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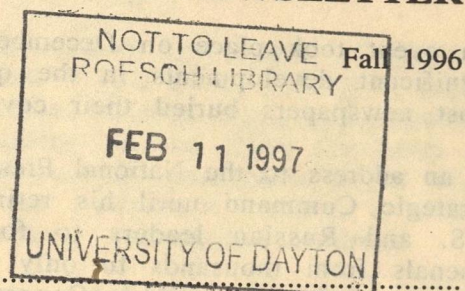
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CONCERNED PHILOSOPHERS FOR PEACE NEWSLETTER

Vol. 16, No. 2

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Retired Generals on Eliminating Nuclear Weapons

An event took place on December 4, 1996 that could prove to be one of the most significant developments in the quest for the elimination of nuclear weapons. Yet, most newspapers buried their coverage somewhere in the middle of their papers.

In an address to the National Press Club, retired General Lee Butler, who headed U.S. Strategic Command until his retirement in 1994, told reporters now is the time for U.S. and Russian leaders to forge a global consensus to quickly reduce nuclear arsenals from thousands to only hundreds of warheads. Retired General Butler was accompanied by retired General Andrew Goodpaster, formerly supreme allied commander of NATO forces. These two retired generals are supported by Alexander Lebed, Yeltsin's recently ousted security chief, by retired General Charles Horner, who commanded coalition air forces during the Persian Gulf War, and by at least five dozen other former commanders from around the world.

First, says Butler, the military usefulness of nuclear weapons has declined steadily as we have learned more about their destructiveness and as, in the post-Soviet context in which international tensions have been greatly reduced globally, the point of nuclear deterrence between the superpowers has vanished. Second, difficulties in maintaining the security of nuclear weapons systems have increased continuously, especially as the sheer number and diversity of these systems have increased risks of accidents or thefts. Third, the cost of nuclear arsenals has been staggering--probably over \$4 trillion for the U.S. arsenal alone. Fourth, any use of nuclear weapons poses extremely vexing moral problems, especially if launched against a nonnuclear opponent including any of the "rogue states" like Iraq and North Korea.

The post-Cold War environment provides an opportunity, which may be temporary, to take decisive action to substantially reduce nuclear arsenals. While these retired commanders do not want this opportunity to be missed, the U.S. Senate fears the Clinton administration is underplaying the threats of our rather small rivals and the Russian Parliament has reservations about ratifying START II. In addition, neither the Clinton administration nor the Yeltsin administration is showing any immediate signs of moving away from reliance on nuclear weapons.

Perhaps, now is again a time for us as citizens and professionals to raise some of the same issues we did throughout the 1980s. We surely are well equipped to make the moral arguments. At the least, we need to contact our local papers and representatives in Congress to let them know we share the sentiments of this unprecedented chorus of opposition to nuclear weapons recently voiced around the world by high ranking, albeit now retired, military commanders.

William C. Gay

Concerned Philosophers For Peace Newsletter (ISSN 1062-9114) is a semiannual publication of Concerned Philosophers For Peace (CPP). Membership in CPP is \$20/year (\$5/year for students and low income) and includes receipt of the newsletter. The newsletter is also available to libraries and other interested parties for \$20 per year. Send payment of dues to: Jerry Richards, Philosophy Program, Northern Kentucky University, Highland Heights, KY 41099-2200. Brief essays, news, and announcements are welcome and should be sent to William C. Gay, Editor, and book reviews and suggestions should be sent to Judith Presler, Book Review Editor, CPP Newsletter. Both can be reached at Dept. of Philosophy, UNC Charlotte, Charlotte, NC 28223-0001. FAX: 704/547-2172; EMAIL: <wcgay@email.uncc.edu>.

Report on 9th Conference of CPP

On behalf of everyone who participated in the 9th Annual Conference of CPP that met at the University of Missouri-Columbia on October 17-20, 1996, I wish to express our gratitude to conference host, **Jack Kultgen**. The sessions were well organized, and special efforts were made to provide transportation to and from the hotel and refreshments at the sessions. Subsequently, Jack has sent to participants a list of the names and addresses of the forty participants at the conference. Also, I wish to thank **Ron Santoni** for delivering a thought provoking Presidential Address.

On October 19, 1996, we conducted our Annual Business Meeting. The announcements and motions were as follows.

1. Our 10th Annual Conference will be at California State University, Chico in 1997 with Ron Hirschbein as the host.
2. The Program Topic for our 1997 Conference is "Peace and Justice: Paradoxes, Costs, Reconciliations." Ron Hirschbein and Laura Duhan Kaplan are in charge of preparing the program. [See p. 20 for Call for Papers and Statement on Themes for the meeting.]
3. A motion was made to accept various officers. The motion was approved to accept the following officers. CPP Representatives for the three divisions of the APA are: for Eastern, Dave Johnson starts his second year and Don Maier begins his first year; for Central, Deane Curtin starts his second year and Karen Warren begins her first year; for Pacific, Ron Hirschbein starts his second year and Markate Daly begins her first year. Jerry Richards will begin serving as Treasurer, and Bill Gay will continue serving as Executive Director.
4. A motion was made to submit for mail ballot proposed revisions to the CPP Constitution. The motion was approved to propose changing the name of "Executive Secretary" to "Executive Director," to add the General Editor of the Philosophy of Peace (POP) Series to the Executive Committee, and to revise the Statement of Purpose. [The proposed changes, accompanied by the text of the current CPP Constitution, can be found on pp. 6-8, and the mail ballot is on p. 19.]
5. An announcement was made on ways to distribute information about CPP. Ron Santoni and Don Wells will work on material that will be suitable for use in a brochure. The invitation to subscribe to our List Server will be re-issued in the newsletter. An effort will be made to create a CPP Home Page.
6. A motion was made concerning cost overruns in the POP series. If under \$500, the decision will be made by the Executive Director, the POP General Editor, and the Treasurer. If over \$500, the decision will also involve the current President and the immediate Past President. The motion was approved.
7. Nominations for 1997 President were solicited. A motion was made that Joe Kunkel be a candidate. The motion was approved. So far, no other nominations have been made, but can be submitted to Ron Santoni until the end of January. The ballot for 1997 President of CPP will be included in 1997 dues.
8. Joe Kunkel, as General Editor of POP, reported on the status of books in the series.

William C. Gay

Statement of Thanks to Larry Bove

For over a decade, Larry Bove has served CPP as its Treasurer and a valued member of the Executive Committee. Larry began serving as Treasurer in Fall 1986. He completes his service in December 1996 with Jerry Richards assuming the duties of Treasurer in January 1997.

During his years of service as Treasurer, Larry did far more than keep CPP's financial records. He collected all dues payments, paid all bills, maintained the mailing list, and counted ballots in all elections. We owe Larry a lot for his persistent and dedicated service.

Larry managed to do all this while serving as Academic Dean at Walsh University, helping the University search for a new president, creating its Judaic Studies Program, organizing community events in honor of Martin Luther King, Jr., co-editing two books in the Philosophy of Peace Series, and becoming both a father and a grandfather.

Thank you, Larry. We are grateful as well for your continuing presence in CPP activities and for your ongoing work for peace and justice.

CPP Executive Committee

Jerry Richards New CPP Treasurer

Jerry Richards has accepted the position of CPP Treasurer. He and Larry Bove are completing the transition of accounts and records in December 1996.

Beginning in January 1997, all payments of dues and other issues requiring the attention of the Treasurer should be directed to Jerry. He can be reached at addresses and numbers listed below.

Jerry Richards
Treasurer, Concerned Philosophers For Peace
Philosophy Program
Northern Kentucky University
Highland Heights, KY 41099-2200

Phone: (606) 572-5259

FAX: (606) 572-5566

EMAIL: RICHARDSJ@nku.edu

Welcome aboard, Jerry!

Reminder about CPP LIST SERVER

In our last issue, information was provided about the CPP List Server, which we are calling the Concerned Philosophers For Peace Discussion List. The list is open to all members of Concerned Philosophers For Peace, as well as to other interested parties.

Subscribing to the CPP List Server--

To subscribe to the Concerned Philosophers For Peace Discussion List, send an email message to:

`majordomo@sbu.edu`

In the body (not header) of the message, enter the following:

`subscribe cpp`

(Do not include any additional information, such as your signature or any information in your messages by default since this tends to confuse the administrative software.)

Unsubscribing to the CPP List Server--

If you do not wish to participate or to follow the discussions, that is, if you wish to be removed from the list, send an email message to this address:

`majordomo@sbu.edu`

In the body of the message, enter the following:

`unsubscribe cpp`

You should no longer receive any messages from the list.

Using the CPP List Server--

To use the list, simply send a message to this address:

`cpp@sbu.edu`

Here it would be helpful to indicate in the subject line of the header what the topic of your posting is about. This allows individuals on the list to follow a "thread" as it develops. You may also use the "reply" function in your email program; that will send the message, along with your comments, back to the list. If you use the reply function, please delete those parts of the original message which do not pertain to your comments; list members do not need to read the same message twice, only those parts to which you are responding.

For more information--

In the meantime keep these two addresses in mind:

- 1) majordomo@sbu.edu
(for administrative matters, principally subscribing or unsubscribing to cpp)
- 2) cpp@sbu.edu
(to send messages to everyone on the list)

You should also note that if you desire to respond **ONLY** to the person who posted a message on the discussion list, you must use that individual's e-mail address. Simply replying to something posted to the entire discussion list will ensure that your private message is read by everyone on the list. This can be embarrassing.

If you experience any problems or have any questions about the list, do not send your queries to the list or to majordomo; send them, instead, to the list moderator, Barry Gan. His email address is <bgan@sbu.edu>.

Proposed Revisions in CPP Constitution

As noted in the "Report on the Business Meeting at 9th Annual Conference" (p. 3), on October 19, 1996, three changes in our Constitution were approved for submission to a mail ballot.

The following changes are proposed.

- 1) To "II. Purpose" --

Replace the current Statement of Purpose with a Revised Statement (prepared by the current President in consultation with other members CPP Executive Committee). The revised text, prepared by Ron Santoni, is:

The purpose of Concerned Philosophers for Peace (CPP) is to encourage philosophers to apply their professional skills to the understanding, teaching, and research of problems and issues regarding violence, war, militarism, disarmament, and peace. To further this purpose the association shall organize colloquia and symposia for divisional meetings of the American Philosophical Association and related professional organizations, as well as an annual conference of its members. In addition, CPP will encourage its members to contribute professionally--in journals and through more public media--to national/international discussion of related problems and policies, and to support appropriate political action in response to these issues.

Concerned Philosophers for Peace (CPP) is a non-profit educational organization under the provisions of Internal Revenue Code 501(C)(3).

- 2) To "III. Governing Structure" --

In section "1" (in opening paragraph and in "1. b" and "1. c") and in section "3" -- Change the name of "Executive Secretary" to "Executive Director"

3) To "III. Governing Structure" --

In section "1. c" -- Add "The General Editor of the Philosophy of Peace (POP) Series will also serve on the Executive Committee."

According to our Constitution, proposed amendments are ratified by a two-thirds vote of members in good standing through a mail ballot. If you are a member in good standing, please use the ballot on p. 19 of this issue to vote. Ballots are to be sent to Jerry Richards by March 1, 1997.

As a convenience to readers, the current Constitution is printed below.

Constitution of CPP

Submitted to Membership in

Concerned Philosophers For Peace Newsletter Vol. 7, No. 2 (October 1987)

as a revision of our original Constitution (approved in September 1983)

Approved December 18, 1987

I. NAME

The name of the professional association is Concerned Philosophers for Peace.

II. PURPOSE

Concerned Philosophers for Peace (CPP) is a non-profit educational organization under the provisions of Internal Revenue Code 501(C)(3). The purpose of CPP is to encourage philosophers to apply their professional skills to the teaching and research of problems and issues regarding nuclear weapons, war, militarism, disarmament and peace. To further this purpose the association shall sponsor and organize professional meetings and encourage members to support appropriate political action.

III. GOVERNING STRUCTURE

1. The affairs of CPP shall be determined by the voting membership at the annual business meeting and shall be administered by a President and an Executive Secretary with the assistance of an Executive Committee. The Executive Secretary is empowered to make necessary decisions between annual business meetings in consultation with the Executive Committee, and report to the full membership.

a. the President shall be elected for a one-year term by a majority vote of members in good standing. The President shall chair the Executive Committee.

- b. the Executive Secretary shall be elected for a three-year term by a majority vote of members in good standing. The Executive Secretary is the chief administrative officer for handling the day-to-day affairs of the association.
 - c. the Executive Committee shall consist of two CPP Representatives for each division of the American Philosophical Association elected for staggered two-year terms by a majority vote of members in good standing attending CPP meetings held in conjunction with APA meetings. One divisional representative shall serve as division chair for the purpose of such regional CPP gatherings. The outgoing President and Executive Secretary shall serve on the Executive Committee for one year after the expiration of their terms of office to lend continuity to the leadership of the association.
 - d. Nominees need not be present at a meeting in order to be elected officers or representatives if they have indicated willingness to serve in the elected capacity. Service within the association should rotate among the membership.
2. A Treasurer and a Newsletter Editor shall be appointed by the Executive Committee and shall serve as ex-officio members of the Executive Committee.
 3. The Executive Committee shall meet at least once per year immediately prior to the annual meeting of CPP. The Executive Secretary, with the help of a local committee, the President and the Executive Committee, shall be in charge of all arrangements for the annual meeting and shall chair the business meeting. Divisional Representatives shall arrange regional CPP meetings in conjunction with appropriate APA meetings.
 4. Dues shall be set by the Executive Committee.

IV. MEMBERSHIP

Any philosopher or student of philosophy who pays annual dues shall be accepted for membership and shall be in good standing with the association and thus shall be entitled to vote and to serve as an officer or representative.

V. AMENDMENTS

Amendments may be proposed by the Executive Committee or by a majority of members in good standing attending the annual meeting of the association. Proposed amendments are ratified by a two-thirds vote of members in good standing through a mail ballot.

VI. RATIFICATION

This Constitution shall be ratified by a two-thirds vote of members in good standing through a mail ballot.

An Invitation to Subscribe to *MANAS REVIVAL*

MANAS REVIVAL, which editor Barry Childers calls a journal for "practical philosophers," seeks to continue the legacy of Henry Geiger's *MANAS*. That publication carried the following statement from "The Publishers":

MANAS is a journal of independent inquiry, concerned with study of the principles which move world society on its present course, and with search for contrasting principles--that may be capable of supporting intelligent idealism under the conditions of life in the twentieth century. *MANAS* is concerned, therefore, with philosophy and with practical psychology, in as direct and simple a manner as its editors and contributors can write. The word "manas" comes from a common root suggesting "man" or "the thinker." Editorial articles are unsigned, since *MANAS* wishes to present ideas and viewpoints, not personalities.

MANAS REVIVAL SUBSCRIPTION RATES

\$15 per year in the United States (12 issues)

\$20 per year outside the United States (12 issues)

Make checks payable to & send to:

Barry Childers
511 East Glen Ave.
Ridgewood, NJ07450

A Note from the Editor of *MANAS REVIVAL*

MANAS was a publication edited and mostly written by a remarkable man named Henry Geiger. It began in 1948 and ended in 1988. I discovered it around 1970, and acquired copies of the first 20 years when publication ceased. I found them so interesting and often so timely, that I decided to revive it. I also feel that the kinds of thinking represented here, and the emphasis on ideas and their relevance to practical problems, are much needed in these troubled times. I put together one issue each month. My editorial policy is to select articles that seem to have relevance to things that are happening in the world today, and I put them together in a ten page format. I am currently working my way through the 1950's issues, sometimes including articles from earlier and later issues also. And I add editorials of my own now and then. I hope you will find *MANAS REVIVAL* both interesting and useful, and I welcome your comments. Shalom,

Barry Childers

ARTICLES

War and Peace and The Atlanta Games

Jan Narveson

University of Waterloo

The recent Olympic games in Atlanta presented an interesting subject for reflection among theorists of war and peace. The Games are a sort of intersect between sport, as such, and nationalism. Glory goes to the individuals who win events, indeed: but it is shared with the nation that the athlete represents. At the outset of the Games, each nation's athletes were paraded as a group, bearing its national flag. In many other competitions, though, the political element is much less or nonexistent: individual athletes compete primarily or entirely as individuals, and their role as representatives of the "nation" is minimal to nonexistent.

Are the Games a good thing? One can think that the nationalistic aspect of the games is overdone, and certainly those of us who watched our TV sets from outside the boundaries of the United States had fair reason to think so. American athletes who won were given extensive TV coverage; foreign athletes comparatively little, or none. The most dramatic example of this occurred when the Canadian sprinters won both the 100 metres, Mr. Donovan Bailey setting a new record in the process, and the 400 meter relay. This wasn't on the American script -- clearly, in the Americans' view, "our" team was supposed to have won; and so the actual winners were virtually ignored. How many Americans will remember the name of Bailey -- who, having set a world record, gets the description "fastest man in the world", after all? And the sight of all those remarkably raucous American fans, with their red-white-and-blue stripes -- on one occasion deafening the performing site to the point where one non-American gymnast was unable to hear the music she was supposed to be performing to -- probably reminded some people of the Nazi rallies at Nuremberg, so chillingly recorded by Leni Riefenstahl. For that matter, the parallels with Hitler's Olympics were just enough to make older people uncomfortable.

Even so, however, we must be thankful for the Games as a remarkably effective, and enormously superior substitute for war. We owe the phenomenon of war to the State, with its scarcely-bridled coercive resources. But States at war engage in activities that are enormously destructive, fatal to many, gobblers of resources that could have been used for better purposes, and highly conducive to a perpetuation of the madness in future. The Olympic games, by contrast, are by comparison with war dirt cheap -- to the point where it is perfectly possible for national teams to be sent at no cost at all to the taxpayers of their respective countries. (We are told that the Russian teams were sponsored by the Nike corporation, for example; and the Atlanta organizers paid their way through commercial means, following the notable example of Los Angeles years earlier. Only the military division on hand was at the taxpayer's expense -- and their presence was made necessary, if at all, by the past incidence of terrorist violence, another nationalist political phenomenon having no necessary connection with sport.) The rivalries they promote, while intense, are also narrowly concentrated on activities that need impose no real harms on the losers -- indeed,

they are probably harder on the winners, whose training regimes are enough to make sedentary academics blanche.

Arthur Ripstein has beautifully analyzed the prospects of international sports competitions as effective substitutes for war in regard to one of the causes of the latter fingered by Hobbes: "glory". "My aim is to ... consider those conflicts between nations that are the outcome of their concern with glory and prestige. ... Hobbes' treatment of glory fails to provide a justification for world government. But it does provide something of a justification for the World Cup."¹ Glory is a major problem in international relations, for a variety of reasons, of which the fundamental one is that it is essentially a zero-sum game: what the winner gains is precisely what the loser loses. This makes it *prima facie* impossible to have a cooperative allocation of glory. Yet it is a very strong motive among a lot of people, so how can we arrange a socially productive allocation of it? "If glory cannot be eliminated, it must not be allowed to be divisive. ... Glory must not be attainable by lowering the status of others. It must be made (comparatively) useless as a means to future goods; it must be allocated in a public way so that it cannot be easily misperceived, and the resources that can be devoted to its pursuit must be limited so that one cannot have too much invested to quit."²

On all these points, the Olympics score high. For one thing, the zero-sum aspects of the glory that the athletes pursue is accommodated, first by the fact that all present were already champions in their home countries, so that in sum the Olympics are a matter of more or less, not all or nothing; secondly by the awarding of three medals, not just one, enabling glory to be meted out in graded chunks rather than all going to the sole winner; thirdly by the atmosphere of respect normally and naturally accorded, by fellow competitors as well as the rest of us, to people who display in high degree skills and physiques that we all admire; and fourthly by the applause of the folks back home, win or lose, if not, so much, by the rabidly American-dominated fans in the stadium. (And even they were capable of occasionally cheering, more than just politely, for superior performances by non-Americans.)

Secondly, while an Olympic medal may well earn the individual athlete a lot of money, and open many doors either in athletic domains such as University coaching, victory in the Olympics means absolutely nothing to the nation that achieves it other than the glory itself: no security treaties to be broken or grudgingly respected, no prisoners to exchange, no bodies to be brought home in bags, no seizing of others' resources as a result. This is the major payoff of international sports competition for peace-minded people, and its value is literally inestimable.

Thirdly, the Olympics happen every four years, and if our guys didn't do so well this time, there's always next time to look forward to. Quite a few of the very same individuals, for that matter, will get another chance this way; but from the political point of view, it's the chance for the nation to grab some glory next time that is cause for celebration. Wars aren't very much like that: the losers this time around are still dead, and the new war is certain to have the same disadvantages as the old one.

¹ Arthur Ripstein, "Hobbes on World Government and the World Cup," in *Hobbes: War among Nations*, eds. Timo Airaksinen and Martin A. Bertman (Aldershot, U.K.: Avebury, Gower Publishing, 1989), p. 112.

² Loc. Cit., p. 121.

And finally, since the investment of a country's resources in the Olympics is trivial in comparison to, say, its entire GDP, and is largely spent on this one occasion, there is no basic problem of a country's getting so intent on victory next time that prudence goes by the boards.

In addition to all that, we should recognize that the host city, if justly criticized for a fair amount of organizational schlemozzle, impressed all, from whatever country, with their hospitable and friendly spirit. Here is a model of peaceful international relations that all can emulate to advantage (and in which respect the Atlantans, I gather, deserve a "gold medal" of their own). Provision of opportunity to show the rest of the world how helpful and welcoming the hosts can be to citizens of all countries is another shining virtue of the Olympic institution.

Some of us think that the State is a mistake. But surely we all have reason to be thankful that peaceful competitions can so effectively displace the horrors of the pursuit of genuinely martial glory.

See you next time!

Internationalism, Globalism, Politics, And The Atlanta Games

Ronald J. Glossop

Southern Illinois University at Edwardsville

Jan Narveson's article "War and Peace and the Atlanta Games" focuses on Arthur Ripstein's question of whether international sports competitions are "effective substitutes for war," and his conclusion is that on the various points raised by Ripstein "the Olympics score high." He concludes, "But surely we all have reason to be thankful that peaceful competitions can so effectively displace the horrors of the pursuit of genuinely martial glory."

I want to use this occasion first to discuss the matter of the Olympic games from a different perspective. I want to address the question, "How could the Olympic Games be modified so that they would do more to promote globalism rather than nationalism or internationalism?" The context here is somewhat historical. The original Olympic Games were an occasion to bring together all the Greeks from the different city-states of the region. With the passage of time the communities in which humans live have grown from such city-states to nation-states (roughly during the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries, at least with reference to Europe and the Western hemisphere) to an inter-national community in the 20th century. The modern Olympic Games for the nations of the world are a good example of inter-nationalism. Such inter-nationalism is also represented by the League of Nations and its successor, the United Nations. In these inter-national institutions, as also in the Olympic Games, the various nation-states are represented, each pursuing its own national interest, but the competition is restrained rather than unrestrained, and there are the beginnings of the cooperation necessary to make the event or the organization a reality. A move to globalism would represent the transition to a new level of community as we enter the 21st century. Instead of seeing the world as a collection

of nation-states (think of a traditional map of the world with the different nations in different colors as an appropriate image for inter-nationalism) we would begin to see the earth as a single planetary community with diverse parts (think of the photo of the earth from outer space as a wonderful image for globalism).

So how can we gradually transform the Olympic Games from being a demonstration of nationalism plus inter-nationalism to being a manifestation of globalism? One possibility is already starting to be realized at the end of the Games when the athletes all join together to parade around the stadium. But the national flags they are carrying are still given the center of attention. This event reminds me of the words at the end of the first verse of the League of Nations anthem: "Join, then, in the final glory--Brother, lift your flag with mine!"¹ But what we need is a ceremony which duplicates the image in the second verse of that anthem, namely, "Blend our banners, O my brother, In the rainbow of the world!" and "Melt our colors, wonder woven, In the great white light of Truth!" I would like to see a ceremony which will move us from the inter-nationalism where the nations are more important than the world to the globalism which sees the whole world community as more important than its parts. I don't want the national flags (which to some extent represent the diversity in the world community) totally eliminated, but I would like to see them definitely subordinated to a U.N. flag or an Earth flag or a rainbow flag or something else, maybe just some kind of flowers which grow all over the world,² that could adequately represent the global community.

If humanity is going to move from inter-nationalism to globalism, we will not only need to modify the ceremonies at the Olympic games and change our loyalties, but we will also need to transform the political institutions of our world. The U.N. will have to become a law-making, law-enforcing federal world government that can hold individuals and corporations accountable for violations of world law. The national governments should come to have a status similar to that which the states of the United States presently have. There are differences among the states, but these states are primarily parts of a larger community, and loyalty to that larger community takes precedence over loyalty to the states. We could continue to have sporting events for competition, but the spirit would be similar to that which we see when Ohio State plays Michigan in football ("we want to win, but after all, we are all Americans") rather than the nationalistic animosity which occurs in world soccer matches where the teams represent different sovereign nation-states.

Professor Narveson makes the point that "the Olympics happen every four years, and if our guys didn't do so well this time, there's always next time to look forward to. ... Wars aren't very much like that." Yes, that is important, and it parallels a point that I have made about the war problem, namely, that democratic politics also has this same advantage over war as a way of determining political rulers, namely, that the losers

¹ The words to this anthem, sung to the tune of Beethoven's "Ode to joy," were written by Josephine Daskam Bacon and were copyrighted in 1934 by the League of Nations.

² I am thinking of that wonderful editorial "The Wild Flag" by E. B. White in *The New Yorker* of December 25, 1943. See E. B. White, *The Wild Flag: Editorials from THE NEW YORKER on Federal World Government and Other Matters* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin [The Riverside Press of Cambridge], 1946), pp. 20-23.

in a democratic election always have a chance of becoming the winners in the next non-violent election. The violent winner-takes-all contests of war are not like that.

But there is a much more important point that discussing the Olympic Games as an alternative to war completely misses. Both Narveson and Ripstein focus on the way in which the individual athletes can gain glory from the Games just as individual soldiers can gain glory in war, but the desire for glory on the part of individuals is not the basic reason for wars! Wars are fought to determine which leaders of which groups will have political power. Democratic politics is the alternative to war because the question of who will have the power and authority to determine policies for the society as a whole is determined by ballots in elections rather than by bullets on the battlefield.¹ Therefore, democratic politics at both national and global levels is much more important and relevant as an alternative to war than are the Olympic Games.

¹ R. J. Glossop, *World Federation? A Critical Analysis of Federal World Government* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1993), pp. 11-18, 49-72, and 129-34; R. J. Glossop, *Confronting War: An Examination of Humanity's Most Pressing Problem*, 3rd ed. (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1994), pp. 9-12, 120-21, 334-35, and 345-49; and "War as a Political Problem," *Concerned Philosophers For Peace Newsletter* 15, n1 (Spring 1995), pp. 3-8.

League of Nations Anthem

Words by Josephine Daskam Bacon

Music "Ode to Joy" by Ludwig van Beethoven

Brother, sing your country's anthem, Shout your land's undying fame;
Light the wondrous tale of nations With your people's golden name.
Tell your fathers' noble story, Raise on high your country's sign,
Join, then, in the final glory-- Brother, lift your flag with mine!

Hail the sun of peace, new rising, Hold the war clouds closer furled.
Blend our banners, O my brother, In the rainbow of the world!
Red as blood, and blue as heaven, Wise as age, and proud as youth,
Melt our colors, wonder woven, In the great white light of Truth!

Build the road of Peace before us, Build it wide and deep and long:
Speed the slow and check the eager, Help the weak and curb the strong.
None shall push aside another, None shall let another fall:
March beside me, O my brother, All for one, and one for all!

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BOOK REVIEWS

Michael Gelven. *War and Existence: A Philosophical Inquiry*. The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994. 271 pp. ISBN 0-271-01052-5 (cloth); ISBN 0-271-01054-1 (pbk.).

Michael Gelven, in *War and Existence*, presents a lengthy account of the nature of war. He claims that his account is unbiased as regards moral judgment--it is a descriptive account, not an evaluative account. Gelven holds that the basis of war is the "we-they principle" and that the we-they principle is an existential principle, not a moral principle. Thus, war must be understood existentially, and not, at least until it is described, judged morally. This approach, he suggests, will allow him to understand before judging, and thus not bring to the judgment a prejudice (p. xiii).

Gelven distinguishes between factual judgments, moral judgments, and existential judgments. A factual judgment is true if there is a correspondence between what is said and what is the case, a moral judgment is true if what is condoned or censured ought to be so condoned or censured. An existential judgment is true if it is right about how we think about the meaning of the subject (p. 23). One of the fundamental ways we understand the meaning of our own existence is in respect of that very same we-they principle in respect of which also we understand war. *War and Existence* is about how we think about the meaning of war and, thus, ourselves; for to understand war is to understand ourselves.

War is by nature paradoxical. On the one hand, clearly the benefits of peace attract us. We treasure life and the respect for it. Thus, we have an instinct for peace. On the other hand, we value highly what is ours, the "we" as opposed to the "they." Thus, we have also an instinct for war. The very "we" or "what is ours" that we value as a benefit of peace both derives meaning in contrast to the "they" and "what is theirs" and must be defended against the "they" and "what is theirs."

Gelven describes war in terms of nine existential marks--war as vast, organized, communal, historical, sacrificial, violent, a game, horrific, and heroic. In his descriptions of war in respect of each of these terms he calls upon philosophical accounts of other philosophers from Plato to Nietzsche, poetic expressions, religious accounts, and historical accounts of wars from ancient Greece to present times. The meaning of each of these marks of war also entails an understanding of ourselves as opposed to the other, the they, the enemy.

War as Vast. War is vast not only in the amount of people, armaments, land area, and such that are involved in a war; it is vast also in the degree of excellence in all things necessitated by war, e.g., generals, guns, ships. In us, Gelven suggests, the vastness of war awakens a lofty sense of our own worth as rational beings--our existential meaning--even though the vastness of it all may be intimidating as well.

War as Organized. One aspect of the meaning of war is the thoroughgoing organization in the army, in which there is and must be a complete distinction between the officers and the soldiers and, as a result of which, there is the necessary obedience for successfully engaging in warfare. In addition, Gelven says, the army is a profoundly symbolic institution. In other words, for the army, meaning is everything--men fight for meaning. He goes on to claim, "The meaning of one's existence is celebrated in the participation of military command. The I is not here

subjugated under another's will, rather the I achieves its deepest meaning by the realization of its being of the we; indeed, when properly conceived, under these special events the I literally becomes the we." (p. 36) More generally, sense is made of my own being by reference to the various laws under which we live; laws are a function of and a requirement of organization.

War as Communal. Gelven claims that the nation and the army are each involved in the war, each in its own way and each in reference to the other. Even when the fighting does not reach the habitation of the nation, the nation is involved in the war, but its involvement is especially clear when the fighting actually touches the citizens themselves, as in the bombing of London in World War II. We derive our meaning from our community, the we. We derive our meaning in contrast to the other community or the enemy, the they.

War as Historical. Wars, Gelven suggests, change history. They change us, and they thus determine who we are. We are historical entities. We are what we have become as a result of our history, both of our nation and of our private lives. Our history or our story determines who we are. Wars are monumental events in history and thus are significantly determinative of who we are.

War as Sacrificial. That war involves sacrifice is probably rather obvious. Its existential meaning for us is, first, that a soldier's willingness to sacrifice his life for his nation somehow makes his nation holy. The conception of life involved in sacrifice is that life *per se* is not so worthwhile as a certain quality of life. The willingness to sacrifice then gives qualitative meaning to life.

War as Violent. War is a large-scale clash of wills. Such a clash demands violence as a resolution, which determines that one of the wills involved in the clash wins. The clash of wills is a clash of we and they, the dominance of my will is the dominance of my meaning, the resistance against being determined in my meaning by the will of the other. Even my willingness to chance violence in the case of a clash of my will with that of another is significantly determinative of my meaning. Further, Gelven refers to the aesthetic and spiritual meaning of violence in reference to the Kantian notion of the sublime. Gelven also refers to reason as the tool of the will in violence. He regards the sublime and reason as meaning-endowing essences.

War as a Game. Gelven's reference to the idea of war as game entails the notion that game playing requires the advent of leisure in our lives or in our society. Such an advancement in one's life or in society means that we have achieved a higher meaning with the advent of leisure. War has such game characteristics as requiring strategy and being directed towards winning. These are meaning-endowing characteristics for us. The very existence of the soldier must be leisurely, he claims. Our own lives are, thus, endowed with meaning by virtue of games, of which there are many kinds and which include the game of war.

War as Horrific. Gelven does not wish us to understand his characterization of war as horrific to imply that he is identifying war as evil or that he is engaging in anti-war propaganda. Rather he is merely describing war. The horror of war is so great that it may stun us, paralyze us. On the other hand, the great horror of war may also fascinate us because it is our own horror, as we are capable of or have perpetrated that tremendous horror. The essence of the horror of war, he says, reveals itself as the loss of humanity. The essence of courage, an alternative response to paralysis, is the regaining of humanity. That leads to the final mark.

War as Heroic. War provides an opportunity for an heroic response to the horror of war. The ideal of heroism and the manifestation of heroism in response to war are meaning-endowing to us.

These nine existential marks of war taken together constitute an "existential description" of war. Gelven goes on to say,

No matter how profound and deep our existential appreciation may be, however, war cannot be considered without a moral resistance to it. Thus, it remains a paradox, in which the existential contrasts with the moral. But the concerns that make up our existential meaning are precious indeed: notions like the sacred, the historical, the sublime (both in vastness and in horror), the communal, and the heroic are not idle pleasantries or things to be rejected easily. In *describing* war in this way, there can be no doubt that in some sense we have also revealed the *justification* of it. (p. 128-9, italics his)

And, indeed, while Gelven originally claimed not to be arguing for some moral judgment about war, he nonetheless seemed right from the start to be *describing* war in a rather favorable way, as it seemed to me. His justification, then, may not be *moral* justification, but it is justification. He claims that our very existence, our very meaning is inextricably interwoven with war. Our existential meaning is framed in accordance with the we-they principle. Our existential meaning necessitates a "they" in contrast with which we stake out our "weness," both our existence and our nature. That he does regard war not only as a undeniable reality but also as a positive force in our search for existential meaning is confirmed when he states his view that "only armed, militarily prepared nations, supremely committed to autonomy, can enjoy peace" (p. 255), and in his condemnation of pacifism in the last chapter.

Reading and reflecting on *War and Existence* was instructive. The attempt to describe war non-prejudicially is an interesting enterprise. War is certainly violent and horrific. No doubt the winners, at least, are organized and a game is an instructive analogy for war. Wars probably seem vast to the people involved and may also enhance the feeling of community in some cases. World War II did enhance seemingly the feeling of community in England. Did the recent war in Bosnia? Wars frequently involve sacrifice and heroism. And historians regard wars as significant events. I was not convinced, however, that war gives meaning to human existence, nor was I convinced that war is justified. Gelven's justification of war does not seem to me to be so much a result of an objective look at war as a result of a certain interpretation of human nature and human existence. At the end, his view on how to preserve peace sounds like nothing more than the familiar view that relationships among nations take place in the state of nature, "the war of all against all." From such a view one cannot but conclude that each nation should be prepared for war.

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Elaine Scarry. *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World*. Oxford University Press, 1985. 385 pp. ISBN 0-19-503601 (cloth); 0-19-504996-9 (pbk.).

Elaine Scarry's *The Body in Pain*, written in sympathy with and partially funded by Amnesty International, offers a phenomenological analysis of cultural and political creation and destruction. According to Scarry, human consciousness is consciousness of a world of real cultural meanings. Torture unmakes those meanings, gradually encroaching upon them by increasing a victim's physical and

psychological pain, gradually replacing them with the fiction of the regime's power. War makes use of bodily injury and structural destruction in order to unmake a nation's self-understanding and force it to accept the victor's definition of the issues at stake. Finally, the Old and New Testaments read as a unit tell the story of the modulation of divine creation into human creation. Those two texts, together with Karl Marx's writings, make clear the absolute centrality of personal and cultural making in defining human reality. War and torture are to be condemned on both physical and psychic grounds: they injure bodies and they do so in order to destroy, and then remake, consciousness.

In its structure, *The Body in Pain* is a loose collection of five long essays. The practical and cultural connection between the essays, which I have summarized in the previous paragraph, is largely implicit in the book. However, in the book's middle essay, Scarry offers an explicit epistemological argument designed to explain the philosophical thread that unites the diverse topics she analyzes. Specifically, Scarry argues that the phenomena of pain and imagining are the two defining limits of human consciousness. Intense pain erases the objects of consciousness; it is pure sensation. Imagination wholly identifies consciousness with its objects, as those objects do not exist outside of imagination. Therefore, on the one hand, imagination showcases the intimate connection between consciousness and making. It represents the extreme pole of pure consciousness that is the state of making, or creating. On the other hand, pain showcases the fragility of consciousness and the possibility of unmaking the meanings that, under normal conditions, seem to constitute consciousness. It therefore represents the other extreme pole of pure consciousness, the state of unmaking, or dissolution in the face of destructive forces. Scarry refers each of her three main analyses (torture, war, and biblical text) to this epistemological paradigm. By way of example, I shall sketch Scarry's analysis of war.

War, Scarry implies, is a cataclysmic convergence of the phenomenologies of pain and imagining, the coupling of destruction and creation. In war, meanings are created through the medium of suffering. Objectless sensations of pain are referred to national ideologies, and national ideologies are given concrete reference to citizens' experiences of pain and suffering. Scarry begins her essay on war by wondering how the wounding of bodies can result in the settling of a dispute about ideological or territorial issues. She notes two obvious facts about war: war is injuring, and war is a contest. Each contestant has a level of injury it deems unacceptable. Each contestant tries to injure the other to its unacceptable level, at which point the country will cede the ideological or territorial issue in order to avoid further injury. However, Scarry notes, following Clausewitz, that the victor is not always the one who has caused more injury in absolute numbers of deaths. And, she adds, following American political speeches about the ending of World War II, the victor does not always define the terms of the surrender in ways that affirm the superiority of its ideological and territorial claims over those of its enemy. (For example, the Marshall Plan encouraged the speedy recovery of post-World War II Germany to economic power.) Therefore, Scarry reasons, injuring in war must serve an additional function that is not rooted in its structure as a contest. She suggests that the "massive opening of human bodies [provides] a way of reconnecting...derealized and disembodied beliefs with the force and power of the material world" (p. 128). In the light of this suggestion, war becomes not only a nation's means of demonstrating to its enemies the power of its ideas and the force of its claims; war also is understood as a nation's means of demonstrating to its own citizens the power of its claims. A country goes to war, suggests Scarry, when its own citizens begin to question the legitimacy of leaders' claims. Put more concretely, in a protracted dispute with another country, the claims of the disputants call into

question each others' claims. There is a danger that citizens will begin to see from the point of view of the other nation. So leaders contrive to show that the right is not arbitrary, but that it is instead quite a concrete issue. Their political rhetoric asserts: you are in grave danger of dying and/or suffering unless our point of view is made to prevail as quickly as possible. National priorities are shifted, and individual priorities along with them, as formerly "unanchored" (p. 108) ideas now become something to die for.

On the one hand, even this general sketch of Scarry's analysis of war offers insight that can be evaluated against our prior knowledge about specific wars. For example, Scarry's analysis seems to me to ring true of America's participation in the Cold War. In the first half of the twentieth century, many Americans who were Social Democrats or labor union members questioned American economic practices from a socialist perspective. Coincidentally, socialist countries became defined as the countries out to injure Americans -- so of course socialism by definition was not for Americans. On the other hand, this quick sketch of the general movement of Scarry's analysis of war fails to capture the depth of the study that led to her conclusions. For example, I have left out Scarry's detailed analysis, much of it novel, of the linguistic strategies that mask the reality that the main purpose of war is injuring. I have left out Scarry's detailed speculations about whether other types of contests could fulfill the dispute-resolution function of war. And I have left out Scarry's careful comparing and contrasting of her analyses of war and torture.

Because it is so ambitious in scope, *The Body in Pain* is a challenging book to read. First, it demands of its readers a sophisticated cultural and philosophical vocabulary, as Scarry draws on a wide variety of political documents, treatises on military strategy, technical philosophical works, and classic texts of western civilization from a variety of disciplines. Second, the book demands of its readers a great deal of time, as Scarry's multifaceted discussion of each carefully argued point reveals a wealth of sophisticated analyses of language, texts, artifacts, and social and political strategies. Third, the book demands a high tolerance for ambiguity as well as an impulse to synthetic thinking, as the structure of the book invites the reader to think about many of the unstated connections between its far-ranging chapters. Finally, the book demands of its readers a complex and contradictory commitment to both understanding and rejecting world-unmaking violence, as Scarry's account repeatedly affirms its immorality even as she explains its efficacy. Because I found that the book's grace and brilliance fulfill the promise of its ambitious undertaking, I recommend it highly to readers willing and able to give it the depth of attention it demands.

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Ballot on Proposed Revisions in CPP Constitution

The text of the proposed revisions and current CPP Constitution are on p. 6. Check below whether you approve or disapprove of the proposed changes. By March 1, 1997, mail your marked ballot to Jerry Richards, Philosophy Program, Northern Kentucky University, Highland Heights, KY 41099-2200.

1. Proposed Changes in "Statement of Purpose"
☐ Approve ☐ Disapprove
2. Proposed Change in Name of Chief Executive Officer
☐ Approve ☐ Disapprove
3. Proposed Addition to Membership on Executive Committee
☐ Approve ☐ Disapprove

Call for Papers

10th Annual Conference of Concerned Philosophers For Peace

California State University, Chico

September 25-28, 1997

The 10th Annual Conference of Concerned Philosophers for Peace will be held at California State University, Chico on September 25-28, 1997. The conference theme will be **Peace and Justice: Paradoxes, Costs, Reconciliations.**

The **keynote speaker** on September 25 will be **Michael Lerner**. Cornel West, who co-authored with Lerner *Jews and Blacks: A Dialogue on Race, Religion and Culture in America* (1996), refers to Lerner as "one of the major prophetic figures of our time." Senator Paul Wellstone urges that Lerner's *Politics of Meaning* (1995) "ought to inform our contemporary political discussion." Lerner also edits a progressive Jewish periodical, *Tikkun*, which is read in the Clinton White House. Lerner, a recently ordained rabbi, will deliver a keynote speech on "Reconciliation--Toward A Politics of 'Meaning.'"

Conference papers can address a variety of issues, including but not limited to:

Are political realists correct when they contend that peace is preferable to justice? Are various forms of equality achievable simultaneously? When is the U.S. ethically bound to engage in or refrain from foreign intervention and foreign aid? Is escape possible from power relations embedded in language? Is it desirable to resolve the self's cognitive dissonance between ideals and realities?

Is it possible to honor one's ethnic origins and identify with all of humanity?

Papers are refereed. An edited volume based on selected conference papers will be published in the Philosophy of Peace section of the Value Inquiry Book Series of Rodopi Press.

Two copies of papers and a 150 word abstract should be sent to the conference host: Ron Hirschbein, Department of Philosophy, California State University at Chico, Chico, CA 95929-0730. Papers, restricted to 20 minutes reading time, are due by June 30, 1997. Announcement of papers selected by referees will be made by July 30, 1997.

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