Preface to the Second Edition

wo decades have passed since the publication of the first edition of From Warism to Pacifism: A Moral Continuum. The world has changed in remarkable ways during those twenty years: the Cold War ended with the collapse of the Soviet Union, Nelson Mandela was elected president of a "nonracial" South Africa after twenty-seven years in prison as a banned person under apartheid, economic globalization became a dominant force in international relations, and suicide/murder attacks reached inside the United States on September 11, 2001, ushering in the ongoing "war on terror."

Despite such remarkable changes, the new world order anticipated by many when this book first appeared in 1989 has turned out to be much like the old world order: overt and covert violence remain the predominant means of international conflict resolution. When I began speaking with Micah Kleit of Temple University Press about a possible second edition of this book a couple of years ago, I noted that, unfortunately, violence never seems to go out of fashion in America. The United States continues as the leading weapons producer—and arms merchant—on earth, and the United States continues to have more military bases, weapons, and soldiers on foreign soil than any other nation. While the currency says "In God We Trust," "In Violence We Trust" may be a more accurate description, despite the UN declaration

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that the first ten years of the twenty-first century be a decade of non-violence for the children of the world.

I have been deeply gratified by reactions to From Warism to Pacifism over the years. My primary goal in writing the book—to contribute to ongoing discussions in search of alternatives to violence and war—has been reached beyond my expectations. By keeping the book in print all these years, Temple University Press has helped me to participate indirectly in many college and university courses and to find mention in published work developing new directions on morality and war. With this twentieth-anniversary second edition I attempt to refresh the text with updated examples and references but at the same time retain the central argument and readability of the original. As a consequence, changes are few and for the most part minor. There are two substantial changes. First, at the suggestion of many readers, I move the original Afterword: A History of the Idea of Pacifism, to become the Introduction in the new edition, to provide a broad historical context for the central chapters of the book. Second, I offer a new Afterword: Nonviolence and the War on Terror, in which I discuss the post–September 11, 2001, context for morality, war, and nonviolence. This allows for updating the central argument, preserving the integrity of the original book, and exploring the implications of the thesis in light of the greatest challenge to nonviolence since World War II: the so-called war on terror.

In the original edition of this book I carefully avoided religion. In doing my early research I found vastly more books and articles on pacifism and nonviolence written from religious or theological perspectives than resources predominantly philosophical; I thereby found an opening for my contribution to the field, since my own interests and training better fit a philosophical focus. While the second edition follows this same approach, I now recognize a need to address issues related to religion and I do so explicitly in the new Afterword. I still take a philosophical approach but go on to consider implications of religious convictions as they impact the prospects for shrinking the ranks of warists as well as expanding the ranks of pacifists of various sorts, a topic conspicuously absent in the original book.

In my initial survey of philosophical literature in the 1970s and 1980s, I also found manyfold more published work on, say, philosophy of language, than on morality and violence, even between World War II

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and the end of the war in Vietnam. Most professional philosophers in the 1950s and 1960s had turned from practical considerations of pressing contemporary issues to more specialized and technical academic issues less clearly related to public controversies of the day. I sometimes wonder about the degree to which the McCarthy era—the public search for communists and their sympathizers and the subsequent chilling effect on free speech—may have contributed to the academic trend toward increased specialization and with it more narrowly focused, abstract, and esoteric research and publication. In any event, reviewing philosophical books and articles on morality and violence today is a much larger task. This is due to remarkable growth in philosophical interest in issues previously at, or beyond, the margins of the profession. This second edition of From Warism to Pacifism does not reflect such recent material in a comprehensive or systematic way; so much has appeared in recent years that to do so would result in a very different book. Here I concentrate on refreshing my original effort and drawing implications for important relevant issues that have arisen subsequent to its publication, making only selective references to the expanding body of recent work in the field.

For me, the most exciting and significant change in academic philosophy over the past thirty-five years has been the feminist critique of traditional philosophy and the analogous challenges to the tradition from diverse perspectives including race, class, sexual orientation, ecology, and political oppression. While I have always considered myself a feminist, upon rereading my own twenty-year-old work and older, I now realize that I was influenced by aspects of this liberatory critique, directly and indirectly, much more than I had understood at the time. In challenging the dichotomous thinking of much traditional Western thought, feminism helped create an opening for conceiving issues of difference as matters of degree. This reorientation to difference is central to my conception of the relationships among pacifism, the just war tradition, and war realism, and lies at the very heart of my work. In retrospect I also see my early work as influenced by the American pragmatist tradition, especially Dewey and Du Bois, again something I did not realize at the time. I have always thought of myself as working in the tradition of naturalism but I now better understand affinities among naturalism, feminism, diverse critical readings of tradition, and pragmatism.

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Books arise from conversations. I have been a fortunate participant in many engaging discussions on morality, war, violence, and nonviolence, with countless colleagues, students, readers, and friends since the publication of *From Warism to Pacifism*. I have presented papers, given talks, and served on panel discussions since the first publication of this book, often extending my thinking beyond the original text; such is reflected in small ways throughout this new edition. Two papers in particular form the basis of the new Afterword: first, a talk I gave at my own university as well as at the University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, in response to the September 11, 2001, suicide/murder attacks titled, "What Has Nonviolence to Say?" And second, an essay, "Between Dogmatism and Relativism," published in the *Journal of Religion, Conflict, and Peace* in the summer of 2008.

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I have enjoyed the support of many friends and colleagues known through the Fellowship of Reconciliation and Concerned Philosophers for Peace, two organizations devoted to gathering peace-minded folks to broaden and deepen their understanding of violence and nonviolence. A few close personal friends must also be acknowledged, for their generosity in indulging my questions and my habit of circling conversations ever back to morality and violence. I'm thinking especially of Claude Brew, Marlin Olson, and Hugh Stephenson.

My greatest debt is to my family, especially to my wife Sandy for putting up with my academic preoccupations that often reinforce old stereotypes of the absent-minded professor. My daughter, Annie, and son, Ton, always take interest in my ideas but never let me take myself too seriously, and I have grown to rely on my daughter-in-law, Karis, to question what I take for granted, a philosophical necessity. Finally, I'm grateful to my granddaughter, Marin, and grandson, Eli; they are my inspiration. This new edition is written in the hope that their future will reflect less warism and more pacifism, less violence and more peace.

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