

DAVID F. EMERSON

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Adm Zumwalt -

This is the book I mentioned to you. It made a deep impression on me because I had never comprehended the scope, depth, and interlocking nature of the VC apparatus. (I knew there was an apparatus, and I studied it, but we just never had this kind of information.)

Now I wish we had tripled or quadrupled the number of Kit Carson Scouts we had - and I wish the Gov't had pushed the Phoenix program much harder.

UR,

P.S. I'd like your opinion ^{Have} of the problem.



News Division

Doubleday

BUT WAS IT JUST?

Reflections on the Morality of the Persian Gulf War

Edited by David E. DeCosse, Essays by Jean Bethke Elshtain, Stanley Hauerwas, Sari Nusseibeh, Michael Walzer and George Weigel, with an Appendix from *La Civiltà Cattolica*

"This is a remarkable contribution to contemporary debate on the issues of distinctively contemporary war. For those who want to know what the strongest arguments are on each side of the issues it is essential reading."

--Alasdair MacIntyre, author of *After Virtue*

"A balanced and incisive debate on the morality of the Persian Gulf War." --Colonel Harry G. Summers, Jr.

"Nowhere is the morality of the Gulf War--any war--argued with more energy, wit, and conviction than in **BUT WAS IT JUST?** The war sparked a national debate, at once morally and politically important. **BUT WAS IT JUST?** captures that debate in all its rich dimensions."

--Fred Barnes, *The New Republic*

"A fine, always thought-provoking, and often moving collection of essays...A first-rate collection!"

--Stanley Hoffmann, Harvard University

One year after Operation Desert Storm, debate about the initiation, prosecution and conclusion of the Gulf War is only now coming into sharper focus. President Bush invoked traditional just war principles and criteria to support the military actions of the United Nations-sponsored coalition against Iraq. Critics, columnists, statesmen and strategists consequently turned to just war tenets to understand the nature of the dilemma in Kuwait and to make sense of what was billed as a reasoned and legitimate course of action. On March 3, 1992, Doubleday will publish an outstanding collection of original essays about the morality of the Gulf War by philosophers and political scientists of international stature. **BUT WAS IT JUST?** is an ethical primer that cuts to the heart of the debate: What are the relevant questions for assessing the justness of the Gulf War? How did just war theory affect the initiation and outcome of the Gulf War? How can we talk about morality and war without compromising the assumptions of one or the other? Did just war theory help limit the Gulf War or was it the necessary justification for a military response to Iraq's aggression? How is a balance struck between political interests and ethical concerns at a time of war? Was the Gulf War just?

Michael Walzer, author of the classic *Just and Unjust Wars* and Professor of Social Science at the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton University, argues that the Gulf War was just but that the destruction of Iraqi society was gratuitous. According to Walzer, just war theory "looks to the restoration of the status quo ante"--the way things were before the aggression took place, minus the threat--and that "when it comes to resisting aggression, [just war] theory is at least permissive, sometimes imperative." George Weigel, president of the Ethics and Public Policy Center in Washington, DC, gives the Gulf War a nod of approval in both intention and execution. Invoking a broader definition of just war than Walzer, he maintains that "proportionate and discriminate armed force" is necessary for "the pursuit of peace in all of its component parts: freedom, justice, security, and order." This, he suggests, was what President Bush had in mind when he spoke of a "new world order."

Jean Bethke Elshtain, Centennial Professor of Political Science at Vanderbilt University, criticizes Bush for rhetorically equating "just cause" with "noble cause" and for using just war theory as "a powerful instrument of legitimation for U.S. policy." She finds the prosecution of the war unjustifiably harsh and notes that too much disparity exists between the war's limited purposes and its long-term consequences. Yet, she argues, just war theory is a valuable civic philosophy because it "places politics within an ethically shaped framework" and imposes constraints on the goals and execution of a war at the same time as it promotes public debate.

Sari Nusseibeh, a Palestinian philosopher and political leader, wrote the essay included in **BUT WAS IT JUST?** after having been detained in an Israeli jail for three months in early 1991. Like Elshtain, he argues that the Gulf War was cloaked in moral rhetoric aimed at self-justification, but his criticism digs deeper. After questioning whether collective force is ever morally acceptable and whether it was morally motivated in the case of the Gulf War, he concludes that both Iraq's occupation and the U.S.-led liberation of Kuwait were guided by "the application of force in the pursuit of self-interest" and that the underlying causes of injustice in the region still have not been addressed. Nusseibeh is a participant in the Middle East Peace Talks and is director of the Jerusalem Center for Strategic Research.

Stanley Hauerwas, Professor of Theological Ethics at Duke University and a Christian pacifist, in turn argues that just war theory was an ideological tool that "led to the uncritical legitimation of the Gulf War by most Christians in America." In creating an "illusory moral objectivity," just war theory provided the necessary "cover story" to justify the Gulf War. The Gulf War also may have prompted a significant shift in the Catholic Church on matters of war and peace. According to an editorial on the Gulf War originally published in a Jesuit magazine whose editorials are reviewed by the Vatican Secretariat of State (the editorial is translated and included in an appendix), the days of just war theory are all but over. In testifying to the vast destructiveness and lack of control inherent in modern war, the Gulf War allegedly rendered just war theory obsolete.

Contact: NINA MEHTA, publicity manager,