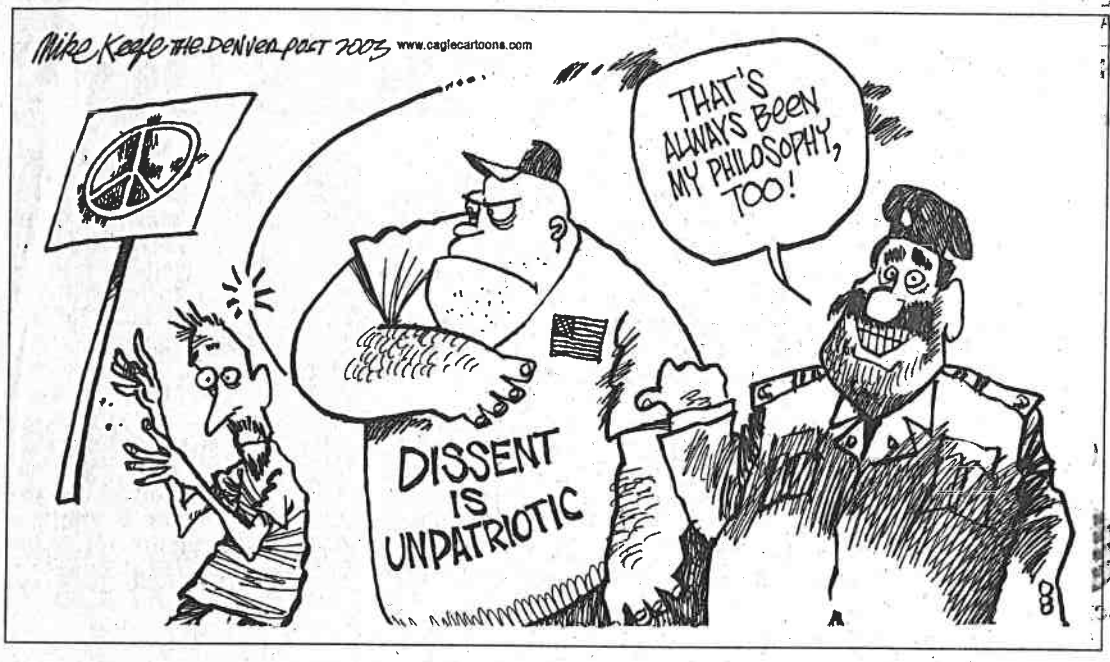

International politics down the street

COMMUNITY VOICES

By PAUL JEROME CROCE

This is a story of grave international policy questions and clashing worldviews as they played out on a side street in the small town of DeLand where I live.

The story starts with my own skepticism last fall about the policy for invasion of Iraq. While recognizing that Saddam Hussein was a brutal dictator, I suspected war would make matters worse.

My whole family agreed, so we decided to make our small voices heard: We put up a yard sign in January that said "War is Not the Answer."

Those few words summarized a host of reasons, including worry about distraction from the confrontation with terror, wonder about why we could not contain the small nation of Iraq and concern about "preventive warfare" setting a precedent for an embrace of war without end. That small blue sign was carrying a lot of policy positions without any room for explanation.

Once the war started, we faced a quiet censorship: Our sign and a few of our neighbor's signs were stolen. Outraged at the un-American theft, we responded with a hand-written sign that said "Stealing Peace Signs is Not the Answer," and a few days later added another of the original signs. We even started making jokes about the logo during the kids' homework: "Did you figure out problem 9?" . . . "No, but war is not the answer."

One neighbor, who also put up a second sign, left it up even after someone spray-painted it with the Nazi swastika and the Communist hammer and sickle — as a silent testimony to the illogic of associating a peace advocate with two militaristic regimes, which were antagonistic to each other no less.

In early April, at the peak of the war, in broad daylight, a car drove by our house, stopped, backed up and rested in front of our signs. A young woman got out and simply picked up the signs to take them into the car. My alert wife saw her and yelled from the window, "You are stealing — I'll call the police!" The woman froze and blurted out "I wanted it for my yard." When my wife told her how to get one of her own, the young man driving expressed his views more frankly: He loudly (expletives deleted) condemned us. A few hours later, the same car drove by again, with the passengers loudly cursing and condemning our political views.

The issue of free expression had become one of safety. What if our unintentional antagonists decided to take their patriotism into their own hands. With the war's approval rating soaring above 70 percent, was it still possible to present a policy disagreement? We had a family meeting, and reluctantly decided, in the interest of our own homeland security, that we would take the signs down.

The next morning, a new sign appeared on our yard. One side was addressed to us with a simple command, "Get Behind Our Troops," and a Marine Corps sticker. The other side said, "War is What Made This Country Free," and was signed "Mainstreet Americans." Once again, the universal, personal desire to support the people who are the soldiers was absorbed into an uncritical support of a risky and very debatable policy. And that Mainstreet slogan sounds like something from George Orwell's "1984".

And yet, I greatly admire those young people (assuming they left the signs). They achieved something that our leaders could not. They directed their anger into words rather than violence. I only wish that they and the rest of the war-supporting majority would be more willing to listen to arguments that raise skeptical questions about our new, seemingly permanent wartime footing. The war and the nation-building to follow are going to cost us a bundle, and not just in money.

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

FOUNDED IN 1908 BY MARY BAKER EDDY

'First the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear.'

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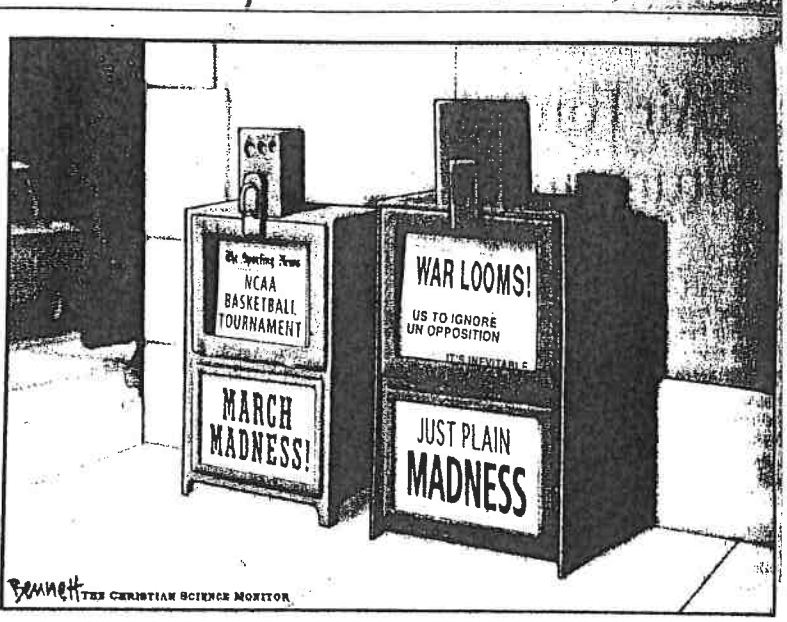

THE MONITOR'S VIEW

DON'T BALK IN THE BALKANS

EUROPE was starkly reminded Wednesday that it still has much to do in bringing peace to the volatile, violent remnants of former Yugoslavia.

An assassin felled the reformist and pro-Western prime minister of Serbia, Zoran Djindjic, the charismatic philosopher-politician who organized the ouster of dictator Slobodan Milosevic in 2000.

The sniper killing of Mr. Djindjic, presumably arranged by a gang boss due to be arrested soon, should also remind the Serb people to keep alive the spirit of reform that led them to rise up against Mr. Milosevic.

The Balkans remain a backwater of Europe partly because of the many 20th-century assassinations, fueled by ethnic nationalism, religious bigotry, radical ideology, or thuggery.

Replacing the modernizing Djindjic won't be easy for the Serbs. He was able to unify many political factions by calm persuasion and worked with the West to send war-criminal suspects to The Hague for trial. He also ended the use of Yugoslavia as a country name through Serbia's new arrangement with Montenegro. And he tried to bring economic reform and the rule of law to a country torn apart by four wars that Milosevic started.

Both the European Union and the United States must now rethink the political pressure they've used through their aid to push along the reforms that Djindjic began. In a land where vengeance and blind nationalism often rules, reformers like Djindjic need to be nurtured with care. And the 10 million Serbs need to see the benefits of steady reform.

PROTECTING WOMEN CADETS

THE nation expects much of its military officers. They must put their lives on the line to defend freedom and uphold American values. Those values include civil rights, the rule of law, and due process.

How disturbing, then, to read of charges that officials at the US Air Force Academy have covered up more than 50 cases of alleged rape and sexual assault of female cadets by their male classmates. In many cases, apparently, a woman trying to report a rape has herself been punished for violating lesser academy rules.

Top Air Force officials have sent investigators to Colorado Springs and provided counselors for women making the allegations. They are changing procedures for handling such claims to protect confidentiality and end the charging of victims with other infractions. Men's and women's dormitory rooms will be separated.

But more is needed. Clearly the academy's culture needs to change. The Air Force should discipline officers who covered up crimes. Where there is evidence of rape, the accused should be court-martialed. Alcohol abuse is often a factor in rape cases – especially involving underage college students. The academy should beef up its training against substance abuse and sexual assault for both incoming cadets *and* upperclassmen.

ENGLISH SANS ~~FRENCH~~

THE Franco-American ~~dispute~~ *falling out* over the best ~~approach~~ *way* to ~~disarming Iraq~~ *take away Iraq's weapons* has resulted in perhaps the highest ~~level of~~ anti-French feeling in the United ~~States~~ *Lands* since 1763.

A French-owned ~~hotel~~ *innkeeping* firm, Accor, has taken down the ~~tri-color~~ *three-hued flag*. In the House of ~~Representatives~~ *Burghers*, the ~~chairman~~ *leader* of the ~~Committee~~ *Body* on ~~Administration~~ *Running Things* has ~~renamed~~ *named anew* French fries "freedom fries" and French toast "freedom toast" in House ~~restaurants~~ *eating rooms*.

To which the ~~question~~ *asking* arises: Why stop with Evian, Total gasoline, and the Concorde (~~just~~ *only* the Air France flights)? Let's get to the heart of the ~~matter~~ *thing*: A ~~huge~~ *big* percentage of the words in ~~modern~~ *today's* English are of – gasp! – French ~~origin~~ *beginnings*. What if, as a result of the ~~current diplomatic dispute~~ *today's falling out between lands*, the French ~~demand~~ *ask for* their words back? We could all be linguistic ~~hostages~~ *captives*.

It is time for English-speaking ~~peoples~~ *folk* to throw off this cultural ~~imperialism~~ *lording-it-over-others* and ~~declare~~ *say* our linguistic freedom. It is time to ~~purify~~ *clean* the English ~~language~~ *tongue*. It will take some ~~sacrifices~~ *hardship* on everyone's part to get used to the new ~~parlance~~ *speech*. But think of the ~~satisfaction~~ *warm feeling inside* on the day we ~~are all able to~~ *can all* stare the *Académie Française* in the eye and say without fear of ~~reprisal~~ *injury*: "*Sumer is icumen in....*"

US-educated Iraqis torn by thoughts of war

Regarding your March 5 article "US-taught Iraqis feel war's weight": These Iraqis who have lived in the US have seen a country that has many great things to offer, but they have also seen the proclivity for violence and "hardening" that has been cultivated within US society. On the eve of war, it must be hard for them to watch a country they once loved bring terror to their peoples. As Janon Kadhim, an Iraqi architecture professor, asked, "Why should I have to make you feel like we are people worth living?"

President Bush has said victory in Iraq would help the Iraqi people by allowing them to choose a new government. Though the war is "between governments," as Ms. Kadhim says, there is no doubt that innocent civilians will be hurt. How does an Iraqi mother explain to her child that the Americans are trying to help them by bombing them? The administration needs to look closely at whom this war is affecting.

Megan Maulhardt *Carpinteria, Calif.*

Looking to Botswana for a lesson

Concerning Robert Rotberg's March 3 opinion piece "Lessons from Botswana": African countries are not the only ones that can learn from the well-structured and peaceable nation of Botswana. The United States could benefit greatly if we, too, shared the same ethics.

Past and present leaders of Botswana have learned to incorporate principles of sharing and support that are as elementary as those taught in a kindergarten class. Whereas, the US is often displayed as the Scrooge of all countries – rich, yet unfulfilled and unhappy. Botswana's example of leadership – and respect for that leadership – could possibly inspire a change of heart in the US. If Americans could hold the same respect for elected leaders, maybe we, too, could create a system in which all is equal, and all are content.

Botswana shines through as a beacon in the raging political storms of nearby African governments. By integrating "ethics and service" into its political system, the president of Botswana is working miracles in his little country.

Lauren Woodbury *Parker, Colo.*

The pragmatism of the American Spirit

In regard to the March 6 article "Cowboys learn their lit – from the French": For all its charm and insight, it made a brazen claim: "the essential American philosopher is – well, there isn't one." *Pardonnez-moi!* I object with due respect for the writer's presentation of the can-do, rough-and-tumble spirit of American culture.

This American character has a name. Its name is pragmatism, and its most popular example was American philosopher William James. His pragmatism gave expression to a practicality and an action-oriented thought that is one of the best and most distinctive traits of the American spirit. His philosophical way of expressing this was to look to effects rather than causes: knowing things by their fruits rather than their roots – what could be more American?

The article does present Thomas Jefferson as a representative American thinker. These days, we could use a president with a philosophical imagination, but James would have provided a better example for etching out the French-US divide. James was fluent in French and was as popular with French philosophers as the cowboys have been with French novelists. Who knows? If we take our American pragmatism seriously, we might not only find détente with the French, but also discover ways to think before we act too precipitously, and to anticipate the practical effects of what we do in the world. After all, cowboys look before they leap.

Paul Jerome Croce *DeLand, Fla.*
Professor, Stetson University

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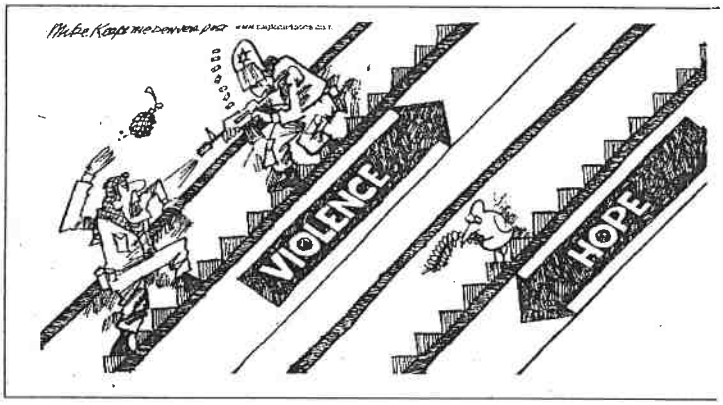
COMMUNITY VOICES

What is just about this war? Ethics theory deserves analysis

By PAUL JEROME CROCE



I have long admired Jean Bethke Elshtain's work. She has been an insightful and sane commentator on a host of vexing ethical dilemmas of our time. She has courageously stepped out of the depths of her academic research to offer contexts and clarity for public debates. So I read her byline on the president's thrust toward war with great anticipation.

The public is eager to understand if Bush's gamble in seeking to start a pre-emptive war with Iraq is justified. There are many places to look for justifications. Politicians and commentators have been scrambling for months to offer strategic, military and economic justifications, both for and against this war. The public understandably turns to the experts in ethics to weigh the historical, theoretical and religious justification for war. An anxious and divided public wants to know: On those more exalted planes, is this prospective war just or not?

Although Elshtain offered in her Feb. 24 essay a good context for understanding what the just war theory is by showing how it has been used in the past, she included no guidance to an anxious public that has a searing question in front of it. She did not quite stoop to providing a stone instead of bread, but the public can be excused for regarding all that background without serious evaluation of the present dilemmas in light of the just-war theory as mere stale crumbs at a moment of great moral hunger.

This is not a criticism of the body of the essay, which effectively summarizes the just-war perspectives of St. Augustine and its application to the massive firepower used in the Second World War against truly terrible regimes. Elshtain drew clear boundaries using just-war guidelines on what means were justified to fulfill those war aims.

But there is virtually no comment on whether this impending war is just, or if the means used will justify its ends; and there is not comment on the justice of the war aims of this administration. In fact, by quoting President Bush's comment that "America will fight a 'just cause' and by 'just means,'" Elshtain tacitly offer a just-war sanction of White House policies. She has already crossed the line from academic commentary into support. And she edges closer to policy endorsement by saying, "I believe a strong case can be made within the just-war tradition for the use of force to suppress the wrongdoing of the Saddam regime." So what are citizens eager for ethical guidance to think? Yes, this will be a just war?

Even if Elshtain does not want to come out explicitly with an endorsement of this war, let us see what just-war criteria would say about a range of troubling issues on this months-long slide into war.

Can we take the president's declaration that this will be a "just cause" at face value? Because Bush says it, does that make it true? A recent poll showed that more people believe the White House than just about any other institution in the country — almost twice the number that trust universities. Elshtain's insights and clarity could help boost her institution's numbers by evaluating the White House statements in comparison with policies.

What can a just-war theorist tell us about the war on terror? And more to the point, what can she tell us about the shift from targeting Osama bin Laden to raising up Saddam Hussein as this nation's main enemy, given little evidence connecting the two and religious bin Laden declaring Saddam Hussein an enemy of Islam?

What can a just-war theorist tell us about the radical shift in policy from seeking justification for wars against aggression to a war started before any international aggression has happened? According to just-war theory, who is the aggressive power?

What can a just-war theorist tell us about military policies for dealing with a brutal regime? Of all the brutal leaders in the world, why the fight against this one? Have all nonmilitar means been explored to cop with his brutality and his eva sion of U.N. prohibitions of hi weapons programs?

What can a just-war theori tell us about the disproportiona ity of technology of the two side in this prospective war? Ho will the massive firepower b used? If the American weapor are so very "smart," is there an need for warfare at all, when in telligence and surgical raid might avoid the loss of civilia life?

What would a just-war theo ist say about the presence of o in Iraq, and its influence on mil tary policy? If there are econon ic interests being served by wa is war still justified? This is th elephant in the academic sem nar room of just-war theorizin about this fight as part of the wa on terror.

What would a just-war theo ist say about the wildly unfor seen aftermath of the war? Th war is presented to the public a a way to increase security an decrease future violence. Ho much can we believe that th much invited violence will act ally reduce violence? Candidat Bush promised not to be in volved in nation-building can paigns as president. There is a least inconsistency in preser policies that will require awl ward and treacherous natio building in Iraq. What can a jus war theorist tell us about th ethical boundaries of this inte vention?

Elshtain's essay was surel just one op-ed piece, but it wa just a start for her or one of he colleagues to keep going in in forming the public about the ju tice of this impending war.

Croce is professor and chairman of American studies at Stetson University.

VOICES ON WAR

Invoking language of justice in president's cause for war

By JEAN BETHKE ELSHTAIN

President Bush has said that if it comes to war in Iraq, America will fight in a "just cause" and by "just means."

This is no mere rhetorical flourish. The president's use of the language of justice links the Iraq crisis to a venerable tradition of ethical restraint and justification known as "just war."

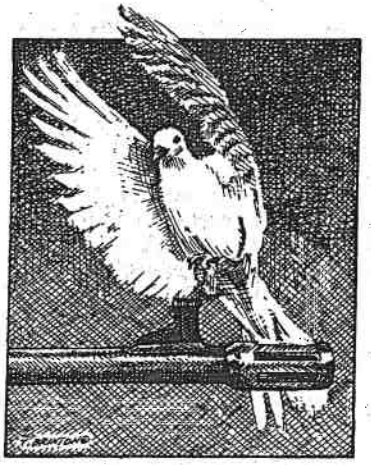
Determining what constitutes a just war originated with such great fathers of the Christian church as St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas, who sought to come to grips with the responsibilities of governments in a fallen world. Stretching the boundary of moral concern beyond family, tribe and territory, they created specific injunctions about the use of force aimed at limiting both the occasions for war and the means by which it was carried out.

Since then, many of these injunctions have been encoded in international agreements and conventions stipulating what is and is not acceptable in fighting between nations.

The just-war tradition insists that a war must be openly and legally fought; it must be a response to a specific instance of unjust aggression or to the certain threat of such aggression; it must be a last resort, meaning that all other avenues have been considered; and there must be a strong probability of success.

In St. Augustine's 5th century masterwork "The City of God," he also argues that a war may be just if it is designed to protect the innocent — those in no position to defend themselves — from certain harm. This obligation extends beyond one's own nation to encompass the innocent in other countries who may require protection if they are being brutalized, murdered, terrorized or threatened by overwhelming or despotic force.

These considerations figure centrally in debates about pre-



vention of genocide, for example, or in cases of "humanitarian rescue." They also lie at the heart of our current travail over whether a war against the Saddam Hussein regime in Iraq is justified.

Once it is established that there is "just cause" for force, it is equally important that "just means" be used. The two central rules governing the means of war are proportionality (never use more force than is minimally necessary) and discrimination, which prohibits the intentional targeting of civilians.

Since World War II — and during it, although the debate then was muted — just-war thinkers agonized over the strategic bombing of German cities as well as the use of atomic weapons in Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

President Truman made the decision at the end of a long and brutal war that he would save lives by using the atomic bomb, because the alternative was an invasion of the Japanese mainland — which he was told could cost the lives of hundreds of thousands of American combatants and Japanese civilians.

It was an understandable decision, but the burden of just-war thinking — now as then — is that use of nuclear weapons against civilian targets is illegitimate. I know of no just-war thinker who believes it was right to kill several hundred thousand Japanese civilians to end the war and thus possibly spare more lives. The known carnage clearly outweighed the hypothetical good.

The debate about saturation bombing of German cities is more controversial. Some just-war thinkers, especially those whose orientation is secular rather than religious, argue that the unusual evil of the Nazi regime justified such bombing. They claim that the "just means" rule can, with moral regret, be temporarily overridden if one confronts what political philosopher Michael Walzer calls a "supreme emergency." Even here, however, such scholars argue that more cities were bombed — and for longer — than was warranted.

That the United States takes pains to discriminate carefully between noncombatants and combatants is attested to by the fact that our opponents, including Saddam in the Gulf War of 1991, often forcibly relocate their civilians into harm's way in an attempt to forestall U.S. attack. If the United States had no compunction in this regard, why bother?

I believe a strong case can be made within the just-war tradition for the use of force to suppress the wrongdoing of the Saddam regime. But whatever one's position on the wisdom of going to war to destroy Iraq's weapons of mass destruction, the fact that America's political and military leaders take seriously the question of just cause, and that they build in restraints on the means they use, is a credit to the continuing relevance of the just-war tradition, even in our violent world.

Elshtain, a professor of social and political ethics at the University of Chicago, wrote this piece for the Los Angeles Times.

DeLand Beacon

OPINIONS

More than two choices

Editor, *The Beacon:*

We are moving beyond shock and into a period of forceful action in response to the horrible terrorism of Sept. 11 and subsequent acts of bioterrorism. Most Americans feel an urgency to do the right thing.

How can we make sure we will hit the right target? Getting clear on who the enemy is, how to understand them, and what to do with them will be crucially important.

In our urgency, here are some points to consider to help keep us on track.

Were the suicide missions "reckless"? Webster's defines the word as "lacking in caution, deliberately courting danger, irresponsible." In my last essay published in *The Beacon*, I used the word in reference to the recklessness of individual hijackers — what kind of person would think like this and act with such self-destructiveness? Surely their systematic organization did not show their recklessness, but the key point in understanding them is that they held fanatical convictions that made their individual actions absolutely reckless with regard to their own lives.

Are there any parallels with the U.S. involvement in Vietnam? Of course not completely, because history does not repeat itself and every situation is distinctive. But it is important to remember that most of the doubts about our reasons for entering the war only surfaced years after our massive involvement began. The Gulf of Tonkin Resolution passed with near-unanimous votes in Congress in 1964, just as the votes for action against terrorism did last month. We cannot imagine anything but unity against terrorism now, but broad support can wither quickly.

Are there any alternatives to massive military responses? I suggested a world court, and perhaps there are still better ideas out there. While a court scene does not seem potent in itself to curb terrorism, I also advised enlisting the massive power of media and popular culture, such as the world attention that goes into the Olympics.

A court surrounded by embarrassing publicity about the enormity of suffering would stun potential supporters of such acts of terror.

Is this a campaign for the hearts and minds of world citizens? No matter what we do, there will be a dimension of this. If we increase the cost of terrorism through massive military action, we run the risk of allowing the terrorists to portray us as terrorists. Sadly, many people around the world already have reason to believe this of our foreign and military policies. Why add to this?

In addition, how much destruction would be needed to make it prohibitive to engage in still more terrorist acts? With individuals reckless about their own lives and safety, I wager that destruction of their fellows and their landscape will not reduce their fanatical imaginations, but whip it up to feverish pitches.

We keep hearing that there are only two choices: side with terrorists or with a policy of military retaliation. Is our imagination limited to that stark contrast? If we keep talking war and making war, that will encourage terrorist responses. But if we treat this as a campaign of intelligence operations to identify and arrest the leaders, of activities to reduce our military footprint and foster good will, and of publicity to discredit terrorist actions in embarrassing and lurid detail, we have a better chance of stopping the support of terrorism before it is fanned into murderous passion.

Paul Jerome Croce
DeLand

—Croce is chair of American studies at Stetson University.

PINIONS DeLand Beacon (9/21/01)

Terrorists on trial: Make humiliation, not war

Paul Jerome Croce

As Americans move from stunned horror to cleanup and preparation for retaliation, we need to make sure we hit the right target.

Some fanatical, amoral group has committed mass murder in Lower Manhattan and Northern Virginia. At first we all wanted to know "why?" Now we need to answer "what next?"

We know very little about the people who hijacked the planes that became guided missiles directed at our high-profile economic and military establishments and at our national pride. But we can be certain that anyone willing to give up his own life while committing such a crime must have been reckless to a degree few of us can imagine.

This is at the heart of the elusiveness of the terrorist threat: Not only is the enemy without country and with cooperators dispersed throughout the world, but also they are animated by a reckless outlook that makes them effectively impervious to danger.

■ If the United States used massive military might against the current terrorist threats, the cure would be worse than the disease.

Recklessness has a power that sheer military power cannot easily conquer. We learned that lesson in Vietnam when American use of staggering firepower could not stop the Viet Cong. An elusive, low-tech enemy, especially if highly motivated ideologically, can easily slip below radar and inflict terrible wounds, even when not making steps toward military conquest in the conventional sense.

If the United States used massive military might against the current terrorist threats, the cure would be worse than the disease. Surely, many civilians would be killed; it would not be easy to kill the real enemies; and the next images of destruction would show America as the aggressor on a par in many minds with the terrorists.

Worse even than all these moral and political problems, the tactic would be a military failure, because it would encourage still more recklessness. If thousands are killed in various Middle Eastern countries, what would it do to stop a few dozen morally deranged, fanatical hijackers with knives or some other weapon from taking down the Sears Tower, the Golden Gate Bridge, or Cinderella's Castle?

Although to most Americans the dastardly deeds of Sept. 11 were a strike out of the blue, to citizens of the Middle East they are a much more high-profile version of daily life. There has been colonial occupation, dictatorship, protracted war, refugee flight, and terrorist fear for generations — often with American support.

Indeed, the long-standing Arab-Israeli conflict is at the ideological ground zero motivating these terrorist fanatics. U.S. efforts both to take firm sides and to broker peace have made few strides toward peace, especially toward lessening the cancer of terrorism that infects the Middle East, especially Israel.

The enormity of last week's event presents an unprecedented opportunity to break through that deadlock. With the moral authority that comes from being badly bloodied, the United States can turn from serving as the helpful broker to being the insistent heavy, demanding settlement that will resolve the impasse.

President Bush is fond of using the image of political capital. We now have a rare, precious, and short-lasting outpouring of world emotional capital for doing something dramatic to root out the motivating source of this fanaticism.

In this climate, it can even be a no-fault settlement. Without blaming either side, the United States, with almost every other nation, can insist on coming to terms that will pull out the rug from future attempts to recruit suicide pilots.

The United States can go still further to squeeze some good from all these evil events. Much more effective than massive retaliation would be a massive world court. Now that this horrible deed has focused world attention, an unprecedented worldwide alliance can work together to hunt down these criminals and bring them to justice.

Making war on fanatics will simply make them more fanatical. But presenting them in public trial will embarrass them and anyone else who would be tempted to join them. There should be a world court, with prosecutors from many nations, lurid images of their crimes, and publicity bigger than for the Olympics.

Better yet, set the court in the Middle East, to make clear that the source of this fanaticism is to be recognized and corrected. If going to court seems like a slight act for such an enormous crime, remember the way the presidential election was settled. For all the follies that came with the post-election election, at least it was a shift in power that came without bloodshed.

This is a war for the hearts and minds of world citizens, especially for those who might contemplate doing something like this again.

The phrase "hearts and minds" was coined during the Vietnam War, when we hypocritically combined it with huge military destruction. This time, we need to kill the terror with humiliation, not more bloodshed, to make it really work and help us re-establish our national security on solid ground.

■ Making war on fanatics will simply make them more fanatical. But presenting them in public trial will embarrass them and anyone else who would be tempted to join them.

— Paul Jerome Croce of DeLand is professor and chair of American studies at Stetson University.