that her husband hears of it, he expresses disapproval to her, then he shall nullify the vow by which she was obligated, or the thoughtless utterance of her lips, by which she bound herself; and the Lord will forgive her. 9 (But every vow of a widow or of a divorced woman, by which she has bound herself, shall be binding upon her.) 10 And if she made a vow in her husband's house, or bound herself by a pledge with an oath, 11 and her husband heard it and said nothing to her, and did not express disapproval to her, then all her vows shall stand, and any pledge by which she bound herself shall stand. 12 But if her husband nullifies them at the time that he hears them, then whatever proceeds out of her lips concerning her vows, or concerning her pledge of herself, shall not stand. Her husband has nullified them, and the Lord will forgive her. 13 Any vow or any

felt that it was rash or thoughtless. 9: The exception is a vow made by a woman when widowed or divorced. 13: *Deny herself*, i.e. by a vow of abstinence or discipline.

31:4-54: Holy war against Midian. The reason for this war was the corrupting influence of Midianites at Peor (25:16-18). 3: The Lord's vengeance, i.e. holy war in which the enemy was placed under the sacrificial ban (Ex 17:8-16). 6: Phinehas was sent instead of

War against Midian

binding oath to deny herself, her husband may allow to stand, or her husband may nullify. 14 But if her husband says nothing to her from day to day, when she validates all her vows, or all her pledges, by which she is obligated, he has validated them, because he said nothing to her at the time that he heard of them. 15 But if he nullifies them some time after he heard of them, then he shall bear her guilt.

16 These are the statutes that the Lord commanded Moses concerning her husband and his wife, and a father and his daughter while she is still young and in her father's house.

31 The Lord spoke to Moses, saying, 2 "Avenge the Israelites on the Midianites; afterward you shall be gathered to your people." 3 So Moses said to the people, "Arm some of you number for the war, so that they may go against Midian, to execute the Lord's vengeance on Midian. 4 You shall send a thousand from each of the tribes of Israel to the war." 5 So out of the thousands of Israel, a thousand from each tribe were conscripted, twelve thousand armed for battle. 6 Moses sent them to the war, a thousand from each tribe, along with Phinehas son of Eleazar the priest, with the vessels of the sanctuary and the trumpets for sounding the alarm in his hand. 7 They did battle against Midian, as the Lord had commanded Moses, and killed every male. 8 They killed the kings of Midian: Evi, Rekem, Zur, Hur, and Reba, the five kings of Midian; in addition to others who were slain by them.

r Or to first s Or from that day to the next t Gk: Heb adds to the war

Eleazar, for the high priest, more than other priests, had to avoid contact with the dead (Lev. 21:10-15). 1: Strangely, no mention is made of the ark going into battle. 8: In contrast to early tradition that portrayed Balaam as an advocate for Israel (chs 22-24), this priestly tradition holds him responsible for the apostasy at Peor (v. 16). 7: Despite the annihilation, the Midianites were a formidable foe in a later period (Judg ch 6).

Disposition of captives and booty

and they also killed Balaam son of Beor with the sword. 9 The Israelites took the women of Midian and their little ones captive; and they took all their cattle, men-flocks; and all their goods as booty. 10 All their towns where they had settled, and all their encampments, they burned, and they took all the spoil and all the booty; both people and animals. 12 Then they brought the captives and the booty and the spoil to Moses, to Eleazar the priest, and to the congregation of the Israelites, at the camp on the plains of Moab by the Jordan at Jericho.

13 Moses, Eleazar the priest, and all the leaders of the congregation went to meet them outside the camp. 14 Moses became angry with the officers of the army; the commanders of thousands and the commanders of hundreds, who had come from service in the war. 15 Moses said to them, "Have you allowed all the women to live? 16 These women here, on Balaam's advice, made the Israelites act treacherously against the Lord in the affair of Peor, so that the plague came among the congregation of the Lord, the little ones, and kill every woman who has known a man by sleeping with him. 18 But all the young girls who have not known a man by sleeping with him, keep alive for yourselves. 19 Camp outside the camp seven days; whoever of you has killed any person or touched a corpse, purify yourselves and your garments, purify every garment, every article of skin, everything made of goats' hair; and every article of wood." 20 Eleazar the priest said to the troops who had gone to battle: "This is the statute of the law that the Lord has com-

31:9-12: According to the ideology of holy war, the enemy was offered as a sacrifice to the Lord (1 Sam ch 15).

31:10-24: A major concern of the story is the removal of uncleanness through contact with the dead. See ch 19 for the procedure for ceremonial purification. 20: These articles could absorb uncleanness (Lev 11:24-38).

manded Moses: 22 gold, silver, bronze, iron, tin, and lead— 23 everything that can withstand fire, shall be passed through fire, and it shall be clean. Nevertheless it shall also be purified with the water for purification; and whatever cannot withstand fire, shall be passed through the water. 24 You must wash your clothes on the seventh day, and you shall be clean; afterward you may come into the camp."

25 The Lord spoke to Moses, saying, 26 "You and Eleazar the priest and the heads of the ancestral houses of the congregation make an inventory of the booty. 27 Divide the booty into two parts, between the warriors who went out to battle and all the congregation. 28 From the share of the warriors who went out to battle, set aside as tribute for the Lord, one item out of every five hundred, whether persons, oxen, donkeys, sheep, or goats. 29 Take it from their half and give it to Eleazar the priest as an offering to the Lord. 30 But from the Israelites' half you shall take out of every fifty, whether persons, oxen, donkeys, sheep, or goats—all the animals—and give them to the Levites who have charge of the tabernacle of the Lord."

31 Then Moses and Eleazar the priest did as the Lord had commanded Moses: 32 The booty remaining from the spoil that the troops had taken totaled six hundred seventy-five thousand sheep, 33 seventy-two thousand oxen, 34 sixty-one thousand donkeys, 35 and thirty-two thousand persons in all, women who had not known a man by sleeping with him.

36 The half-share, the portion of those who had gone out to war, was in number three hundred thirty-seven

22-23: Non-absorbent articles had to be subjected to fire as well as to the water for purification (19:9).

31:25-30: The law for the distribution of booty. 27: 1 Sam 30:24-25, 28-30: The warriors were to contribute one-fifth of one percent from their half of the booty to the high priest; this offering was regarded as the tribute

MESSAGES TO THE WORLD

THE STATEMENTS OF OSAMA BIN LADEN

Edited and Introduced by
BRUCE LAWRENCE

Translated by
JAMES HOWARTH



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London • New York

2005

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CRUSADER WARS

November 3 2001

Delivered as a letter to al-Jazeera's Kabul bureau ten days before the entry of the Northern Alliance into the city, this statement was read out by an al-Jazeera newscaster and videoed for transmission, off-air, to its headquarters in Doha. However, the transmission was intercepted by the Pentagon; when it was broadcast, a US spokesman was on hand to present the American side of the case.¹ US concern was not unfounded, as public support for the war in Afghanistan, always low in the Arab world, was weakening more generally, due in part to al-Jazeera's harrowing broadcasts of airstrikes against civilian targets; by contrast, American television networks lacked pictures with such dramatic impact. Short of fluent Arabic speakers, the Department of State summoned out of retirement Christopher Ross, former US Ambassador to Syria, who read out a long prepared statement in response to bin Laden's message, and offered replies to questions posed by the al-Jazeera anchor.²

Bin Laden's statement is set against the "enormous media commotion" in the wake of 9/11. His leading argument is that the American response to 9/11 constitutes clear evidence that the war being waged by the United States and its allies is a Crusade against Islam. The onslaught on Afghanistan is not an isolated conflict, but the latest episode in a long chain of aggressions, which started at the end of World War One and the colonial division of the Middle East between European powers. Seeking to muster the widest possible support for resistance to the US attack on the Taliban regime, bin Laden unfolds his most sweeping analysis to date of 20th century history, from the time when "the entire Islamic world fell under the British, French, and Italian governments", to the role of the United Nations—responsible for the partition of Palestine and the fate of Muslims in Bosnia—as a successor to the Crusader states, and the latest vehicle of their designs. For bin Laden, Kashmir and Chechnya are battlefronts as well as Palestine and Iraq. Courting

¹ See Miles, *Al-Jazeera*, pp. 161-3.

² Miles, *Al-Jazeera*, pp. 162-3.

gle in the South is not so much the tension between white people and Negro people. The struggle is rather between justice and injustice, between the forces of light and the forces of darkness. And if there is a victory it will not be a victory merely for fifty thousand Negroes. But it will be a victory for justice, a victory for good will, a victory for democracy.

Another basic thing we had to get over is that nonviolent resistance is also an internal matter. It not only avoids external violence or external physical violence but also internal violence of spirit. And so at the center of our movement stood the philosophy of love. The attitude that the only way to ultimately change humanity and make for the society that we all long for is to keep love at the center of our lives. Now people used to ask me from the beginning what do you mean by love and how is it that you can tell us to love those persons who seek to defeat us and those persons who stand against us; how can you love such persons? And I had to make it clear all along that love in its highest sense is not a sentimental sort of thing, not even an affectionate sort of thing.

AGAPE LOVE

The Greek language uses three words for love. It talks about *eros*. *Eros* is a sort of aesthetic love. It has come to us to be a sort of romantic love and it stands with all of its beauty. But when we speak of loving those who oppose us we're not talking about *eros*. The Greek language talks about *philia* and this is a sort of reciprocal love between personal friends. This is a vital, valuable love. But when we talk of loving those who oppose you and those who seek to defeat you we are not talking about *eros* or *philia*. The Greek language comes out with another word and it is *agape*. *Agape* is understanding, creative, redemptive good will for all men. Biblical theologians would say it is the love of God working in the minds of men. It is an overflowing love which seeks nothing in return. And when you come to love on this level you begin to love men not because they are likable, not because they do things that attract us, but because God loves them and here we love the person who does the evil deed while hating the deed that the person does. It is the type of love that stands at the center of the movement that we are trying to carry on in the Southland—*agape*.

SOME POWER IN THE UNIVERSE THAT WORKS FOR JUSTICE

I am quite aware of the fact that there are persons who believe firmly in nonviolence who do not believe in a personal God, but I think every person who believes in nonviolent resistance believes somehow that the universe in some form is on the side of justice. That there is something unfolding in the universe whether one speaks of it as an unconscious

The Power of Nonviolence

Invited by the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) and the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) at the University of California at Berkeley, King spoke on 4 June 1957 before a packed audience of eager students. This excerpt is from that address.

From the very beginning there was a philosophy undergirding the Montgomery boycott, the philosophy of nonviolent resistance. There was always the problem of getting this method over because it didn't make sense to most of the people in the beginning. We had to use our mass meetings to explain nonviolence to a community of people who had never heard of the philosophy and in many instances were not sympathetic with it. We had meetings twice a week on Mondays and on Thursdays, and we had an institute on nonviolence and social change. We had to make it clear that nonviolent resistance is not a method of cowardice. It does resist. It is not a method of stagnant passivity and deadening complacency. The nonviolent resister is just as opposed to the evil that he is standing against as the violent resister, but he resists without violence. This method is nonaggressive physically but strongly aggressive spiritually.

NOT TO HUMILIATE BUT TO WIN OVER

Another thing that we had to get over was the fact that the nonviolent resister does not seek to humiliate or defeat the opponent but to win his friendship and understanding. This was always a cry that we had to set before people that our aim is not to defeat the white community, not to humiliate the white community, but to win the friendship of all of the persons who had perpetrated this system in the past. The end of violence or the aftermath of violence is bitterness. The aftermath of nonviolence is reconciliation and the creation of a beloved community. A boycott is never an end within itself. It is merely a means to awaken a sense of shame within the oppressor but the end is reconciliation, the end is redemption.

Then we had to make it clear also that the nonviolent resister seeks to attack the evil system rather than individuals who happen to be caught up in the system. And this is why I say from time to time that the strug-

process, or whether one speaks of it as some unmoved mover, or whether someone speaks of it as a personal God. There is something in the universe that unfolds for justice and so in Montgomery we felt somehow that as we struggled we had cosmic companionship. And this was one of the things that kept the people together, the belief that the universe is on the side of justice.

God grant that as men and women all over the world struggle against evil systems they will struggle with love in their hearts, with understanding good will. *Agape* says you must go on with wise restraint and calm reasonableness but you must keep moving. We have a great opportunity in America to build here a great nation, a nation where all men live together as brothers and respect the dignity and worth of all human personality. We must keep moving toward that goal. I know that some people are saying we must slow up. They are writing letters to the North and they are appealing to white people of good will and to the Negroes saying slow up, you're pushing too fast. They are saying we must adopt a policy of moderation. Now if moderation means moving on with wise restraint and calm reasonableness, then moderation is a great virtue that all men of good will must seek to achieve in this tense period of transition. But if moderation means slowing up in the move for justice and capitulating to the whims and caprices of the guardians of the deadening status quo, then moderation is a tragic vice which all men of good will must condemn. We must continue to move on. Our self-respect is at stake; the prestige of our nation is at stake. Civil rights is an eternal moral issue which may well determine the destiny of our civilization in the ideological struggle with communism. We must keep moving with wise restraint and love and with proper discipline and dignity.

THE NEED TO BE "MALADJUSTED"

Modern psychology has a word that is probably used more than any other word. It is the word "maladjusted." Now we all should seek to live a well-adjusted life in order to avoid neurotic and schizophrenic personalities. But there are some things within our social order to which I am proud to be maladjusted and to which I call upon you to be maladjusted. I never intend to adjust myself to segregation and discrimination. I never intend to adjust myself to mob rule. I never intend to adjust myself to the tragic effects of the methods of physical violence and to tragic militarism. I call upon you to be maladjusted to such things. I call upon you to be as maladjusted as Amos who in the midst of the injustices of his day cried out in words that echo across the generation, "Let judgment run down like waters and righteousness like a mighty stream." As maladjusted as Abraham Lincoln who had the vision to see that this nation could not exist half slave and half free. As maladjusted as Jefferson, who in the midst of an age amazingly adjusted to slavery could cry out, "All

men are created equal and are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights and that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." As maladjusted as Jesus of Nazareth who dreamed a dream of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. God grant that we will be so maladjusted that we will be able to go out and change our world and our civilization. And then we will be able to move from the bleak and desolate midnight of man's inhumanity to man to the bright and glittering daybreak of freedom and justice.

Suffering and Faith

The editors of Christian Century, aware that King constantly received numerous threats against his life, urged him to comment on his view of suffering. His remarks are quite brief, both because of his schedule and because he was unwilling to appear as someone with "a martyr complex."

Some of my personal sufferings over the last few years have also served to shape my thinking. I always hesitate to mention these experiences for fear of conveying the wrong impression. A person who constantly calls attention to his trials and sufferings is in danger of developing a martyr complex and of making others feel that he is consciously seeking sympathy. It is possible for one to be self-centered in his self-denial and self-righteous in his self-sacrifice. So I am always reluctant to refer to my personal sacrifices. But I feel somewhat justified in mentioning them in this article because of the influence they have had in shaping my thinking.

Due to my involvement in the struggle for the freedom of my people, I have known very few quiet days in the last few years. I have been arrested five times and put in Alabama jails. My home has been bombed twice. A day seldom passes that my family and I are not the recipients of threats of death. I have been the victim of a near-fatal stabbing. So in a real sense I have been battered by the storms of persecution. I must admit that at times I have felt that I could no longer bear such a heavy burden, and have been tempted to retreat to a more quiet and serene life. But every time such a temptation appeared, something came to strengthen and sustain my determination. I have learned now that the Master's burden is light precisely when we take his yoke upon us.

My personal trials have also taught me the value of unmerited suffering. As my sufferings mounted I soon realized that there were two ways that I could respond to my situation: either to react with bitterness or seek to transform the suffering into a creative force. I decided to follow the latter course. Recognizing the necessity for suffering I have tried to make of it a virtue. If only to save myself from bitterness, I have attempted to see my personal ordeals as an opportunity to transform myself and heal the people involved in the tragic situation which now obtains. I have lived these last few years with the conviction that unearned suffering is redemptive.

There are some who still find the cross a stumbling block, and others consider it foolishness, but I am more convinced than ever before that it is the power of God unto social and individual salvation. So like the Apostle Paul I can now humbly yet proudly say, "I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus." The suffering and agonizing moments through which I have passed over the last few years have also drawn me closer to God. More than ever before I am convinced of the reality of a personal God.

From the Book of Romans

12 I appeal to you therefore, brothers and sisters,* by the mercies of God, to present your bodies as a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable to God, which is your spiritual* worship. ²Do not be conformed to this world,* but be transformed by the renewing of your minds, so that you may discern what is the will of God—what is good and acceptable and perfect.*

³ For by the grace given to me I say to everyone among you not to think of yourself more highly than you ought to think, but to think with sober judgment, each according to the measure of faith that God has assigned.

⁴For as in one body we have many members, and not all the members have the same function, ⁵so we, who are many, are one body in Christ, and individually we are members one of another. ⁶We have gifts that differ according to the grace given to us: prophecy, in proportion to faith; ⁷ministry, in ministering; the teacher, in teaching; ⁸the exhorter, in exhortation; the giver, in generosity; the leader, in diligence; the compassionate, in cheerfulness.

⁹ Let love be genuine; hate what is evil, hold fast to what is good; ¹⁰love one another with mutual affection; outdo one another in showing honour. ¹¹Do not lag in zeal, be ardent in spirit, serve the Lord.* ¹²Rejoice in hope, be patient in suffering, persevere in prayer. ¹³Contribute to the needs of the saints; extend hospitality to strangers.

¹⁴ Bless those who persecute you; bless and do not curse them. ¹⁵Rejoice with those who rejoice, weep with those who weep. ¹⁶Live in harmony with one another; do not be haughty, but associate with the lowly;* do not claim to be wiser than you are. ¹⁷Do not repay anyone evil for evil, but take thought for what is noble in the sight of all. ¹⁸If it is possible, so far as it depends on you, live peaceably with all. ¹⁹Beloved, never avenge yourselves, but leave room for the wrath of God;* for it is written, 'Vengeance is mine, I will repay, says the Lord.' ²⁰No, 'if your enemies are hungry, feed them; if they are thirsty, give them something to drink; for by doing this you will heap burning coals on their heads.' ²¹Do not be overcome by evil, but overcome evil with good.

Augustine selections
City of God

In the war of Marius and Sulla, quite apart from those who fell outside the city on the battlefield, the streets, the squares, forums, theatres, and temples in Rome itself were packed with corpses. It was in fact, difficult to decide whether the victors inflicted more deaths before victory, to ensure it, or after victory, as a result of it. After the victory of Marius, when he returned from exile (to pass over the general massacre) the head of the consul Octavius was exposed on the rostrum; the Caesars were butchered by Fimbria in their homes; the two Crassi, father and son, were slaughtered before each other's eyes. Baebius and Numitorius were dragged by a hook and disembowelled. Catulus escaped his enemies' clutches by drinking poison: Merula, the *flamen* of Jupiter, cut his veins and offered to Jupiter a libation of his own blood. And those whose salutation Marius refused to acknowledge by offering his right hand were immediately struck down before the conquerer's eyes.¹⁰⁶

28. The nature of Sulla's victory, which avenged the savagery of Marius

The subsequent victory of Sulla¹⁰⁶ no doubt avenged this cruelty but after terrible bloodshed, which was the price of victory. The war was ended, but its hatreds were still very much alive; and the victory issued in a more ruthless peace. The original massacre and the carnage of the elder Marius were followed by the even heavier slaughter carried out by his son and by Carbo,¹⁰⁷ who belonged to the same faction. The imminent approach of Sulla had made them despairing, not only of victory but of their mere survival and they had indulged in

¹⁰⁵ In 88 B.C. the command of the war against Mithridates was given by the senate to Sulla; but the Marian party got it transferred to Marius. Sulla marched on Rome, and Marius fled. But after Sulla's departure for the East, Marius returned with Cinna in 87 B.C., and proceeded to a massacre of his opponents. C. Octavius, consul in 87 B.C., was one of the first victims. L. Cassius, consul in 90 B.C., and his brother C. Caesar Strabo, a noted orator, were also put to death. P. Crassus, father of the triumvir, committed suicide in the same year after the murder of one of his sons. Baebius and Numitorius were members of the Sullan party. Q. Lutatius Catulus is generally reported to have killed himself by inhaling the carbon monoxide from a charcoal brazier, and Metellus killed himself in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

Condemned criminals were sometimes dragged by hooks to be thrown into the Tiber: cf. Cic., *Philipp.* 1, 2, 5; *Pro Rabir.* 5, 16, and Juvenal, 10, 66 (the punishment of the corpse of Sejanus).

¹⁰⁶ 82 B.C.

¹⁰⁷ The younger Marius and Gn. Papirius Carbo were consuls in 82 B.C. Carbo led the Marian Party after Cinna's death in 84 B.C.

restricted massacres of their own. Besides the widespread general bloodshed, the senate was besieged, and the senators were brought from their senate house, like criminals from prison, to be executed by the sword. The pontifex, Mucius Scaevola,¹⁰⁸ threw his arms round the altar of Vesta, whose temple was regarded by the Romans as the most sacred sanctuary; but he was murdered there, and his blood all that extinguished that sacred flame which was kept alight by the ceaseless tendance of the Vestal Virgins. Then Sulla entered Rome as victor. In a villa belonging to the state he had slaughtered seven thousand men (it was peace, not war, that was raging then); the men had surrendered, and were of course unarmed, which saved the trouble of fighting -- a mere command did the business. In the city any Sullan supporter struck down anyone as he pleased and the consequent murders were beyond all calculation, until it was suggested to Sulla that some people should be allowed to live so that the conquerors should have subjects to command.

As soon as a check was imposed on this general licence of assassination, which was spreading its fury on all sides, that notorious register of two thousand names of men from the two honourable orders of the knights and the senators, who were consigned to death and proscription, was published amid great applause. There was general grief at the number of the victims; it was some consolation that the number was not infinite. The sorrow at the multitude of the condemned was counterbalanced by the joyful feeling that the rest had nothing to fear. And yet in the case of some of those who were condemned to die the exquisite torture of their deaths won a sigh of pity even from hearts in which security had stifled all compassion. One man was torn to pieces, not with a weapon, but by the bare hands of murderers; men treated a living human being with less humanity than animals use in dismembering a dead thing thrown to them. Another had his eyes gouged out, and his limbs cut off one by one, and was condemned to a lingering life, or rather to a lingering death. This hideous torment. Famous cities were put up to auction as if they were country houses; one whole community was butchered by order, just as a single criminal might be brought out for execution. And all this took place in the peace which followed the war; it was not done to hasten the achievement of victory, but to ensure that the achievement should not be underrated. Peace and War had a com-

¹⁰⁸ Q. Mucius Scaevola, consul in 95. A great jurist, author of an immense work (eighteen books) on civil law, he is highly praised by Cicero (*De Or.*, 1, 180).

petition in cruelty; and Peace won the prize. For the men whom War cut down were bearing arms; Peace slaughtered the defenceless. The law of War was that the smitten should have the chance of smiting in return; the aim of Peace was to make sure not that the survivor should live, but that he should be killed without the chance of offering resistance.

21. *All homicide is not murder*

There are however certain exceptions to the law against killing, made by the authority of God himself. There are some whose killing God orders, either by a law, or by an express command to a particular person at a particular time. In fact one who owes a duty of obedience to the giver of the command does not himself 'kill' — he is an instrument, a sword in its user's hand. For this reason the commandment forbidding killing was not broken by those who have waged wars on the authority of God, or those who have imposed the death-penalty on criminals when representing the authority of the State in accordance with the laws of the State, the justest and most reasonable source of power. When Abraham was ready to kill his son, so far from being blamed for cruelty he was praised for his devotion; it was not an act of crime, but of obedience. One is justified in asking whether Jephthah is to be regarded as obeying a command of God in killing his daughter when he had vowed to sacrifice to God the first thing he met when returning victorious from battle.⁶⁰ And when Samson destroyed himself, with his enemies, by the demolition of the building,⁶¹ this can only be excused on the ground that the Spirit, which performed miracles through him, secretly ordered him to do so. With the exception of these killings prescribed generally by a just law, or specially commanded by God himself — the source of justice — anyone who kills a human being, whether himself or anyone else, is involved in a charge of murder.

22. *Is suicide ever a mark of greatness of soul?*

Those who have committed this crime against themselves are perhaps to be admired for greatness of spirit; they are not to be praised for wisdom or sanity.⁶² And yet if we examine the matter more deeply

60. Jdg. 11, 29ff.

61. Jdg. 16, 28ff.

62. Suicide was much debated by pagan philosophers. Plato (*Legg.* 873c) and Aristotle (*Eth. Nic.*, 3, 1116a) condemned it. The Cynics approved it unre-

life on earth, and for eternal life hereafter. And, in this world the reign of the good is a blessing for themselves, and even more for the whole of human society. In contrast, the reign of the wicked is more harmful to those who wield the power, who bring destruction on their own souls through the greater scope thus given for their misdeeds, whereas those who are enslaved beneath them are harmed only by their own wickedness. For the evils inflicted on the righteous by their wicked masters are not punishments for crime but tests of virtue. The good man, though a slave, is free; the wicked, though he reigns, is a slave, and not the slave of a single man, but — what is far worse — the slave of as many masters as he has vices.⁷ It is in reference to vices that the Scripture says, 'When a man is vanquished he becomes the bond-slave of his conqueror.'⁸

4. *Kingdoms without justice are like criminal gangs*

Remove justice, and what are kingdoms but gangs of criminals on a large scale? What are criminal gangs but petty kingdoms? A gang is a group of men under the command of a leader, bound by a compact of association, in which the plunder is divided according to an agreed convention.

If this villainy wins so many recruits from the ranks of the demoralized that it acquires territory, establishes a base, captures cities and subdues peoples, it then openly arrogates to itself the title of kingdom, which is conferred on it in the eyes of the world, not by the renouncing of aggression but by the attainment of impunity.

For it was a witty and a truthful rejoinder which was given by a captured pirate to Alexander the Great. The king asked the fellow, 'What is your idea, in infesting the sea?' And the pirate answered, with unabridged insolence, 'The same as yours, in infesting the earth! But because I do it with a tiny craft, I'm called a pirate: because you have a mighty navy, you're called an emperor.'⁹

5. *The revolt of the gladiators, whose power had something of a royal grandeur*

I shall not discuss the question of what kind of people Romulus col-

7. *The slave of vices*: a Stoic sentiment; cf. Seneca, *Ep.*, 47, 17: 'He is a slave. Is he any the worse off for that? Show me any man who is not a slave! One man is the slave of lust, another of greed, another of ambition; and all men are the slaves of fear . . . and the most degraded slavery is that which is self-imposed.'

8. 2 Pet. 2, 19. . . . 9. Cic. *De Rep.*, 3, 14, 24.

The true felicity of Christian emperors

When we describe certain Christian emperors as 'happy', it is not because they enjoyed long reigns, or because they died a peaceful death, leaving the throne to their sons; nor is it because they subdued their country's enemies, or had the power to forestall insurrections by enemies in their own land and to suppress such insurrections if they arose. All these, and other similar rewards or consolations in this life of trouble were granted to some of the worshippers of demons, as their due; and yet those pagan rulers have no connection with the Kingdom

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of God, to which those Christian rulers belong. Their good fortune was due to the mercy of God; for it was God's intention that those who believe in him should not demand such blessings from him as they represented the highest good.

We Christians call rulers happy, if they rule with justice; if amid the voices of exalted praise and the reverent salutations of excessive humility, they are not inflated with pride, but remember that they are but men; if they put their power at the service of God's majesty, and extend his worship far and wide; if they fear God, love him and worship him; if, more than their earthly kingdom, they love him and where they do not fear to share the kingship; if they are slow to punish, but ready to pardon; if they take vengeance on wrong because of the necessity to direct and protect the state, and not to satisfy their personal animosity; if they grant pardon not to allow impunity to wrong-doing but in the hope of amendment of the wrong-doer; if when they are obliged to take severe decisions, as must often happen, they compensate this with the gentleness of their mercy and the generosity of their benefits; if they restrain their self-indulgent appetites all the more because they are more free to gratify them, and prefer to have command over their lower desires than over any number of subject peoples; and if they do all this not for a burning desire for earthly glory, but for the love of eternal blessedness; and if they do not fail to offer to their true God, as a sacrifice for their sins, the oblation of humility, compassion, and prayer.

It is Christian emperors of this kind whom we call happy; happy in hope, during this present life, and to be happy in reality hereafter, when what we wait for will have come to pass.

25. The prosperity bestowed by God on Constantine, the Christian emperor

God, in his goodness, did not wish that those who believed he was to be worshipped for the sake of life eternal, should suppose that no one could attain to the highest stations and the kingdoms of this world unless he made his supplications to demons, on the ground that those evil spirits have great power in this sphere. And for that reason he heaped worldly gifts such as no one would have dared to hope for, on Constantine, who made no supplication to demons, but worshipped only the true God. And God even granted him the honour of founding a city,⁹⁵ associated with the Roman Empire, the daughter, one might

95. Constantinople, A.D. 330.

say, of Rome herself, but a city which contained not a single temple or image of any demon. Constantine had a long reign,⁹⁶ and as the sole Augustus he ruled and defended the whole Roman world; he was victorious, above all others, in the wars which he directed and conducted; fortune favoured his efforts in the repression of usurpers,⁹⁷ and he died of sickness and old age after a long life, leaving the throne to his sons.⁹⁸

On the other hand, so that no emperor should become a Christian in order to earn the good fortune of Constantine (whereas it is only with a view to life eternal that anyone should be a Christian), God removed Jovian⁹⁹ more quickly than Julian¹⁰⁰; he allowed Gratian¹⁰¹ to be slain by the usurper's sword;— but in far less painful circumstances than attended the murder of the great Pompey, who worshipped the pretended gods of Rome. For Pompey could not be avenged by Cato,¹⁰² whom he had, as it were, made his heir to the Civil War; while Gratian was avenged by Theodosius — although pious souls do not look for such consolation — whom Gratian had taken as a partner in his rule, although he had a young brother. Gratian was more concerned to have a trustworthy associate than to enjoy excessive power.

26. The faith and devotion of the Emperor Theodosius

Thus Theodosius kept faith with Gratian not only in life, but after his death. The emperor Theodosius had been

ousy, animosity, and envy are 'works of the flesh';²¹ and the fountain-head of all these evils is pride; and pride reigns in the Devil although he is without flesh. For who is a greater enemy than he is to the saints? Who is found to quarrel with them more bitterly, to show more animosity, jealousy, and envy towards them? Yet he displays all these faults, without having flesh. So how can they be 'the works of the flesh' except in that they are the works of man, to whom, as I have said, the Apostle applies the term 'flesh'?

It is in fact not by the possession of flesh, which the Devil does not possess, that man has become like the Devil: it is by living by the rule of self, that is by the rule of man. For the Devil chose to live by the rule of self when he did not stand fast in the truth, so that the lie that he told was his own lie, not God's. The Devil is not only a liar; he is 'the father of lies'.²² He was, as we know, the first to lie, and falsehood, like sin, had its start from him.

4. *The meaning of living 'by the standard of man' and 'by the standard of God'*

Thus, when man lives 'by the standard of man' and not 'by the standard of God', he is like the Devil; because even an angel should not have lived by the angel's standard, but by God's, so as to stand firm in the truth and speak the truth that comes from God's truth, not the lie that derives from his own falsehood. For the Apostle has this to say about man also, in another passage, 'But if the truth of God has been abundantly displayed through my falsehood'.²³ The point is that the falsehood is ours, but the truth is God's.

So when man lives by the standard of truth he lives not by his own standard, but by God's. For it is God who has said, 'I am the truth'. By contrast, when he lives by his own standard, that is by man's and not by God's standard, then inevitably he lives by the standard of falsehood. Not that man himself is falsehood, since his author and creator is God, who is certainly not the author and creator of falsehood. The fact is that man was created right, on condition that he should live by the standard of his creator, not by his own, carrying out not his own will, but his creator's. Falsehood consists in not living in the way for which he was created.

Man has undoubtedly the will to be happy, even when he pursues

21. cf. Gal. 5, 19ff.

22. John 8, 44.

23. Rom. 3, 7.

happiness by living in a way which makes it impossible of attainment. What could be more of a falsehood than a will like that? Hence we can say with meaning that every sin is a falsehood. For sin only happens by an act of will; and our will is for our own welfare, or for the avoidance of misfortune. And hence the falsehood: we commit sin to promote our welfare, and it results instead in our misfortune; or we sin to increase our welfare, and the result is rather to increase our misfortune. What is the reason for this, except that well-being can only come to man from God, not from himself? And he forsakes God by sinning, and he sins by living by his own standard.

I have already said that two cities, different and mutually opposed, owe their existence to the fact that some men live by the standard of the flesh, others by the standard of the spirit. It can now be seen that we may also put it in this way: that some live by man's standard, others by God's. St. Paul puts it very plainly when he says to the Corinthians, 'For since there is jealousy and quarrelling among you, are you not of the flesh, following human standards in your behaviour?'²⁴ Therefore, to behave according to human standards is the same as to be 'of the flesh', because by 'the flesh', a part of man, man himself is meant.

In fact, St. Paul had previously employed the term 'animal' to the same people whom he here calls 'carnal'. This is what he said,

For what man on earth knows the truth about a man except the spirit of the man which is in him? Similarly, no one knows the truth about God except the Spirit of God. Now we have not received the spirit of this world, but the spirit which is the gift of God, so that we may understand the gifts which God has granted us. We speak of those gifts in words which we have been taught, not by human wisdom, but by the Spirit, interpreting spiritual truths to men possessed by God's Spirit. The 'animal' man does not grasp what belongs to the Spirit of God; it is all folly to him.²⁵

It is then to such men, that is, to 'animal' men, that he says, somewhat later, 'Now I, my brothers, could not speak to you as I should to men possessed by the Spirit; I could only speak as to men of the flesh'.²⁷ Both these terms, 'animal' and 'carnal', are examples of the pair for 'whole' figure of speech. For *anima* (the soul) and *caro* (the flesh) are parts of a man, and can stand for man in his entirety. And thus the 'animal' man is not something different from the 'carnal' man; they are identical, that is, man living by human standards. In the same way, the reference is simply to men when we read 'No flesh

25. 1 Cor. 3, 3.

26. 1 Cor. 2, 11ff.

27. 1 Cor. 3, 1.

lasts throughout this whole stretch of time, or era, in which the dying yield place to the newly-born who succeed them.

Now Cain was the first son born to those two parents of mankind and he belonged to the city of man; the later son, Abel, belonged to the City of God.³ It is our own experience that in the individual man to use the words of the Apostle, 'it is not the spiritual element which comes first, but the animal; and afterwards comes the spiritual', and so it is that everyone, since he takes his origin from a condemned stock, is inevitably evil and carnal to begin with, by derivation from Adam; but if he is reborn into Christ, and makes progress, he will afterwards be good and spiritual. The same holds true of the whole human race. When those two cities started on their course through the succession of birth and death, the first to be born was a citizen of this world, and later appeared one who was a pilgrim and stranger in the world, belonging as he did to the City of God. He was predestined by grace, and chosen by grace, by grace a pilgrim below, and by grace a citizen above. As far as he himself is concerned he has his origin from the same lump which was condemned, as a whole lump, at the beginning. But God like a potter (the analogy introduced by the Apostle is not impertinent but very pertinent) made 'out of the same lump' a vessel destined for honour, and another for dishonour'.⁴ But the first one made was the vessel for dishonour, and afterwards came the vessel for honour. For in the individual man, as I have said, the base condition comes first, and we have to start with that; but we are not bound to stop at that, and later comes the noble state towards which we may make progress, and in which we may abide, when we have arrived at it. Hence it is not the case that every bad man will become good, but no one will be good who was not bad originally. Yet the sooner a man changes for the better the more quickly will he secure for himself the title belonging to his attainment and will hide his earlier appellation under the later name.

Scripture tells us that Cain founded a city,⁵ whereas Abel, a pilgrim, did not found one. For the City of the saints is up above although it produces citizens here below, and in their persons the City is on pilgrimage until the time of its kingdom comes. At that time it will assemble all those citizens as they rise again in their bodies; and then they will be given the promised kingdom, where with their Prince, 'the king of ages', they will reign, world without end.

3. cf. Gen. 4. 1f.

4. 1 Cor. 5. 46.

5. Rom. 9. 21.

6. cf. Gen. 4. 17.

7. cf. 1 Tim. 1. 17.

BOOK XV

The two lines of descent of the human race, advancing from the start towards different ends

CONCERNING the happiness of paradise and paradise itself, and concerning the life there of the first human beings and their sin, with its punishment, many opinions have been held by different people, many notions have been expressed in speech, or committed to writing. I myself have had a good deal to say on those subjects in previous books,¹ basing my statements on holy Scripture; what I said there was either what I found stated in Scripture or what I could infer from scriptural statements, always keeping in conformity with the authority of the Bible. A more searching discussion of the subject would produce a great number and a great variety of arguments which would require for their deployment a greater number of volumes than the present work demands and my time permits. The time at my disposal does not allow me to linger on all the questions that may be raised by men, with time on their hands and with a curiosity for finer points — the kind of people who are more ready to ask questions than capable of understanding the answers.

All the same, I think that I have already discharged my obligation to the important and knotty problems about the beginning of the world, and of the soul, and of the human race itself. I classify the human race into two branches: the one consists of those who live by human standards, the other of those who live according to God's will. I also call these two classes the two cities, speaking allegorically. By two cities I mean two societies of human beings, one of which is predestined to reign with God for all eternity, the other doomed to undergo eternal punishment with the Devil. But this is their final destiny, and I shall have to speak of that later on.² At present, since I have said enough about the origins of these societies, whether in the angels, whose number is unknown to us, or in the two first human beings, it seems to me that I should undertake to describe their development from the time when that first pair began to produce offspring up to the time when mankind will cease to reproduce itself. For the development of these two societies which form my subject

1. Especially Bk xv.

2. In Bks xxx-xxxi.

'Blessed is the people, whose God is the Lord.'⁶⁸ It follows that a people alienated from that God must be wretched. Yet even such a people loves a peace of its own, which is not to be rejected; but it will not possess it in the end, because it does not make good use of it before the end. Meanwhile, however, it is important for us also that this people should possess this peace in this life, since so long as the two cities are intermingled we also make use of the peace of Babylon - although the People of God is by faith set free from Babylon, so that in the meantime they are only pilgrims in the midst of her. That is why the Apostle instructs the Church to pray for kings of that city and those in high positions, adding these words: 'that we may lead a quiet and peaceful life with all devotion and love'.⁶⁹ And when the prophet Jeremiah predicted to the ancient People of God the coming captivity, and bade them, by God's inspiration, to go obediently to Babylon, serving God even by their patient endurance, he added his own advice that prayers should be offered for Babylon, 'because in her peace is your peace'⁷⁰ - meaning, of course, the temporal peace of the meantime, which is shared by good and bad alike.

27. *The peace of God's servants, a perfect tranquillity, not experienced in this life*

In contrast, the peace which is our special possession is ours even in this life, a peace with God through faith; and it will be ours for ever, a peace with God through open vision.⁷¹ But peace here and now, whether the peace shared by all men or our own special possession, is such that it affords a solace for our wretchedness rather than the joy of blessedness. Our righteousness itself, too, though genuine, in virtue of the genuine Ultimate Good to which it is referred, is nevertheless only such as to consist in the forgiveness of sins rather than in the perfection of virtues. The evidence for this is in the prayer of the whole City of God on pilgrimage in the world, which, as we know, cries out to God through the lips of all its members: 'Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors.'⁷² And this prayer is not effective for those whose 'faith, without works, is dead'⁷³ but only for those whose 'faith is put into action through love'.⁷⁴ For such a prayer is needed by righteous men because the reason, though subjected to God, does not

68. Ps. 144, 15.

71. cf. 2 Cor. 5, 7.

74. Gal. 5, 6.

69. 1 Tim. 2, 2.

72. Matt. 6, 12.

70. Jer. 29, 7.

73. Jas. 2, 17.

have complete command over the vices in this mortal state and in the 'corruptible body which weighs heavy on the soul'.⁷⁵ In fact, even though command be exercised over the vices it is assuredly not by any means without a conflict. And even when a man fights well and even gains the mastery by conquering and subduing such foes, still in this situation of weakness something is all too likely to creep in to cause sin, if not in hasty action, at least in a casual remark or a fleeting thought.

For this reason there is no perfect peace so long as command is exercised over the vicious propensities, because the battle is fraught with peril while those vices that resist are being reduced to submission, while those which have been overcome are not yet triumphed over in peaceful security, but are repressed under a rule still troubled by anxieties. Thus we are in the midst of these temptations, about which we find this brief saying amongst the divine oracles: 'Is a man's life on earth anything but temptation?';⁷⁶ and who can presume that his life is of such a kind that he has no need to say to God, 'Forgive us our debts', unless he is a man of overwhelming conceit, not a truly great man, but one puffed up and swollen with pride, who is with justice resisted by him who gives grace to the humble, as it says in the Scriptures, 'God resists the proud, but he gives his favour to the humble'.⁷⁷ In this life, therefore, justice in each individual exists when God rules and man obeys, when the mind rules the body and reason governs the vices even when they rebel, either by subduing them or by resisting them, while from God himself favour is sought for good deeds and pardon for offences, and thanks are duly offered to him for benefits received. But in that ultimate peace, to which this justice should be related, and for the attainment of which this justice is to be maintained, our nature will be healed by immortality and incorruption and will have no perverted elements, and nothing at all, in ourselves or any other, will be in conflict with any one of us. And so reason will not need to rule the vices, since there will be no vices, but God will hold sway over man, and the soul over the body, and in this state our delight and facility in obeying will be matched by our felicity in living and reigning. There, for each and every one, this state will be eternal, and its eternity will be assured; and for that reason the peace of this blessedness, or the blessedness of this peace, will be the Supreme Good.

75. Wisd. 9, 15.

76. Job 7, 1; cf. ch. 8n.

77. Jas. 4, 6; 1 Pet. 5, 5.

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their common starting point; the moral presumption against force and war. And pacifists need just-war theorists to provide a public framework for debates about particular wars and for the restraint of the practice of war.⁷ The divergent directions of pacifism and just-war tenets are the result, in part, of the type of duty structuring nonmaleficence (absolute or prima facie, respectively), determining whether and how it is related to other duties.

Although Childress's insight is relatively recent in the ethics of war, direction has been provided for him by a subtle undercurrent in moral discourse from Augustine to the present day. In the next section, I will examine intimations of the idea that pacifism and just-war tenets share a point of contact: the Augustinian convergence, the Thomistic convergence, the modern Protestant convergence, the contemporary Catholic convergence, and the practical convergence. Each of these accounts foreshadows Childress's insight, and each provides material about which I will speak in subsequent chapters. Yet it is also true that these adumbrations suffer from important defects. After critically examining each of these convergences, in the third section I will sharpen the idea of nonmaleficence, as a point of contact between pacifism and just-war tenets, seeking to amplify its internal structure, its implications, and its merits for moral discourse about war. In the final section I will spell out how prior intimations of Childress's insight provide material to be pursued in more detail in chapters 2-9. These intimations prepare us for a point of convergence that is both substantive and heuristic: substantive, because it is a value shared by each approach; heuristic, because it opens the door to new interpretations, suggesting uncharted terrain along which to travel. And in exploring such terrain, we may begin to map an area on which pacifists and just-war theorists may join their interests in the dialectic of conversation.

Adumbrations and Approximations

Augustine compresses his position about the morality of violence in a comment about killing as a form of defense. About such killing, he writes, "I do not approve of this, unless one happens to be a soldier or public functionary acting, not for himself, but in defense of others or of the city in which he resides, if he acts according to the commission lawfully given him, and in the manner becoming his office."⁸ The *Augustinian convergence*, distilled in this citation, joins pacifism and just-war tenets by requiring pacifism at the level of individual relations and just war in the arena of social relations. Moreover, both pacifism and just-war morality, as we shall see, are held together by Augustine's notion of peace-as-order. Strange as it may seem to contemporary attitudes, Augustine prohibits individual self-defense by invoking beliefs about the order of our attachments, the orientation of our affections. Moreover, Augustine ar-

gues that war serves peace if the goal of war is to restore order, the *status quo ante bellum*.

Augustine adumbrates more recent versions of the convergence between pacifism and just-war tenets, especially when he writes that peace among people relies on "the observance of two rules: first, to do no harm to anyone, and, secondly, to help everyone whenever possible."⁹ Non-maleficence—expressed in the mandate of Matt. 5:38 to "resist not evil"—supports one portion of the Augustinian position (individual pacifism, "do no harm to anyone"), while care for others supports the right to use violence in their defense (a just war). Augustine and Childress recognize a conflict of duties, in which the duty "to help everyone whenever possible" might require some forms of harm. This conflict requires both authors to draw on some distinctions to relativize the force of nonmaleficence. For Augustine, however, this relativization turns not on a theory of prima facie duties. Instead, Augustine relativizes the duty of nonmaleficence by restricting its range of application, drawing on distinctions about objects of defense, types of acts, and forms of authority.

Augustine's first restriction, based on different objects of defense, prohibits self-defense but requires "the defense" of others or of the city in which [one] resides." Moreover, Augustine's prohibition of self-defense requires total nonresistance to evil, not nonviolent resistance.¹⁰ Here Augustine relies on some basic anthropological assumptions, developed obliquely in a treatise devoted not to killing and war but to biblical hermeneutics, *On Christian Doctrine*, and in *On the Freedom of the Will*.

In his hermeneutical essay, Augustine presumes a fundamental dualism about the self, arguing that the value of one's neighbor, made of body and soul, is greater than that of one's own body.¹¹ It follows that I may risk my life for the neighbor or the city, but not for myself. Since the value of the neighbor is greater than that of my body, I may risk my body for another's body and soul. Moreover, the value of my body does not provide sufficient reason for me to repel an attacker, jeopardizing another's body and soul, in individual self-defense.

In his treatise on the will, Augustine observes that individuals may very well be legally free to kill in self-defense, but they are scarcely free from a moral point of view. Those who kill in self-defense, he argues, act for "those things which can be lost against their will and which . . . ought not to be loved at all."¹² Among those things that can be lost against one's will is mortal life, life in the body. To defend the body against attack represents a disordered set of attachments, ranking our attachment to mortal life above the value of the immortal soul and the value of the neighbor. Inordinate attachment to ephemeral goods jeopardizes one's virtue, understood in terms of a well-ordered character. About life in the body, Augustine writes that "there may be a doubt on the part of some as to

Richard B. Miller, Interpretations of Conflict University of Chicago Press, 1991

Augustine and the Limits
— of Politics —

— 5 —

“Our business within this
common mortal life”: Augustine
and a Politics of Limits

Jean Bethke Elshtain

Love may not be all you need. But, whether as the yearnings prompted by *caritas* or those pale enactments spurred by *cupiditas*, love is a dominant theme within our common mortal life. Augustine was in love with the world, a world he called “a smiling place.”¹ His biographer tells us he loved the world “immoderately,” and one senses the truth of this. Only someone caught up in a love affair with the world would describe so deliciously its many delectations and articulate so artfully its temptations. Peace and hope are twin possibilities that emerge from all our yearnings and longings, holy and otherwise. But peace in its true form as harmony and righteousness is not attainable on this earth, although the hope that keeps alive our longing for it is what stands between us and that emptiness of the abyss, that flatness of being Augustine credited as the work of sin and the fruit of deformed willing. Even in our good works we are dislocated creatures, torn by discord, but striving to attain some measure of *concordia*.² But love abides. And the more we try to emulate God’s love, the stronger will be our hope; the more decent our lives with and among one another.

Love, then, is not expended like money, for in addition to the fact that money is diminished by expenditure and love is increased, they differ in this too, that we give greater evidence of good-will towards anyone if we do not seek the return of money we have given him; whereas no one can sincerely expend love unless he insist on being repaid; for when money is received, it is so much gain to the recip-

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JUST WAR AGAINST TERROR

*The Burden of American
Power in a Violent World*

JEAN BETHKE ELSHTAIN

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4 IS THE WAR AGAINST TERRORISM JUST?

HOW WELL DOES THE post-September 11 war effort fare when assessed according to the just war framework?

The resort to force—or *ius ad bellum*—stipulates certain criteria for evaluation, as outlined in chapter 3. Let's begin with the triggering event. Surely there can be little doubt in anyone's mind that the attacks of September 11 constituted an act of aggression aimed specifically at killing civilians.¹ Indeed, when a wound as grievous as that of September 11 has been inflicted on a body politic, it would be the height of irresponsibility and a dereliction of duty for public officials to fail to respond. A political ethic is an ethic of responsibility. The just war tradition is a way to exercise that responsibility with justice in mind. Such an act of terrorism aims to disrupt fundamental civic peace and tranquility. Good is forced into hiding as we retreat behind closed doors. Preventing further harm and restoring the preconditions for civic tranquility is a justifiable *casus belli*.

But the argument need not end there. One could go on to make the case that love of our neighbor—in this case, the Afghan people—is implicated as well. Or, less theologically, one could speak of equal regard for others based on human dignity and our common humanity. In

FROM JEAN BETHKE ELSHTAIN

JUST WAR AGAINST TERROR:

THE BURDEN OF AMERICAN POWER IS

A VIOLENT WORLD (FULL CITE ON LAST PAGE)

leagues—all of these actions are simple but profound goods made possible by civic peace. They include the faithful attending their churches, synagogues, and mosques without fear, and citizens—men and women, young and old, black, brown, and white—lining up to vote on Election Day.

This civic peace is not the kingdom promised by scripture that awaits the end time. The vision of beating swords into plowshares and spears into pruning hooks, of creating a world in which "nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war anymore," is connected with certain conditions that will always elude us. That vision presupposes that all persons are under one law. But our condition of pluralism and religious diversity alone precludes the rule of one-law. Moreover, our condition of fallibility and imperfection precludes a world in which discontents never erupt.

That said, the civic peace that violence disrupts does offer intimations of the peaceable kingdom. If we live from day to day in fear of deadly attack, the goods we cherish become elusive. Human beings are fragile creatures. We cannot reveal the fullness of our being, including our deep sociality, if airplanes are flying into buildings or snipers are shooting at us randomly or deadly spores are being sent through the mail. As we have learned so shockingly, we can neither take this civic peace for granted nor shake off our responsibility to respect and promote the norms and rules that sustain civic peace.

We know what happens to people who live in pervasive fear. The condition of fearfulness leads to severe isolation as the desire to protect oneself and one's family becomes overwhelming. It encourages harsh measures because, as the political theorist Thomas Hobbes wrote in his 1651 work *Leviathan*, if we live in constant fear of violent death we are likely to seek guarantees to prevent such. Chapter 13 of Hobbes's great work is justly renowned for its vivid depiction of the horrors of a "state of nature." Hobbes's description of a world in which there is no ordered civic peace of any kind. In that horrible circumstance, all persons have the strength to kill each other, "either by secret machination, or by confederacy with others." The overriding emotion in this nightmarish world is overwhelming, paralyzing *fear*, for every man has become an enemy to every other and

3 WHAT IS A JUST WAR?

NOTICE

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IN THE IMMEDIATE AFTERMATH of September 11, I said to a friend, "Now we are reminded of what governments are for." The primary responsibility of government is to provide basic security—ordinary civic peace. St. Augustine calls this form of earthly peace *tranquillitas ordinis*. This is not the perfect peace promised to believers in the Kingdom of God, the one in which the lion lies down with the lamb. On this earth, if the lion lies down with the lamb, the lamb must be replaced frequently, as Martin Luther opined with his characteristic mordant wit! Portions of the U.S. Constitution refer specifically to security and public safety. "To ensure domestic tranquility" was central to what the new order being created after the American Revolution was all about. None of the goods that human beings cherish, including the free exercise of religion, can flourish without a measure of civic peace and security.

What good or goods do I have in mind? Mothers and fathers raising their children; men and women going to work; citizens of a great city making their way on streets and subways; ordinary people flying to California to visit the grandchildren or to transact business with col-

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ST. THOMAS AQUINAS

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SUMMA THEOLOGICA

FIRST COMPLETE AMERICAN EDITION

IN THREE VOLUMES

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common weal against internal disturbances, when they punish evil-doers, according to the words of the Apostle (Rom. xiii. 4): *He beareth not the sword in vain: for he is God's minister, an avenger to execute wrath upon him that doth evil*; so too, it is their business to have recourse to the sword of war in defending the common weal against external enemies. Hence it is said to those who are in authority (Ps. lxxxi. 4): *Rescue the poor: and deliver the needy out of the hand of the sinner*; and for this reason Augustine says (*Contra Faust.* xxii. 75): *The natural order conducive to peace among mortals demands that the power to declare and counsel war should be in the hands of those who hold the supreme authority.*

Secondly, a just cause is required, namely that those who are attacked, should be attacked because they deserve it on account of some fault. Wherefore Augustine says (*QQ. in Hept.*, qu. x. super *Ios.*): *A just war is wont to be described as one that avenges wrongs, when a nation or state has to be punished, for refusing to make amends for the wrongs inflicted by its subjects, or to restore what it has seized unjustly.*

Thirdly, it is necessary that the belligerents should have a rightful intention, so that they intend the advancement of good, or the avoidance of evil. Hence Augustine says (*De Verb. Dom.**) : *True religion looks upon us peaceful those wars that are waged not for motives of aggrandizement, or cruelty, but with the object of securing peace, of punishing evil-doers, and of uplifting the good.* For it may happen that the war is declared by the legitimate authority, and for a just cause, and yet be rendered unlawful through a wicked intention. Hence Augustine says (*Contra Faust.* xxii. 74): *The passion for inflicting harm, the cruel thirst for vengeance, an unpacific and relentless spirit, the fever of revolt, the lust of power, and such like things, all these are rightly condemned in war.*

Reply Obj. 1. As Augustine says (*Contra Faust.* xxii. 70): *To take the sword is to arm oneself in order to take the life of anyone, without the command or permission of superior or lawful authority.* On the other hand, to have recourse to the sword (as a private person) by the authority of the sovereign or judge, or (as a public person) through zeal for justice, and by the authority, so to speak, of God, is not to take the sword, but to use it as commissioned by another, wherefore it does not deserve punishment. And yet even those who make sinful use of the sword are not always slain with the sword, yet they always perish with their own sword, because, unless

they repent, they are punished eternally for their sinful use of the sword.

Reply Obj. 2. Such like precepts, as Augustine observes (*De Serm. Dom. in Monte* i. 19), should always be borne in readiness of mind, so that we be ready to obey them, and, if necessary, to refrain from resistance or self-defense. Nevertheless it is necessary sometimes for a man to act otherwise for the common good, or for the good of those with whom he is fighting. Hence Augustine says (*Ep. ad Marcellin.* cxxxviii): *Those whom we have to punish with a kindly severity, it is necessary to handle in many ways against their will. For when we are stripping a man of the lawlessness of sin, it is good for him to be vanquished, since nothing is more hopeless than the happiness of sinners, whence arises a guilty impunity, and an evil will, like an internal enemy.*

Reply Obj. 3. Those who wage war justly aim at peace, and so they are not opposed to peace, except to the evil peace, which Our Lord came not to send upon earth (*Matth.* x. 34). Hence Augustine says (*Ep. ad Bonif.* clxxxix): *We do not seek peace in order to be at war, but we go to war that we may have peace. Be peaceful, therefore, in warring, so that you may vanquish those whom you war against, and bring them to the prosperity of peace.*

Reply Obj. 4. Many exercises in warlike feats of arms are not all forbidden, but those which are inordinate and perilous, and end in slaying or plundering. In olden times warlike exercises presented no such danger, and hence they were called *exercises of arms* or *bloodless wars*, as Jerome states in an epistle.†

SECOND ARTICLE

Whether It Is Lawful for Clerics and Bishops to Fight?

We proceed thus to the Second Article:—

Objection 1. It would seem lawful for clerics and bishops to fight. For, as stated above (A. 1), wars are lawful and just in so far as they protect the poor and the entire common weal from suffering at the hands of the foe. Now this seems to be above all the duty of prelates, for Gregory says (*Hom. in Ev.* xiv): *The wolf comes upon the sheep, when any unjust and rapacious man oppresses those who are faithful and humble. But he who was thought to be the shepherd, and was not, leaveth the sheep, and flieth, for he fears lest the wolf hurt him, and dares not stand up against his injustice.* Therefore it is lawful for prelates and clerics to fight.

Obj. 2. Further, Pope Leo IV. writes (xxiii,

* The words quoted are to be found not in S. Augustine's works, but Can. *Apud.* Caus. xxiii., qu. 1.

† Reference incorrect; cf. Veget.,—*De Re Milit.* i.

qu. 8, can. *Igitur*): *As frequently come from it said that the Saracens of Rome secretly and cōson we commanded our gether, and ordered them shore. Therefore it is fight.*

Obj. 3. Further, appa same whether a man dc consents to its being doing to Rom. i. 32: *The are worthy of death, as do them, but they also that do them.* Now the consent to a thing, who But it is lawful for bish duce others to fight: fc qu. 8, can. *Hortatu*) tha with the Lombards at treaty of Adrian, bishop they also are allowed to

Obj. 4. Further, what torious in itself, is law clerics. Now it is someti rious to make war, for qu. 8, can. *Omni timore*) the true faith, or to save sense of Christians, God only reward. Therefore i and clerics to fight.

On the contrary, It representing bishops e xxvii. 52): *Put up again scabbard* (Vulg.,—*its pl* not lawful for them to fi

I answer that, Severa for the good of a human ber of things are done be number of persons than l pher observes (*Polit.* i. 1 pations are so inconsiste that they cannot be fitti same time; wherefore th to important duties are themselves with things Thus according to huma are deputed to warlike p to engage in commerce.†

Now warlike pursuits pafible with the duties of for two reasons. The fir one, because, to wit, war of unrest, so that they l much from the contempla the praise of God, and pi which belong to the dutie fore just as commercial bidden to clerics, becau

* *Scabbard* is the reading

THE JUST WAR

Force and Political Responsibility

PAUL RAMSEY

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Charles Scribner's Sons • New York

1968

Justice in War*

Question: How do porcupines make love?
Answer: Carefully!

This is a parable of the nations in a multi-national world. They can't get along with and they can't get along without one another. They make love and reach settlements, or they make war when they cannot reach or postpone settlements—all, carefully!

There is nothing more like a pacifist than a believer in massive deterrence: *both* think it possible to banish the use of force from human history before banishing the porcupine nation-states from off this planet. To them may be added what Walter Lippman called the "war whoop" party in this country, which thinks we won't ever need to use nuclear weapons if only we say loudly enough that we are going to. So do we as a people—whether by confidence in moral suasion and the omniscience of negotiation or by confidence in our deterrent technology or by confidence in our superior bluffing ability—avoid facing up to the moral economy governing an actual use of the weapons we possess. With peace and the nation-state system as our premises, we have designed a war to end all war: God may let us have it.

Since, however, the porcupine-nations are unlikely soon to be banished, since they are armed with massive nuclear weapons, and since somewhere, sometime, a nation is likely to find itself so vitally challenged

* First appeared in *New Wine*, Vol. II, No. 3 (Spring, 1964), pp. 21-25, published by the Westminster Fellowship, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N.C., and in *A Study of Morals and the Nuclear Program*, Headquarters Field Command, Defense Atomic Support Agency, Sandia Base, Albuquerque, New Mexico, 1964, pp. 23-39.

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JUST AND UNJUST WARS

A MORAL
ARGUMENT WITH
HISTORICAL
ILLUSTRATIONS

Michael Walzer

ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY



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16

Supreme Emergency

The Nature of Necessity (3)

Everyone's troubles make a crisis. "Emergency" and "crisis" are cant words, used to prepare our minds for acts of brutality. And yet there are such things as critical moments in the lives of men and women and in the history of states. Certainly, war is such a time: every war is an emergency, every battle a possible turning point. Fear and hysteria are always latent in combat, often real, and they press us toward fearful measures and criminal behavior. The war convention is a bar to such measures, not always effective, but there nevertheless. In principle at least, as we have seen, it resists the ordinary crises of military life. Churchill's description of Britain's predicament in 1939 as a "supreme emergency" was a piece of rhetorical heightening designed to overcome that resistance. But the phrase also contains an argument: that there is a fear beyond the ordinary fearfulness (and the frantic opportunism) of war, and a danger to which that fear corresponds, and that this fear and danger may well require exactly those measures that the war convention bars. Now, a great deal is at stake here, both for the men and women driven to adopt such measures and for their victims, so we must attend carefully to the implicit argument of "supreme emergency."

March 9, 2003

Just War — or a Just War?

By JIMMY CARTER

ATLANTA — Profound changes have been taking place in American foreign policy, reversing consistent bipartisan commitments that for more than two centuries have earned our nation greatness. These commitments have been predicated on basic religious principles, respect for international law, and alliances that resulted in wise decisions and mutual restraint. Our apparent determination to launch a war against Iraq, without international support, is a violation of these premises.

As a Christian and as a president who was severely provoked by international crises, I became thoroughly familiar with the principles of a just war, and it is clear that a substantially unilateral attack on Iraq does not meet these standards. This is an almost universal conviction of religious leaders, with the most notable exception of a few spokesmen of the Southern Baptist Convention who are greatly influenced by their commitment to Israel based on eschatological, or final days, theology.

For a war to be just, it must meet several clearly defined criteria.

The war can be waged only as a last resort, with all nonviolent options exhausted. In the case of Iraq, it is obvious that clear alternatives to war exist. These options — previously proposed by our own leaders and approved by the United Nations — were outlined again by the Security Council on Friday. But now, with our own national security not directly threatened and despite the overwhelming opposition of most people and governments in the world, the United States seems determined to carry out military and diplomatic action that is almost unprecedented in the history of civilized nations. The first stage of our widely publicized war plan is to launch 3,000 bombs and missiles on a relatively defenseless Iraqi population within the first few hours of an invasion, with the purpose of so damaging and demoralizing the people that they will change their obnoxious leader, who will most likely be hidden and safe during the bombardment.

The war's weapons must discriminate between combatants and noncombatants. Extensive aerial bombardment, even with precise accuracy, inevitably results in "collateral damage." Gen. Tommy R. Franks, commander of American forces in the Persian Gulf, has expressed concern about many of the military targets being near hospitals, schools, mosques and private homes.

Its violence must be proportional to the injury we have suffered. Despite Saddam Hussein's other serious crimes, American efforts to tie Iraq to the 9/11 terrorist attacks have been unconvincing.

The attackers must have legitimate authority sanctioned by the society they profess to represent. The unanimous vote of approval in the Security Council to eliminate Iraq's weapons of mass destruction can still be honored, but our announced goals are now to achieve regime change and to establish a Pax Americana in the region, perhaps occupying the ethnically divided country for as long as a decade. For these objectives, we do not have international authority. Other members of the Security Council have so far resisted the enormous economic and political influence that is being exerted from Washington, and we are faced with the possibility of either a failure to get the necessary votes or else a veto from Russia, France and China. Although Turkey may still be enticed into helping us by enormous financial rewards and partial future control of the Kurds and oil in northern Iraq, its democratic Parliament has at least added its voice to the worldwide expressions of concern.

The peace it establishes must be a clear improvement over what exists. Although there are visions of peace and democracy in Iraq, it is quite possible that the aftermath of a military invasion will destabilize the region and prompt terrorists to further jeopardize our security at home. Also, by defying overwhelming world opposition, the United States will undermine the United Nations as a viable institution for world peace.

What about America's world standing if we don't go to war after such a great deployment of military forces in the region? The heartfelt sympathy and friendship offered to America after the 9/11 attacks, even from formerly antagonistic regimes, has been largely dissipated; increasingly unilateral and domineering policies have brought international trust in our country to its lowest level in memory. American stature will surely decline further if we launch a war in clear defiance of the United Nations. But to use the presence and threat of our military power to force Iraq's compliance with all United Nations resolutions — with war as a final option — will enhance our status as a champion of peace and justice.

Just War — or a Just War?

Page 2 of 2

Jimmy Carter, the 39th president of the United States, is chairman of the Carter Center in Atlanta and winner of the 2002 Nobel Peace Prize.

Justifications of the Iraq War Examined¹

Richard B. Miller*

Imagine three cases:

Corporal Greene returns to the United States in a body bag having been killed by an elite armed guard in a war that had been officially authorized as a defense of her country against foes who have the capability and desire to attack her fellow citizens and soldiers at home and abroad with acts of terrorism. Such foes may either be planning eventually to launch their own attacks or to facilitate attacks by others who have an established record of using terrorism against U.S. soldiers and citizens.

Private Smith returns to the United States in a body bag having been killed by a roadside bomb in a war that had been authorized as enforcing international law against a rogue state with a recent history of ignoring or avoiding U.N.-authorized inspections to track and dismantle weapons of mass destruction (WMD).

Sergeant Jones returns to the United States in a body bag having been killed by a suicide bomber in a war that had been officially described to him as a rescue operation aimed at saving citizens in another country from human rights abuses carried out against them by a despotic regime.

The deaths of Greene, Smith, and Jones are equally tragic. All three soldiers had been fighting in the same conflict, Operation Iraqi Freedom. Assume for the sake of argument that they were motivated by the causes for which they each understood themselves to be fighting. Are their deaths, then, *morally* the same?

I raise this question in part to frame an ethical analysis of the war in Iraq. I ask that we imagine Greene, Smith, and Jones for two reasons: one, their cases

* I presented parts of this essay for a symposium entitled "Jus ad bellum Applied: The Iraq War," in a dialogue with Jean Bethke Elshtain at the United States Military Academy at West Point in 2004. I developed thoughts on the ethics of preventive war at the Sturm Dialogue at Bucknell University with Henry Shue in April 2005. I wish to thank my interlocutors at those presentations, along with Michael Saxon for his invitation to West Point and Maria Antonaccio and Tony Massoud for their invitation to Bucknell. Thanks as well to Douglas Sturm, Mark Wilson, James Bourke, Glenda Murray, Brian Schrag, and the editors and reviewers of *Ethics & International Affairs* for assistance and feedback on earlier versions of this article.

“Thinking about War and Justice”

by Jean Bethke Elshtain (University of Chicago)

From our pulpits these days the word most frequently on the lips of pastors, ministers, and priests is “peace.” This is, perhaps, unsurprising. Christians are taught that the Kingdom of God is a peaceable one in which the lion lies down with the lamb. But there is a problem. We do not live in that peaceable kingdom. We can discern intimations of it. We can pray for it. We can strive to embody moments of it in the earthly city. But we must take heed. We live in a fallen world, something Christians too often seem to forget. We live in a world that knows sin. We need to be reminded, from time to time, that:

....It is hard for those who live near a Bank
 To doubt the security of their money.
 It is hard for those who live near a Police Station
 To believe in the triumph of violence.
 Do you think that the Faith has conquered the World
 And that Lions no longer need keepers?....

These mordant lines from T.S. Eliot’s “Choruses from The Rock” remind us that, on this earth, Lions do need keepers for, as Martin Luther quipped: “If the lion lies down with the lamb, the lamb must be replaced frequently.”

If an end-time ethic cannot be an all-determinative guide to the prudential judgments required of us during our earthly sojourn, what can? The answer is: there is no such all-determinative ethic; no ‘covering law’ model of ethical life we can repair to in each and every situation. There is *no* normative blanket spread over any and all situations in which Christians find themselves and within which they are called upon to act.

Holy Scripture, the teachings of our respective Churches, the words of great moral guides and exemplars of past and present—surely we should pay heed. But there is such a thing as the concrete, free responsibility of the Christian. That is why St. Augustine, in a famous passage from *The City of God*, urges upon a Christian, if he or she is called, the inherently tragic vocation of the judge. There is a “darkness that attends the life of human society,” Augustine writes, and few should sit comfortably on “the judge’s bench....” But sit there the judge must, “for the claims of human society constrain him and draw him to this duty; and it is unthinkable to him that he should shirk it...” (*City of God*, Book XIX, Chapter 6, p. 860, of Penguin Unabridged Edition). The Christian must not shirk earthly responsibility because temporal order is a great good. It permits children to grow up. People to provide for one another. The faithful to worship. All of these, in turn,

War and Peace in the Jewish Tradition

edited by

Lawrence Schiffman
and Joel B. Wolowelsky

Robert S. Hirt, Series Editor

Just Wars, Just Battles and Just Conduct in Jewish Law: Jewish Law Is Not a Suicide Pact!*

Michael J. Broyde

Rabbi Jose the Galilean states: "How meritorious is peace? Even in time of war Jewish law requires that one initiate discussions of peace." 1

I. PREAMBLE

About ten years ago I wrote an article² on the halakhic issues raised by starting wars, fighting wars, and ending wars. Over the past five years, as I have spoken about the topic on various occasions,³ the article has been updated, modified, and expanded and it forms the basis of some sections of this article.

Over the last five years, I have been privileged to serve as the

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Augustine's Political Realism

Christian Realism

and Political Problems

BY REINHOLD NIEBUHR

New York

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS

1953

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9. Augustine's Political Realism

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THE TERMS "IDEALISM" and "realism" are not analogous in political and in metaphysical theory; and they are certainly not as precise in political, as in metaphysical, theory. In political and moral theory "realism" denotes the disposition to take all factors in a social and political situation, which offer resistance to established norms, into account, particularly the factors of self-interest and power. In the words of a notorious "realist," Machiavelli, the purpose of the realist is "to follow the truth of the matter rather than the imagination of it; for many have pictures of republics and principalities which have never been seen." This definition of realism implies that idealists are subject to illusions about social realities, which indeed they are. "Idealism" is, in the esteem of its proponents,

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The Irony of American History (selections)

by Reinhold Niebuhr

The Irony of American History was published in 1952 by Charles Scribner's Sons. This material prepared for Religion Online by Harry and Grace Adams.

Preface

... We frequently speak of "tragic" aspects of contemporary history; and also call attention to a "pathetic" element in our present historical situation. My effort to distinguish "ironic" elements in our history from tragic and pathetic ones, does not imply the denial of tragic and pathetic aspects in our contemporary experience. It does rest upon the conviction that the ironic elements are more revealing. The three elements might be distinguished as follows: (a) Pathos is that element in an historic situation which elicits pity, but neither deserves admiration nor warrants contrition. Pathos arises from fortuitous cross-purposes and confusions in life for which no reason can be given or guilt ascribed. Suffering caused by purely natural evil is the clearest instance of the purely pathetic. (b) The tragic element in a human situation is constituted of conscious choices of evil for the sake of good. If men or nations do evil in a good cause; if they cover themselves with guilt in order to fulfill some high responsibility; or if they sacrifice some high value for the sake of a higher or equal one they make a tragic choice. Thus the necessity of using the threat of atomic destruction as an instrument for the preservation of peace is a tragic element in our contemporary situation. Tragedy elicits admiration as well as pity because it combines nobility with guilt. (c) Irony consists of apparently fortuitous incongruities in life which are discovered, upon closer examination, to be not merely fortuitous. Incongruity as such is merely comic. It elicits laughter. This element of comedy is never completely eliminated from irony. But irony is something more than comedy. A comic situation is proved to be an ironic one if a hidden relation is discovered in the incongruity. If virtue becomes vice through some hidden defect in the virtue; if strength becomes weakness because of the vanity to which strength may prompt the mighty man or nation; if security is transmuted into insecurity because too much reliance is placed upon it; if wisdom becomes folly because it does not know its own limits — in all such cases the situation is ironic. The ironic situation is distinguished from a pathetic one by the fact that the person involved in it bears some responsibility for it. It is differentiated from tragedy by the fact that the responsibility is related to an unconscious weakness rather than to a conscious resolution. While a pathetic or a tragic situation is not dissolved when a person becomes conscious of his involvement in it, an ironic situation must dissolve, if men or nations are made aware of their complicity in it. Such awareness involves some realization of the hidden vanity or pretension by which comedy is turned into irony. This realization either must lead to an abatement of the pretension, which means contrition; or it leads to a desperate accentuation of the vanities to the point where irony turns into pure evil.

Our modern liberal culture, of which American civilization is such an unalloyed exemplar, is involved in many ironic refutations of its original pretensions of virtue, wisdom, and power. Insofar as communism has already elaborated some of these pretensions into noxious forms of tyranny, we are involved in the double irony of confronting evils which were distilled from illusions, not generically different from our own. Insofar as communism tries to cover the ironic contrast between its original dreams of justice and virtue and its present realities by more and

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REINHOLD NIEBUHR AND CHRISTIAN REALISM

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An introduction to Christian Realism

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During the first half of the twentieth century, Protestant theologians in the United States gave new attention to the social forces that shape and limit human possibilities. Like the leaders of the Social Gospel movement before them, these writers were concerned with the gap between the biblical vision of God's rule and the realities of modern industrial society. For the new generation, however, a Christian conscience informed by scientific study would not suffice to close the gap. The biblical ideal stands in judgment not only on the social reality, but also on every attempt to formulate the ideal itself.

Therefore, social achievements provide no final goal. The dynamics of history are driven by the human capacity always to imagine life beyond existing limitations. Biblical faith gives vision and direction to that capacity for self-transcendence, but we are best able to challenge and channel our powers when we also understand what is really going on.

'Christian Realism' is the name that has been given to that way of thinking. It is a term closely associated with Reinhold Niebuhr, when it is not exclusively identified with his thought. It is, however, important to remember that the theological movement originated before Niebuhr took it up as his own. From the early 1930s, D.C. Macintosh and Walter Marshall Horton wrote about "religious realism" or "realistic theology" in ways that influenced Niebuhr's call for a church that would produce "religious or Christian realists."¹ The term 'Christian

¹ Reinhold Niebuhr, "When Will Christians Stop Fooling Themselves?" *Christian Century* 51 (May 16, 1934), 659. See also Douglas Clyde Macintosh, ed., *Religious Realism* (New York: Macmillan, 1931); Walter Marshall Horton, *Realistic Theology*



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What *Black Hawk Down* Leaves Out That Somalia raid really was more a debacle than a victory.

By Mickey Kaus
Posted Monday, Jan. 21, 2002, at 3:21 AM ET

"The October 3, 1993 U.S. raid on Somalia, in which 18 soldiers and two Black Hawk helicopters were lost, is often remembered as a tragic fiasco." —Wall Street Journal

*"[I]t's not America's darkest hour, but America's brightest hour." —Joe Roth, head of Revolution Films, makers of *Black Hawk Down**

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For years, the Rangers and Delta Force soldiers who fought the Battle of Mogadishu on Oct. 3, 1993, had a serious beef. Until the publication of Mark Bowden's 1999 book, *Black Hawk Down*, their daylight raid was widely perceived as a failure even in strict military terms. But the Rangers in fact succeeded in snatching and imprisoning the two Somali clan officials they were after. Had you known that? I hadn't. Like everyone else, I mainly remembered seeing the body of a dead American being dragged through the streets.

You can't blame the surviving Rangers for seeing the film of Bowden's book, now in theaters, as an opportunity for vindication. It's also a highly effective film, as vivid a fix as most of us are likely to get on what bravery and professionalism means in the modern U.S. military. Everyone should see it. (See it twice, actually—it takes repeat viewings to comprehend the rush of characters and events.)

But would Americans pay to see a film simply about bravery under fire, without a larger, heroic context? As *Slate's* Inigo Thomas pointed out weeks ago, soldiers can be brave in the service of disastrous policies. *Black Hawk Down's* makers appear to have had their doubts about the public appetite for mere heroism, because they have set about providing a larger, uplifting rationale. This has involved an aggressive deployment of PR firepower and a fog of appealing half-truths. Now that the film is succeeding at the box office, it's worth attempting to add back what the *Black Hawk* flacks have left out.

1. Was going after Aideed smart?

To justify the number of Africans killed in the film, Mr. Roth insisted that the film's central villain, Somali warlord Mohamed Farrah Aidid, be unmistakably portrayed as a "Hitler-like figure" responsible for thousands of killings.—Wall Street Journal

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THE MORALITY, POLITICS, AND IRONY OF WAR

Recovering Reinhold Niebuhr's Ethical Realism

John D. Carlson

ABSTRACT

The American experience of war is ironic. That is, there is often an intimate and unexamined relationship between seemingly contrary elements in war such as morality and politics. This article argues that without understanding such irony, we are unlikely to reflect in morally comprehensive ways on past, present, or future wars. Traditional schools of thought, however, such as moralism and political realism, reinforce these apparent contradictions. I propose, then, an alternative—"ethical realism" as informed by Reinhold Niebuhr—that better explains the irony of war. Through an ethical realist examination of the U.S. Civil War, World War II, and the Iraq War, I consider how American political interests have been inextricably linked with deep moral concerns. Ethical realism charts a middle path that ennobles traditional *realpolitik* while eschewing certain perfectionist tendencies of moralism. Ethical realism provides a conceptual framework for evaluating these other frameworks—a distinct form of moral-political deliberation about war.

KEY WORDS: *Reinhold Niebuhr, ethical realism, moralism, just war, U.S. Civil War, World War II, Iraq War*

IN HIS ATTENTIVELY DETAILED CHRONICLE of the invasion of Iraq, George Packer muses,

Why did the United States invade Iraq? It still isn't possible to be sure—and this remains the most remarkable thing about the Iraq War. . . . It was something that some people wanted to do. Before the invasion, Americans argued not just about whether a war should happen, but for what reasons it should happen—what the real motives of the Bush administration were and should be. Since the invasion, we have continued to argue, and we will go on arguing for years to come. Iraq is the *Rashomon* of wars [2005, 46].

Many put forward strategic and political reasons for the war. Others offered moral and humanitarian arguments. Thwarting terrorism, enforcing UN resolutions, spreading democracy, liberating the

59. TO PREVENT THE TRIUMPH OF AN INTOLERABLE TYRANNY

The editor of *The Christian Century* has invited representatives of various shades of opinion to state what their attitude and conviction would be in the event of the involvement of this nation in the World War. The invitation of the editor begins with the following statement: "The cumulative steps taken by our Government during the past year, culminating in the adoption of conscription, have brought the nation to a point where America's participation as a belligerent in the war is an imminent possibility."

It is indicative of the deep chasm that separates some of us in the Christian church today that I cannot even accept this statement as presenting a true picture of the situation in which we stand. It implies that we have been brought to the edge of war primarily by contrivance of the Administration. I should have thought that when a storm is raging in the seven seas of the earth one could hardly hold any pilot responsible for not steering the ship of state in such a way as to avoid the storm. Living in an age of war and revolution, no possible statesmanship could have avoided at least the danger of involvement. But perhaps I am plunging into the argument too hurriedly by this introduction.

NO RUSH TOWARD WAR

I will therefore begin again with the simple statement that if our nation should be involved in the world conflict, I will have no hesitancy in supporting the war effort of the nation. I am assuming, in making such an unqualified statement, that the nation will not be drawn into the war if there is a decent and honorable way of remaining out of it. The suspicion in which the isolationists hold the international policy of the Administration will of course prompt them to challenge this assumption. But I believe that contemporary history refutes the idea that nations are drawn into war too precipitately. It proves, on the contrary, that it is the general inclination, of democratic nations at least, to hesitate so long before taking this fateful plunge that the dictator nations gain a fateful advantage over them by having the opportunity of overwhelming them singly,

The Christian Century, December 18, 1919.

instead of being forced to meet their common resistance. More than a half dozen nations of Europe mourn the loss of their liberties today, who might have preserved them if extreme caution had not eroded their resolution of self-defense.

I shall seek to justify my determination to support the nation in war by a political and a religious analysis of the moral problems involved, since every moral problem is political on the side of its application and religious on the side of the basic presuppositions from which the moral judgment flows.

On the political side I view the situation that confronts us as follows: Germany, on the pretext of righting the wrongs of Versailles, is engaged in a desperate effort to establish her mastery over the whole Continent of Europe. She may succeed. Nothing but the resistance of Great Britain now stands in her way. One nation after the other has collapsed before the might of her arms or before a diplomacy that knows how to exploit all the weaknesses and internal divisions of her adversaries. These imperial ambitions of Germany are in quality and extent perilous to all the nations outside Europe.

PERIL TO ALL CIVILIZED VALUES

In quality they represent a peril to every established value of a civilization that all Western nations share and of which we are all the custodians. In extent the German ambitions must immediately reach beyond Europe, because Europe is not economically self-sufficient and a German-dominated slave economy would immediately stand in fateful competition with us and would use all means, fair and foul, to make us the subservient accomplices of its economic and political penetration. It is not necessary to fear an immediate invasion of our shores to regard the imperial expansion of Germany with apprehension. I have never shared the naïve belief that all war could be avoided if only you could persuade nations not to cross each other's borders. I am perfectly certain that if an enemy of mine did not invade the sanctity of my home but posted sentries at my gate and pointed a gun into my windows and, by virtue of such threats, presumed to dictate my comings and goings or even dared to levy tribute on my trade, he would be no less an enemy of my liberties than if he invaded my home.

Far from believing that we can permit anything to happen in Europe while we enjoy peace and democracy upon an island of se-