DIALOGUE

A Journal of Mormon Thought

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A Journal of Mormon Thought

is an independent quarterly established to express Mormon culture and to examine the relevance of religion to secular life. It is edited by Latter-day Saints who wish to bring their faith into dialogue with the larger stream of world religious thought and with human experience as a whole and to foster artistic and scholarly achievement based on their cultural heritage. The journal encourages a variety of viewpoints; although every effort is made to ensure accurate scholarship and responsible judgment, the views expressed are those of the individual authors and are not necessarily those of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints or of the editors.

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A Call for Papers from Students or Young Writers

Dialogue announces

"NEW VOICES" AN AWARDS PROGRAM FOR YOUNG WRITERS

The awards are intended to encourage students and young writers to submit articles, essays, stories, poems, and art to *Dialogue*. Submissions may be made at any time and will be acknowledged upon receipt. Notification as to outcome will be made at least once each quarter of the year.

AWARDS

For submissions selected for consideration by the editors of *Dialogue*:
ONE-YEAR SUBSCRIPTION TO *DIALOGUE*

For submissions published in *Dialogue*:
$100 FOR EACH POEM OR BRIEF PROSE PIECE
$300 FOR WORKS OF A MORE SUBSTANTIAL LENGTH

For published pieces selected annually for an Award for Excellence:
(given in addition to the foregoing awards)
$300 IN EACH OF THE FOLLOWING CATEGORIES:
ESSAYS AND ARTICLES, FICTION, POETRY, AND ART

ELIGIBILITY

Persons of any age currently and formally enrolled in a degree or diploma program in a high school, college, or university and persons twenty-five years of age or younger, whether or not a student, are eligible to submit manuscripts or art in this competition.

SPECIFICATIONS

Submissions of any kind (research-based articles, personal essays, short stories, poetry, visual art, etc.) are welcome as long as they are in harmony with the *Dialogue* mission statement found at the beginning of each issue of the journal. New work prepared for this competition is encouraged. Also welcome is work based upon already completed term papers, senior or graduate projects, theses, and dissertations. Each submission should be accompanied by a cover letter confirming its eligibility in the terms outlined here, specifying that the work is original with the submitting author and providing author contact information for future correspondence.

Manuscripts should not exceed thirty-five double-spaced pages, including notes, references, and tables. They should follow the 15th edition of *The Chicago Manual of Style* and be submitted in either electronic and hard copies. Electronic copies are preferred. They should be submitted as attachments in Word or WordPerfect to dialoguemss@aol.com. A hard copy may be mailed to the Dialogue Submissions Office, 704 228th Ave. NE #723, Sammamish, WA 98074. For submission of visual art, consult the editor for specifications at dialoguemss@aol.com.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Writing Something That Matters

Since returning from our recent mission to Poland, I have found it increasingly difficult to feel much respect for writers, historians, self-styled intellectuals, critics—and the journals they publish in—who arrogate to themselves the right to comment on the Church, its leaders, members, doctrines, history, etc., from a purely naturalistic viewpoint or from the only slightly veiled perspectives of faithlessness, ignorance, or lack of real understanding of the doctrines and practices of the Church. This includes those who have been excommunicated, those who are "lapsed," and those whose apparent greatest desire is to gain the applause and honor of other worldly intellectuals and secular fame.

All lack the absolute prerequisites for saying something true, wise, or significant: faith in God and Jesus Christ, a living testimony of the gospel and the Restoration, real experience in responsible Church callings and the living companionship of the Holy Ghost. Without these, in my opinion, no one will ever write anything about the Church that matters. No wonder Church leaders pay so little attention to these folk. They know only too well that one humble person of faith trying to help build the kingdom is worth a dozen of more critical, know-it-all intellectuals.

At my age, it seems an incredible waste of time to read much of the current Mormon intellectual drivel that, though sometimes clever and well-written—intellectuals usually prefer style to substance—and maybe even well-documented, does not pass the crucial tests of truthfulness, spirituality, tone, and meaningfulness. Or it is filled with contemporary intellectual fads, social science paradigms, assumptions of political and academic correctness, and arrogant intellectual pride by those who take themselves and their ideas very seriously together with a lack of any form of meekness and humility—still and always the hallmarks of real Christian scholars.

In my view, all of these spiritual virtues are essential for saying anything that is significant or that matters about any part of the Church and its members. Many years ago, long before Church leaders discouraged attendance at such gatherings as Sunstone, I had quit going for a simple reason: I rarely felt a good spirit there. I believe that much of what was done and said there was designed to weaken faith and did not bring out the best in me or any of us. Sessions were often beehives of contention, posturing, and self-importance.

In my judgment, the editors of DIALOGUE, and of all journals that publish something about Latter-day Saints, should ask themselves what the intentions—as best they can be determined—are of the author in writing this article. Is it, for example, a case of a spiritual pygmy sitting in judgment on a spiritual giant? Is it a case of extraordinary intellectual or spiritual immaturity? The distinguished Yale historian of Christianity Roland Bainton once told me that no one should try to write any meaningful history before the age of forty because he or she hadn't lived long enough to know anything. Is it an example of someone writing about the Church who has never been entrusted with significant responsibility where he or she had to fully trust in

the Lord? Or, is it a case of someone trying to cover his personal sins, by making an effort to tear down someone else and thereby make himself feel important? Why do DIALOGUE and similar journals publish these kinds of articles? It would appear that these kinds of authors' intentions are transparent.

Finally, I marvel that somehow we haven't realized that no one is objective, especially when writing about the Church. For anyone to claim objectivity is pure nonsense or self-delusion. Moreover, those writing from the outside—whether nonmembers or former members—are not only not objective, fairer, or more unbiased, as they claim, than those of us who are faithful members; they are, if anything, more biased and less understanding, especially of the motivations of people of faith, because they are faithless and worldly themselves. The world of faith is a world they know nothing about. I believe they are ignorant of the fact that they are ignorant.

Writers like Jan Shipps, Robert Remini, Will Bagley, Jon Krakauer, Michael Quinn, et al. delude themselves if they think that they understand Latter-day Saints when, in fact, they have very little of any significance to tell anyone about the Church because, without the Holy Ghost and a living testimony, there is little they understand about it, about us and why we do what we do. Some of them haven't even a clue, and yet we in our journals continue to take them seriously. Most do not believe, for example, that the Lord plays a role in human history generally and especially in the direction of his church. What, then, do they really have to tell us that makes any difference?

As I see it, the only Latter-day Saint history that has much worth is what Richard L. Bushman has called "Faithful History" because only the faithful can write it. The unique nature of the Church requires it. This does not mean that it should not be critical history, but we should be very careful about whom and on what we sit in judgment and ask whether we are qualified and have been called to do it. And we should be wary of anyone who thinks to write about the Church who lacks any kind of spiritual qualification. We should write our history from the standpoint of respect, not adoration, humility not arrogance or sycophancy, observing all the canons of real scholarship including accuracy, honesty, self-awareness—making every effort to write what is true and meaningful.

Douglas F. Tobler
Lindon, Utah

Good Wishes to the New Staff

As longtime subscribers, we are encouraged that DIALOGUE is continuing; and we send our good wishes to the new team of editors. We've found much to appreciate in the journal over these thirty-five years—from artwork on covers to researched articles, personal essays, and poetry, as well as many of the letters to the editor!

We also value the thoughtful attention to quality, both in content and appearance. Of recent features, we especially appreciated the interview with Professor Duane E. Jeffery in the Winter 2002 issue, a good follow-up to republishing his early essay in the thirty-fifth anniversary issue.

We hope hefty sections of poetry and book reviews will continue to be included!

Jerry and Dixie Partridge
Richland, Washington

In Praise of Editorial Teams

This is a letter of appreciation to Rebecca and Neal Chandler, the immediate past editors of DIALOGUE. I would guess that it has been difficult to manage the enterprise so far from a critical mass of Mormon intellectuals and scholars (not to say copy editors, illustrators, etc.), and yet the Chandlers have produced a uniformly high quality of issues, many of them with landmark articles and essays.

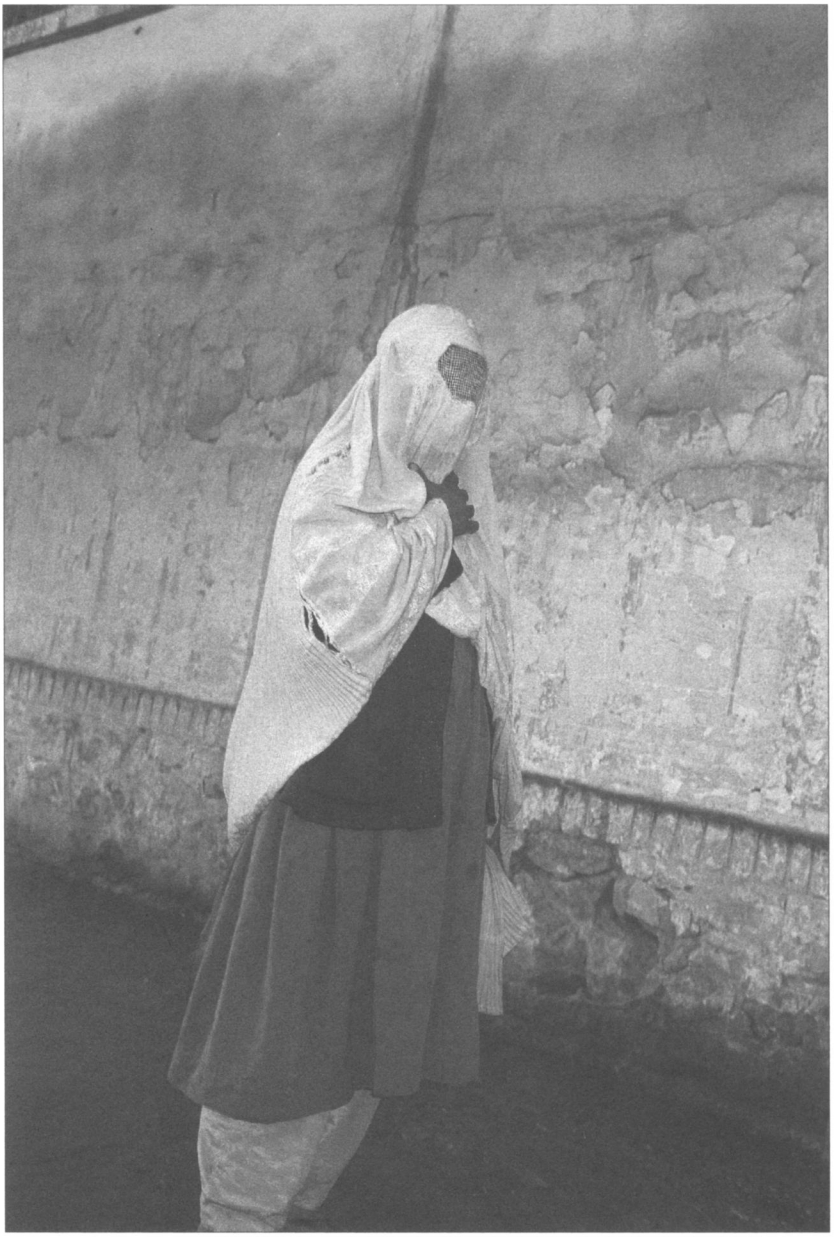
Since I have some acquaintance with the personal and professional costs of editing the journal, I would venture that the Chandlers have experienced their share of conflicts, disappointments, and criticism. Undoubtedly, some of these pressures have affected their family life, their professional life, and their experience in their own ward and stake. Whatever the costs have been to them, the benefits of their editorship for those of us who read the journal have been enormous. Thank you, Rebecca and Neal—and all your able co-laborers in the DIALOGUE vineyard.

I also appreciate those responsible for choosing the new editorial team and look forward to the issues they will produce. As editor (1971-76), I was blessed to have a wonderful executive committee, editorial board, and staff. I am sure each editor/editorial team feels the same about their co-workers. As I have gone back and reviewed the issues from the beginning, I have been impressed that each editorial team has left its mark, and each has given us something valuable and unique. Each has also given us deeper insight into our history; greater understanding of the challenges of harmonizing faith and reason; more expansive views of what it means to be Latter-day Saints in a complex political, social, and religious world; and new ways in which the restored gospel of Jesus Christ can be lived successfully in the delicate balance between individual spirituality and institutional religion. In addition, each editorial team has provided readers with an amazing array of fictional, poetic, scholarly, humorous, and personal voices. These voices have spoken to me in ways that have challenged my thinking, broadened my horizons, challenged my axioms, and, most important of all, deepened my heart. In short, DIALOGUE has been a blessing in my life, making me a better Latter-day Saint and a better Christian.

To all those of you who have labored over the years to publish this important journal, I offer my deepest appreciation. And to the new editorial team taking over the helm, I wish you all success in continuing this great tradition of bringing enlightened dialogue to those of us for whom it represents essential intellectual, artistic, and spiritual nourishment.

Robert Rees
Brookdale, California

CORRECTION: The title of Karen Marguerite Moloney's essay, "Saints for All Seasons: Lavina Fielding Anderson and Bernard Shaw's *Saint Joan*," in DIALOGUE 36 (Fall 2003), was printed incorrectly as "Saints for All Seasons: Lavina Fielding Anderson and Bernard Shaw's *Joan of Arc*." The essay's first sentence and second footnote should also have been set off as an editor's note. The first sentence should read: "Shortly after her excommunication from the LDS Church in 1993, Lavina Fielding Anderson was interviewed by Rod Decker live in Salt Lake City for the television program *Take Two*."



Mazar-i-Sharif, Afghanistan, 2001

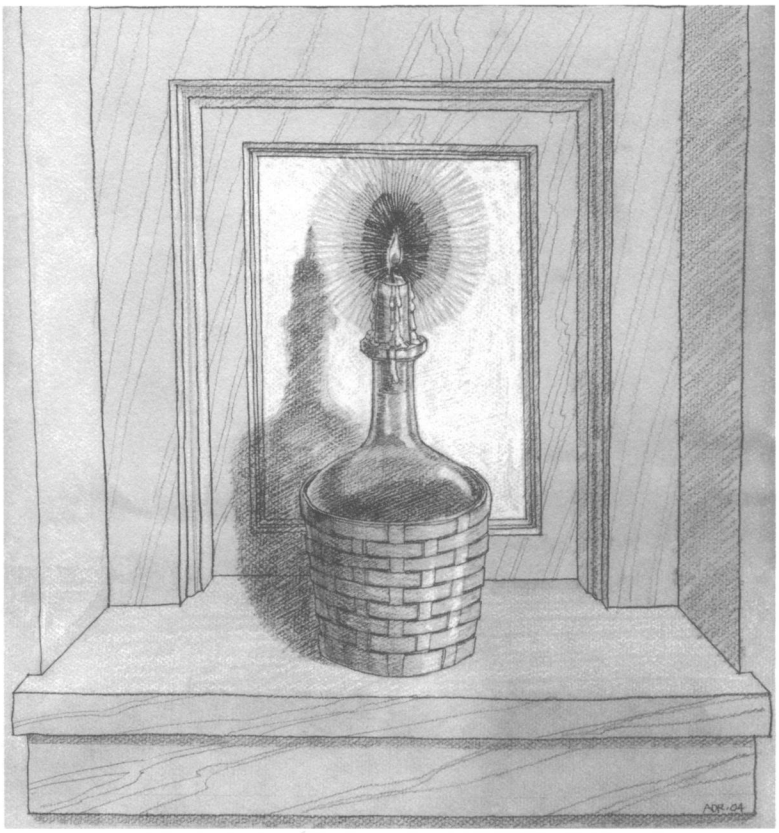
A Tribute for Service Well Rendered

THE BISHOP IN NEAL CHANDLER'S story "The Call" counsels a young man: "It's not easy to be a real writer. . . ." How true, especially when you want, as did the bishop in Neal's "Benediction," to impart what the narrator calls "a little hard-core education." DIALOGUE and all who love her cannot thank Neal and Rebecca Chandler adequately for the excellence with which they have led the journal for five years. They have a gift for writing and editing. Educators both, they have taught us well. They are people of the highest character, committed to the hard work of publishing and able to lead and inspire all of us at DIALOGUE to raise our sights. At once exacting and patient, passionate and careful, kind and honest, Neal and Rebecca leave us with 20 volumes of "hard-core education" clarified by the talents of excellent writers and two superb editors. On behalf of DIALOGUE's Board of Directors, I thank them wholeheartedly, wish them all good things, and look forward to reading more of their own stories and articles in our pages.

I thank too the many people who have aided the Chandlers in so many ways. From serving on their editorial board to refereeing a single manuscript, you have each contributed greatly to the quality of the journal. DIALOGUE is collaborative and dependent on the generosity of talented volunteers. Your work is deeply appreciated.

Finally, thank you to Armand Mauss, who has just completed four years as the Chair of DIALOGUE's Board of Directors. It has been my privilege to work closely with Armand. We all know him as a penetrating thinker, writer, and teacher, but I add this tribute so you may know him as I do, as one of DIALOGUE's most dedicated and generous friends. His contributions to DIALOGUE are inexpressible. Fortunately, he will remain on the Board for our benefit.

Molly Bennion
Chair, Board of Directors



" . . . tiny flame flickering in an ice-cold draught . . ."
drawing by Allen Roberts, pencil on paper, 2004

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

Wicks, Modems, and the Winds of War

Karen Marguerite Moloney

> Whenever I think of the War to-day, it is not as summer but always as winter; always as cold and darkness and discomfort, and an intermittent warmth of exhilarating excitement which made us irrationally exult in all three. Its permanent symbol, for me, is a candle stuck in the neck of a bottle, the tiny flame flickering in an ice-cold draught, yet creating a miniature illusion of light against an opaque infinity of blackness.
>
> –Vera Brittain, *Testament of Youth*

Standing as we still do on the brink of a new millennium, Latter-day Saints share with their neighbors and friends across the globe a profound interest in the fortunes of twenty-first-century war and peace. Not only do we wish to live our lives and raise our children under a quiet sky in safety and peace, far from the addictive savagery to which humankind sinks in time of war, but as an increasingly international church committed to sending missionaries into all the countries of the world, who could dispute the advantages if all those countries were at peace? Narrowing our focus,

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KAREN MARGUERITE MOLONEY, *the new editor of* DIALOGUE, *is a professor of English at Weber State University, Ogden, Utah. She earned a Ph.D. in modern British and Anglo-Irish literature at UCLA and has published literary criticism on Irish writers and postcolonialism, essays, poetry, and reviews in a variety of journals. She served as* DIALOGUE*'s first editorial intern under Mary Lythgoe Bradford and later on the editorial board. She has also worked with* Twentieth Century Literature, BYU Studies, Sunstone, *and* Gradalis Review. *Among honors she counts awards for outstanding teaching and such first-place writing awards as an Academy of American Poets Prize.*

what precisely is the responsibility of the individual Latter-day Saint in an era that remains uncharted, changed, and clouded by the threat of potential apocalypse? If turning to the scriptures yields conclusions as different as those reached by the authors in these pages, if most Latter-day pronouncements on war pre-date the advent of the nuclear age, what kind of compass should we carry to determine that response? Might we claim a higher moral position for ourselves, one that reflects the realities of the changed world in which we find ourselves citizens?

Mormons are becoming known as a violent group—consider Gary Gilmore, the Lafferties, the abductors of Elizabeth Smart—with the national press focused on our record of violence. Could we go on the offensive to counteract that image? Could we look, say, to the path Andrew Bolton proposes in this issue and take "the peace church option"? We've grown from our nineteenth-century founding into a powerful religion with worldwide membership. If we were to take a pro-peace, anti-war stance, who could doubt we would engage widespread attention, and what today comes with higher stakes than our response to the rising tide of violence that surrounds us? Isn't the very essence of Christianity a love-based message advocating peace? Or should we be persuaded by Lieutenant Colonel Robert M. Hogge that the peace we enjoy is purchased with military might? As a church and individually, Latter-day Saints have much vested in the resolution of these questions.

My personal experience with war, like that of many American women my age, has been meager; even so, war provided an ever-present backdrop to my childhood and adolescence. The southern California neighborhood where I lived until age eleven teemed with children. Our games of hide and seek became sprawling events, playing house turned into playing a city of homes, and our TV watching sent us as a bike pack barreling down the streets to create our own episodes of *Rawhide* and *Wagon Train*. We enlarged playing nurse to "living hospital" and turned regular dodge ball into rousing German war ball. For baby-boomer children of the veterans of World War II, our fathers' overseas service was a point of pride. My own father's service as a stateside MP, courtesy of a childhood car accident when flying glass punctured his left eye, disappointed my brother, Karl, and me, but it couldn't prevent us from joining enthusiastically in neighborhood games of war. We learned to distinguish in our speech between A-bombs and H-bombs, the roughneck boys anxious to play the Germans, the gentler boys and all the girls Americans. On

one occasion, acting in a dual role as the Americans' general and head nurse, bolstered by my brother as head spy, I carefully vaccinated all my troops on our back patio before engaging in memorable battle with the boys across the street.

By the time I entered high school, World War II had been replaced by a war our fathers wouldn't fight. As I shifted my role-playing from suburban streets to a high school stage, already graduated cousins, friends, and boyfriends were leaving for Vietnam. A high school junior when troop escalations peaked in 1968, I wrote to them; and one by one they came home, wounded, silent, changed. George required a cane to walk, Rich would be lucky later to father children, Dane was addicted to drugs. The day after Dane's release from rehabilitation, he shot himself with a rifle in the bathtub while his parents attended church. Denny Miller, whom I'd met as a handsome Marine, stopped writing one day; was his the name I traced years later on a visit to the Wall? I joined in one large anti-war rally on the campus of Pomona College in Claremont, California, before transferring to BYU, but my energies were focused on my courses, social life, and the new church I'd joined after high school graduation. When Saigon fell, I was a twenty-something adventurer teaching high school in Australia, and the events seemed remote and unreal.

In 1980, however, during a summer of my own grief and shortly after their reissue, I read two books by British writer Vera Brittain. Her life as a sheltered young Victorian woman, born in 1896, had been shattered by the advent of the First World War. One by one during the course of the war, her fiancé Roland, two close male friends Victor and Geoffrey, and her beloved brother, Edward, were killed. She mourned each death deeply in turn, but their cumulative effect devastated her. She had left Oxford University, one of the first women to attend there, to serve with all the idealism of her generation as a nurse in London, Malta, and at the front in France. Nursing such patients as the victims of mustard gas provided memory-searing close-ups of the horrors of war. When she came home, grief-stricken and depleted, she began her life-long work to prevent anything so calamitous from happening ever again, lecturing, for example, for the infant League of Nations. It would be ten years before she recovered enough emotionally to write *Testament of Youth* (1933; reprinted, n.p.: Wideview Books, 1980), the book at once autobiography, history, and elegy that endeared her to the public. Later, as she documents in its sequel, *Testament of Experience: An Autobiographical Story of the Years 1925–1950*

(1957; reprinted, n.p.: Wideview Books, 1981), Brittain sacrificed that popularity by denouncing, in a widely circulated booklet, Churchill's saturation bombing of German cities during World War II.[1]

In Brittain's carefully detailed accounts of the century's first fifty years, I learned the history of modern armament with its escalation to weapons targeting large numbers of civilians rather than limited numbers of soldiers. I also felt the sadness in her comment, made as World War II began, to fellow-veteran husband George Catlin, a political scientist dedicated to preserving peace through different paths, on "'the utter failure of all the sincere efforts made for peace through twenty years'";[2] and I admired her as she proceeded nevertheless to convert, slowly and thoughtfully, to pacifism. Then, against the intensity of her efforts to dissuade her country from bombing museums, cathedrals, monasteries, women, and children, I struggled with her to comprehend the genocide perpetrated against Hiroshima and Nagasaki—the logical next step, more terrible by far, in saturation bombing. The event staggered her with its enormity. Reflecting, however, that she, her husband, and their two children had themselves survived the war, she also found herself "increasingly aware of a deep thankfulness which submerged even the guilty sense that too many others were sad and suffering for joy to be appropriate."[3] Such a poignant reaction to the horror differed dramatically, nevertheless, from that of the victims.

I think of Michael Ondaatje's character Kirpal Singh, or Kip, the Sikh sapper in *The English Patient* who, during the final days of World War II, painstakingly defuses unexploded bombs to protect the Europeans they endanger. Kip's skin is brown, like the Sri Lankan-turned-Canadian

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1. In Brittain's own words, the booklet examined "the history of the Allied bombing offensive, described the development of 'obliteration' tactics, and explained precisely what this meant in innocent suffering even more deadly, in spiritual consequences, to those who inflicted it than to its helpless victims. It pleaded for a return, even while war continued, to the standards set up by Hugo Grotius as a protest against the cruelties of the Thirty Years' War. The precepts of international law which he initiated still maintained that it was ultimately better for a nation to accept disadvantage in war than to descend to those depths of barbarism in which the most savage expedients are condoned if they lead to victory." *Testament of Experience*, 328.

2. Ibid., 214.

3. Ibid., 375.

Ondaatje's, like that of the Japanese victims of Hiroshima and Nagasaki; and when news reaches Kip of the bombs dropped on those two cities, the previously reserved soldier, who had brushed away other racist and personal slights, blasts forth as though he himself had been detonated:

> My brother told me. Never turn your back on Europe. The deal makers. The contract makers. The map drawers. Never trust Europeans, he said, Never shake hands with them. But we, oh, we were easily impressed—by speeches and medals and your ceremonies. What have I been doing these last few years? Cutting away, defusing, limbs of evil. For what? For *this* to happen?[4]

When Kip aims his rifle at the Hungarian count Almásy, the dying burn victim to whom the novel's title alludes, the Canadian Caravaggio reminds him Almásy isn't English. Kip retorts: "American, French, I don't care. When you start bombing the brown races of the world, you're an Englishman. You had King Leopold of Belgium and now you have . . . Harry Truman of the USA. You all learned it from the English." Caravaggio, Ondaatje tells us, "knows the young soldier is right. They would never have dropped such a bomb on a white nation."[5] Perhaps Kip's outrage opens a small window onto the sense of perceived injustice that must have simmered beneath the surface—even for decades—after his return to India and eager resumption of civilian life; perhaps it speaks, too, of the vast, building energy of Eastern resentment toward the West.

Neither Vera Brittain nor an actual person resembling Ondaatje's Kip could have foreseen the events of 9/11, but I don't think the scale of its horror would have surprised them. The decisions made by twenty-first-century terrorists to fly planes into the Twin Towers can be traced like a series of genetic mutations back to landmark twentieth-century adoptions of military strategy: the dropping of the atom bomb on cities inhabited by civilian members of a brown race, Churchill's attempts to obliterate entire German cities, "the technological and depersonalized levels of organized killing begun in World War I [that] have defined warfare ever

4. Michael Ondaatje, *The English Patient* (New York: Vintage, 1993), 284–285.

5. Ibid., 286.

since."[6] The events of 9/11 will undoubtedly divide us as utterly from the previous century as the atom bomb demarcated the two halves of the twentieth. Lawrence F. Kaplan and William Kristol tell us, "That day brought us to a new era . . . . fluid, perilous and very much subject to the contingencies of history that define those moments when one epoch has died and another is struggling to be born," an era for which a "new roadmap" is required.[7] But even another round of map-making may not take us where we need to go in the years that lie ahead. For that journey we may well need, too, a new compass.

So we begin our tenure as a new editorial team, twenty years after DIALOGUE published its first issue devoted to war and peace, by publishing a second. I have been heartened, as we begin the daunting task of editing the journal over the next five years, by the large and fervent response we received to my call for papers. Latter-day Saints, not to mention their neighbors and friends, care deeply about the challenges that lie before us. Their solutions vary, at times contradicting thoughtful proposals contained in other essays in this issue, but the deeply felt sincerity of our authors has never been in doubt. In the articles and creative work we offer here, individuals wrestle with the question of the authority of scripture to provide timely solutions to today's problems, they look for guidance to Mormon history, they consider the role of both church and individual in a time of war, they examine their faith. One author proclaims pacifism as the Christian ideal, another emphasizes the vital role of a strong military in maintaining peace; one laments our military presence in Iraq, another surprises himself with his support of the war. In the true spirit of DIALOGUE, we present here a range of replies to the haunting questions now troubling our sleep and requiring resolution in the new era that awaits.

We offer, then, in the pages to follow a rich sampling of voices on the topic of war and peace. In this spring issue we focus on 9/11, Iraq, and contemporary war; further responses, focusing on nuclear testing and earlier wars, will be published later. If current policy prevails, the testing of nuclear devices may have resumed by then in Nevada's desert, and Mary

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6. Chris Hedges, *War Is a Force That Gives Us Meaning* (New York: Anchor, 2002), 85.

7. Lawrence F. Kaplan and William Kristol, *The War over Iraq: Saddam's Tyranny and America's Mission* (San Francisco: Encounter Books, 2003), vii.

Dickson's forthcoming essay, "Living and Dying with Fallout," will be even more horribly relevant, for no one escapes the radiation carried by those winds of war.

The world in which the 2004–08 editorial team operates has also changed in less dramatic, though significant, ways. The journal's editorial offices move with our new team from Neal and Rebecca Chandler's address in Shaker Heights, Ohio, to the Western United States and into cyberspace. Ours is DIALOGUE's first virtual office; though we still happily accept hard copy, we forthrightly declare our preference for electronic submissions. As editor, I reside in Salt Lake City, but Levi S. Peterson, conscientious associate editor, makes his home with his wife Althea in Issaquah, Washington. Between us lie 850 miles, three states, vast reaches of sage brush country and dryland wheat, and both the Blue Mountains of Oregon and Washington's Cascades. As little as a decade ago, efforts to edit a journal across such a wide expanse would have collapsed under the strain of the distance. Today, however, not only is electronic collaboration possible, but e-mail and attachments provide an efficient, even speedy, method of receiving, refereeing, and editing manuscripts, not to mention communicating with authors.

Levi and I are joined in our task by a capable supporting cast, many of whom have worked for DIALOGUE in the past. I myself served as DIALOGUE's first intern and later as an editorial board member under Mary Lythgoe Bradford; Levi has also served as a board member and as the journal's fiction editor. Todd Compton formerly served as editorial board member; Karen Rosenbaum managed the office in the Stanford days; John Sillito edited book reviews; Linda Sillitoe edited the journal's poetry; Lavina Fielding Anderson served as associate editor under Linda King Newell and L. Jackson Newell; and Allen D. Roberts, coeditor with Martha Sonntag Bradley, and Gary James Bergera, managing editor,[8] headed their own editorial team. Brent Corcoran provided production services for them.

But even those of us who have tied our fortunes to DIALOGUE's in the past now assume new roles, and we are joined, as well, by some entirely new players. The result is a talented team that blends the wis-

8. Named as associate editor on the inside front cover during the Bradley and Roberts editorship, Bergera refers to his role as managing editor (e-mail to author, December 4, 2003).

Karen Marguerite Moloney, editor,
and Mary Lythgoe Bradford, former editor

dom of experience with the enthusiasm of new blood. Brent Corcoran, our gifted production manager, joins us from his home in Salt Lake City. Our subject editors include Timm Archer, book review editor in Genoa, Nevada; poetry editor Lisa Bickmore in West Jordan, Utah; history editor Todd Compton in Santa Monica, Cali-

fornia; art director Connie Disney in Salt Lake City; fiction editor Karen Rosenbaum in Kensington, California; and Linda Sillitoe, personal essay editor in Ogden, Utah. Lavina Fielding Anderson serves as copyeditor and Jani Fleet as proofreader, both in Salt Lake City; Hugo Oliaz, also in Salt Lake City, acts as webmaster; and Dustin Serr, in Farr West, Utah, signs on as information technologist. Comprising our editorial board are Mark Asplund and Kathleen Petty in Washington; Gary James Bergera, Donna R. Cheney, Robert M. Hogge, Allen D. Roberts, and John Sillito in Utah; and Michael E. Nielsen in Georgia. Karrin Peterson directs our submissions office in Sammamish, Washington. We make up a far-flung but committed team, and we bless the modems that facilitate our e-mail.

I started my own love affair with DIALOGUE when Clifton Holt Jolley, then a member of the editorial board, went out of his way to respond by telephone, and later in person, to a poem I submitted to the journal.[9] His encouragement was sincere, even if he wasn't recommending publication, and his nurturing set an early model for me of the DIALOGUE style, a standard I now aspire to reproduce in our relationships with authors.[10] My feelings for the journal didn't diminish while seeing it up close in the daily intimacy of an internship; during subsequent years of faithful subscribing, my affection for the journal has continued unabated. Today, twenty-eight years after Clifton decided my southern California address was close to his and picked up the phone, I am writing an introductory essay for my first issue as editor of the journal I have loved for so long.

Applying for the editorship was not a step I took lightly, a fact I trust the following anecdote will illustrate. Driving home from teaching one day during the fall of 2002, I considered several compelling reasons to abandon my efforts to assemble an editorial team in a bid to be the next DIALOGUE editor. If selected, I knew I'd set to one side my own creative and academic pursuits, invite the stress of meeting more deadlines than I already face with my teaching and committee work, and pledge myself to hours on my laptop that might be spent instead

9. "The Stewards" later appeared in *BYU Studies* 23 (Winter 1983): 120.

10. I was especially encouraged when Deborah J. Sheridan, one of the first-time DIALOGUE authors featured in this issue (see "From Flanders Fields"), characterized our editorial process as nurturing.

walking in the fresh air around the Capitol Building across the street from my home.

With timing Carol Lynn Pearson would surely label synchronicity, I'd taught the poetry of Padraic Pearse in my Irish literature course that morning. Pearse, one of the leaders of the 1916 Easter Rebellion later executed by the English for treason, had been fully aware of the risks when he threw in his lot with the other rebels seeking independence for their country. His poems, in fact, had predicted his early death in the cause of Irish freedom. Aptly, one folksong describes him as "a visionary"; equally aptly, the same song also refers to him as "a Gaelic scholar" for his prominent participation in the Irish cultural and literary revival of the early twentieth century. He served in Dublin, for example, as the first editor of the Gaelic League's Irish-language newspaper, *An Claidheamh Soluis* (*The Sword of Light*).

I recalled all this as I sped along the interstate toward home that autumn afternoon, roused by Pearse's devotion to a cause he believed in. But it was an additional, lesser-known fact of Irish history that struck me even more forcefully that afternoon with its relevance to my current dilemma. I found myself recalling that the second editor of *The Sword of Light*, rising from rural poverty to succeed Pearse in 1909 and serve until the newspaper's suppression in 1916, was my own cousin, Seán MacGiollárnáth. More precisely, Seán was my great-grandmother Ellen Finnegan's first cousin, but that comparative distance in kinship didn't prevent me from telling myself, as I neared Salt Lake City, "This editing business is in your blood. It's genetic." Perhaps I was not so very far off: Seán's nephew Diarmuid Ó Cearbhaill wrote in December (2002) that he had recently begun editing *The Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*.

Contemporary Salt Lake City may be a long way from pre-Rising Dublin, but in a community of intellectuals who care about their unique cultural and religious heritage, DIALOGUE: A JOURNAL OF MORMON THOUGHT is a wonderful instrument, if not a sword, of light. Inspired by Pearse's and my cousin's examples and by DIALOGUE's own historic role as an instrument of light, I committed myself on I-15 that day to the application process—and to serve honorably, if chosen, as the journal's next editor.

I began this essay with an epigraph about another instrument of light, Brittain's flickering candle, buffeted by the chilling winds of war.

Today, when the darkness of which Brittain also spoke threatens to dominate the years that lie ahead, may we think to shelter our own candles and act to steady the flickering of their flames. If DIALOGUE can add to the pooling of our light, as I believe it must, let it do so. To that end I commit my tenure as editor. Sustained, in turn, by the community we serve, may the light we together generate serve to keep the darkness at bay.

ARTICLES AND ESSAYS

The Possibilities of Mormon Peacebuilding

Patrick Q. Mason

IN 1992, BOUTROS BOUTROS-GHALI, then Secretary-General of the United Nations, announced his *Agenda for Peace*. Within it, he encouraged member states to become more actively involved in "peacebuilding," a vaguely defined term that seeks to go beyond the traditional concepts of peacemaking and peacekeeping.[1] Although over the course of the past decade there has been debate about the precise theoretical meaning and practical implementation of this new concept, there is general consensus that peacebuilding is more than simply stopping the shooting. Indeed, peacebuilding includes a range of attitudes and actions that seek to transform violent conflicts into environments in which long-term development and sustainable peace are created through just and stable political, eco-

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1. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, *An Agenda for Peace: Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peace-keeping*, Document A/47/277-S/241111 (New York: Department of Public Information, United Nations, June 17, 1992).

nomic, legal, social, and cultural institutions and relationships. More concretely, peacebuilders are involved in a wide variety of activities, including peace education, demobilization and reintegration of former combatants, conflict prevention and early warning, establishing and administering truth and justice commissions, interreligious dialogue, caring for the specific needs of women and children affected by conflict or underdevelopment, business and micro-enterprise development, (re-)construction of civil society, higher level diplomacy, trauma healing and psychosocial work, and voter education and registration.[2] All of these activities are done with the purpose of long-term reconciliation and sustainability in societies previously (or currently) torn apart by conflict.[3]

Regardless of its precise definition or location, however, peacebuilding is a daunting task. The scope of what needs to be done to increase peace, security, and human dignity in communities throughout the world leaves one wondering where to start. At the risk of sounding parochial, I would suggest that perhaps the best place to begin is in one's own community. While communities are variously constructed and often denote either political or geographical affiliations, here I want to talk about the possibilities of peacebuilding within Mormonism—as an institution, a religious and cultural system, and a community of believers. In fostering this

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2. For an excellent example of an internationally respected organization dedicated in part to religious peacebuilding, see the website of Catholic Relief Services at http://www.catholicrelief.org.

3. A closely related concept used by many peacebuilders and peacebuilding organizations as a guiding set of principles is "conflict transformation." In this approach, conflict is not something that should necessarily be avoided ("conflict prevention") or eliminated ("conflict resolution"). Instead, conflict transformation assumes that, while conflict certainly has tremendous capacity to do harm, it should also be viewed as a natural part of human relationships that can be constructive when channeled into positive and nonviolent forms. Scholar-practitioner John Paul Lederach writes: "Conflict transformation provides a comprehensive set of lenses for describing the ways conflict emerges from, evolves within, and brings about changes in the personal, relational, structural, and cultural dimensions, and for developing creative responses that promote peaceful change in those dimensions through nonviolent mechanisms." *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1997), 83. The most accessible summary of conflict transformation theory is Lederach, *The Little Book of Conflict Transformation* (Intercourse, PA: Good Books, 2003).

culture of Mormon peacebuilding, the primary goals, at least in my vision, would be twofold: first, to make nonviolence a viable, if not necessarily preferential, alternative to the unblinking nationalism (and its associated militarism) often associated with LDS rhetoric and culture; and second, to create a climate within Mormon individual and group life in which religious-based peacebuilding efforts can be actively sustained in communities around the world, finding institutional expression through either local congregations or nongovernmental organizations. To these ends, this essay will assess the extant resources for peacebuilding within Mormonism, paying special attention to the tradition's rich theology, history, and culture, and then turning to organizational and institutional possibilities. In all these areas, I propose that the resources for a distinctive brand of Mormon peacebuilding are already in place and simply have to be creatively and effectively put to use, preferably by those who are steeped in the tradition and whose commitment to peace and social justice comes as a primary result of their faith.

FOUNDATIONAL THEOLOGY: THE BOOK OF MORMON

Any consideration of the possibilities for Mormon peacebuilding must take the Book of Mormon seriously. As a general rule, Latter-day Saints are highly committed to the text and its integrity; and perhaps more than any of the other Mormon scriptures, the Book of Mormon serves as a kind of standard for Church doctrine and practice and a measuring stick for individual Church members' faithfulness. In addition, the Book of Mormon has direct bearing on issues of war and peace, as a significant percentage of its pages deals with the numerous, often epic, conflicts between the Nephites and Lamanites. The very title of the book is telling in this respect, as it is named after the prophet-general Mormon, its chief editor and compiler. Indeed, considering who was involved in putting the plates together in their final form before Joseph Smith translated them, it should not surprise us that so much of the Book of Mormon is concerned—at times, almost obsessed—with war. But while substantial portions of the book can be tedious reading for those who are not particularly interested in military exploits, it serves as a fascinating source for the study of violence and must be the foundational text for any examination of Mormon peacebuilding. A systematic analysis of the themes of war and peace in the Book of Mormon deserves its own treatment; however, here I will consider just a few highlights that touch on my larger argument.

Mormon historian Ronald Walker has suggested that "Mormon scriptures somewhat clarify the LDS position" on war.[4] Where Walker sees clarity, however, I see ambiguity in how Mormon scriptures define the nature and limits of Christian pacifism and what exactly it means to seek peace and have God fight your battles (e.g., Mosiah 7:19; Morm. 8:20; D&C 24:16, 98:16, 37; Moses 7:13–17). Indeed, if one word might be used to describe the attitude of the Book of Mormon toward war, *ambivalent* would be a good place to start. As mentioned above, the record was largely compiled by military leaders, and a significant portion of it involves detailed tactical accounts of battles.

But this is no glorified bloodletting. Even in his hagiographical descriptions of the presumably righteous Nephite armies of the first century B.C., Mormon takes care to attribute much of their greatness to the fact that they were hesitant to take up arms and kill their enemies, the Lamanites. In fact, Captain Moroni, whom Mormon admired so much that he named his son after him, is specifically praised as one who "did not delight in bloodshed" (Alma 48:11, 16, 23). Later on, in his scant reportage of the utopian society that existed for two hundred years after the appearance of Jesus to the Americas, Mormon makes considerable effort to contrast the peacefulness of Zion with the conflict, prejudice, and violence of the subsequently degenerate Nephite and Lamanite civilizations.[5] And perhaps most significantly, as part of his final message to the Lamanites in particular and all future readers in general, Mormon writes, certainly with a tinge of pathos at the end of a life drenched with bloodshed and carnage, "Know ye that ye must lay down your weapons of war, and delight no more in the shedding of blood, and take them not again, save it be that God shall command you" (Morm. 7:4). Although Mormon spent the majority of his life as a warrior—he was chosen to lead the Nephite armies at age fifteen—it becomes clear upon studying the text

4. Ronald W. Walker, "Sheaves, Bucklers, and the State: Mormon Leaders Respond to the Dilemmas of War," *Sunstone* 7, no. 4 (July/August 1982): 53; reprinted in *The New Mormon History: Revisionist Essays on the Past*, ed. D. Michael Quinn (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992), 287.

5. 4 Ne. 1:15–17, 24–34. The most graphic description of Lamanite and Nephite violence toward one another, at the low point of their respective civilizations, is Moroni 9.

that he was personally ambivalent about both the justification for war and its utility. His divided soul is reflected in the writings he left behind.

The tension within the Book of Mormon between the roots of a kind of just war theory—a set of standards determining when it is just for believers to go to war—and a legitimation of outright Christian pacifism is nowhere more starkly evident than in the book of Alma. On the one hand, it presents the example of the Anti-Nephi-Lehies, a group of Lamanite converts whose adoption of the Nephites' religion also included a total rejection of their former militarism. At one point, the Lamanites, their former compatriots, become so angry with these converts that they march against them, creating a dilemma among the community of converts. They unanimously decide that they will not take up their swords, even in their own defense. Voicing the consensus of his people, their king proclaimed, "Since it has been all that we could do . . . to repent of all our sins and the many murders which we have committed . . . since God hath taken away our stains, and our swords have become bright, then let us stain our swords no more with the blood of our brethren" (Alma 24:11-12). Not only did they covenant not to take up arms against the invading army, but they buried their weapons in the earth and literally lay down in the face of the Lamanite onslaught, resulting in the massacre of 1,005 men, women, and children. The tragic story ends by demonstrating the moral power of nonviolence, as many of the attacking Lamanites were profoundly moved by the bold action of their victims, prompting over a thousand of them to throw down their arms and join the converts in rejecting violent force; as Mormon recounts, "the people of God were joined that day by more than the number who had been slain" (Alma 24:26). The prophet-general offers high praise to the Anti-Nephi-Lehies, commending them because "rather than shed the blood of their brethren they would give up their own lives" (Alma 24:18).

Only a few chapters after this stirring, if somewhat controversial, example of nonviolence comes the recounting of an extended series of Nephite campaigns against the aggressor Lamanites. It is in these passages that something resembling a Book of Mormon just war theory emerges.[6] Both from his general tone and his more explicit comments, it is clear that Mormon considers the war to be righteous (for the Nephites), and he repeatedly gives reasons why the Nephites were justified in their battles

6. While the Book of Mormon has multiple passages, including the ones I

with the Lamanites. The latter were unjustified because they were allegedly conducting war for the purposes of gaining power and dominion. (To be fair, Mormon is obviously not terribly concerned with providing an in-depth and objective treatment of the Lamanites' side of the story, and we are thus forced to rely on Nephite portrayals of Lamanite motives.) The Nephites, on the other hand, were waging a defensive campaign "to support their lands, and their houses, and their wives, and their children . . . and also that they might preserve their rights and their privileges, yea, and also their liberty, that they might worship God according to their desires" (Alma 43:9). In fact, Mormon quotes an otherwise unknown revelation that "the Lord has said that: Ye shall defend your families even unto bloodshed." As part of the Nephites' just war ethic, the defense of these ideals and institutions and people—family, homes, rights and liberties, and religion—was in fact "the duty which they owed to their God." But the caveat was that the war must truly be defensive and that the followers of God must "not [be] guilty of the first offense, neither the second" (Alma 43:46–47).

In these passages, Captain Moroni, leader of the Nephite forces, is held up as a shining example, both as a warrior and a Christian. After reciting Moroni's various attributes, including his love for God and his people and his aversion to blood for blood's sake, Mormon gives one of the more remarkable epigraphs in history: "Yea, verily, verily I say unto you, if all men had been, and were, and ever would be, like unto Moroni, behold, the very powers of hell would have been shaken forever; yea, the devil would never have power over the hearts of the children of men" (Alma 48:17). Thus, the archetypal Christian warrior earns his place in heaven beside the pacifist martyrs.

Clearly, Mormon's ambivalence about the bloodiness and evils of war does not necessarily extend to all those who wage it. But his willingness to canonize both pacifist martyrs and Christian warriors within a few pages of one another leaves us with no clear and consistent message about

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cite, that suggest when and how believers may justifiably conduct war, I hesitate to say that the book includes a "just war theory," which suggests a more systematic approach than the Book of Mormon actually takes. I tentatively use the phrase, however, for two reasons: first, its parallels to traditional Christian just war theory; and second, the lack of any better nomenclature.

which path is most appropriate for a disciple of Jesus Christ, the Prince of Peace, in the face of violent conflict.

THEOLOGY MEETS HISTORY: THE DOCTRINE AND COVENANTS AND EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

In addition to the Book of Mormon, any investigation into LDS approaches to violence and peace must include early Church history and the Doctrine and Covenants, which is particularly fascinating because, unlike any other book of scripture in a major world religion, it has come about in a modern historical context. The various revelations can thus be readily situated within the particular circumstances that the early Latter-day Saints faced, allowing us some insights into the intersections of sacred and secular history. A discussion of early Mormon theology must therefore also relate to the accompanying historical narrative; indeed, hearkening back to the notion of a premodern sacred cosmos, one revelation asserts that any dichotomy between the spiritual and temporal—including historical events—is artificial.[7] Taken on their own terms, Mormon history and scripture are thus intertwined and must be considered together.

After the Church was officially formed in April 1830, Mormons were consistently pacifistic in relation to their many detractors and persecutors at least through 1833 and generally until October 1838.[8] Like most people, individual Mormons were not accustomed to either dispensing or receiving violence, and they saw themselves as peaceable, law-abiding American citizens. In addition to the numerous passages from the Book of Mormon and Bible about forgiveness, tolerance, and mercy, early revelations given to Joseph Smith were clear on the point that the Saints should seek to be a peaceful people, trusting in the Lord for their protec-

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7. "Wherefore, verily I say unto you that all things unto me are spiritual, and not at any time have I given unto you a law which was temporal; neither any man, nor the children of men; neither Adam, your father, whom I created" (D&C 29:34). My phrase "sacred cosmos" derives from discussions with Ronald K. Esplin about early Mormonism.

8. I have adapted much of this section from my "Traditions of Violence: Early Mormon and Anti-Mormon Conflict in Its American Setting," unpublished paper presented at the symposium "Joseph Smith and His Times," sponsored by the Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Latter-day Saint History, August 3, 2000, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

tion. One of the strongest of these pronouncements came in August 1833:

> Therefore, renounce war and proclaim peace. . . .
>
> And again, this is the law that I gave unto mine ancients, that they should not go out unto battle against any nation, kindred, tongue, or people, save I, the Lord, commanded them. . . .
>
> And I, the Lord, would fight their battles, and their children's battles, and their children's children's. (D&C 98:16, 33, 37)

In fact, the early Mormons were so committed to nonviolence that, reflecting back on the Mormons' initial response to the Missouri turmoil, the disaffected John Corrill wrote in 1839: "So tenacious were they for the precepts of the gospel . . . the Mormons had not so much as lifted a finger, even in their own defence [*sic*]."[9] Restraint seems to have been the Church's official policy at least through mid-1838; and even toward the end of his life and despite all the violent mob actions to which he and his people had been subjected, Joseph Smith continued to call for personal pacifism:

> Wise men ought to have understanding enough to conquer men with kindness. . . . It will be greatly to the credit of the Latter-day Saints to show the love of God, by now kindly treating those who may have, in an unconscious moment, done wrong; for truly said Jesus, Pray for thine enemies.
>
> Humanity towards all, reason and refinement to enforce virtue, and good for evil are so eminently designed to cure more disorders of society than an appeal to arms, or even argument untempered with friendship.[10]

Beginning with acts of mob violence perpetrated against their leaders, continuing with the 1833 expulsion from Jackson County, Missouri, and especially in the conflicts with non-Mormon Missourians culminating in the Mormon War of October 1838, the Mormons saw their pacifistic stance become increasingly untenable if they were to survive. Efforts to obtain redress from both the state and federal government proved futile, essentially leaving the Mormons to deal with their problems on their own. "Zion's Camp," the 1834 military march from Ohio to Missouri, was the first organized Mormon military effort; and although no battles were

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9. Quoted in Walker, "Sheaves, Bucklers, and the State," 268.

10. Joseph Smith Jr. et al., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, edited by B. H. Roberts (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 6 vols. published 1902–12, vol. 7 published 1932; 1948 printing), 6:219–20.

fought, the camp's stated intention was to "defend ourselves and possessions against another outrageous attack from the mob," by force if necessary.[11] By mid- to late-1838, Joseph Smith and his followers had adopted a policy of self-defensive violence, asserting that the Mormons "would be justified by the law of both God [and] man, in defending themselves, their families and houses."[12] As with everything else in Mormon society, self-defense had taken on religious dimensions.

Trying to decipher Joseph Smith's precise attitudes toward war and peace, and what that means for Mormonism's theological and historical heritage, is problematic. Ronald Walker has ably framed the dilemma:

> Like other Christians, Latter-day Saints mix pastoral and martial images. . . . The example of Mormonism's founding prophet seems as ambivalent. "Renounce war and proclaim peace," Joseph Smith recorded in a formal revelation. . . . Yet he bore the title of Lieutenant-General, commanded over 2,500 troops, took sword exercises, possessed an "armor-bearer," exuded the expansionist spirit of "Manifest Destiny," and dedicated the sacred Nauvoo Temple while dressed in full military regalia.[13]

An honest reading of the sources reveals that Smith undoubtedly preferred peaceful coexistence to conflict. However, out of necessity and desperation, Smith and his followers sometimes resorted to violence, particularly during the Mormon War in frontier Missouri. Usually their vio-

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11. *History of the Church*, 1:490. The leaders of Zion's Camp submitted an article in the [Columbia] *Missouri Intelligencer* on July 12, 1834, which read in part, "It is not our intention to commit hostilities against any man or body of men. It is not our intention to injure any man's person or property, except in defending ourselves. . . . We have brought our arms with us for the purpose of self defense, as it is well known to almost every man of the State, that we have every reason to put ourselves in an attitude of defense, considering the abuse we have suffered in Jackson county. We are anxious for a settlement of the difficulties existing between us, upon honorable and constitutional principles." Quoted in Peter Crawley and Richard L. Anderson, "The Political and Social Realities of Zion's Camp," *BYU Studies* 14 (Summer 1974): 416–17.

12. *Times and Seasons* 1 (December 1839), 19; quoted in Walker, "Sheaves, Bucklers, and the State," 268.

13. Walker, "Sheaves, Bucklers, and the State," 287.

lence was of a strictly self-defensive and reactive character, but occasionally it spiraled into aggression and even preemption.[14]

Thus, the early Mormon heritage, both in terms of history and scripture, leaves us with no clear guide about a consistent Mormon doctrine of war and peace. Indeed, the very same 1833 revelation that told the Latter-day Saints to "renounce war and proclaim peace" also gave them guidelines about when they would be justified in taking up arms against their aggressors (D&C 98:23–48). Rather than seeing Mormon texts as being hopelessly confused and contradictory, however, it is fairer to say that they place before us a series of profound paradoxes, leaving us with principles rather than formulas that individual believers are then left to use as they negotiate a moral, sanctified life in an immoral, fallen world.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF A MORMON TRADITION

The early Latter-day Saints' seeming inability to make peace, either with dissenters or other settlers, says more about intergroup relations, life on the frontier, and the intolerance of their non-Mormon neighbors than it does about the personal character of Smith or the inherent nature of Mormonism. However, the Mormons' turn to violence as a viable communal strategy and ethic in 1838 marked a profound shift from pacifism, a position Mormonism has all but abandoned ever since. I will not attempt a detailed chronicling of the sweep of Mormon history, but some key developments in the past 150 years have significantly contributed to the current set of notions and practices among Latter-day Saints regarding war, peace, and peacebuilding. Although much research remains to be done, we can sketch the general contours of the evolution of what has become the general Mormon position.[15]

After a half century of fairly pronounced alienation from American society, by the 1890s the Mormon leadership had resolved that the Church could survive only if it made peace with the nation, which meant

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14. Stephen C. LeSueur, *The 1838 Mormon War in Missouri* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1987).

15. The secondary literature on Mormon attitudes towards war and peace is relatively undeveloped, but another good article besides Walker, "Sheaves, Bucklers, and the State," is Grant Underwood, "Pacifism and Mormonism: A Study in Ambiguity," in *Proclaim Peace: Christian Pacifism from Unexpected Quarters*, ed. Theron F. Schlabach and Richard T. Hughes (Urbana: University of Illinois Press,

giving up such trademarks of nineteenth-century Mormonism as theocratic politics, communitarian economics, and certain theologically rooted social and cultural practices (plural marriage in particular). One of the markers of this accommodation to American culture occurred when the Church eagerly participated in the Spanish-American War with only sporadic resistance among Church leaders and members concerned with the move toward militarism and increasingly friendly relations with the state.[16] Two decades later, although Church president Joseph F. Smith was initially reserved in his support for the Allied cause in World War I, he and most Church members came to see the war in millennialist terms. This position was popular among many of their contemporaries in American Christianity. In this view, the war pitted freedom, democracy, and faith in God against tyranny, despotism, and atheism; a victory by the forces of good would open the way for Christianity's spread throughout the world. While the war itself might be lamentable, they thought, it would ultimately become a means of accomplishing God's will in the world.[17]

When World War II approached, the Church's leaders were even more skeptical than Joseph F. Smith's administration had been about entering the previous war. Along with most other conservative religionists in America, Mormons felt a sense of betrayal at the unfulfilled promises of the interwar peace. In addition, the First Presidency was deeply alienated from Franklin Roosevelt and the New Deal. Church president Heber J. Grant thought Roosevelt sought dictatorial powers, and he privately remained suspicious of the president and his motivations throughout the war. Grant's

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1997), 139-56. I have relied heavily on these two sources for the historical narrative in this section.

16. D. Michael Quinn, "The Mormon Church and the Spanish-American War: An End to Selective Pacifism," *Pacific Historical Review* 43 (August 1974): 342-66.

17. On the LDS Church leadership's eventual support of the war, see Thomas G. Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition: A History of the Latter-day Saints, 1890-1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 46-49. For a fuller treatment of conservative evangelical Protestant views about World War I, see George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism, 1870-1925* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 141-53.

two counselors in the First Presidency, David O. McKay and especially J. Reuben Clark, were committed pacifists, and their position strongly influenced Grant. In 1942, the First Presidency issued a lengthy statement, penned by Clark but wholly endorsed by Grant, which still remains the most detailed official treatment of the LDS position toward war.

Like the Book of Mormon, the 1942 document is ultimately unclear in establishing a definitive policy on how Mormons should approach war. It roundly denounces the theory and practice of war in general terms, proclaiming that "Christ's Church should not make war, for the Lord is a Lord of peace. . . . Thus the Church is and must be against war. . . . It cannot regard war as a righteous means of settling international disputes; these should and could be settled—the nations agreeing—by peaceful negotiation and adjustment." But because members of the Church are also citizens of sovereign nations, they have the "highest civic duty" to "come to the defense of their country when a call to arms was made."[18] This argument—that Church members have a moral duty to support the nations in which they live—is rooted in a reading of the Twelfth Article of Faith: "We believe in being subject to kings, presidents, rulers, and magistrates, in obeying, honoring, and sustaining the law."[19]

For at least the past hundred years, loyalty to the state has typically drowned out discussions of any fundamental moral problems that may

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18. "Message of the First Presidency," *Report of the General Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, April 1942), 94. This statement has often been repeated from the pulpit and in semi-official Church writings since first being issued. For two examples, see Boyd K. Packer, *Conference Report*, April 1968, 34–35, and Bruce R. McConkie, *A New Witness for the Articles of Faith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1985), 694. In its original formulation, this message represents the burdens of institutional leadership, as McKay and especially Clark were, in their personal opinions and individually authored addresses, much more antagonistic toward the idea of giving loyalty to the nation at the price of peace.

19. Article of Faith 12. This position towards human government is consistent with a long Christian tradition stretching back to Paul (Rom. 13:1–4). An 1835 "declaration of belief regarding governments and laws in general," later canonized in the Doctrine and Covenants, states that "governments were instituted of God for the benefit of man." As long as a government protects the basic freedoms and rights of its citizens—especially freedom of conscience—then as part of the pursuit of "public peace and tranquility," citizens have a duty to "sustain and uphold the respective governments in which they reside" (D&C 134:1–8).

arise as a result of such loyalty. Examples of Mormons engaging in civil disobedience are isolated and little known.[20] Since the First Presidency's 1942 statement, LDS General Authorities have reconciled the inherent immorality of war with the Saints' civic duty to participate as combatants for their respective sovereign nations by saying that, as long as they fulfilled their duty and did not violate the agreed-upon codes of war, they would not be held accountable before God for the people they killed. However, while the Church leadership has by no means actively endorsed the practice, they have allowed for individual Church members to become conscientious objectors, although the radicalism of the anti-Vietnam protest movement soured the socially conservative Church on flagrant displays of opposition to the nation, which most Mormons believed were invariably connected with some kind of moral "looseness."[21]

THE MEANING OF "PEACE" IN CONTEMPORARY MORMONISM

By no means should any of the foregoing history be interpreted as suggesting that contemporary Mormons—either the Church leadership or general membership—are unconcerned with peace. On the contrary, peace is a common element of Mormon discourse on all levels and is seen as one of the central goals and desired ends of a Zion society. The question arises, then, what Mormons mean when they use the word "peace" and,

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20. Probably the most poignant example of Mormon civil disobedience is the story of a German teenager, Helmuth Hübener, who along with some of his friends (both Mormons and non-Mormons) published leaflets protesting Hitler's regime. When Hübener was caught by the SS and eventually executed, the Church was forced to denounce and excommunicate him or risk severe repression throughout Germany by Nazi authorities. He was reinstated (posthumously) after the war was over. *When Truth Was Treason: German Youth against Hitler; The Story of the Helmuth Hübener Group; Based on the Narrative of Karl-Heinz Schnibbe with Documents and Notes*, comp., trans., ed. by Blair R. Holmes and Alan F. Keele (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995).

21. Consider, for instance, this remarkable statement by Elder Boyd K. Packer in April 1968 at the height of the Vietnam War: "I have worn the uniform of my native land in the time of total conflict. I have smelled the stench of human dead and wept tears for slaughtered comrades. I have climbed amid the rubble of ravaged cities and contemplated in horror the ashes of a civilization sacrificed to Moloch; yet knowing this, with the issues as they are, were I called again to military service, I could not conscientiously object!" *Conference Report*, April 1968, 35.

perhaps even more importantly, what they imagine when they think about what peace might ultimately look like.

I would argue that when Latter-day Saints conceptualize "peace," they are, almost without exception, using one of three definitions or types. The first is *personal, inner peace,* achieved when an individual obeys God's commandments and fosters a vibrant and faithful relationship with God and the Church. The second type is *peace with others,* especially focusing on relationships with one's family, fellow Church members, and non-Mormon friends, neighbors, and other associates. Here the emphasis is on the virtues of harmony, charity (Christ-like love), and selfless service, based on the twin principles of love of God and neighbor. The third type is *eschatological peace,* referring to the future Second Coming and ensuing millennial reign of Christ when, in the words of the prophet Isaiah, "they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruninghooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more" (Isa. 2:4). This blessed state will come about only through direct divine intervention, following a prophesied period of massive wars and conflicts leading up to Christ's coming.[22]

Of course, all three of these types of peace are important, and have parallels within secular models of peacebuilding. But what is missing among them is a presentist structural approach, or *peace as social justice.* A social justice approach first requires an astute understanding of the nature of violence. Normally we think of violence as a physical act: hitting, shooting, bombing, and so forth. While this kind of "direct violence" is indisputable, it does not encompass the full range of violence and may, in fact, represent only the tip of the iceberg, so to speak. It is essential in our analyses also to include a recognition of the structures of violence built into any given relationship, institution, or society.

"Structural violence" differs from direct violence in that the actors consciously intended the latter, while the former is built into social structures. As peace research pioneer Johan Galtung points out, structural violence can take many forms including economic exploitation, political repression, and social or cultural marginalization; examples would include

22. The Bible is replete with images and prophecies of the last days, apocalypse, second coming, and millennium, particularly in the books of Daniel and Revelation. Distinctive Mormon sources on the topic include, to name just two, JS—Matthew and D&C 45.

apartheid, colonialism, and certain features of global corporate capitalism. The common feature in structural violence is exploitation of the underdog, whether intended or not.[23] Structural violence is often a by-product of "cultural violence" in which culture becomes "a source of violence by allowing a dehumanization of certain persons or groups." Thus, "cultural violence leads to structural violence when it is incorporated into formal legal and economic exchanges. While individual acts of direct violence have many causes, their occurrence is frequently predicated upon a larger and often hidden structure that induces violence."[24] It is evident that a structuralist approach to peacebuilding requires at least an elementary recognition of the meaning and effects of structural and cultural violence.

Even when Mormons talk about world peace, it is almost always within the framework of the three types outlined above (inner peace, peace with others, or eschatological peace). Rarely is there any mention, let alone serious discussion, of structural or cultural violence. Some may even demonstrate a rejectionist attitude toward structural peacebuilding, equating it with liberal politics and hippie culture, and thus automatically invalidating it. However, for most Mormons, particularly in the United States and other developed countries, a substantive approach to social justice is simply a blind spot, lying almost entirely outside the realm of their current mindset, dominated as it is by conservative religion and politics, a materialist middle-class ethos, and an often-insular devotion to church and family. Even for the large pool of Mormon returned missionaries who have spent significant time in impoverished communities around the world, the nature of their own upbringing and experience—including the general mood and tenor of Church teaching—militates against a structural analysis of social injustice, in turn precluding a structural or social justice approach to peace and peacebuilding.

Statements by General Authorities tend to simultaneously reflect and shape the general mood of most Church members. While these lead-

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23. See Johan Galtung, "Cultural Violence," in *Peace by Peaceful Means: Peace and Conflict, Development and Civilization* (London: Sage Publications, 1996), 196-210; and Galtung, "Religions, Hard and Soft," *Cross Currents* 47 (Winter 1997-98): 437-50.

24. Marc Pilisuk and Jennifer Tennant, "The Hidden Structure of Violence," *ReVision* 20 (Fall 1997): 25-31.

ers generally communicate compassion and a desire for peace, their statements provide no framework within which to discuss structural violence in its various forms. Furthermore, they often convey a degree of skepticism about the efficacy of peacebuilding efforts before the millennial return of Christ. The mainstream view might be characterized as a "keep the commandments" approach, aptly summarized by Elder Richard P. Lindsay of the Seventy in a 1992 address to African Latter-day Saints: "The blessings of the gospel are universal, and so is the formula for peace: keep the commandments of God. War and conflict are the result of wickedness; peace is the product of righteousness."[25] Particularly conspicuous here, especially considering the context in which the address was given, is the omission of any of the arguably "real" causes of conflict in Africa—such as diamonds, oil, religious and ethnic rivalries, and the vagaries of postcolonial nation-building. However acceptable and even persuasive from the pulpit, especially in the ears of American Saints, a straightforward "keep the commandments" approach to peace simply lacks the ability to adequately confront many realities of the political economy of Africa and other war-torn parts of the world.

The administration of President Gordon B. Hinckley in many ways represents the culmination of the teaching and experience of the LDS Church in the twentieth century. Consistent with his lifetime experience in public relations, Hinckley's prophetic tenure has been marked by the Church's engagement with the outside world, swinging the pendulum as far from nineteenth-century Mormon parochialism as it has ever been. Although the Church has long been noted for its remarkable welfare program and nondenominational humanitarian efforts worldwide, the latter particularly has received special emphasis in the past two decades, tied in part to the Church's rapid expansion into the Third World. In general, the strong Mormon commitment to welfare and humanitarianism, which would seem a logical outgrowth of social justice concerns, is in fact very much rooted instead in the concepts of inner peace and peace with others, rather than in a diagnosis of structural injustice. However, while

25. "Most-Ever LDS Gather for Meeting in Africa," *Church News,* March 7, 1992. Other notable recent examples of this approach are Dallin H. Oaks, "World Peace," *Ensign,* May 1990, 71–73, and Thomas S. Monson, "The Path to Peace," *Ensign,* May 1994, 60–62, both of them general conference addresses by members of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles.

Hinckley and his fellow Church leaders may not speak the language of structural and cultural violence, and they are understandably concerned first and foremost with the salvation of souls, it would be unfair to say that they are blind to structural and cultural inequalities that especially ravage underdeveloped nations.

This is most apparent in the recent establishment of the Perpetual Education Fund, which seeks to ameliorate, on an individualized basis, the poverty and lack of access to opportunity experienced by Latter-day Saints in Latin America, Africa, and Asia. It is also evident in Church cooperation with prominent religious peacebuilding groups, such as its recent partnership with Catholic Relief Services and other Christian organizations in Madagascar to establish nutrition centers in areas racked by poverty and famine. In total, the Church has given approximately $89 million in cash and $456 million in material assistance to worldwide humanitarian aid since the mid-1980s (coinciding with Hinckley's rise to the First Presidency). In 2002 alone, it was involved in aid projects in 108 countries.[26] These humanitarian and development projects are important components of a peacebuilding agenda, and the Church should be congratulated and supported in its current efforts. Certainly no one can accuse the Church leadership under Hinckley of hunkering down in comfortable Salt Lake City and ignoring the plight of the rest of the world.

Moving from practice to rhetoric, President Hinckley's closing address in the Sunday morning session of April general conference, 2003, typified long-standing LDS ambivalence toward war and peace. Early in the talk, Hinckley lamented the terrible abuses and waste of war. But when turning from generalities to the specifics of the U.S. war with Iraq, he echoed many of the core principles of the 1942 First Presidency statement, then expressed his personal support of the war. He concluded by admonishing members of the Church to "cultivate in our own hearts, and proclaim to the world, the salvation of the Lord Jesus Christ," testifying that "even when the armaments of war ring out in deathly serenade and darkness and hatred reign in the hearts of some, there stands immovable, reassuring, comforting, and with great outreaching love the quiet

26. Matthew Baker, "Faiths Unite in Island Mission," *Salt Lake Tribune*, October 18, 2003, online edition.

figure of the Son of God, the Redeemer of the World."[27] Hinckley's address thus demonstrates the focus of Church teaching and attitudes on the three types of peace outlined earlier. He reminds people of the ultimate importance of an active personal relationship with Jesus Christ (personal, inner peace); he emphasizes the importance of loyalty within the world Church community and denounces prejudice and ill-will toward Muslims and all people of other faiths (peace with others); and he prays for the ultimate culmination of history, when God—and God alone—will bring about true world peace (eschatological peace). In sum, Hinckley's address stands as an important marker, both in terms of reflecting the general Mormon attitude toward war and peace and in setting the tone and shaping the direction of both current and future discourse within the Church.

MILLENNIALISM AND INTENTIONALITY

The primary case against my general argument—that we can develop and promote a distinctive brand of Mormon peacebuilding that features a structural and cultural approach—is that, especially from a faithful Mormon perspective, nothing remotely compares to the critical necessity of preaching the gospel and bringing souls to Christ, before and above any other considerations. In addition, there is a belief that no great change will happen, either in the world or in individuals' lives, without first adopting the principles of the gospel. I don't want to suggest that this familiar argument is wrongheaded in any kind of fundamental way but rather that it represents and leads to a shortcoming in the Mormon moral imagination on both a personal and group level. The problem is that, in its least thoughtful forms, a "keep the commandments" approach to peace can lead to passivity (not to be confused with pacifism) and quiescence—a kind of unstated belief that if I obey the Word of Wisdom, go to church, and do my home teaching, then I am no longer responsible for, or entangled in, the sins of a fallen world and particularly in the seemingly distant problem of violence. Besides the fact that ignoring violence and structural injustice is a luxury enjoyed only by members of the Church in prosperous circumstances, particularly in developed nations, in large part this neglect is rooted in a particular kind of millennialist belief. Thus, it may be helpful to consider briefly the nature and implica-

27. Gordon B. Hinckley, "War and Peace," *Ensign*, May 2003, 78–81.

tions of Mormon millennialism, especially in its application to peace and peacebuilding.

Historically, there have been two basic kinds of millennialists within Christianity: premillennialists, who believed that the second coming of Christ would initiate a thousand-year (millennial) period of peace and righteousness at the end of the world; and postmillennialists, who believed that Christ would appear at the end of a thousand-year period of peace and righteousness brought about by the spread of Christianity and Christian culture throughout the world. Postmillennialism was particularly strong in antebellum American Protestantism, but premillennialism began to gain a greater popular and intellectual following by the end of the nineteenth century. The carnage of the twentieth century's wars all but extinguished the hope of most Christians that the world could be perfected through human endeavor.

Although the historical reality is substantially more complicated, the long-accepted view was that postmillennialism led to social activism and that premillennialism led to social quietism. The primary rationale behind the pessimistic retreat of premillennialists from social issues was the feeling there was nothing they could do about the world—it was going to hell one way or the other—but they could work to save as many souls as possible in the meantime.[28] Dwight Moody, the nation's foremost revivalist in the late nineteenth century, perfectly captured this view when he exclaimed, "I look upon this world as a wrecked vessel. God has given me a lifeboat and said to me, 'Moody, save all you can.'"[29]

Mormon premillennialism is, like most LDS versions of familiar Christian doctrines, distinctive. On the one hand, there is no avoiding the fact that, if one takes Mormon scripture at face value, the world as we know it will end—and end badly—before Christ's coming intervenes to save it from total destruction. Consequently, it makes perfect sense for the Church to throw itself into missionary work and forget about things like soup kitchens which, however nice in the short run, aren't going to do anybody any good at the eternal judgment bar. On the other hand, Mor-

28. One of the best treatments of these issues, at least in the context of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century American Protestantism, is Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, 48–51 (definitions), and 80–93 (the "Great Reversal" in which premillennialists retreated from social issues).

29. Quoted in ibid., 38.

mon scripture is equally clear that Latter-day Saints have a duty not just to gather people to Zion, which is usually construed as bringing people into the Church. They also have a duty to build Zion, which implies not only adding people to the Church, but also creating an actual Christian society. In addition, Joseph Smith and virtually every other modern prophet have taught that the latter-day kingdom of God would include non-Mormons, both before Christ's personal reign on earth and during it.[30] And so there is a sense that, unlike Moody, Mormons cannot just let the rest of the world sink while they float in the true gospel lifeboat a safe distance away from the chaos. From this perspective, the Church's welfare and humanitarian work, in conjunction with its constant missionary effort, makes perfect sense.

This is precisely where Mormon peacebuilding might enter the picture and where Mormonism, in this respect, has a distinct advantage over many strains of conservative Protestant evangelicalism and fundamentalism. Peacebuilding requires, if nothing else, getting one's hands dirty. It is the complete antithesis of the retreat from culture—the holy hovering above the fray—so common among many fundamentalists of all religious traditions, not just Protestantism.[31] Peacebuilding involves a willingness to work with, and even embrace, complexity, hardly the forte of fundamentalists who see the world through the lens of cosmic dualism, where

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30. It is significant that Smith included three non-Mormons in the original Council of Fifty, a key component of his planned government of the kingdom of God. See Andrew F. Ehat, "'It Seemed Like Heaven Began on Earth': Joseph Smith and the Constitution of the Kingdom of God," *BYU Studies* 20 (Spring 1980): 257. Brigham Young taught that the beliefs of people of all faiths would be protected under the kingdom of God; see *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (London: Latter-day Saints' Book Depot, 1854–86), 6:343, 12:274.

31. This pattern of "world renouncing" is one of four common "patterns of fundamentalist interaction with the world." See Gabriel A. Almond, Emmanuel Sivan, and R. Scott Appleby, "Explaining Fundamentalisms," in *Fundamentalisms Comprehended*, vol. 5 in *The Fundamentalism Project*, ed. Martin E. Marty and R. Scott Appleby (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 425-29. On dynamics of the enclave, common to many fundamentalist groups, see the brilliant essay by Emmanuel Sivan, "The Enclave Culture," ibid., 11–68. For other typical characteristics of comparative fundamentalisms, see Almond, Sivan, and Appleby, "Fundamentalism: Genus and Species," ibid., 399–424. It should be noted that world-renouncing is not just an aspect of fundamentalist communities

everything is black or white, good or evil. Mormonism's rich theology of the mortal probation—Paul perhaps says it best when he says "we see through a glass, darkly" (1 Cor. 13:12)—is in many ways the ideal foundation for working in the world with a high sense of moral purpose and even divine calling. While conceding that we cannot achieve a full measure of truth, justice, and peace in this life, we cannot only strive for it but are, in fact, expected to do so as part of our discipleship, always retaining the humility that we act with a limited view. Once peacebuilders recognize that their perspective is incomplete at best, their newfound humility often leads to greater empathy and respect for others, and they become increasingly willing to consider multiple points of view. Humility and self-criticism, continually monitoring and checking and chastening one's own motives and intentions, thus become part of the foundation for effective peacebuilding—along with perseverance, compassion, and justice. The bottom line is that Mormon millennialism, in other words, can be a steppingstone rather than a stumbling block in the development of a Mormon peacebuilding tradition.

What such a development would require is a thoughtful and conscientious approach to the paradoxes inherent in the issue. As shown earlier, both the scriptures and the statements of Church leaders are primarily characterized by ambivalence on issues of war and peace. While shades of gray can be frustrating for some, a tendency toward ambivalence in gospel teaching is not only pragmatic in terms of recognizing the complexities of mortality but also constructive by way of encouraging people to live by principles rather than legalisms. However, difficulty arises when ambivalence, a natural byproduct of a theology of mortal probation, gives way to ambiguity. The pattern of seeming double-talk evident in statements from the pulpit at least since 1838 and especially since the Spanish-American War potentially begets confusion among the Church membership about what to do in the face of violent conflict. When combined with the conservative politics of most Latter-day Saints (at least in the United States), this ambiguity essentially quiets any real possibility for the establishment of a vibrant Mormon peacebuilding community. What is needed is greater intentionality—albeit not pharisaical prescriptions—from both

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but is also connected to a long history of asceticism in virtually all world religious traditions.

Church leaders and the general Church membership in their discussions of war and peace.

One hopeful illustration of what I am suggesting is the October 2002 general conference address of Elder Russell M. Nelson.[32] He began by repeating the traditional explanation that the cause of war is sin and that the prescription for peace is the gospel of Jesus Christ, in particular loving one's neighbor and living the Golden Rule. He also repeated the scriptural and prophetic theme of civic obligation and the duty to participate especially in defensive wars. But the second half of the address is particularly interesting. Nelson observes, "Because of the long history of hostility upon the earth, many feel that peace is beyond hope." This, of course, is reminiscent of the despair attendant to traditional premillennialism. But, he continues, "I disagree. Peace is possible. We can learn to love our fellow human beings throughout the world." He specifically recounts the "pivotal position" of descendants of Abraham—including not just Mormons, but all Christians, Muslims, and Jews—"to emerge as peacemakers" and to "direct their powerful potential toward peace." He wisely counsels, as any good peacebuilder would, that "resolution of present political problems will require much patience and negotiation." But recognizing that pragmatic patience need not diminish hope and determination, he concludes with a remarkably optimistic admonition:

> These prophecies of hope could materialize if leaders and citizens of nations would apply the teachings of Jesus Christ. Ours could then be an age of unparalleled peace and progress. Barbarism of the past would be buried. War with its horrors would be relegated to the realm of maudlin memory. Aims of nations would be mutually supportive. Peacemakers could lead in the art of arbitration, give relief to the needy, and bring hope to those who fear. Of such patriots, future generations would shout praises, and our Eternal God would pass judgments of glory.

Without sacrificing doctrinal purity—he uncompromisingly asserted the centrality of the teachings of Jesus Christ to any pursuit of peace—Nelson provided a vision of what religious peacebuilding could accomplish, even within a premillennialist mindset. He also acknowledged that violence includes not just armaments, but the structures of poverty and oppression as

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32. Russell M. Nelson, "'Blessed Are the Peacemakers,'" *Ensign*, November 2002, 39–41; all quotations in this paragraph come from this address.

well. Finally, he redefined patriotism, decoupling it from militarism, and opened a theological and cultural space in which Mormon peacebuilders could not only work but even thrive. It is this model of intentionality and openness, rooted in authority, that provides positive direction to would-be peacebuilders. Thus, the talk and work of peacebuilding need not come at the expense of orthodoxy; and General Authorities, with their varying perspectives and emphases, need not be pitted against one another. In the end, it does not have to be an either-or proposition: there is room in Mormonism for *both* soul-winning *and* peacebuilding.

NONOFFICIAL THEOLOGY: EUGENE ENGLAND

Part of the significance of Elder Nelson's talk is that it brings to the table the relatively neglected topic of actively working for structural peace and does so with the ecclesiastical and cultural authority of an apostle. Because of Mormonism's epistemology of revelation—that is, the belief that all truth comes from God and is revealed through the Holy Spirit, sacred scriptures, or God's chosen prophets and apostles—many manifest skepticism toward purely intellectual pursuits, no matter how solidly based on scriptural texts. While it would be unsympathetic, unfair, and untrue to say that Mormon culture is intellectually stifling, the importance of obedience to sacred authority (whether in the form of inspiration, scripture, or Church leadership) and the desire for unity among the Saints precludes contentious internal debate on many divisive issues, including war. So one of the consequences—intended or not—of Elder Nelson's address may be to open up a faithful discussion of peace and peacebuilding. And while this discussion may just now be reaching into Mormon public discourse, it has been present in the writings of a handful of Mormon intellectuals who, for various reasons, have remained off the radar screen of most mainstream Mormons.

One of the few "mavericks" who wrote critically about sensitive issues but remained personally faithful to the Church was Eugene England, a professor of literature at Brigham Young University for most of his career. Some of his most poignant critiques relate to peace and nonviolence, much of which is represented in his collection of essays, *Making Peace*, one of the only significant explorations of these issues in contemporary Mormon literature. Although England died in August 2001, his writings provide an important jumping-off point for those interested in considering the possibilities and capacity for peacebuilding from and within Mormonism. His general position

was that the gospel of Jesus Christ, as revealed anciently and restored through modern prophets, calls us to be actively engaged in being peacemakers: in our homes, our schools, our churches, our communities, our nations. While he did not espouse absolute pacifism in all instances, one of his core beliefs was that God calls us to rise above a culture of violence and embrace a higher standard of nonviolence, a position that may seem natural and simple enough, at least until its full implications are considered.

While there is not space here to do justice to the richness and variety of England's writings, I will briefly highlight some of the more poignant passages from *Making Peace* on three topics: scriptural violence, Christian nonviolence, and diversity and multiculturalism. These insights may well lay the foundation for a distinctly Mormon brand of nonviolence and peacebuilding. First, in examining violence in the scriptures, England argues that instances apparently suggesting God's endorsement of violence (for example, God's order to utterly destroy the Amalekites or the Holy Ghost's instruction for Nephi to kill Laban) are exceptional cases at the very least and may in fact be "examples of humans engaging in wish-fulfillment, *imagining* that God condones their 'just' vengeance." Some passages may simply "show God doing the best he can with rather intractable people." The Old Testament in particular thus largely becomes a record of a people who have an imperfect understanding of the nature of God and his relationship to humanity, a misunderstanding that can even be expressed sometimes by their prophets: "Though they have claimed or received some kind of revelation, and have understood it violently, God is trying to lead them beyond that."[33] Here England follows closely on the heels of the more explicitly Christian writings of Rene Girard and his interpreters, one of whom argues that the profundity of the Bible is that "it is a text in transition, one that clearly is moving *away* from myth—the story that flatters the victimizers and sanctions their violence—and toward 'gospel'—the story that exposes the violence, strips it of its religious justifications, and reveals to the world a God of powerless love."[34]

In addition to a powerful critique of violence, England highlights one of the central messages of the gospel of Jesus Christ: the dictum to

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33. Eugene England, *Making Peace: Personal Essays* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1995), 160, 232.

34. Gil Bailie, *Violence Unveiled: Humanity at the Crossroads* (New York:

love one's neighbor. Of course, this concept is anything but neglected in Mormon congregational and personal life, but its implications on a broad social and political level, especially when it comes to the questions of war and peace, are infrequently considered. For instance, on the issue of nuclear armaments, a moral quandary that Protestant and especially Catholic just war theologians have extensively considered,[35] England suggests that Christ's teachings in the Sermon on the Mount, as well as at other points, "imply that planning and organizing to kill millions with nuclear missiles may be the same as actually *doing* it. It may be the ultimate dehumanization, targeting for destruction whole cities of people whom we will never face, and our silence on this issue may well qualify as 'thought sin.'"[36]

But what is one to do in an international system in which loving one's neighbor takes a back seat to *realpolitik* (that is, if it's even in the same car)? Or in communities where a certain percentage of people are, frankly, just plain thugs? England writes that while a Mormon "theology of life" may not "dictate an absolutely non-violent national policy or even a personal one," it does "dictate an absolute ethic which stands in judgment over all compromises we make with it." Thus, while violence may in fact be used as a last resort in certain extreme circumstances—he cites the possibility of a direct violent attack on his wife or children—a Mormon ethic of nonviolence

> would call me to do everything possible, long before the attack, to avert the threat of attack (including building a less violent and sexist society where attacks on my wife and children would be less likely), to use an absolute

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Crossroad, 1995), 44. Girard's most relevant work for England's purposes is *Things Hidden Since the Foundation of the World,* trans. Stephen Bann and Michael Meteer (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1987). Also see *Violence and the Sacred,* trans. Patrick Gregory (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977); and *I See Satan Fall Like Lightning,* trans. James G. Williams (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2001).

35. Just two examples of a large literature are William V. O'Brien and John Langan, eds., *The Nuclear Dilemma and the Just War Tradition* (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1986); and Marcia Sichol, *The Making of Nuclear Peace: The Task of Today's Just War Theorists* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 1990).

36. England, *Making Peace,* 171.

> minimum of violence, and to follow up with doing good to the victimizer as well as the intended victim. . . . The highest ethic would also serve as a constant reminder that I must try constantly not to dehumanize my enemy, to draw back as soon as possible, and to mourn rather than rejoice at my necessity.[37]

Here England fits into a small but significant number of Christian theologians such as Mennonite John Howard Yoder and Catholic Thomas Merton. Largely inspired by the life, work, and teachings of Mohandas Gandhi and Martin Luther King Jr., these theologians have in recent decades begun to take the "hard sayings" of Jesus seriously, transforming Christ's teachings from what many felt was too often interpreted as an overly individualistic and, in some ways, complacent moralistic system into a radical social and political ethic.[38]

An essential aspect of both Christian nonviolence, based as it is on the injunction to love one's neighbor, and peacebuilding, built largely on the recognition of universal human rights, is a genuine tolerance of and respect for diversity. This concept is important both in local communities, particularly where there are significant racial, ethnic, or religious divisions, and also in the global community, where interdependence is increasingly becoming a fact of life. Recognizing that Mormonism, as a theology and a cultural system, contains within it a strong strand of exclusivism, England seeks to highlight what the gospel command to

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37. Ibid., 172–73.

38. For a sampling of this literature, see Thomas Merton, *Conjectures of a Guilty Bystander* (Garden City, NJ: Doubleday, 1966); Merton, *Faith and Violence: Christian Teaching and Christian Practice* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1968); and John Howard Yoder, *The Politics of Jesus: Vicit Agnus Noster* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1972). Also see Walter Wink, *Engaging the Powers: Discernment and Resistance in a World of Domination* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1992). For an important counterpoint to the new Christian pacifism (that actually preceded it), see the writings of Reinhold Niebuhr, especially *Moral Man and Immoral Society: A Study in Ethics and Politics* (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1932); and *Christianity and Power Politics* (Harnden, CT: Archon Books, 1940/1969); also see Paul Ramsey, *War and the Christian Conscience: How Shall Modern War Be Conducted Justly?* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1961). Two helpful one-volume treatments of the multiplicity of Christian views towards war are Robert G. Clouse, ed., *War: Four Christian Views* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1981); and Lisa Cahill, *Love Your Enemies: Discipleship, Pacifism, and Just War Theory* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1994).

show charity and goodwill toward all—regardless of "irrelevant matters" such as "race, gender, creed, intelligence, politics, wealth, sexual orientation"—really means.[39] He asserts that Mormonism has at its core a profound respect for diversity but that cultural constraints have limited the Church (and most individual Mormons) from fully living up to this ethic.

> God revealed to Joseph Smith a remarkable theology of diversity, which seems to have been followed by a sometimes swift, sometimes gradual, decline from that theology in popular Mormon thought and custom. . . . The Restoration was a stunning rejection of the racism, sexism, and general fear of diversity that had plagued even the great world religions for thousands of years. God revealed to Joseph that most explicit, foundational claim in the Book of Mormon, that "all are alike unto God"; then, through continuing revelation and Joseph's own developing character and insights, came many remarkable specific advances directly contrary to the views and customs of early nineteenth century America.[40]

Among these remarkable revealed aspects of the Restoration were a rejection of economic exploitation and radical disparities in the distribution of wealth (the law of consecration); a rejection of status based on title, land, or birth (a universal male priesthood); a rejection of gender inequality (Mother in Heaven); and even a rejection of absolute religious exclusivity (the Light of Christ available to all people).[41] Of course, reality often diverges sharply from ideals, while the precise meaning and application of these abstract principles can be debated. But what is most important is that these aspects of diversity and respect for others are key, not only to Christian discipleship, but also to effective peacebuilding; England properly and insightfully points to the possibilities of enhancing both.

England is still perceived in many circles, even posthumously, as a radical and a kind of troublemaker. Indeed, some of his readings and interpretations of scripture fall outside the bounds of mainstream Mormonism, and consciously so. Reconciling England's insights with LDS orthodoxy will be one of the tasks of future Mormon peacebuilders, and his writings should thus be seen as a platform for departure rather than the definitive word on the subject. However, most of his observations are rooted deeply enough in Mormon scripture and tradition that they still

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39. England, *Making Peace*, 178.
40. Ibid., 185–86.
41. Ibid., 190, 200.

succeed at being faithful while leveling poignant critiques at an unthinking acceptance of a culture of violence; indeed, many of his passages might be widely heralded if his name was removed and they were read from the pulpit by a Church leader, especially a General Authority. While this scenario is not likely in the foreseeable future, it would become more probable with the development of a livelier sense of Mormon peace education that exposes young Latter-day Saints, the future leaders of the Church, to such ideas.

ORGANIZATIONAL AND INSTITUTIONAL RESOURCES

A consideration of the possibilities for Mormon peacebuilding should include not only the theological, historical, and cultural dimensions, but also the organizational and institutional resources that would provide both opportunities and challenges. First is the Church's worldwide membership and presence. Membership is now over 11 million, with members in virtually every non-Muslim or non-Communist country, and statistical studies predict that there could be as many as 250 million Latter-day Saints worldwide by 2050, making it truly the next major world religion.[42] As more members of the Church are present in communities throughout the world, they will naturally play an increased role in those communities. In the world of politics size does matter. Not only will tens (or hundreds) of millions of people be hard to ignore, but Mormons' presence around the globe will create networks within which potential peacebuilders might work, having ready contacts available wherever conflicts arise.

Another resource is the Church's massive missionary effort. While peacebuilding and active proselytizing are usually not mentioned in the same breath (except as antagonists), full-time missionaries are encouraged to participate in approximately four hours of community service per week. This is no small contribution, especially when multiplied by the approximately sixty thousand missionaries around the world—not to men-

42. See Rodney Stark, "The Rise of a New World Faith," *Review of Religious Research* 26 (1984): 18–27; reprinted with a new postscript in James T. Duke, ed., *Latter-day Saint Social Life: Social Research on the LDS Church and Its Members* (Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1998), 9–27; also see Jan Shipps, *Mormonism: The Story of a New Religious Tradition* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985).

tion a significant number of older couples on full-time humanitarian missions. Already much good is accomplished through this means. Although community service often becomes a low priority for many young missionaries, particularly those who are more interested in padding their proselyting statistics, it is one example of an already existing program that could easily be given more emphasis and direction, thus becoming a powerful tool for Mormon peacebuilding work around the globe.

In addition to those currently serving missions, the missionary program of the Church produces, among other results, a substantial number of men and women who have spent up to two years fully immersed in a foreign culture, living, eating, and working with local people and learning their language, traditions, and customs. Ideally, these missionaries also develop a genuine love for the people among whom they serve. These returned missionaries represent an incredible untapped resource for peacebuilding. Already government agencies, especially the FBI and CIA, have seen their potential and actively recruit at Brigham Young University, partly because its student body has so many individuals with significant fluency in foreign languages and cultures. A major obstacle to grassroots peacebuilding efforts in general is finding people (usually Westerners) with education, training, and funds who can go into a community with a ready understanding of both the language and the culture. Such characteristics greatly enhance the ability to work both compassionately and effectively with local people. The pool of returned missionaries, with their experience and acquired sympathy for people in the places they served, would give Mormon peacebuilding a tremendous jump start.

One more institutional resource that is unavoidable is the very structure of the Church itself. Of course, the LDS Church is extremely hierarchical, and members of the Church are, for the most part, dedicated to that hierarchy; remarkably, but with generally good reasons, there is little fear of abuse of power among the general membership. This inherent belief in hierarchy is not just a matter of trained obedience but also results from having a lay clergy, where all worthy men are ordained to priesthood office and both men and women, where worthy and willing, participate in various teaching and leadership capacities in their local wards and stakes. With no distinction between clergy and laity, Mormons manifest more willingness to trust that those in leadership positions are acting in good faith, if not always with a consistently high degree of competence (one of the side effects of a lay clergy). This faith in leadership extends especially

to the highest levels. Members exhibit an extraordinary amount of love and trust toward their leaders, particularly the First Presidency and Quorum of Twelve Apostles. In fact, most Mormons are skeptical of any kind of program that does not originate at the top. Although members of the Church are expected to show initiative and creativity, born of prayerful inspiration, in their callings, they look to Salt Lake City to make sure they are in line with basic Church programs and teachings. They believe that God is a God of order who reveals his will through designated channels.

As a result, the Church's verticality could potentially be either a boon or a bane to Mormon peacebuilders. If they were to gain the trust of the leadership, especially at the general Church level, and if the platform of peacebuilding could be promoted through the Church's semi-annual general conferences and/or official Church publications and curricula, then virtually the entire membership of the Church could become involved with relative ease. If, however, Mormon peacebuilders were seen as radicals or troublemakers, they would be tolerated personally but their message and program would be marginalized, either through nonsupport or through subtle warnings from the pulpit.

CONCLUSIONS

Speaking in 1914 when World War I had broken out in Europe, Joseph F. Smith taught: "Peace comes only by preparing for peace."[43] The ultimate question is: What might Mormon peacebuilding actually look like? To begin with, it must be acknowledged that Mormonism is not a peace tradition and that the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is not and will not become a peace Church.[44] Although the early Latter-day Saints were unwavering pacifists, it was more a marker of their small size and marginalization than a theological imperative. As has

43. Joseph F. Smith, "The Great War," in *Gospel Doctrine: Selections from the Sermons and Writings of Joseph F. Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1919–39), 421.

44. By "peace tradition" and "peace church," I mean those denominations who historically have held pacifistic positions as a central component of their theology and identity; examples include the Mennonites, Quakers, and Church of the Brethren. Interestingly, the Community of Christ (formerly the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints) has adopted peace as its primary mission and message. Comparisons between it and the majority LDS Church and their respective trajectories would be interesting as well as instructive.

been demonstrated, Mormon theology and history are ultimately ambivalent rather than providing an absolute stance on war and peace. Historians have recognized this ambivalence. Grant Underwood observed: "A major theme in the history of LDS attitudes toward peace is that the outer limits of pacifist expression have usually been drawn at the point where pacifism clashes with legal and civic duty."[45] Furthermore, Ronald Walker refers to a general tone of "'qualified' pacifism . . . tentative and conditional, more often vocal than substantial."[46]

Historically this has meant the leaders and general membership of the Church were typically engaged in peacetime support of conciliation, arms limitation, disarmament, and a general normative commitment to peace. A fairly recent example is the Church's strong stand in the 1970s against basing MX missiles in Utah. However, as has been the case for most American Christians, Mormon peacetime pacifism usually dissipated in the expediency of wartime conditions. At least since the Spanish-American War, many Mormons have enthusiastically participated in the armed forces in whatever country they lived; and conscientious objection has been either discouraged or only barely tolerated. In addition to the historical experience of the Church, Mormon scriptures allow for a wide range of options, from extreme pacifism (as in the case of the Anti-Nephi-Lehies) to something like a principled just war ethic (as in the case of Captain Moroni). With the vast majority of Mormons falling into the latter camp and feeling generally dismissive of the former's potential to work in the "real world," a major role that Mormon peacebuilders can play is to educate their own communities that an ethic of nonviolence is not only potentially compatible with scriptural teaching but may in fact be the default setting, with any principled move to violence being reluctant at best and certainly not as something in which to glory.

Latter-day Saints are already well known for their welfare and humanitarian work, and they pride themselves not only on taking care of their own but also on providing money and emergency supplies for disaster relief throughout the world. In fact, a significant portion of the time and effort of the Church as a whole and of individual Church members is in what the NGO world would call "community building."

45. Underwood, "Pacifism and Mormonism," 139.

46. Walker, "Sheaves, Bucklers, and the State," 288.

Such efforts go a long way toward mitigating, though perhaps unconsciously, the effects of structural violence. Grassroots peacebuilding work seems to be a natural outgrowth of this humanitarian work; and with proper training, as well as encouragement from Church headquarters, each congregation could become a major force for constructive change in its community. Mormons are generally wary of trading doctrinal purity for humanitarianism—a slope they generally see many liberal and mainstream (social gospel) Protestants having already slid down—but most of the elements of sustainable development are already present in Mormon thought and practice. With the introduction of a suitable framework, peacebuilding would not have to represent any compromise on the Church's primary mission, which is (and will continue to be) to bring people to Christ.

In addition to using the existing resources of local congregations, individual Mormons might create NGOs committed to peacebuilding efforts. These organizations could be modeled on existing religious peacebuilding groups (prominent examples include Catholic Relief Services and Sant'Egidio), but determining the distinctive contributions of a Mormon approach would require careful thought; in other words, why not just join one of these other groups, or even the Peace Corps? Returned missionaries who were so inclined would surely be a key component, as they could go back to the areas in which they previously lived and served and thus build on the relationships and experiences they already have. One of the great advantages that Mormon peacebuilding efforts would have is that the primary networks (of local congregations, returned missionaries, etc.) are already in place, and they simply need to be effectively put to use.

Having said all that, however, potential Mormon peace-builders—and the peace community in general—should remain circumspect. Even if one finds within Mormonism the rationale, and even moral obligation, to engage in a life of peacebuilding, it must be remembered that Mormon theology, history, and culture are ultimately ambivalent about how a believer should respond in the face of violent aggression. What I am arguing for is the creation of a space within Mormonism in which peacebuilders could work without being marginalized. I am not arguing that all Mormons will, or even should, be persuaded by the logic of Christian pacifism or that the Church should transform itself into a peace church. Although hopefully most Church members can re-

spect the choice of those who do follow the path of nonviolence, they will most likely continue to follow a kind of Captain Moroni model of justifiable, self-defensive violence. If a small but substantial community of Mormon peacebuilders were to emerge, they could do much to faithfully remind the just war majority of the dilemmas inherent in such a position. On the other hand, the just war majority can provide an invaluable service in pragmatically reminding peacebuilders that the liberal pie-in-the-sky peace agenda is in many regards practically and even ethically untenable, no matter how morally sound, in a modern political economy. In general, the lack of a vibrant peacebuilding community impoverishes Mormonism, but its creation will be a positive development only if it helps Mormons take both sides of the debate seriously and sift through the paradox of the mortal probation rather than simply providing two separate camps dedicated to argumentation and name-calling.

At the end of the day, Mormons are believers—millennialist believers at that—and with that identity comes more urgency to save souls rather than to save the world. But a message frequently heard in sermons and Sunday School classes is Jesus' injunction for his followers to be "in" but not "of" the world (see John 17:14-16). Mormonism demands that its followers be committed to both the spiritual and temporal well-being of their neighbors. Brigham Young taught: "Before you preach to a starving man to arise and be baptized, first carry him some bread."[47] Therefore, Mormons have both normative and utilitarian motivations for building peace in their communities—as followers of Christ they are commanded to be "peacemakers" (Matt. 5:9; 3 Ne. 12:9), and their commission to preach the gospel to all the world cannot be fulfilled unless communities are stable and people's basic needs are fulfilled, thus allowing them to ponder on more eternal concerns. As one who uses Mormonism as the principal lens through which I interpret the world, I consider nonviolence and peacebuilding to be imperatives primarily because I believe that our purpose in life is to become as godly as possible ourselves and to help others do the same, and I firmly believe that God is, above all else, a God of peace and love. If we are to create a substantial peacebuilding community within Mor-

47. Brigham Young, "Forming a State Constitution—Raising Agricultural Products—True Riches," in *Journal of Discourses*, 10:34.

monism, committed to an ethic of love and nonviolence, the most important place to begin, as Church leaders have reminded us since the beginning of the Restoration, is by following the Prince of Peace.

Prisoners Eating Lunch at Sheberghan Prison, Afghanistan

Gene, My Eternal Brother*

Mary Lythgoe Bradford

Speak now in the voice of peace.
The poets of the world are rising,
rising against the storm.
Speak in your poet's voice,
grounded in your father's farm,
flowering in your mother's garden.
Speak while armies gather at the gates.
Stand like Samuel on the ramparts.
Speak so I can hear you in my deepest dreams.
Speak to me from the ground of my unbelief.
Speak from our shared hope, our sheltered faith.
Speak in the words of our charity, our love.
Let these stand against the words and weapons of war.

**In memoriam: G. Eugene England (1933–2001)*

MARY LYTHGOE BRADFORD, *editor of* DIALOGUE *from 1978–83, is the author of* Lowell L. Bennion: Teacher, Counselor, Humanitarian *(Salt Lake City: DIALOGUE, 1995), winner of both a Mormon History Association biography award and the Evans Biography Award, and* Leaving Home: Personal Essays, *winner of the AML Best Essay Award (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1987). Currently she is coauthoring, with Susan Elizabeth Howe and Sue Saffle, a biography of Virginia Sorensen.*

Movement: Out of Doors, Out of Town, In Dangerous Times

Dixie Partridge

To that lit spot ahead
is as far as you'll walk:
open green, bounded by pale shrubs
you can't name, sky
in clabbery cloud, light blue showing through.
Storm coming, your father would say.

You should run, should pound
heaviness out through soles
into the earth you know is anything
but solid: tunnels of moles and mounds
of gophers, earthworms leaving patterns

DIXIE PARTRIDGE has two published collections of poetry: Deer in the Haystacks *(Boise: Boise State University, Ahsahta Press, 1984) and* Watermark *(Upper Montclair, NJ: Saturday Press, 1991), winner of the Eileen W. Barnes Award. Her work has appeared in anthologies and such journals as* Poetry, The Georgia Review, Ploughshares, MidWest Quarterly, Northern Lights, Southern Poetry Review, America, Christian Science Monitor, *and* Yankee. *She received her B.A. in English from Brigham Young University (1965), has edited poetry for anthologies, and is currently poetry editor for* Sunstone. *She is seeking a publisher for her third volume,* Not About Dreams, *and is working on a fourth.*

like that early memory of crumpled yarns pulled
and scattered from Aunt Lila's knitting bag
across carpet of the ladies meeting room
in that pine church your father helped build

which is no longer there, far from here,
and so long ago

you can only be dazed at such an image
weaving through fifty-odd years
into this slow motion walk

you had meant to run into exhaustion, into sleep
which can't really forget
a certainty come late that all times
have been dangerous:

blessing or not you hadn't always known,
like you didn't know the scattered Pleiades
and staunch Orion you'd loved since childhood
were in the Bible
along with burning bush and brimstone,
angels, Armaggedon, pillar of salt,

and pasture, the word now that calms
as you reach the green slope, a pale drift
of bushes turned to mounds of white petals
snowing down . . . .

You stand still, stand still
as you can in slight movement of air

and the grasses . . .
the grasses breathe

breathe in and out
around you

The Ideology of Empire: A View from "America's Attic"

Marc A. Schindler

> The most fundamental problem of politics . . . is not the control of wickedness but the limitation of righteousness. —Henry Kissinger[1]

LDS ATTITUDES TOWARDS WAR AND peace in general have been covered fairly comprehensively in the past decade or so.[2] The attitudes are complex and generally attempt to strike a balance between the duty to de-

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MARC A. SCHINDLER *was born in 1954 in Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada. He graduated from the University of Calgary with a B.S. in computer science (1977) and enjoyed a long career in the high tech industry, most recently as director of software for the Innovation and Science Ministry of the Alberta Provincial Government. He has published articles in* Verbatim, Sunstone, *and* DIALOGUE *(including "Is There Such a Thing as a 'Moral War'?" [Vol. 24, no. 4]), and was active in FAIR, an on-line Mormon apologetics group. At the time of his unexpected death on October 19, 2003, Marc was forty-nine years old and collaborating on a book about the New Testament. He leaves behind his wife, Cathy, and their four children.*

1. Henry A. Kissinger, *The World Restored: Metternich, Castlereagh, and the Problems of Peace*, 1812–22 (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1954; published New York: Houghton-Mifflin, 1957); quoted in Robert D. Kaplan, "Kissinger, Metternich and Realism," *Atlantic Monthly*, June 1999, online edition, http://www.theatlantic.com/issues/99jun/9906kissinger.htm.

2. Robert S. Wood, "War and Peace," *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 4 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 4:1547–50; Steven A. Hildreth, "The First Presidency Statement on MX in Perspective," *BYU Studies* 22, no. 2 (Spring 1982): 215–25; Marc A. Schindler, "Is There Such a Thing as a 'Moral War'?" DIALOGUE, no. 4 (Winter 1991): 152–60.

fend one's life, family, property and liberties on the one hand, with the commandment to renounce war as a tool of Satan on the other. While there is more than enough material in LDS scriptures and commentary to support a number of positions, until very recently any dichotomy in LDS attitudes towards specific wars has generally been seen only in the context of U.S. foreign policy. As the Church continues to grow internationally, it can no longer be taken for granted that all Latter-day Saints will confirm the ideology by which the United States justifies its wars. This essay attempts to identify a two-by-two matrix of ideological filters which individual Latter- day Saints of all countries can use to formulate positions and express them regarding specific wars in which the United States, as the world's only "hyper-puissance,"[3] enters, and help separate their own LDS-ness from the geopolitical interests of their own countries as well as that of the United States. One hopes this will also be a useful exercise for U.S. Saints as well, since generalizations concerning the views of U.S. Saints, too, are bound to be too simplistic to be useful.

Despite the reputation of U.S. Mormons for being right-wing, there is actually tremendous variation in political beliefs, but this often puzzles foreign Saints, who wonder at times just what is U.S. political culture of a certain stripe and what is actually "gospel." If we form our opinions knowing why and how this formation occurs, we will be better suited to being productive and active citizens in whatever country we live. At the same time, we can readily accept that a Latter-day Saint in Finland or Florida may have very different views on a specific political issue than an Australian or an Alaskan member without aspersions being cast upon those views by a pseudo-orthodoxy originating from the political culture of the Wasatch Front. There must be room to disagree on issues which are not related to orthodoxy or orthopraxis when such disagreements do not strike at core LDS doctrine. This is a separation that is, at present, often difficult to make.

This essay will not argue for or against any specific view, although I do use several wars in which the United States has been involved as mostly negative examples of wars that are not in the United States's best interests and not in Mormons' best interests either. As a result, my personal anti-war opinion will be hard to hide. But the examples are meant to illus-

3. "Hyper-power," coined by France's prime minister, Lionel Jospin.

trate a methodology by which one can form specific political opinions and express them, stripped of implicit assumptions of which we may not be aware, and which are not definitive of Mormonism in any case, even when expressed in Mormon cultural terms.

Take the example of two people who consider themselves in favour of the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq. Even though they agree, we still cannot take it for granted that they will have reached that same conclusion for the same reasons, and of course they could well disagree on other issues. Being in favour of or against a specific issue, such as the war in Iraq, is a *stance*. It is arrived at and is expressed using language characteristic of an underlying *ideology*, which is a filter built out of each person's experiences, beliefs, assumptions, cultural background, and so on. Often, ideological analysis will result in what sociologists call "demographic clusters," associate stances which on the surface appear to be disparate but which do relate consistently if one is aware of an underlying ideology. A typical "scattergram" of demographic clusters may predict that if, for instance, you're anti-abortion, you'll probably be anti-gun control, too—provided you live in the United States. In another country, this association may not exist, and some other scattergram might be more typical.

But there is a level even further removed from stances on issues than underlying ideology, and that is *meta-ideology*, or the set of foundational values about how we approach ideology and create ideological filters through which we can come to conclusions on specific issues. For instance, even Canadian right-wing politicians are in favour of universal health care, and right-wing politicians such as N. Eldon Tanner became Democrats when they moved to the United States. That is because universal access to health care is a national value in Canada. The United States feels Canada does not pull its weight militarily, but that is because having a powerful military is a U.S. national value; Canada prefers U.N.-associated peacekeeping roles instead. These differences arise out of fundamental differences in the two countries.

In any case, the concept of meta-ideology should help a French Latter-day Saint understand the U.S. view, and a British Saint the German view, and Latter-day Saints as a whole the principles upon which the Church bases its doctrines of war, yet still permit a spectrum of stances on any given issue (again, as long as it doesn't strike at core doctrine). To keep this approach simple, I use "realism" and "idealism" as two meta-ideological approaches, and "empire" and "manifest destiny" as the

corresponding ideologies which their associated values yield. The two ideologies are similar in many ways but are reached for different reasons.

I am proposing a two-by-two matrix which helps organize, albeit a bit simplistically, meta-ideology and ideology, using two different stances on the issue of specific wars (notably the current Iraqi situation) to illustrate these concepts.

Meta-ideology	*Ideology*	*Issue-specific Stance*
"Realism"	U.S. as hyper-power protecting its geopolitical interests: "imperialism"	*Pro-war*: necessary evil *Anti-war*: danger of "blowback"*
"Idealism"	U.S. as destined power with a mission to project democratic principles: "manifest destiny"	*Pro-war*: triumph of righteousness over evil *Anti-war*: contrary to American democratic principles

*The intelligence community uses "blowback" to mean unintended consequences for which impact is more significant than the action which precipitated them.

Why only U.S. examples? Even if the current trend towards faster LDS growth outside the United States presents us with a situation where U.S. Americans are a small minority of members by the end of the twenty-first century, this century will still see the geo-cultural driving force for The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints as being "American" in some way, just as the Roman Empire was the vehicle for expansion for the primitive church. Religio-cultural leadership will continue to be characterized as white and North American for decades to come, despite where the Church actually grows fastest. As many Mormons express their ideologies in religious terms even if in some cases it is not really a religious issue, more and more Church leaders and members alike must learn to separate strictly doctrinal from cultural and geographical issues.

I use all of these terms in a value-neutral way in the sense that all the stances discussed can find backing in LDS scripture and commentary. Some ideological and meta-ideological components may well be cultural

in nature and not necessarily personal. As a very simple example, the respect most U.S. Americans have for their flag (as opposed to the active indifference Germans have towards theirs) is an ideological component which needs to be understood before stances on related issues can be communicated without talking past one another.[4] How U.S. Americans came to have this respect and how Germans came to be more than indifferent towards theirs can be compared only at a level above the actual issue, or else we have to believe that there is something innately different between an American *homo sapiens* and a German *homo sapiens*, a difficult argument to make and still try to keep a cohesive international community structured from the top down.[5]

In using this matrix, it is important not to succumb to oversimplifications. Not all citizens of any country, including the United States, are ever unanimous in their views; and while this observation is also true for the rest of the world, when each country is taken individually or regionally, the role that LDS culture plays in any given country will vary tremendously. The reasons are not particularly hard to fathom. LDS culture tends to limit membership growth in Europe, for instance, but is a boon in Africa and other parts of the world. Europeans see the American cultural baggage that comes with Mormonism and may reject both while, at the other end of the spectrum, it is precisely those same middle-class, conservative values that appeal to many in developing countries who are struggling to build a middle-class society in a democratic polity.

Note that, as already mentioned, the same stance can be taken starting from two entirely different meta-ideologies, which in turn inform two parallel ideologies but with different iconic (symbolic) language. Likewise, two people who share both an ideology and meta-ideology may still manifest different stances. We may use the same terms to express our stances but assign

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4. Even in Canada, the Church flies the Canadian flag in front of its chapels and temples. Is this a Canadian version of the U.S. practice or an attempt to impose U.S. values on a foreign culture? Surprisingly, it is the latter, albeit a well-meaning attempt, since very few non-LDS churches in Canada fly flags. It is not that we don't fly our flag, it is just that we have other metonymic symbols of state which share the same ideological space.

5. The Anglicans have solved this problem by fragmenting into national churches which are only vaguely top-down structured. The Archbishop of Canterbury hardly commands the respect and obedience among Anglicans/Episcopalians that the LDS prophet commands among Mormons.

them different meanings. For example, *liberal* has been more or less demonized in the United States; but in most western industrialized democracies, it means pro-entrepreneur/anti-government intervention.[6]

I chose the labels "realism" and "idealism" as representative meta-ideologies because they manifest the malleability of our ideologies and, since they operate on ideologies, they stand at a level above ideologies. Are we rigid? Do we see ourselves as taking a stand on principle? Does it take a lot to change our minds? If so, we would be more idealistic, relying more on internal ideological attitudes in forming our views about specific issues. If our views are malleable and subject to change, if we can maintain ambiguous views simultaneously or hesitate to form concrete conclusions quickly, we are usually "realists." Neither approach is inherently more moral or useful than the other. A realist might see an idealist as naïve, and an idealist might see a realist as cynical.

I am using the example of the two Gulf wars precisely because they are controversial. Thus, we can analyze how we come to feel the way we do about specific issues (war-related in this case). It is important to make this point because, politically, I am an outsider, a Canadian living in "America's Attic." I also live in "Zion's Attic," as a Mormon connected to but separated from its core culture area.

As a Canadian, I have the world view of a comfortable but marginalized power: Canada may be larger than the United States in area, but 85% of Canadians live within 250 kilometers of the U.S. border, and we have only a tenth of the population. This affects many things, from how we approach security concerns to national infrastructure to immigration policies to cultural heterogeneity. Our political values are formed not only by our religious and personal beliefs, but also by where we live. Sometimes these values overlap with U.S. values, and sometimes they do not. It can

6. For instance, in Germany the FDP is known as "die Liberalen." It customarily acts as the junior coalition partner when the CDU/CSU are in power, the latter being roughly the German counterpart to the Republicans in the United States. Canada has been ruled by a Liberal government for over a decade now and is running surplus budgets, paying down debt, and lowering taxes—not what a U.S. American would expect from a party of that name. However, like libertarians, while both the German Liberalen and the Canadian Liberals are like U.S. fiscal conservatives, they are more like the U.S. Democratic Party on social policy.

often be difficult even to determine whether they are similar if we rely only on the language of issues.

I also mean *empire* and *manifest destiny* to be as value neutral as possible because while they appear to be similar ideologies, they arise out of different meta-ideologies. To the extent that the United States is an empire, it surely must rate as the most benign in human history, some misadventures here and there notwithstanding. Possessing such power does, however, engender a divine sense of mission common to all empires.

The *Pax Romana* was considered a stable, stabilizing influence over the Mediterranean, and its emperors were considered semi-divine. More recently, Britain bore the "white man's burden"[7] with High Protestant dignity, and the United States now represents a similar power, its constitutional principles even being quasi-canonical for Latter-day Saints. My meta-ideological analysis thus yields two different connotations of the term *empire*, separate not only because of their effect, but also because of their purpose.

The ideologies that we use to justify a stance on an issue often leave opponents divided, using the same iconic language either to justify their own position or to demonize that of their opponents. Iconic language reflects certain values (meta-ideologies) and certain attitudes toward those values (ideologies). Not only does iconic language consist of loaded, highly connotative words like "liberal," but it also indicates the source of our news. (Do we prefer the *Wall Street Journal* to the *New York Times?* Do we prefer Fox News to CNN, the *Guardian*, or the *Daily Telegraph?*)

Hawkish icons include Ezra Taft Benson's writings, Captain Moroni's standard of liberty, and the account in Alma 43:45–47 as scriptural justification for war on behalf of the higher cause of liberty. Those who are dovish often use as ideological icons the writings of President Spencer W. Kimball[8] and Professor Hugh Nibley or the story of the Anti-Nephi-Lehies (Alma 27:21).

If we use the first Gulf War of 1990 and the second Gulf War of 2003 as specific examples, it's possible to tease out the different justifications under which they were waged. They make a useful contrast. Accord-

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7. Rudyard Kipling, "The White Man's Burden," *McClure's Magazine*, February 1899; also online: http://www.boondocksnet.com/ai/kipling/kipling.html.

8. For example, "The First Presidency Statement on Basing of MX Missile," issued May 5, 1981, in "News of the Church," *Ensign*, June 1981, 76.

ing to meta-ideology matrix, the two proponents on either side of the issue might phrase their stances regarding the second Gulf War using these rationales:

1. *"Realist"–empire = pro-war.* It is vital to U.S. interests to control access to Central Asia, to insulate what it cannot control, and to defend Israel. The primary interest in the region is to protect access to petroleum for U.S. and U.K. multinationals, and this cannot be secured without a fundamental realignment of the regimes in the region. The region is subject to influences from a number of competing countries, including Russia, Turkey, France, Britain and the United States. This is an unstable political situation, and realists hate instability almost above all else. This position is not as cynical as it may sound to an idealist. A realist would point out that any government that *didn't* see to its country's interests would not be worthy of holding power and should be replaced.

2. *"Realist"–empire = anti-war.* It may well be vital to secure U.S. interests in this region, but Israel is a millstone around the neck of U.S. foreign policy, and the consequences of involving a country like Pakistan in an action against Iraq/Afghanistan could have the very undesirable side-effect of inadvertently promoting an Islamicist power with porous borders (good for guerrilla warfare), the nuclear bomb, and a serious border dispute with the world's largest democracy, India, over Kashmir. Furthermore, there are plenty of stabler countries in which U.S. and U.K. multinationals are free to operate with little security risk, so why take the added risk of trying to operate in such a difficult part of the world?

3. *"Idealist"–manifest destiny = pro-war.* The two Gulf Wars were the proper responses to a threat against the United States in particular and western liberal democracy in general. What the United States does in its foreign policy is by its nature an action that is part of a "greater cause," undertaken to protect democracy and liberate people suffering under brutal dictators. This claim is enhanced within LDS circles by the belief that the events of the Restoration took place largely in the United States, that the Constitution of the United States is inspired by God, that the New Zion refers to Greater America, for which the United States implicitly speaks, and that the American people are good-willed and would never knowingly engage in an evil enterprise. Idealists see the invasion of Iraq as the removal of a direct threat but also as part of a greater plan to democratise the Middle East.

4. *"Idealist"–manifest destiny = anti-war.* The idealist anti-war position

would claim that the war against Iraq was unprovoked and that, while it is indeed up to the United States to play a world leadership role, the rationales stated for the invasion of Iraq in particular have been revealed as hollow. Since idealists are uneasy with ambiguity, the cognitive dissonance of learning that the reasons given for invading Iraq were largely without foundation represents a threat to their ideology. Being idealists they are not very malleable, and this kind of development introduces an uncomfortable suspicion that U.S. foreign policy might not be so self-evidently "righteous" after all but that the United States engages in *realpolitik* the way any other government does and even engages in imperialism. These are distressing conclusions that idealists will try to avoid reaching at all costs.

As divisive as these ideological splits are in the United States, they will become even more acute as the Church continues to grow, both overseas (where, indeed, the growth rate is faster) and in the United States. Harold Bloom, presumably referring indirectly to Rodney Stark's studies of LDS growth rates, wrote:

> One gets the impression that the present Mormon leadership is very patient; they believe that much of the future is theirs, particularly in America. We have not yet had a Mormon President of the United States, and perhaps we never will, but . . . what would the Mormons wish to do if the United States ever has so large a Mormon population, and so wealthy a consolidation of Mormon economic power, that governing our democracy became impossible without Mormon cooperation?[9]

We need to explore the contrasting ideologies of imperialism and manifest destiny more, to see why one emerges from realism and the other from idealism. I usually try to avoid *empire* when referring to the United States because it gives offence. However, there are two types of empires, with important differences.

Endogenous empires are China, Russia, Australia, Canada, and the United States, characterized by their enormous size and their history of either achieving independence after being colonized from without or in being taken over by an autochthonous population within its borders. For example, the Han were once confined to a relatively small region in what is modern China but have, over the centuries, expanded into areas previ-

9. Harold Bloom, *The American Religion* (New York: Touchstone, 1992), 89–90.

ously occupied by other ethnic groups. The Han now predominate in the more populous areas, but Greater China is still so heterogeneous that the so-called Chinese language is really a collection of mutually incomprehensible dialects which share only a common orthography.

As another example, various czars over the past several centuries expanded Russia with its relatively small region around Moscow until it spanned the Eurasian continent. Today ethnic Russians constitute 80 percent of the Russian Federation and form substantial minorities in many former Soviet republics but have also absorbed numerous smaller ethnic groups. Again, Russians predominate, but there is still a surprising amount of ethnic diversity.

The United States, Canada, and Australia are examples of countries where technologically primitive autochthonous peoples lived. These people were easily overwhelmed by European technology, immunity to disease, and stabler military and commercial interests. The United States started on what is now the central Atlantic coast of North America and grew south and west by conquest, sometimes against European colonial powers, but usually at the expense of First Nations or aboriginal societies.[10] Canada, occupying the northern and less fertile half of the continent, more or less kept pace along a 250-kilometer-wide march bordering the United States. Australia was settled first largely as a collection of British penal colonies, but it grew fairly quickly into an independent country whose population has clustered largely along the southeast coast and which, again, took over land that had been declared *terra nullis* (uninhabited for purposes of the law), but which nevertheless contained autochthonous peoples who had lived there for thousands of years.

The second type of exogenous empire is the more familiar type: a European power with a relatively small home region, but with relatively large naval assets and powerful economies, obtained territories largely for the purposes of tightly directed trade (mercantilism). These territories were ruled either directly from the imperial capitals or through puppet

10. See, especially, Jared Diamond, *Guns, Germs and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1999) and Mark K. Stengel, "The Diffusionists Have Landed," *Atlantic Monthly*, January 2000, online edition, http://www.theatlantic.com/issues/2000/01/001stengel.htm. This article is an especially poignant description of how a stable society can be virtually eradicated in a very short time.

governments. The mercantile system developed to provide both a source of cheap labour and raw materials for home industries as well as a market for home industries manufactures. Recent examples include the empires of Great Britain, Spain, Portugal, Sweden, Germany, France, Austria-Hungary, Belgium, the Netherlands, and even Denmark. Mercantilism was often enforced by imperial navies, as in the case of coastal trade beachheads in China and India.

The United States, at the end of the nineteenth and throughout the twentieth centuries, has always teetered on the fulcrum of this dichotomous definition. Occasional presidents have sought to obtain overseas possessions like the "true" empires, while other presidents were noninterventionist, sometimes to the point of being isolationist. The principle of Manifest Destiny, partly influenced by religious conviction, drove the expansion of the United States into adjoining frontier lands. The United States also adopted the Monroe Doctrine in the early nineteenth century, which stated that intervention by Old World powers in the New World would not be tolerated. The United States thus became the military guarantor of New World freedom from European colonialism. More importantly, the United States was willing to enforce this doctrine with military might; and after a number of incidents in places like Venezuela, Colombia/Panama, Mexico, and the Dominican Republic, European powers eventually lost interest, although some small European colonies remain in the Caribbean region to this day.

Primarily under President Theodore Roosevelt, the Monroe Doctrine's original intention, which was defensive in nature, took on an offensive nature, an interpretation known today as the Roosevelt Corollary. When the *USS Maine* was blown up in Havana Harbor by unknown parties, or perhaps even accidentally, the United States saw it as a cause of war despite the suspiciousness of the grounds. John Hay, U.S. ambassador to Great Britain, called the Spanish-American War a "splendid little war."[11] During this period around the turn of the nineteenth century to the twentieth, the United States made its closest approach to becoming a true imperial power with noncontiguous possessions: invading Puerto Rico, annexing Hawaii on behalf of U.S. sugar interests, agitating

11. John T. Bethel, "A Splendid Little War," *Harvard Magazine*, November-December 1998, on-line edition: http://www.harvard-magazine.com/issues/nd98/war.html.

in Colombia to encourage a more pliant negotiating partner (Panama) with respect to building the pan-isthmian canal there, invading the Philippines, and obtaining various other bits and pieces of territory in the Pacific and the Caribbean.

It was J. Reuben Clark Jr. who finally managed to put the brakes on the Roosevelt Corollary. As Undersecretary of State for President Calvin Coolidge, he wrote the document now known as the "Clark Memorandum," which has been called "one of the most important documents dealing with United States foreign relations, and the best known . . . , influential in the resolution of important international issues in addition to shaping the policy of the State Department regarding the Monroe Doctrine."[12]

After three decades of adventurism, the United States finally retreated from this European or exogenous style of imperialism. In fact, the pendulum began to swing in the opposite direction: Clark was an isolationist, and so was Woodrow Wilson. The United States entered both world wars only reluctantly and, in both cases, several years after the conflicts had begun. Americans at Versailles were appalled at the rank animosity and vengeance which drove the treaty proceedings and almost certainly set the stage for World War II. U.S. isolationism was shattered by the attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941, and the United States was yet again, if reluctantly, involved in a world war, a war which only strengthened the U.S. position in the world.

The Cold War that followed immediately on the heels of World War II, however, drew the United States into a delicately balanced form of over-armed status quo vis-à-vis the Soviet Union, a relationship known as "mutually assured destruction." For some four and a half decades, the world watched this dangerous game of brinkmanship. Technology, specifically in the form of the newly invented nuclear warheads, presented the first "weapon of mass destruction" and paradoxically confined conflict more or less to "client" wars, where the United States (and allies) would

12. Scott Wolfley, "The Clark Memorandum," *Clark Memorandum* 1, no. 1 (1986): 6–9. See also on-line edition: http://www.law2.byu.edu/Law_Society/publications/clark_memorandum.htm; and J. Reuben Clark, *Memorandum on the Monroe Doctrine*, Department of State Publication No. 37 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1930), 238.

back one side in what was usually only a regional dispute at most, while the Soviet Union (and its satellites) would back the other side.

The first major client war during this period was the Korean War, which was, as far as U.S. constitutional law was concerned, a "police action," so labelled to avoid involving Congress in the cumbersome process of declaring an unpopular war. Technically a United Nations action, it was primarily the United States backing South Korea while the Soviet Union and China backed North Korea. It was expressed not as a regional war, however, but as a struggle between democracy and totalitarianism. Here we see the beginnings of modern U.S. unilateralism. This was not a war over territory, but a clash of civilizations, a war to continue the process of making the world safe for democracy.

Older empires quickly recognized that the United States's fresh sense of moral imperative, brewed in the uncontaminated cauldron of the New World, could be exploited for European ends, if played properly. After all, South Korea during the Korean War may not have been Communist, but it was still a totalitarian state, a fact that did not prevent the United States from supporting it. Most U.S. leaders were not as naive as their citizenry and saw through the ideologizing. Franklin D. Roosevelt, responding to criticism that the United States was supporting a dictator in Nicaragua, explained it memorably: "He may be a bastard, but he's our bastard."[13]

Starting in the 1950s, the United States, fearful of Communist expansion in Asia, slowly started insinuating itself into Southeast Asia, justifying this expansion of the Cold War in terms of the now infamous domino effect doctrine: if we allow Vietnam to fall today, Thailand will fall tomorrow, and so forth. It sent an initial 700 advisors to train the South Vietnamese Army, an action permitted under the Geneva Accord. By 1963 the number had increased to 17,000.

In 1964, after hearing reports (later proved to be false)[14] that North Vietnamese torpedo boats had fired on U.S. warships, Congress adopted the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution. The U.S. administration finally had a

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13. Anastasio "Tacho" Somoza García was part of a dynasty that the United States had supported since the 1930s to protect U.S. commercial interests in the region.

14. To be more precise, it was half-false. North Vietnamese torpedo boats had indeed fired on the *USS Maddox*, a destroyer, but it was only when President

causus belli to back up its ideological intentions. By 1969 U.S. troop strength was at 540,000. In 1970, the war expanded into Cambodia. By 1976, 68,000 American soldiers, approximately 200,000 South Vietnamese soldiers, an estimated 900,000 North Vietnamese soldiers, and an estimated million civilians were dead. From an ideological point of view, this was part of a pattern set earlier in wars against Mexico and Spain, a pattern of realists in position of power giving idealists what they wanted to hear. Hugh Nibley, a veteran of the European theater during World War II, expressed his opposition to the Vietnam War in idealist terms: "Renounce war."[15] He meant not just the Vietnam War, although that was the context for his remarks, but war itself as a vehicle of foreign policy. This is a position only an idealist could really take.

Thus, we come to the critical typological event that happens when a major power, which is a democracy at home and not a centre of a classical empire, nevertheless exerts significant external power that arises from its essential nature, not from bloody-mindedness or evil intent: it must create a justification upon which the citizenry of the United States and its allies can focus, something straightforward and simple. This is the dance of the realists leading the idealists. Alas, these idealistic ventures have almost invariably failed, frequently backfiring to haunt idealists in even more fearsome forms.

Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in 1990 was certainly a belligerent act, but the context in which it occurred seems to have been largely forgotten. It is important to examine this conflict to understand why we have reached the place we occupy today [October 2003]. Only a week or so before Saddam Hussein crossed the Kuwaiti border, the U.S. ambassador to Iraq, April Glaspie, assured him that the United States's stance on Kuwaiti-Iraqi issues was "neutral."[16] It appears that this policy position and Hussein's interpretation of it were a result of several unfortunate coincidences, not a deliberate misstatement by Glaspie. The U.S. Department

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Johnson falsely claimed that there had been a second attack that Congress was persuaded to pass the resoltuion.

15. "Renounce War," letter to the editor, *Daily Universe* (Brigham Young University), March 26, 1971.

16. According to the transcript, her language was even encouraging at times: "U.S. Ambassador Glaspie—We have no opinion on your Arab-Arab conflicts, such as your dispute with Kuwait. Secretary (of State James) Baker has directed me

of State, which is responsible for diplomatic and foreign affairs, was not, apparently, in touch with the Office of the National Security Advisor or the Pentagon. It's hard to believe that Glaspie could have known the consequences of what she was saying—that Hussein would take it as an indication that the United States would not intervene if Iraq chose to "repatriate" its "nineteenth province," a territorial issue which goes back to Ottoman days.[17]

Furthermore, the United States had just backed Iraq in its war against Iran, and Hussein was almost certainly shocked at the U.S. response when he invaded Kuwait. But he had reason to be. From about 1986 to 1989, the United States had actively supported Iraq as a secularist counterbalance to the theocratic Iran. Barely a year after Hussein gassed the rebellious Kurds in the north, a U.S. company that spun off from chemical and biological warfare research conducted at George Washington University legally sold Iraq shipments of anthrax, botulism, and sarin toxins. This nonprofit company, with the rather odd name of the American Type Culture Collection (http://www.atcc.org), now located in Manassas, Virginia, is a legitimate company and did nothing illegal. Its shipments were routinely given the needed export licenses by the U.S. Department of Commerce until 1989. The Louis Pasteur Institute in Paris—not only a legitimate organization, but France's premier

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to emphasize the instruction, first given to Iraq in the 1960's, that the Kuwait issue is not associated with America. (Saddam smiles)." Retrieved October 2003 from http://www.whatreallyhappened.com/ARTICLE5/april.html; see also http://csmweb2.emcweb.com/durable/1999/05/27/p23s3.htm, and Andrew I. Killgore, "Tales of the Foreign Service: In Defense of April Glaspie," *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*, August 2002, 49, on-line edition: http://www.wrmea.com/archives/august2002/0208049.html.

17. There have always been difficulties because someone in Istanbul or London draws a line on a map. Iraq has had a long-standing border dispute with Iran and with Kuwait, both of which concerned Iraq's bottleneck-like access to the sea. It was left with this inconvenience after the British, in essence, "created" Iraq after World War I by combining three provinces of the Ottoman Empire, but also leaving small states which would serve Britain's interests in the area: Kuwait, Qatar, Bahrain, Oman, and the United Arab Emirates, at least nominally and at certain times. The United Kingdom still had an RAF base in Shalala in southern Oman as late as early 2002. See Margaret MacMillan, *Paris 1919* (New York: Random House, 2002).

medical research institute[18]—also supplied Iraq with chemical and biological warfare substances and also discontinued supplying Iraq about the same time the United States did. The aid that Hussein received from the United States and other Western countries is now known to be far greater than heretofore suspected.[19] One can hardly blame Saddam Hussein (politically) for his miscalculation.

In addition, the public relations firm Hill & Knowlton, under contract to the Kuwaiti government, planted a fabricated story, which world media picked up, that the Iraqis had removed premature babies from their incubators in a Kuwait City hospital, thrown the babies onto the ground, and taken the incubators to Iraq. The "source" of this story was an alleged eyewitness, a sobbing young Kuwaiti woman identified only as "Nayirah."

Where the second Gulf War is concerned, we now know that the justifications for invading Iraq in March 2003 were dubious at best, arising from the same need to produce a *causus belli* as in Vietnam and the first Gulf War. The sanctions, U.N. inspections, and the "no-fly" zones established over half of the country by the United Kingdom and the United States were apparently effective in preventing Saddam Hussein from making weapons of mass destruction for use both locally and against the West. The United States also knows that the link between Iraq and al-Qaeda is misleading. Osama bin Laden hates the West, but he also hates the secularist Ba'athist regimes in Iraq and Syria. The CIA has even admitted that its intelligence was wrong, though not necessarily deliberately.[20]

The final issue of U.S. *realpolitik* is the claim of the realist anti-war movement that the "real" reason for invading Afghanistan and Iraq is because "it's only about oil." Both sides react to this issue, one seeing it as the "real explanation" for the invasion and the other side dismissing it as an insulting fantasy. However, the oil argument has nothing to do with

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18. For example, they discovered HIV and established its link with AIDS.

19. Philip Shenon, "Iraq Links Germs for Weapons to U.S. and France," *New York Times*, March 16, 2003.

20. Marian Wilkinson, "CIA Admits It Can't Find Weapons," *The Age* (Melbourne, Australia), September 26, 2003; http://www.theage.com.au/articles/2003/09/25/1064083125415.html?from=storyrhs (based in part on a *New York Times* story). The Pakistani government has admitted that Osama bin Laden and his leaders cross the Pakistani-Afghan border virtually at will but complain that it has only limited control in the Northwest Frontier Province and Baluchistan, the two provinces bordering Afghanistan.

fueling gas-guzzling SUVs, as many in the anti-war camp would put it. Since the first Gulf War, the United States has been weaning itself from Middle East petroleum suppliers, precisely because of instability in the area. By the end of 2002, the top U.S. four petroleum suppliers were Canada, Saudi Arabia, Venezuela, and Mexico. Canada's oil industry is slightly more than 50 percent U.S.-owned, and Mexico is a fellow NAFTA member, so the supply for U.S. consumers is more secure now than it has ever been.[21] Canada also supplies 94 percent of the U.S.'s natural gas imports.[22]

Thus, even though the United States relies more heavily on petroleum imports than ever before, because of the increase in demand over the past decade, more of that supply is coming from stable and nearby sources. The U.S. consumers' lifestyle is not in immediate danger. What *is* in danger is U.S.- and U.K.-based multinationals' markets as well as foreign supplies of oil. France and Britain also have a strategic interest in Central Asia on behalf of their multinational oil companies.[23] To summarize, the oil argument is that the United States and the United Kingdom must ensure their control over access to major new oil reserves in Central Asia and deny control to their competitors. Iraq and Iran lie in the way.

After presenting all this information on the *realpolitik* of the second Gulf War in particular, I return to the theme: What is our ideology of war and what is our meta-ideology for how one looks at a super-power: self-serving empire or God-mandated instrument of manifest destiny? Any nation seeks to further its interests through its foreign affairs policies. The United States is no exception. If it behaved differently, the government simply could not remain in power. The United States is *the* global superpower right now because it has more economic and military power than any other country. Other countries can only accommodate U.S. foreign affairs as best they can.

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21. U.S. Department of Energy, Energy Information Administration, "Petroleum Supply Monthly Table 5.4," February 2002. Figures are for 2001. Retrieved October 2003 from http://www.eia.doe.gov/emeu/aer/txt/ptb0504.html.

22. U.S. Department of Energy, Energy Information Administration, "Natural Gas Monthly Tables 5 and 6," February 2002. Figures are for 2001. Retrieved October 2003 from http://www.eia.doe.gov/emeu/aer/txt/ptb0603.html.

23. France is no longer the military power it once was, and Russia has to struggle to get its own oil to market because of a ruined infrastructure.

For both the United States and allied democracies to manage their foreign affairs, they will have to cooperate more than the current U.S. government has. U.S. leftists and foreigners who find the Bush administration's unilateral approach problematic have been joined by the conservative *Business Week*, which criticizes the Bush administration for squandering the immense good will extended to the United States following 9/11:

> A world that rallied to America's side in unprecedented demonstrations of support after Sept. 11 increasingly perceives the United States itself as a great danger to peace.
>
> How did things come to this? The failure of the Bush Administration to manage its diplomacy is staggering, and the price paid, even if the war ends quickly [this was written in March 2003], could be higher than anyone now anticipates.
>
> The political effect of this foreign policy imbroglio is already obvious. It can be measured in tattered alliances and global tensions, eroding support for President George W. Bush, and big changes throughout the Middle East. What remains unclear are the economic consequences. In the end, they may be far more significant. . . .
>
> The Bush foreign policy of unilateral pre-emption is so ill-defined and open-ended that it could weigh heavily on the global economy well after the bombing stops.[24]

President George W. Bush, unlike his father, has the reputation for not being politically sophisticated about foreign affairs and thus easily influenced. One criticism is that he has a quasi-religious sense of mission, much as Latter-day Saints do, although his religious roots are Southern Baptist. Thus, if this criticism is correct, it could simply be that those who have access to him find him easy to manipulate. Even those whom one would expect to defend the president fall into this camp at times. For instance, someone with impeccable ideological credentials, one would think, is David Frum, his former speechwriter, a Canadian right-wing journalist. He called Bush "impatient and quick to anger; sometimes glib,

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24. Bruce Nussbaum, "Beyond the War—Mismanaging the Run-Up to War Will Do More than Squander Goodwill and Damage Alliances," *Business Week*, March 24, 2003.

even dogmatic; often uncurious and as a result ill informed."[25] Such a judgment points to Bush being an "idealist" just as Carter and Wilson were "idealists."

To sum up so far, those who oppose the second Gulf War believe that the U.S.'s foreign policy is driven by a combination of personal religious conviction to take democracy to the downtrodden Arabs and the undue influence of those close to Bush on his policy. Those for the war see the United States as liberating Iraq from a brutal tyrant who waged war on his own people and menaced the Middle East, the West, and indeed, the whole world. Part of this ideology is that since the United States happens to be in a position of power, it ought to—and usually does—act in the interests of righteousness.

The challenge facing the anti-war camp is to show that Bush is being manipulated or that his personal sense of mission is not in the best interests of the United States or the world. Fatal to the anti-war movement's ideological assumptions would be Iraq's rapid development into a democracy, following the model of occupied Japan and Germany after World War II. Iraq, as a secular country, has already promoted values that the West appreciates, such as literacy and the work ethic. More difficult would be the traditional lack of cooperation among Shi'ites, Marsh Arabs, Sunnis, various types of Kurds, Nestorian Christians, and so on. A similar problem proved to be Yugoslavia's undoing once Marshall Tito's strong rule was removed.

The challenge facing the pro-war camp is to show that unilateralism will produce more benign results than multilateralism and also that even well-intended current activities will not produce fatal "blowback." The nightmare for this camp is that Pakistan might end up being the "next Iran." With a hinterland out of control, an unstable neighbor (Afghanistan), a strong military, nuclear capability, and the rising power of Islamist fundamentalism, Pakistan could indeed become another Iran, one which has the atomic bomb and which threatens the world's largest democracy (India).

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25. David Frum, *The Right Man: The Surprise Presidency of George W. Bush* (New York: Random House, 2003), quoted in an interview with David Frum by Elizabeth Wasserman, "The Real George Bush: David Frum, a Former Presidential Speechwriter and the Author of *The Right Man*, Gives an Inside Look at the Character of George W. Bush," *Atlantic Monthly*, February 12, 2003. Also available on-line: http://www.theatlantic.com/unbound/interviews/int 2003-02-12.htm.

How has the LDS Church reacted to these global tensions? Two recent statements shed light on the road the LDS Church may take. The first is an October conference 2002 address by Apostle Russell M. Nelson. The second was a short statement in March 2003 by Church President Gordon B. Hinckley.

In "Blessed Are the Peacemakers," Elder Nelson strongly condemned war, then continued:

> [The scriptures] strongly condemn wars of aggression but sustain obligations of citizens to defend their families and their freedoms. Because "we believe in being subject to kings, presidents, rulers, and magistrates, in obeying, honoring, and sustaining the law," members of this Church will be called into military service of many nations. . . . Because of the long history of hostility upon the earth, many feel that peace is beyond hope. I disagree. Peace is possible. We can learn to love our fellow human beings throughout the world. Whether they be Jewish, Islamic, or fellow Christians, whether Hindu, Buddhist, or other, we can live together with mutual admiration and respect, without forsaking our religious convictions. Things we have in common are greater than are our differences. Peace is a prime priority that pleads for our pursuit.[26]

Elder Nelson then asserted, in language that sounded like a condemnation of the West's military action against Islamic countries:

> Abraham's posterity has a divinely decreed potential. The Lord declared that Ishmael [the traditional ancestor of the Arabs] would become a great nation and that the seed of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob would bless all the nations of the earth.
>
> So descendants of Abraham—entrusted with great promises of infinite influence—are in a pivotal position to emerge as peacemakers. Chosen by the Almighty, they can direct their powerful potential toward peace.
>
> Resolution of present political problems will require much patience and negotiation. The process would be enhanced greatly if pursued prayerfully.[27]

Five months later on March 19, 2003, President Gordon B. Hinckley spoke at Brigham Young University. The Church's media release said that no official statement on the war had been made except "this parenthetical statement of the Church president," which read:

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26. Russell M. Nelson, "Blessed Are the Peacemakers," *Ensign,* November 2002, 39.

27. Ibid.

> "It appears that the nation, of which most of us are citizens, is inexorably moving toward war. These are solemn and perilous times. If there be any of our number in the reserves or National Guard who have been called to duty, we extend our greatest appreciation and our love and respect to them and to the families they have left behind. We pray with earnestness and with faith that God will watch over them and preserve them and return them unharmed to those who love them most. In such times as this we feel the great inequality of sacrifice when men and women are called to active duty in behalf of the country.
>
> "May those of us who are spared of such sacrifice never be proud or arrogant, but rather humbly grateful for those who lay their lives on the line in time of war."[28]

Interestingly, given the opportunity to take a side, President Hinckley refused to do so. The statement contains no evaluation of whether the proposed U.S. action was morally right. It also indirectly clarified that Elder Nelson's talk should not be applied to any specific U.S. action. In fact, President Hinckley seemed aware of his two sometimes contradictory roles. As a growing force within the United States, the LDS Church plays a public role. President Hinckley, more than any previous president, acts as a statesman within the Church's host country. Simultaneously, because the Church now has a global presence, he must not be seen as taking sides on secular issues.

At the October general conference exactly a year earlier, President Hinckley said:

> I have just been handed a note that says a U.S. missile attack is under way [against Afghanistan, aimed at dislodging the Taliban].
>
> I need not remind you that we live in perilous times. I desire to speak concerning these times and our circumstances as members of this Church.
>
> You are all acutely aware of the events of September 11, less than a month ago. Out of that vicious and ugly attack we are plunged into a state of war. It is the first war of the 21st century. The last century has been described as the most war-torn in human history. Now we are off on another dangerous undertaking, the unfolding of which and the end thereof we do not know. For the first time since we became a nation, the United States has been seriously attacked on its mainland soil. But this was not an attack on the United States alone. It was an attack on men and nations of good

28. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, news release, "Iraq War," March 19, 2003, retrieved in March 2003 from http://www.lds.org/newsroom/showrelease/0,15503,4044-1-16065,00.html.

> will everywhere. It was well-planned, boldly executed, and the results were disastrous. It is estimated that more than 5,000 innocent people died. Among these were many from other nations. It was cruel and cunning, an act of consummate evil.[29]

While rightly condemning the events of 9/11, he characterizes them as an attack, not just on the United States, but upon a greater polity, defined very generally. Then he became more specific about the nature of the war:

> Now we are at war. Great forces are being mobilized and will continue to be. Political alliances are being forged. We do not know how long this conflict will last. We do not know what it will cost in lives and treasure. We do not know the manner in which it will be carried out. It could impact the work of the Church in various ways.
>
> Our national economy has been made to suffer. It was already in trouble, and this has compounded the problem. Many are losing their employment. Among our own people this could affect Welfare needs, and also the tithing of the Church. It could affect our missionary program.
>
> We are now a global organization. We have members in more than 150 nations. Administering this vast worldwide program could conceivably become more difficult.
>
> Those of us who are American citizens stand solidly with the President of our nation. The terrible forces of evil must be confronted and held accountable for their actions. This is not a matter of Christian against Muslim. I am pleased to see that food is being dropped to the hungry people of a target nation. We value our Muslim neighbors across the world and hope that those who live by the tenets of their faith will not suffer. I ask particularly that our own people do not become a party in any way to the persecution of the innocent. Rather, let us be friendly and helpful, protective and supportive. It is the terrorist organizations that must be ferreted out and brought down.[30]

President Hinckley thus simultaneously played the role of a domestic statesman who recognizes the duty of U.S. Latter-day Saints to support their government in general and the role of the leader of a worldwide church with members in many nations. In fact, he articulated the second role first by expressing concern for the effect of current affairs on the Church.

As a result, LDS ideologists on both sides have official support for

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29. Gordon B. Hinckley, "The Times in Which We Live," *Ensign*, November 2001, 72.

30. Ibid.

their points, but neither ideology can prevail based solely upon recent official statements. Thus, the Church seems to recognize that both it and the United States are, in their own respective ways, powerful organizations, and it is in the very essence of powerful organizations to have responsibilities and duties and also to face dangers. We start off the twenty-first century facing a very different enemy. The Church presents a bigger target to its enemies, and the United States is in a similar situation: damned by its critics if it does and damned by its critics if it doesn't. What seems clear, however, is that the United States cannot take LDS support for granted anymore, and U.S. Latter-day Saints will have to be very careful how they play their *Pax Americana* cards. Like ancient Rome, which enabled the growth of the primitive church but which eventually co-opted it for its own secular use, the United States is the primary vehicle for secular might two millennia later. It has and will continue to be the primary socio-political vehicle—for better or for worse—for the spread of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and it will be up to the Church to decide if, when, and how to avoid being co-opted by this new, albeit benign, imperium.

What will be the difference between U.S. Latter-day Saints and foreign Latter-day Saints in this situation? It seems that the Church will continue to encourage U.S. Latter-day Saints to support their country. The traditional nationalism, or ardent patriotism shown by U.S. Latter-day Saints, will continue unabated. But they are also free to form stances which oppose wars undertaken by the United States on the grounds that they are not necessarily "virtuous" wars. Members must make those decisions as individuals, but both sides will have sufficient religious iconography and texts upon which to build their cases.

What has suddenly changed, it seems, is that this freedom is now also open to foreign Latter-day Saints, who have traditionally suffered most from conflicts between their religious views, often communicated by U.S. leaders and missionaries, and their own sense of patriotism, worldviews, and personal choices. A French or German Latter-day Saint will no longer feel pressured to support the U.S. position merely because it seems that the majority of U.S. Latter-day Saints seem to.

The German position on the invasion of Iraq was largely seen by pro-war factions in the United States as a matter of domestic politics, with Chancellor Gerhard Schröder running for re-election by appealing primarily to domestic doves. Many U.S. Americans see the French position

as a venal one, a version of the "argument for oil" outlined above. (In fact, Total, Elf, and other French companies had a significant stake in Iraq.) What is different now is that a German Latter-day Saint who takes a dovish position based on German domestic issues—such as coming to terms with its role in World War II, the consequences of which are still very much part of domestic German politics—is free to take such a position without having to answer charges that it is "non-Mormon" or "anti-gospel." Likewise the French Latter-day Saint can remind her U.S. American counterpart that Total is no different than ExxonMobil.

For the first time since Vietnam, Canada did not officially back the United States in the Iraqi invasion. It did, however, provide behind-the-scenes support. Since the initial strikes against Afghanistan, Canada has supplied fourteen destroyers and frigates, a commodore command group to guard non-U.S./non-U.K. naval assets in the southern Gulf, and a heavy battalion of peacekeepers in Afghanistan, which freed up U.S. forces for Iraq. It has also committed approximately half a billion dollars in humanitarian aid for Afghanistan and remains open to supplying aid for Iraq through U.N. initiatives. Canada could thus continue to follow its traditional peacekeeping role without direct participation in a war in which it felt it had no direct interest.

Looking perhaps even further into the future, the eventual interests of *Arab* Latter-day Saints are being planned for. To many people, ISPART (the Institute for the Study and Preservation of Ancient Religious Texts; http://ispart.byu.edu) is better known as the parent organization of the apologetics group, FARMS (Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies: http://farms.byu.edu). The institute is becoming increasingly involved in Middle Eastern studies, including Islamic studies. Informal contact between Arab countries and the Church through ISPART is quiet but on the increase, notably with Jordan but also with Iran and other Islamic countries.

Successfully separating the political stances of individuals and their contingent ideologies from idealist and realist meta-ideologies may have the long-term result of presenting the LDS Church as being one Christian group that Arabs and other Muslims can trust. That is, I speculate, a reasonable gamble for the Church's ecclesiastical and academic leadership.

Guarding the Front Gate of Sheberghan Prison, Afghanistan, 2001

Anabaptism, the Book of Mormon, and the Peace Church Option

Andrew Bolton

THE BOOK OF MORMON IS CONTROVERSIAL, both in stories of its miraculous origin and in its claims to be scripture, a second witness to the Bible. Evangelical Mennonites, like many Protestants, are likely to be suspicious of extrabiblical scripture. However, Mennonites and Latter Day Saints may be spiritual cousins. A sympathetic comparison of the origins of both movements may illuminate their past and also assist in contemporary living of the gospel of shalom. While scholars from both traditions have established distinctive parallels between sixteenth-century Anabaptists and nineteenth-century Latter Day Saints, what remains to be explored is the presence of Anabaptist themes in the Book of Mormon, a text intimately associated with the founding experiences of Latter Day Saintism. After reviewing the evidence for such themes in the Book of Mormon, I will reflect

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on how Latter Day Saints might more wholeheartedly embrace its criticism of violence.

PARALLELS BETWEEN ANABAPTISTS AND LATTER DAY SAINTS

Although their origins were separated by three hundred years and the Atlantic Ocean, Anabaptism and Latter Day Saintism have distinct parallels. A number of writers have commented on these parallels, beginning in 1832 with Alexander Campbell, who attacked the Book of Mormon as Anabaptist "tomfoolery" just two years after it was published.[1] In recent decades, Mennonite William Juhnke and Mormon Michael Quinn have both written excellent papers describing the parallels between the two movements.[2] John Brooke has also reviewed the Anabaptist influence on the development of Mormon cosmology.[3] Clyde Forsberg recently wrote a comprehensive review of the literature comparing the two movements and reviewing Mormon missionary efforts among the Dunkers around 1841.[4] I have also written on

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1. Alexander Campbell, *Delusions: An Analysis of the Book of Mormon, with an Examination of the Internal and External Evidences* (Boston, MA: Benjamin Green, 1832). Campbell's restitutionism movement and his personal pacifism represent yet another early nineteenth-century parallel to sixteenth-century Anabaptism. See Richard T. Hughes, "A Comparison of the Restitution Motifs of the Campbells (1809–1830) and the Anabaptists (1524–1560)," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 45 (October 1971): 312–30. Nevertheless, Campbell distanced himself from sixteenth-century Anabaptists, particularly Muensterites. In one debate, he asked, "What have we to do with Anabaptists?" See Harold L. Lunger, *The Political Ethics of Alexander Campbell* (St. Louis, MO: Bethany Press, 1954), 19.

2. William E. Juhnke, "Anabaptism and Mormonism: A Study in Comparative History," *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 2 (1982): 38–46; D. Michael Quinn, "Socioreligious Radicalism of the Mormon Church: A Parallel to the Anabaptist," in *New Views of Mormon History: A Collection of Essays in Honor of Leonard J. Arrington*, eds. Davis Bitton and Maureen Ursenbach Beecher (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1987), 363–86.

3. John L. Brooke, *The Refiner's Fire: The Making of Mormon Cosmology, 1644–1844* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

4. Clyde R. Forsberg Jr., "Are Mormons Anabaptists? The Case of the Mor-

the subject in the context of the Community of Christ's developing peace mission.[5]

What are some of the parallels between Anabaptism and Latter Day Saintism? Both are restitution or restoration movements arising from the left wing of the Reform/Puritan tradition, aiming at restoring the New Testament church in spirit and practice. Beginning with the day of Pentecost and ending with all things in common, Acts 2 is arguably the template of both Anabaptism and Latter Day Saintism. The coming of the Pentecostal Holy Spirit is connected with systems of economic justice for the poor. Anabaptist Hutterianism began as a communal movement in 1528, and its descendants still own farming colonies in the prairie states and provinces of the United States and Canada. Hutterianism is paralleled by the communalism and mutual aid exhibited within early Latter Day Saintism. Both movements emphasize the kingdom of God, where there is no split between faith and life; all of life is sacred. There is also a distinct theology of holiness enabled by close community support and often disciplined rigorously by the ban in Anabaptism and excommunication in early Latter Day Saintism.

The Great Commission (Matt. 28:16–20) is taken seriously by both movements, which are diligently missionary.[6] Both movements practice believer's baptism, and faith and works are important to both traditions. Both are lay movements suspicious of professional clergy, with early Latter Day Saints characterizing the abuses and deceptions of clergy as "priestcraft."

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mons and Heirs of the Anabaptist Tradition on the American Frontier, c. 1840," in *Radical Reformation Studies: Essays Presented to James M. Stayer,* eds., Werner O. Packull and Geoffrey L. Dipple (Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 1999). Forsberg has a Mormon heritage and significant contact with Hutterians and Mennonites; Mennonite scholar James M. Stayer supervised his Ph.D. work.

5. Andrew Bolton, "Learning from Anabaptism: A Major Peace Tradition," in *Restoration Studies V,* ed. Darlene Caswell (Independence, MO: Herald House, 1993), 13–24. The two largest branches of the original Latter Day Saint movement are the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (frequently called Mormon), based in Salt Lake City, Utah, and the Community of Christ (until April 2001 called the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints), headquartered in Independence, Missouri. The Community of Christ has, since 1984, embarked on a serious peace and justice mission.

6. Darren Blaney, "Anabaptists and the Great Commission," *Anabaptism Today* 30 (2002): 2–8.

Robert Friedman's assertion that Anabaptist theology is not so much explicit as implicit—an existential and a realized Christianity, where Christ is encountered directly—also applies to early Latter Day Saintism.[7]

Both movements experienced conflict with their surrounding societies and suffered a great deal of persecution. Although Latter Day Saints initially chose a pacifistic path, they became increasingly belligerent after 1833 in response to their enemies.[8] During violent conflicts in northern Missouri in 1838, their leaders were nearly executed and were lucky to escape from prison after about six months. The rest of the Mormons fled from the state during the winter of 1838–39 following an extermination order issued by Governor Lilburn H. Boggs.[9] Subsequently Joseph Smith Jr. and his followers founded the city of Nauvoo in Illinois beside the Mississippi River. As converts poured into Nauvoo, including many from Canada and the British Isles, Nauvoo's growth in the early 1840s was second only to Chicago's.

Nauvoo invites comparison with sixteenth-century Anabaptist Muenster in Germany. The five thousand-man Nauvoo Legion led by Lieutenant General Joseph Smith Jr. and the introduction of secret polygamy and other practices resemble Muenster's violence, authoritarianism, and polygamy.[10]

Muenster, in Westphalia, Germany, was a significant exception to Anabaptist pacifism, although its notoriety would define Anabaptism as violent and dangerously heretical for the next three hundred years. Muenster was to

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7. Robert Friedman, *The Theology of Anabaptism: An Interpretation* (Scottdale, PA: Herald House, 1973).

8. D. Michael Quinn, "National Culture, Personality, and Theocracy in the Early Mormon Culture of Violence," *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 22 (2002): 159–86. See also Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1994), 81–86 and appen. 2.

9. A good account of this period has been given by Stephen C. LeSueur, *The 1838 Mormon War in Missouri* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1987).

10. For the development of early Latter Day Saint theocracy under Joseph Smith Jr., see D. Michael Quinn, *Origins of Power*, chaps. 3 and 4. Robert Flanders has written the most comprehensive and critical account of Nauvoo in his *Nauvoo, Kingdom on the Mississippi* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965); see chap. 4 for a review of the Nauvoo Legion. For Emma Smith's perspective on polygamy as the vigorously dissenting wife of Joseph Smith Jr., see Linda King Newell and Valeen Tippetts Avery, *Mormon Enigma: Emma Hale Smith* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994).

be the "New Jerusalem" in the context of the restitution of all things in the last days. An Old Testament rather than New Testament ethic permitted both violence and a kingship modeled after that of King David. Bernhard Rothmann was the leader of the reforming party in Muenster whose efforts enabled the Anabaptists to gain control of the city through elections on February 23, 1534. The subsequent events included the institution of forced rebaptism, the forcible practice of community of goods, the institution of polygamy, and—in response—an immediate siege against the city by the Catholic bishop. In September 1534 Jan van Leiden was proclaimed the "King over the New Israel and over the whole world" and a call was made to other Anabaptists to gather to Muenster. The siege against the city was successful by June 1535, resulting in a two-day blood bath followed by the public torturing and eventual execution of the leaders.[11] In Europe there wasn't any escape to the equivalent of the Salt Lake valley for the Muensterites.

Fortunately for the Mormons, there was. Brigham Young instructed Latter Day Saints to emigrate from Nauvoo to the Great Basin after the assassination of Joseph Smith Jr. in June 1844. However, not all Latter Day Saints embraced the Nauvoo stage of Mormonism or followed Brigham Young. Some, including Joseph Smith Jr.'s widow, Emma, and her children, joined with those that formed the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. This was an antipolygamy, nonmilitant, and moderate form of Latter Day Saintism. In 1860 Joseph Smith Jr.'s son, Joseph Smith III, was chosen to lead this group, and he served as prophet for the next fifty-four years. An approximate parallel can be made between Joseph Smith III and Menno Simons, who, after the Muenster debacle, gathered the pacifistic Anabaptists in Holland and northern Germany and began the Mennonite movement. Since 1984, the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints has sought to develop a comprehensive peace and justice mission. On April 6, 2001, this organization adopted a new name, Community of Christ, and now has a presence in over fifty nations with a membership of about one quarter of a million. Its international headquarters is in Independence, Missouri.

How can these parallels between Anabaptism and Latter Day

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11. C. Arnold Synder, *Anabaptist History and Theology: An Introduction* (Kitchener, ON: Pandora Press, 1995), 145–50, 205–207. Synder argues that the Anabaptist movement had a number of separate beginnings, some of which were militant and some pacifist. The pacifistic groups survived.

Saintism be explained? Anabaptism arose on the left wing of the Reformation that began in Zurich in the 1520s. Three centuries later, Mormonism arose on the left wing of Puritan America, albeit in a highly sectarian context. The genes of Anabaptism can likewise be followed through the offspring of John Smyth's congregation and its association with Mennonites in Amsterdam in the early 1600s. From this congregation came Thomas Helwys, founder of the English Baptists, and John Robinson of *Mayflower* fame.[12] Quakers—who could be described as Anabaptists of the heart and life without the ritual of baptism—founded the colony of Pennsylvania and encouraged Mennonites and Dunkers, with their similar peace witness, to settle there in significant numbers.[13]

The connection between Anabaptism and Mormonism becomes even more evident when one examines the religious background of the Three and Eight Witnesses who testified to the truth of the Book of Mormon and whose accounts have appeared in every edition including the first. Five of these eleven witnesses were from the Whitmer family, who came from Pennsylvanian Mennonite stock and had Mennonite social relationships.[14] It was in the Whitmer home where Smith completed the translation of the Book of Mormon. Witnesses Hiram Page and Oliver Cowdery, Joseph's cousin and one of his scribes, both married into the

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12. James R. Coggins, *John Smyth's Congregation: English Separatism, Mennonite Influence, and the Elect Nation* (Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 1991).

13. James R. Coggins and Carol M. Hunter, *The Missing Peace: The Search for Nonviolent Alternatives in United States History* (Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 2001), 54–56. See also John H. Yoder, *Christian Attitudes to War, Peace and Revolution* (Goshen, IN: Goshen Biblical Seminary, 1981); see chap. 13, "Quakerism in Early America: The Holy Experiment."

14. The Whitmers, of German extraction, were raised in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, in a Mennonite environment, according to Ronald E. Romig, Community of Christ archivist, who gave me notes on the Whitmers as well as the following reference: Horatio Gates Spafford, *Gazetteer of the State of New York* (Albany, 1813), 187. Whitmer is a common Mennonite name, according to Jim Juhnke of Bethel College, Kansas (e-mail, December 17, 2001; also Steve M. Nolt, Goshen College, Indiana, e-mail, January 28, 2002). Although there is no documentation of a Mennonite baptism, the family was of Mennonite descent and had Mennonite in-laws and social ties. Steve M. Nolt, e-mail, February 5, 2002. Nolt cites Richard W. Davis, *Emigrants, Refugees, and Prisoners*, vol. 2 (Provo, UT: Author, 1997), 421–22.

In 1808, the Whitmer family moved to Fayette, in Seneca County, New

Whitmer family. Another witness, Martin Harris, and his wife were Quakers, although he was not satisfied with that faith.[15] The Smith family also had Quaker neighbors. When the Smiths were losing their farm, a Quaker neighbor negotiated a friendly buy-out that let them continue to live on the farm for another three years.[16] Three Smiths were also Book of Mormon witnesses. Thus, all eleven witnesses, as well as Joseph Smith Jr., had some kind of personal Mennonite or Quaker association.

Books on Quakers and Mennonites were available to Joseph Smith Jr. in the library in Manchester, New York, five miles from the Smith home in Palmyra. The holdings there included a two-volume

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York, twenty-six miles from Palmyra, where the Joseph Smith family moved in 1816. In Fayette, the Whitmers found neighbors also "principally of German extract, who came from Pennsylvania." According to the German Rev. Diedrich Willers, their Reformed congregation pastor, the Whitmers had previously belonged to a Mennonite congregation, among others. See D. Michael Quinn, ed., "The First Months of Mormonism: A Contemporary View by Rev. Diedrich Willers," *New York History* 54 (1973): 333.

David Whitmer left the Latter Day Saint movement during the violence of 1838 in northern Missouri, along with his brother John and other moderates. They were driven out by the militant Danites. Although he participated in retaliatory violence in Missouri in 1833, David Whitmer appears to have later regretted it. Toward the end of his life, he argued against Mormon theocracy and militarism and for a Mennonite-like church polity and pacifism. See David Whitmer, *An Address to All Believers in Christ* (Richmond, MO, 1887). Most Book of Mormon witnesses left the movement or were excommunicated (some were later reinstated), but all appear to have maintained their testimony of the truth of the Book of Mormon. See Richard Lloyd Anderson, *Investigating the Book of Mormon Witnesses* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book, 1987). However, note the reservations made by Grant H. Palmer, *An Insider's View of Mormon Origins* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2002), chap. 6.

15. Martin Harris explored other faiths before becoming a Mormon. See G. W. Stoddard, Statement, November 28, 1833, in Dan Vogel, ed., *Early Mormon Documents*, 5 vols. (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1996–2003), 2:29. In 1808, Martin Harris married his first cousin Lucy, who was also "a Quakeress of positive qualities" (2:34). Lucy Harris's brother, Peter, also lived near Palmyra during the 1820s where he became a Quaker minister (2:31).

16. Lavina Fielding Anderson, ed., *Lucy's Book: A Critical Edition of Lucy Mack Smith's Family Memoir* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2001), 171, 365–72.

work on William Penn, a three-volume work on Quakerism, and the Memoirs of George Fox. The lending library in Palmyra might also have had such works. Finally, Smith owned a copy of Mosheim's *Ecclesiastical History* and could have become aware of the Anabaptist story from this source.[17]

Admittedly, documenting possible Mennonite or Quaker influences on Smith does not prove that they were dominant in Joseph's mind during the period he worked on the Book of Mormon. Nonetheless, Anabaptist and Quaker themes were available and were contending perspectives among the other theologies in the "burned-over district" in which Smith was raised.[18]

ANABAPTIST THEMES IN THE BOOK OF MORMON

I will consider next how Anabaptist and peace church themes play out in the narrative of the Book of Mormon. Specifically, I will examine the themes of believer's baptism, questions of the sword, mutual aid and community, salvation, grace, and works, keeping the commandments of Jesus, and church order and discipline.

Believer's Baptism

Anabaptist means "rebaptizer." Anabaptists followed the principle of believer's baptism and were highly critical of infant baptism as practiced by Catholics, Lutherans, and the Reformers in Zurich and later Geneva. Believer's baptism is also a key theme throughout the Book of Mormon. Soon after leaving Jerusalem (600–592 B.C.), Lehi had a vision in which the future Messiah set an example by being baptized by John (I Nephi 3:11;

17. Robert Paul, "Joseph Smith and the Manchester (New York) Library," *BYU Studies* 22, no. 3 (Summer 1982): 333-56. See also Kenneth W. Godfrey, "A Note on the Nauvoo Library and Literary Institute," *BYU Studies* 14 (Spring 1974): 386–89. Joseph Smith Jr. donated one volume, which number is unknown, of Mosheim's six-volume *Ecclesiastical History* to the Nauvoo Library. Mosheim, a Dutch scholar, included an excellent and generally sympathetic account of Anabaptism and Mennonite history. John Laurence Mosheim, *An Ecclesiastical History Ancient and Modern*, trans. Archibald MacLaine (London, 1826), 379–421.

18. Whitney R. Cross, *The Burned-Over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800–1850* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1950), 3–17.

LDS 10:9).[19] Repentance and baptism are the way to receive the atonement suffered for the sins of all by the Holy One of Israel (II Nephi 6:45-48; LDS 9:23). Generations later, the prophet Abinadi was burned at the stake for proclaiming the coming incarnation of God in the humanity of Jesus Christ (Mosiah 8:28-9:27; LDS 15:1-17:20). Abinadi did not die in vain for his high Christology: Alma, a priest who attended the trial of Abinadi, repented in response to the martyr's witness and began to secretly teach Abinadi's message to the people. As his followers gathered in secret in the wilderness by the waters of Mormon, Alma asked:

> If you are desirous to come into the fold of God and to be called his people, and are willing to bear one another's burdens that they may be light, and are willing to mourn with those that mourn, and comfort those that stand in need of comfort, and to stand as witnesses of God at all times, and in all things, and in all places that you may be in, even until death, that you may be redeemed of God, and be numbered with those of the first resurrection, that you may have eternal life; I say to you, If this be the desire of your hearts, what have you against being baptized in the name of the Lord, as a witness before him that you have entered into a covenant with him that you will serve him and keep his commandments, that he may pour out his Spirit more abundantly upon you? (Mosiah 9:39-41; LDS 18:8-10)

The people responded: "This is the desire of our hearts." Alma then immersed himself with the first candidate, Helam. Here are echoes of those first Anabaptists, Conrad Grebel and George Blaurock, who baptized each other in Zurich in January 1525 and began an underground believers' church.[20] This scene was replayed when Joseph Smith Jr. and Oliver Cowdery baptized each other in May 1829 during the writing of the Book of Mormon.[21]

Nearly two centuries later, Jesus appeared on the American continent following his crucifixion and resurrection in Jerusalem and taught

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19. Editions of the Book of Mormon published by the Community of Christ and The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Utah Mormons) use different systms of chapters and verses but the same book titles. I give the Community of Chirst reference, followed by the LDS edition. I am using the 1966 revised authorized Community of Christ edition, which modestly updates sentence structure and punctuation.

20. C. Arnold Synder, *Anabaptist History and Theology*, 54.

21. *Times and Seasons*, 3, no. 19 (1 August 1842): 865-66. See also *The His-*

the ritual of baptism by immersion with a trinitarian formula so that there would not be more conflict about the details of the ordinance (III Nephi 5:22-29; LDS 11:21-28).

At the end of the Book of Mormon, in Mormon's final message to his son, Moroni, he thoroughly condemned the practice of infant baptism:

> Little children cannot repent; wherefore it is awful wickedness to deny the pure mercies of God to them, for they are all alive in him because of his mercy. And he that says little children need baptism denies the mercies of Christ, and sets at naught the atonement of him and the power of his redemption. (Moroni 8:20-21; LDS 8:19-20)

The Question of the Sword

The legitimacy of the sword is a major question throughout the Book of Mormon narrative.[22] Two myths about violence in Western culture are relevant to this discussion. The best known and most influential myth is that violence saves and is redemptive in the hands of the righteous. The second and less well known myth is that violence is inevitably destructive no matter how "right" it appears to be; violence begets violence in a devastating and ongoing spiral.

This second myth may be truest to the gospel. Here the work of New Testament scholar Walter Wink is particularly important. Wink contrasts brilliantly the endemic violence of the Babylonian creation myth—the "myth of redemptive violence"—with the gentle creation story of Genesis. Violence enters the Genesis account only through the Fall; violence is not endemic or unavoidably implicit in the biblical view of creation as it is in the Babylonian creation myth.[23] When we come to the Gospels, the evil of human violence in the service of empire is revealed in all its shocking brutality in the crucifixion of Jesus. The response of Jesus is not violent re-

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tory of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, 8 vols. (Independence, MO: Herald House, 1951), 1:34-37.

22. For a fuller account, see Andrew Bolton, "Is the Book of Mormon an Asset or Liability for a Becoming Peace Church?" *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 19 (1999): 29-42.

23. Walter Wink contrasts the concept of the "myth of redemptive violence" with the myth that violence is destructive in *Engaging the Powers: Discernment and*

taliation but rather the words, "Father forgive them; for they do not know what they are doing" (NRSV Luke 23:34). Jesus breaks the spiral of violence without giving up on the pursuit of justice evidenced in the cleansing of the temple a few days earlier when he upset the tables of the money-changers exploiting the pious faithful.

These two story lines—"violence by the righteous saves" and "violence is inevitably destructive"—have contended with each other throughout U.S. history. The violent revolutionary ideology of 1776, for instance, was in tension with pacifistic Quaker Pennsylvania. However, the myth of redemptive violence is the one which dominates Western consciousness. Just see the movies or watch children's cartoons or review the teachings of Christianity after Constantine became the first Christian emperor in 312 A.D. The Mennonite position that the sword is "outside the perfection of Christ"[24] is a minority perspective despite its claim of fidelity to the truth about violence implicit in the revelation of Christ and held to by the pacifistic Christian church in the first three centuries before Constantine.

The myth of redemptive violence dominates the Book of Mormon story. Violence, when commanded by God and used by the righteous, is portrayed as justified. Both Puritanism and the rationale of the American Revolution support this justification. Yet the witness of Quaker and Mennonite Pennsylvania is also present in the Book of Mormon story, subtly and progressively questioning the legitimacy of violence as the narrative develops.

The Book of Mormon begins unpromisingly for the pacifist. Nephi in the first few pages of the Book of Mormon is justified by the Spirit in killing Laban to obtain the brass plates so that the family can have their genealogy and the scriptures to take with them to their promised land. After two unsuccessful attempts to obtain these materials, and after being robbed and threatened by Laban in the process, Nephi discovers Laban drunk. He is "constrained by the Spirit" to kill Laban by his own sword. Nephi shrinks from this task, but eventually obeys (I Nephi 1:110–120; LDS 4:10–18).

Resistance in a World of Domination (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1992): 13–31.

24. Based on the quotation, "The sword is an ordering of God outside the perfection of Christ," from John H. Yoder, trans. and ed., *The Schleitheim Confession* (Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 1977), 14.

Following this horrendous beginning, much of the Book of Mormon narrative includes accounts of wars and rumors of wars. A just war theology with revolutionary American undertones is articulated in Alma, in the middle of the Book of Mormon, and is the dominant melody in this part of the narrative:

> Nevertheless, the Nephites were inspired by a better cause; for they were not fighting for monarchy nor power. But they were fighting for their home, and their liberties, their wives and their children, and their all, and for their rites of worship and their church. And they were doing that which they felt was the duty which they owed to their God; for the Lord had said to them, and also to their fathers, "Inasmuch as ye are not guilty of the first offence, neither the second, ye shall not suffer yourselves to be slain by the hands of your enemies. (Alma 20:50–51; LDS 43:45–46)

In other words, one should turn the other cheek twice, but on the third offense, one may retaliate. This instruction keeps the letter of the Sermon on the Mount but not the spirit of it.

A few chapters earlier in Alma, however, tell another story of some Lamanites who were responsive to the missionary work of Nephites Ammon and Aaron. After being initially imprisoned for preaching, Ammon and Aaron were released and found favor with both King Lamoni and his people. Many Lamanites were converted. One fruit of this conversion was that they buried their weapons of war and "covenant[ed] with God, that rather than shed the blood of their brethren they would give up their own lives" (Alma 14:44; LDS 24:18). Shortly afterward, this resolve was put to the test by fellow Lamanites who resented their conversion and began to attack them. The converted Lamanites prostrated themselves on the ground and prayed, offering no resistance at all. One thousand and five were killed, but the slaying Lamanites could not continue in the face of such pacificism. They threw down their weapons and over a thousand were converted (Alma 14:48–54; LDS 24:20–26). Ammon later declared:

> Now, behold, I say to you, Has there been so great love in all the land? Behold I tell you, There has not, even among the Nephites. For behold, they would take up arms against their brethren; they would not suffer themselves to be slain. (Alma 14:119–121; LDS 26:33–34)

Thus, within a few chapters of Alma, nonresistance confronts just war, early Christian Tertullian challenges St. Augustine, Anabaptism/Quakerism confronts Puritanism, and early Pennsylvania questions the rest of the young republic. How is this tension resolved?

With the coming of the crucified and resurrected Jesus, the narrative passes from "Old Testament" to "New Testament," from the law of Moses to first-hand experience of Jesus, including physically touching him. The first teaching of Jesus includes a reworked but still fully radical Matthean Sermon on the Mount, including the concepts of nonresistance and loving one's enemies (III Nephi 5:84–85, 89–92; LDS 12:38–39, 43–48). The Sermon on the Mount has been part of the inner canon of both Mennonites and Quakers from the beginning. Latter Day Saints have it twice in their canon of scripture.

In an account with clear echoes of Acts 2, the response of the people is, for over two hundred years, to live in peace and hold all things common through repentant, faithful lives empowered by the Holy Ghost. This idyll is portrayed as normative Christianity, made possible because of the "love of God which dwelt in the hearts of the people" (IV Nephi 1:17; LDS 1:15). As previously noted, Hutterians are the communal expression of Anabaptism, and no Hutterian community could be pictured as more fulfilled than in IV Nephi. There are also echoes here of the Quaker Holy Experiment in Pennsylvania, where pacifists ran a colony for nearly eighty years, from the 1680s to 1756. When this golden age of the Nephites begins to dissolve, with the less righteous persecuting the faithful remnant, nonresistance still operates: "And they smote the people of Jesus; but the people of Jesus did not smite again" (IV Nephi 1:37; LDS 1:34).

As the fall continues and apostasy deepens, violence and inequality increase in the Book of Mormon. The story is then told of Mormon, abridger of the thousand-year record, who serves his people as a general. A parallel to the Constantine/Augustine shift is played out with tragic results. At one point, Mormon obeyed an implicit just war ethic, refusing to continue as military leader because of his army's atrocities (Mormon 1:76–81; LDS 3:11–16). Then as the tragedy deepened, Mormon goes back to help them, although it is without hope (Mormon 2:25–27; LDS Mormon 4:23–5:2). In the end, he and his people were completely destroyed, except for his son Moroni, as guardian of the plates and the historian (Mormon 2:26–4:4; LDS 5:1–8:4).

During the years before his own death, Moroni added another history to the violent tragedy of his people. This account was of the Jaredites, an earlier group who had migrated to the Americas 3,000–2,000 B.C. Completely misplaced chronologically, it appears that Moroni added the Jaredite story as an appendix to reinforce the theme of destructive vio-

lence by an unrepentant, disbelieving people. Despite prophetic warnings, the Jaredite civilization ended with even greater tragedy—the destruction of both sides (Ether 5-6; LDS 12-15).

Thus, the golden age of the Nephites in IV Nephi is a positive utopian story followed immediately by two accounts of negative utopias in Mormon and Ether. The message is clear: Live according to the words of Christ and you will be blessed by equality and peace. Refuse the words of Christ and you will destroy yourselves through a descent into violence. This conclusion has chilling prophetic relevance today. The Book of Mormon ends with a radical critique of the myth of redemptive violence and the spiral of violence it engenders. In the end, the terrible destructiveness of the sword is fully revealed. Whether Mormon is a genuine historical personage or a literary cover for Joseph Smith Jr., the result is the same.

Finally, from the preface onward, the Book of Mormon consistently speaks up for both Jews and native peoples. Both are God's people who are to be blessed by the Gentiles, not cursed or hated, for "I, the Lord have not forgotten my people" (II Nephi 12:47-52; LDS 29:4-5). The Gentiles cannot be superior; their Christianity is also fallen, and they stand in equal need of restoration. Jews, Gentiles, and native peoples will all be saved together by the mighty acts of God, and they will learn from each other. There is thus no support for genocide in the Book of Mormon. It is a pro-Semitic, pro-native-people book.

Mutual Aid and Community

Both Anabaptism and the Book of Mormon see the covenant of baptism with vertical and horizontal dimensions. The believer covenants with brothers, sisters, and with God. The baptismal challenge of Alma cited earlier begins: "If you are desirous to come into the fold of God and to be called his people, and are willing to bear one another's burdens that they may be light, and are willing to mourn with those that mourn, and comfort those that stand in need of comfort" (Mosiah 9:39-40; LDS 18:8-9).

Many passages speak of mutual aid and concern for the poor. For example, Alma alludes to them in remarks following the baptisms in the wilderness:

> Again, Alma commanded that the people of the church should impart of their substance, everyone according to that which he had. If he had more abundantly, he should impart more abundantly; and of him that had but little, but little should be required; and to him that had not should be

> given. Thus they should impart of their substance of their own free will and good desires towards God . . . to every needy, naked soul. (Mosiah 9:60–62; LDS 18:27–28)

Religion that betrays the poor is also condemned, especially priestcraft—paid clergy who prosper, ignore the poor, and do not teach the gospel fully (II Nephi 11:90–91, 106–113; LDS 26:20, 29–33). Rather, those who serve as ministers should humbly labor with their own hands (Mosiah 9:59; LDS 18:26). There is also a clear warning against encroaching capitalism and individualism. The teaching that "every man prospered according to his genius and every man conquered according to his strength" is condemned (Alma 16:18; LDS 30:17).

The climax of the Book of Mormon, the already mentioned golden age, begins with the inauguration of all things in common:

> And as many as came . . . and truly repented of their sins were baptized in the name of Jesus; and they also received the Holy Ghost . . . and there were no contentions and disputations among them, and every man dealt justly with one another. And they had all things common among them, therefore they were not rich and poor, bond and free, but they were all made free and partakers of the heavenly gift. (IV Nephi 1:2–4; LDS 1:1–3)

Here is a reworking of Acts 2 in a New World setting. This utopian state lasts for nearly two hundred years, which suggests that it is normative Christianity. As historian Nathan Hatch of Notre Dame University argues, the Book of Mormon "is a document of profound social protest, an impassioned manifesto by a hostile outsider against the smug complacency of those in power and the reality of social distinctions based on wealth, class, and education."[25] There is no ambiguity anywhere in the Book of Mormon about economic justice. It is essential for any real peace.

Salvation, Grace, and Works

The Book of Mormon is thoroughly Arminian: Christ's atonement enables all humans to be "free to choose liberty and eternal life through the great mediation of all men, or to choose captivity and death, according

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25. Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989), 115–16. For a comparison of IV Nephi with Acts 2, see Andrew Bolton, "Realized and Fallen Zion: A Look at the Nineteenth-Century Context of IV Nephi," in *Theologies of Scripture*, eds. Don H. Compier and Shandra Newcom-Wolsey (Independence, MO: Graceland Press, 2002), 54–70.

to the captivity and power of the devil" (II Nephi 1:120; LDS 2:27). Justification is dependent entirely on the unmerited love of God through the atonement of Christ whose "mercy . . . overpowers justice and brings about means to men that they may have faith unto repentance" (Alma 16:216; LDS 34:15). Sanctification, however, requires both grace and works:

> Come to Christ, and be perfected in him, and deny yourselves of all ungodliness, and if you shall deny yourselves of all ungodliness, and love God with all your might, mind and strength, then is his grace sufficient for you, that by his grace you may be perfect in Christ. (Moroni 10:29; LDS 10:32)

Keeping the Commandments of Jesus

Richard Hughes points out that early Anabaptist leaders Dirk Philips and Balthasar Hubmaier stressed the importance of keeping the commandments of God.[26] For instance, Philips stated that one of the ordinances "which Christ has instituted for his congregation is the keeping of all his commandments."[27] This understanding is based on Jesus's words in the Great Commission to teach the newly made and newly baptized disciples "to obey every thing that I have commanded you" (Matt. 28:20). A similar emphasis on keeping the commandments of God is found in the Book of Mormon. For example, Abinadi at his trial argues for the importance of keeping the commandments and restates the Decalogue to his accusers, asking if they have taught and kept it (Mosiah 7:94–8:2; LDS 12:33–13:26). Also, Alma says in counsel to his son Shiblon that "inasmuch as you shall keep the commandments of God you shall prosper in the land" (Alma 18:1; LDS 36:1). The communion prayer on the bread states that disciples promise among other things to keep Christ's commandments, "that they may always have his Spirit" (Moroni 4:4; LDS 4:3). There is no antinomianism in the early mainstream of either tradition; the fruit of genuine faith is the fulfillment of the moral law of the kingdom.

Church Order and Discipline

Church discipline, a key Anabaptist practice, was also practiced among the baptized in the Book of Mormon (Alma 4:3–4; LDS 6:3–4). At the end of the Book of Mormon, Moroni 2–6 provides clear guidelines for

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26. Hughes, "Comparison of the Restitution Motifs," 320.
27. Philips, "The Church of God," in ibid., 230.

the ordination of elders, priests, and teachers, for the prayers of blessing on the bread and wine for communion, and for faith and repentance leading to baptism. The church is to meet often. Of church discipline, the following is written:

> They were strict to observe that there should be no iniquity among them; and whoever was found to commit iniquity, and three witnesses of the church condemned him before the elders, and if they repented not and confessed not, their names were blotted out, and they were not numbered among the people of Christ; but as often as they repented and sought forgiveness with real intent, they were forgiven. (Moroni 6:7–8; LDS same)

The Significance of Anabaptist Themes

Believer's baptism means that birth in one's nation is not the final loyalty. Patriotism is not enough; the freely chosen international fellowship of those who follow Jesus is the ultimate commitment of those reborn of water and spirit. Mutual aid should be given in the spirit of Acts 2, a cooperative sharing so that no one is in need. Justification by grace reminds us that God loves us even when we are God's enemies. Sanctification through grace and works indicates the importance of full conversion, of being remade in the pattern of Jesus. To this end, taking seriously the commandments of Jesus and church discipline is important. The abandonment of the sword, of violence, is perhaps a critical test of genuine conversion, the true measure of an authentic follower of the crucified Christ.

CONCLUSION

Is the Book of Mormon a Latter Day Anabaptist text? An initial survey suggests it might be, although it would be helpful to have sympathetic Mennonite scholars make their own judgments after studying the text. I have argued that clear Anabaptist themes appear in the Book of Mormon, set in an idealized projection of radical left-wing Protestantism in an ancient American story spanning a thousand years. Whether the Book of Mormon is read as genuine ancient history or as a mythical parable with an early nineteenth-century context and authorship, its story enables the seeker to imagine a new kind of future—the peaceable kingdom of God on earth through faith in Christ and acting on the Sermon on the Mount. Hope for a new world begins through inspired imagination of its possibility. The Book of Mormon story is arguably a sacrament for the

coming of the kingdom of God here and now, through faith in Christ and repentance from the fallen systems of this world.

The Book of Mormon could also be characterized as the prophetic peak of Joseph Smith's ministry; he was just twenty-four years old when it was published in March, a few days before the organization of the Church on April 6, 1830. Initially Smith seemed to follow its teachings, along with those of the New Testament, by responding to violence through turning the other cheek. His followers imitated his example. Tragically, Joseph descended into a legitimation of violence from 1833 forward.[28] Campbellite preacher Sidney Rigdon joined Smith in 1830, becoming a close associate. Rigdon brought with him a strong restitutionism and the example of Alexander Campbell, who was a convinced pacifist from his New Testament primitivism.[29] Rigdon could have decisively reinforced Smith's initial pacifism, but he became a bellicose advocate of justified violence in response to Latter Day Saint persecution, perhaps because his own treatment at the hands of the mob debilitated an already unstable mind.[30] Along with Rigdon, Jesse Gause was also ordained Smith's counselor on March 8, 1832. Gause, ten years Rigdon's senior, had been a convinced Quaker for twenty-three years and a Shaker for three years before joining the Latter Day Saints. Perhaps his influence would have supported Smith's and Rigdon's initial

28. LeSueur, *The 1838 Mormon War in Missouri*. Quinn, "National Culture, Personality, and Theocracy," does an excellent job of tracing Smith's journey of pacifism and violence in its early nineteenth-century cultural context.

29. Lunger, *Political Ethics of Alexander Campbell*, chaps. 1, 2, 15. See also David Edwin Harrell Jr., *Quest for a Christian America: The Disciples of Christ and American Society to 1866* (Nashville, TN: Disciples of Christ Historical Society, 1966), chap. 5; and Alexander Campbell's *Popular Lectures and Addresses: No. XV (1886) Address on War*, downloaded October 2003 from www.mun.ca.rels/restmov/texts/acampbell/pla/PLA15.htm.

30. Rigdon's mental stability was not helped by a fall as a seven-year-old from a horse or when he was dragged by his heels by a Campbellite mob over frozen ground on the night of March 24, 1832 in Kirtland, Ohio, before being tarred and feathered. Smith had the same treatment but was not badly hurt. Rigdon took several days to recover. Richard S. Van Wagoner, *Sidney Rigdon: A Portrait of Religious Excess* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1994), 115–16.

pacifism through later and more difficult provocations, but by December 1832, Gause had left the Church.[31]

Smith is in the tradition of sixteenth-century Anabaptist Melchior Hoffman, a last-days' visionary, dreamer, and publisher of extrabiblical prophecy. Hoffman opened the door for Jan Matthijs, Jan Van Leiden, and Bernhard Rothman, who in Muenster, 1534–35, turned to the Old Testament to justify both sword and polygamy.[32] In a strikingly unfortunate parallel in Nauvoo, Smith was able to justify in the early 1840s a five thousand-man armed militia and the secret practice of polygamy, although polygamy is condemned three times in the Book of Mormon (Jacob 2:33–38, 55–56; LDS 2:24–29, 3:5–6; Mosiah 7:1–10; LDS 11:1–7; Ether 4:48; LDS 10:5). Militarism can indeed lead to more extreme forms of patriarchy, and women are the ones who are threatened and suffer the most from violence.

The struggle between nonresistance and just war, early Quaker Pennsylvania and the revolutionary republic, was clearly in the soul of young Joseph as he wrote/translated the Book of Mormon. In the Book of Mormon narrative, Jesus wins, but the myth of redemptive violence was not fully vanquished in Joseph's heart. In the end, Smith was first of all American rather than Anabaptist, and his violent response to the violence of his culture finally captured him in Nauvoo, the Mormon Latter Day Muenster. His assassination on June 27, 1844, was a sad but perhaps inevitable end. Those who live by the sword shall indeed die by the sword (Matt. 26:52). Though Smith saw the promised land of nonviolent Zion, like Moses he could not live in it. Moses was still caught by Egypt, and Smith was still caught by his violent American culture.

For new generations there are new possibilities, including the peace church option. Paralleling Menno Simons, Joseph Smith III, son of the Prophet, led the Reorganization in a moderate, nonmilitant Latter Day Saintism that today has evolved into a movement with a new name, Community of Christ. The Community of Christ seeks to be an international, multiracial people who continue to affirm the equality of women and who now more intentionally seek to pursue peace, reconciliation, and healing of the spirit. Some want the Community of Christ to repentantly

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31. D. Michael Quinn, "Jesse Gause: Joseph Smith's Little-Known Counselor," *BYU Studies* 4 (Fall 1983): 487–93.

32. Synder, *Anabaptist History and Theology*, 165–72.

join the historic peace churches. Others, perhaps caught by the myth of redemptive violence clothed in patriotism, are resistant.[33] Yet Anabaptist themes in the founding scripture of the Book of Mormon may still help all Latter Day Saints more fully find the way of Jesus. After all, Jesus is portrayed in its pages preaching the Matthean Sermon on the Mount with nearly two hundred years of peace and equity as the result. The fact that the Sermon on the Mount appears twice in our expanded canon of scriptures means that Latter Day Saints should take it twice as seriously as other Christians. Finally, continuing dialogue between Mennonites and Latter Day Saints might help draw us toward a more courageously nonviolent pursuit of justice in the light of the cross. Restorationism is not a set of final conclusions drawn in the nineteenth century; it is rather a method of always returning to Jesus of Nazareth. The peace church option is still before us.

33. I argue for using the peace churches as an example of what the Community of Christ should become, while Scott Jobe argues from a U.S. military career perspective. See Bolton, "Learning from Anabaptism"; Bolton, "Developing a Theology of Peace: Tough Questions and Hard Decisions," and Scott A. Jobe, "United States Military Chaplaincy: A Peaceful Vocation with RLDS Historical/Theological Precedents," all in Joni Wilson and Ruth Ann Woods, eds., *Restoration Studies* VII (Independence, MO: Herald House, 1998), 13–19, 47–59. See also Scott A. Jobe, "A Church That Pursues Peace: Learning to Support Those with Different Ideas of Peace," *Saints Herald* (March 1997): 102–103. For a text which promotes discussion over five possible positions on war and peace within the Christian and Community of Christ traditions, see David Anderson and Andrew Bolton, *Military Service, Pacifism, and Discipleship: A Diversity of Callings?* (Independence, MO: Herald House, 2003).

Rooted in Christian Hope: The Case for Pacifism

Richard Sherlock

AS A PACIFIST FOR MY ENTIRE ADULT LIFE, I find the DIALOGUE call for papers too inviting to ignore. During the Vietnam War thirty-five years ago, I came to grips with what pacifism requires of its adherents. I found the prospect of killing other human beings so offensive that I was prepared to go to Canada, if necessary, to avoid the draft, a plan in which my parents supported me. Fortunately, my draft board accepted my application for the status of conscientious objector, and I was not obliged to emigrate.

I first began thinking about the implications of war during college. This was the early Vietnam War era, and it was impossible to avoid the question, even though many tried. I studied that war specifically, but my studies brought me to consider the morality of war itself. After reading the Sermon on the Mount countless times and praying for guidance each time, I concluded that all war was wrong, a conclusion confirmed for me by spiritual witness.

I hope to defend my pacifism in the following essay. I will place pacifism in the long tradition of Christian thinking about war, distinguish it from alternatives, and offer three lines of reasoning which in my view lead to pacifistic convictions. I believe that pacifism is more coherent and morally and politically superior to its alternatives.

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In his classic review of Christian thinking about war, Roland Bainton argued that there are three fundamental approaches to war in the Christian tradition.[1]

The first and most troubling is the crusade. In the crusade, Christians used armed force to advance religious or national goals. Second is the just war. In this approach, Christians accept the tragic necessity of war to protect the innocent but try hard to limit both the number of times armed force is used and the violence resulting from its use. The final position is that of the pacifist who rejects war, and especially Christian participation in armed struggle or, as the Anabaptist tradition calls it, "the sword."

Bainton's review is historically accurate, but moral theology or theological ethics has always found the crusade almost impossible to justify. As Bainton shows, even medieval crusaders themselves called their crusades a just war. Hence, in this essay I will bypass the crusade and concentrate on just war and pacifism.

JUST WAR

Just war theory has a long and honorable tradition that includes such late patristic sources as Augustine and such modern concepts as the law of war and limited war.[2] The essential insight is that, while Jesus commanded Christians not to do violence to others, even as a response to violence, he also commanded Christians to love their neighbor uncondition-

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1. Roland Bainton, *Christian Attitudes towards War and Peace: A Historical Survey and Critical Re-evaluation* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1960). Bainton is the best place to start for the history of Christian thinking. Also useful for pacifistic thought is Geoffrey Nuttall, *Christian Pacifism in History* (Oxford: Blackwell Press, 1958). Also important are three works by Peter Brock of the University of Toronto. Brock is especially good on nonreligious pacifism, such as the militant atheist Bertrand Russell exemplified in the twentieth century. See his *Freedom from War: Non-Sectarian Pacifism from 1814–1914* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1991); *Non-Sectarian Pacifism from the Middle Ages to the Great War* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1991); *Pacifism in the United States from the Colonial Era to the First World War* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1968).

2. Still useful is C. J. Cadoux, *The Early Christian Attitude Toward War* (London: Headly Publishers, 1919). The doctrine's development in the Middle Ages is carefully detailed in Fredrick Russell, *The Just War in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge:

ally. Just war theorists hold that, while force in defense of self may never be acceptable, love of others may require force to protect them. For ourselves, we must turn the other cheek, but we are never commanded to turn someone else's cheek. The defense of the weak and the innocent may require more than not turning the cheek.

The use of the sword, however, must be limited by theological and moral commitments lest it degenerate into revenge and lust. As the just war tradition evolved in modern times, especially in the hands of early modern Spanish Jesuits Suarez and Vittoria and Dutch theorist Hugo Grotius, a series of principles developed about (1) the justice of going to war, *jus ad bellum*, and (2) the justice of how a war is fought, *jus in bello*. The first question asks whether fighting a particular war, e.g., Vietnam, is just. The second asks whether a particular way of fighting a war, e.g., mass bombing of cities, is morally permissible.

The first test, *jus ad bello*, requires us to pass a fairly precise series of tests to show that in a specific case we are justified in going to war. These conditions are:

1. There must be a just cause, primarily self-defense or defense of the innocents.

2. The war must be a last resort to achieve the just end.

3. The war must be proclaimed by the highest legal authority (in the United States the president and Congress).

4. There must be a clear announcement of the intention to use force.

5. There must be a reasonable hope for victory.

6. A nation must act with just intent.

Of these principles, the easiest for us to violate are the second and sixth. There are many ways to achieve a just result without going to war. In the first flush of war hysteria, it is very easy to overlook such alternatives as economic blockades, intrusive inspections, civil disobedience, etc. "Last resort" does not require active consideration of every conceivable alternative; but when a nation ignores obviously plausible alternatives or fails to show why they will not work, then such a war cannot be just. Consider the use of nuclear weapons on Japan. The claim is that more people, primarily

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Cambridge University Press, 1975). Also see Joan Tuck, *The Just War in Aquinas and Grotius* (London: SPCK, 1965).

Americans, would have died in an invasion. But why did we need to invade? Because in a moment of braggadocio, we had declared that our aim was unconditional surrender. There are, however, two things wrong with this position, even in just war terms. The first is the injustice of the aim of unconditional surrender which will require an invasion that will kill hundreds of thousands or the use of nuclear weapons that will do the same. In either case, the stated aim will cause an immoral use of weapons unless the use of weapons is so inadequate that it violates the principle that a just war must have a reasonable hope for victory. The second is the failure to use other means of containment against Japan such as a blockade. A blockade would have taken longer. But hundreds of thousands of innocent civilians would not have paid for our folly with their lives.

The second great question of the just war tradition, the moral means of fighting a war, can be viewed generally as involving two principles: (1) noncombatant immunity and (2) proportionality. The first principle holds that one may not intentionally target innocent civilians. If the reason for war in the first place is the protection of innocent lives, then such targeting would be contradictory. In broad terms, one may never use weapons (e.g., strategic nuclear devices) or means of war (e.g., mass obliteration bombing), knowing beforehand that this method will kill large numbers of innocent civilians. The best contemporary just war theorists have thus concluded that using strategic nuclear weapons, such as the strategic deterrent initially aimed at the Soviet Union, inevitably entails the intention of killing hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of civilians.[3] Hence, using such weapons would be absolutely forbidden by just war theory. At the end of World War II, President J. Reuben Clark Jr. gave eloquent, if angry, voice to the view that the use of nuclear weapons was immoral and a violation of the just war tradition:

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3. Of the enormous literature on this topic, the two sides are best represented by William V. O'Brien, *The Conduct of Just and Limited War* (New York: Prager, 1982) and John Finnis, Joseph Boyle, and Germain Grisez, *Nuclear Deterrence, Morality, and Realism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987). When confronted with a conflict between proportionality and noncombatant immunity, O'Brien holds for proportionality, thus arguing that the preservation of life and liberty may sometimes permit the use of strategic nuclear weapons. For Finnis, Boyle, and Grisez, the intentional killing of innocent citizens can never be tolerated as one of the outcomes because it is inherently contradictory to the position that using the weapons is a means of preserving the life and liberty of the inno-

> Then as the crowning savagery of war, we as Americans wiped out hundreds of thousands of civilian population with the atom bomb in Japan, few if any of the ordinary civilians being any more responsible for the war than were we and perhaps no more aiding Japan in the war than we were aiding America. Military men are now saying that the atom bomb was a mistake. It was more than that: it was a world tragedy. Thus we have lost all that we have gained during the years from Grotius to 1912. And the worst of the atomic bomb tragedy is not that not only did the people of the United States not rise up in protest against this savagery, not only did it not shock us to read of this wholesale destruction of men, women and children, and cripples, but that it actually drew from the nation at large approval of this fiendish butchery.[4]

The second *jus in bello* principle is that of proportionality. In general, this is a sort of utility or cost-benefit form of analysis. It requires that the good expected from the use of armed force must strongly outweigh the evil that will result as well. Lives will be lost from enemy fire, from friendly fire, and from collateral damage to civilians. The judgment must be that the defense of the lives and liberty of innocent people outweighs the inevitable and tragic damage.

PACIFISM

Christian pacifism also has a distinguished and honorable history. Historically it is associated with a number of groups coming out of what George Hunston Williams has called "the radical reformation," such as the Anabaptists (e.g., Mennonite, Amish, Brethren) and later the Quakers.[5] Documents as early as the 1528 Swiss-German Anabaptist *Schleitheim Confession of Faith* articulate a completely pacifistic position, but the core text of Christian Anabaptism is the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. 5–7; Luke 6:20–49; 3 Ne. 12). Pacifists claim that, for Christians, this sermon is the normative statement of how to live and that this vision is em-

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cent. It always violates the principle that we may never directly intend the deaths of innocent civilians.

4. J. Reuben Clark, Jr., "Demand for the Proper Respect for Human Life," *Improvement Era,* November 1946, 689.

5. George Huntston Williams, *The Radical Reformation* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1962).; James Stayer, *Anabaptists and the Sword* (Lawrence, KS: Coronado Press, 1985); Adrian Davies, *The Quakers in English Society, 1655–1725* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Hugh Barbour and J. William Frost, *The Quakers* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1988).

bodied in the Savior's life. How can one possibly square war, especially modern war, with this template of what human existence should be? Just war thinkers argue that, given the way the world is, war is a tragic necessity. But why should the moral life of Christians be determined by the mores of a corrupt world? Shouldn't our moral teacher be Jesus Christ, not Hobbes and Machiavelli? For example, consider the great American Protestant moralist and defender of just war, Reinhold Neibuhr.[6] The fact that, at the height of his influence, Neibuhr found common cause with balance-of-power thinkers like Secretary of State Dean Acheson and relativistic Machiavellians like Hans Morgenthau (who called Neibuhr his "Rabbi") is a telling reminder of the dangers which Christian pacifists see from playing with "the sword."

Though Christian pacifists agree in opposing war, they reach that conclusion by two very different theological traditions. The first tradition, largely Anabaptist, stresses human sinfulness and our quickness to impulse, anger, and selfishness. Given this emotional make- up, human beings will inevitably use war as a means of domination and revenge. Christians are called to resist war because, given our sinful nature apart from God, only evil can result.[7]

The other position, with its roots in Quakerism, stresses an optimis-

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6. Known as "realism," Neibuhr's view was the classic just war position: justice sometimes requires force, and without justice as a foundation, love is impossible. Three of Neibuhr's books focus on this problem: *Moral Man and Immoral Society* (New York: Scribners, 1932), *Christianity and Power Politics* (New York: Scribners, 1940), and *Christian Realism and Political Problems* (New York: Scribners, 1953). Though Neibuhr laid out the theological grounds for pacifism, he did not systematically develop a just war theory.

7. A leading twentieth-century pacificist theologian is John Howard Yoder, a Mennonite. Three of his works are indispensable: *The Politics of Jesus*, 2d ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1994); *Varieties of Christian Pacifism* (Scottdale, PN: Herald Press, 1992); *When War Is Unjust* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2001). In some ways, Yoder is a moderate who holds that, while pacifism is required of Christians, other principles of just war may apply to the state. See also Guy Hershberger, *War, Pacifism, and Non-Resistance* (Scottdale, PN: Herald Press, 1952); Jean Lasserre, *War and the Gospel*, trans. Oliver Couburn (Scottdale, PN: Herald Press, 1962); and Stanley Hauerwas, *A Peaceable Kingdom* (Notre Dame, IN: Notre Dame University Press, 1982). Hauerwas, a notable Protestant theologian, fiercely defended pacifism even after 9/11.

tic view of human nature in which each human being carries the "light of Christ."[8]

If people will follow this light, they can live lives of peace and righteousness, avoiding the very impulses toward domination that lead to war. Modern theories for the use of civil disobedience, such as Catholic pacifist Gene Sharp's theories of "non-violent national defense," are largely rooted in this tradition. Also important is the work of the American Friends Service Committee, rooted in the Quaker tradition, which provides alternatives to war for current political problems.

THE ANALYTICAL CASE FOR PACIFISM

The case for a truly Christian pacifism is at once analytical, theological, and political. There is a school of nonreligious pacifism, but I am not describing it here because I believe, like the great moral philosopher Immanuel Kant, that pacifism ultimately has to employ religious faith to make it work. The analytical, theological, and political cases are interconnected in that they all lead to a profound conclusion: oppose all war. In my view, you can't have one approach alone. They work together or not at all.

The first inquiry, the analytical, points to problems and contradictions in just war theory. Just war theory involves a deep and fundamental contradiction. On the one hand, its theorists assert that human beings are so corrupt and prone to injustice that resorting to armed force is sometimes necessary. Yet these same flawed human beings are so capable of enlightenment that they can follow a relatively detailed list of moral principles relating to the prosecution of war. The tension is inevitably too much. The system breaks down. If human beings really are corrupt, then "just war" is impossible and all is permitted. If, on the contrary, we are capable of following a spiritual light, then war is never really necessary. Other alternatives can always be found. What actually happens is that just

8. See the American Friends Service Committee, *In Place of War* (New York: Grossman, 1968); Meridith Weeddle, *Working the Way of Peace* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001). Quaker pacifism is part of a larger theological position. For this broader context, see William Cooper, *A Living Faith* (Richmond, IN: Friends United Press, 2001); Rufus Jones, *The Faith and Practice of the Quakers* (Richmond, IN: Friends United Press, 2001); and D. Elton Trueblood, *The People Called Quakers* (New York: Harper and Row, 1966). Trueblood, however, was not strictly a pacifist.

war theory is used as a patina of respectability covering resorting to war for virtually any reason using any means. When the question is asked how much just war justifies, the answer ultimately is everything. In Eric Burdon's famous song from 1968, the "Sky Pilot" blesses every war and thus condemns none.

This contradiction is most obviously in evidence in the U.S. war with Iraq. The Bush administration argued that the Iraqi regime presented a direct (though not immediate) threat to America because of its possession of chemical and biological weapons and its continuing attempts to acquire nuclear weapons. According to the United States and the United Kingdom, Saddam Hussein was prepared to use these weapons against Western targets and to give them to other terrorist groups. Thus, he had to be stopped.

For just war theorists, this should have been an easy call. As former President Jimmy Carter argued quite elegantly, the last-resort criterion simply had not been met. When the war began, only a couple of hundred inspectors were on the ground in Iraq. Had we even thought of using several thousand inspectors based at multiple sites around the country? Could these inspectors have been backed up by outside armed forces (which just war theorists would certainly approve of) taking them where they wanted to go? Perhaps Saddam Hussein would not have allowed that many inspectors or would have rejected an armed escort. The point, however, was that such a plausible alternative as a much greater number of inspectors was not tried. Was there any evidence that such a move would not have prevented Saddam from using or giving away biological or chemical weapons? The plain answer is no.

In March 2003, President Bush dismissed the pleas of Pope John Paul II and papal representative Pio Laghi for "another way" with the curt response that all other ways had been tried and failed. He was both unenlightened about the idea of just war and simply wrong, or worse, about what had been tried. Some just war theorists have failed to condemn the war in Iraq just as some in the 1980s failed to condemn strategic nuclear weapons, thus violating the minimum requirements of their own theory. In effect, their theory cannot condemn anything, permits everything, and provides no effective moral guidance.

THE THEOLOGICAL CASE FOR PACIFISM

The theological case for pacifism is obvious to anyone who reads the

four Gospels, while a case for armed force must be drawn from tortured readings of the text. Defenders of just war like the late Protestant theologian Paul Ramsey cite Augustine because they cannot very well find what they want from Jesus himself.[9] The Sermon on the Mount is the foundation of Christian moral life. The version in Matthew calls the peacemakers "blessed"; Jesus promises that they will be called "the sons of God." As I read it, Christians are called to lives of peace and nonviolence without exception and without any exemptions that would permit war. Returning evil for evil is forbidden: "anyone who is angry with his brother will be subject to judgment" (Matt 5:22, NIV). The King James translation reads: "Whosoever is angry with his brother without cause shall be in danger of the judgment." But intriguingly, the text in 3 Nephi 12:22 reads like the NIV: "whosoever is angry with his brother shall be in danger of his judgment." (The previous verse makes it clear that "his judgment" refers to God, not to the brother: "whosoever shall kill shall be in danger of the judgment of God," v. 22). There is no caveat, no exceptions. Jesus forbids his followers to manifest anger in action. Christians may not return evil for evil, violence for violence. We are called to return peace for violence. If we are struck, we may not strike back. We must return love for hate, peace for violence. We are people of peace. In Stanley Hauerwas's phrase and the title of his book, we are a "peaceable kingdom," at odds with the violence of the world.

The 3 Nephi version of the Sermon on the Mount does not alter these commands. Anger, violence, and revenge are still forbidden to Christ's followers. Love not hate, peace not violence, is still the command of Jesus to those who would be his.

I believe that Doctrine and Covenants 98 similarly commands us to be men and women of peace, not war. It counsels us to "renounce war and proclaim peace" (98:16). The Lord further instructs us to "bear patiently" (v. 24) violence done to us. When men "smite" us, "revile not against them" (v. 25). When an enemy is delivered "into thine hands," we are counseled to spare him and "thou shalt be rewarded for thy righteousness" (vv. 29-30). The Lord reminds the Saints: "This is the law that I gave unto mine ancients that they should not go out unto battle . . . save I the

9. Paul Ramsey, *War and the Christian Conscience* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1961) and *The Just War* (New York: Scribners, 1968) are masterpieces that repay close study.

Lord commanded them" (v. 33). The Lord then amplifies the point. The Saints are to offer peace to any opponent three times. If these entreaties fail, then they should bring these testimonies before the Lord who will "fight their battles" (98:37). Combined with the explicit teaching of the Sermon on the Mount from the Bible and the Book of Mormon, I believe that the conclusion is clear: as a community of faith, we should reject war in its entirety.

The Book of Mormon is filled with other strong scriptural resources for pacifism. Alma 24 recounts the story of converted Lamanites who were so repentant of the murders they had committed in war that they foreswore war, buried their swords "deep in the earth," and refused to fight even in self-defense. Over a thousand were killed. Their example of the pure love of God and true peace so touched the attacking Lamanites that these too eventually threw down their weapons and "would not take them again" (Alma 24:25). The simple act of returning love for violence had changed the hearts of the attackers. About eighty years after this, Samuel the Lamanite prophet cited them as an example of how we should live: "For behold they will suffer themselves that they be trodden down and slain by their enemies and will not lift their swords against them and this because of their faith in Christ" (Hel. 15:9).

There are many modern statements against war by LDS leaders and writers from Brigham Young to Hugh Nibley. Their review is not required here. But one official statement is crucially important, the 1946 First Presidency statement opposing the first peacetime draft in American history, made during the national debate that preceded the passing of the Uniform Military Training and Service Act of 1947. They sent it as a letter to all members of Congress from Utah, and it also appeared in the *Improvement Era.*

The First Presidency, then consisting of George Albert Smith, J. Reuben Clark, and David O. McKay, begins by noting that a draft "carries with it the gravest dangers to our republic." They explained: "We shall put them (i.e., young men) where they may be indoctrinated with a wholly un-American view of the aims and purposes of individual lives and the life of the whole people and nation which are founded on the ways of peace, whereas they will be taught to believe in the ways of war." I submit that the conclusion is clear. We will teach "our sons not only the way to kill but also in too many cases the desire to kill." Such training flatly contradicts

God's moral order. Our brothers will be killers and our sisters will be widows.

Furthermore, "by the creation of a great war machine," conscription and a large standing army constitute a grave threat to our liberty. Standing armies "have always been the tools of ambitious dictators to the destruction of freedom. . . . We shall make of the whole earth one great military camp whose separate armies, headed by war-minded officers, will never rest till they are at one another's throats in what will be the most terrible contest the world has ever seen." The conclusion is clear: "What this country needs and what the world needs is a will for peace not war."[10]

This now largely forgotten statement is pregnant with meaning for all time. Any large standing army, whether made up of volunteers or conscripts, poses a threat to liberty. Any army teaches killing, not peace. The training of soldiers, not their manner of recruitment, is the crucial factor. The first Gulf War was waged to defend Saudi Arabia and liberate Kuwait. Take just the first aim. Our large standing army had to flex its muscle in defense of a regime hated by its own people, one which supports terrorism, oppresses women, and promotes a version of Islam that teaches hatred of the United States and virtually everything we stand for. Can this possibly be anything close to a just cause?

THE POLITICAL CASE FOR PACIFISM

The third line of argument opposing war, though political, is nonetheless eminently sound. War always increases the power of government over the lives of citizens. As Robert Higgs has shown in his foundational *Crisis and Leviathan* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), the crucial event in the growth of centralized government of the United States in the twentieth century was World War I. The New Deal of the 1930s pales in significance beside the threats to liberty deriving from that war. Those threats included centralized planning, economic controls, commandeering private property, conscripting citizens, and jailing war opponents like Roger Baldwin of the American Civil Liberties Union and Eugene Debs of the Socialist Party. World War I did not come close to meeting the just war criteria of last resort and just cause.

What happened to American liberties may be judged from the

10. *Improvement Era,* February 1946, 76–77.

memorable account British historian A. J. P. Taylor gave of his countrymen's liberties during that war:

> Until August 1914 a sensible, law-abiding Englishman could pass through life and hardly notice the existence of the state beyond the post office and the policemen. He could live where he liked and as he liked. He had no official number or identity card. He could travel abroad or leave his country without any passport or official permission. He could exchange his money for any currency without any restriction or limit. He could buy goods from any other country in the world on the same terms he bought goods at home. For that matter a foreigner could spend his life in this country without permit and without informing the police. Unlike the countries of the European continent the state did not require its citizens to perform military service. An Englishman could, if he chose, enlist in the regular army or navy or the territorials. He could also ignore, if he chose, the demands of national defense. Substantial householders were occasionally called upon for jury service. Otherwise only those helped the state who wished to do so. The Englishman paid taxes on a modest scale . . . rather less than 8 percent of national income. . . . Broadly speaking the state helped only those who could not help themselves. They left the adult citizen alone . . . .
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> All this was changed by the impact of the Great War. The mass of people became for the first time active citizens. Their lives were shaped by orders from above. They were required to serve the state rather than live their own affairs. Five million men entered the armed forces, many of them under compulsion. The Englishman's food was limited and its quality changed by government order. His freedom of movement was limited. His conditions of work were prescribed. Some industries were reduced or closed and some artificially fostered. The publication of news was fettered. Streetlights were dimmed. The sacred freedom of drinking was tampered with: licensed hours were cut down and the beer was watered by order. The state established a hold over its citizens which, though relaxed during peacetime, was never to be removed and which the Second World War was to increase.[11]

Robert Higgs shows the same loss of liberty occurring in the United States during World War I. Moreover, our current "war on terror" provides an immediate and stunning confirmation of that thesis. The Patriot Act gave the government enormous new powers to track citizens and foreigners who are living here, especially Arab and Muslim people, as if the present world population of 1.2 billion Muslims must be condemned to

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11. A. J. P. Taylor, *English History 1914–1945* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), 1–2.

suspicion on our shores by the action of nineteen of them on 9/11. We hold many without bail on mere suspicion, using the time honored statist technique of a material witness warrant. We have American citizens being held incommunicado on suspicion of being enemy combatants. Lawyers are being arrested for carrying messages from clients who are held in isolation. And finally the government is unwilling to let a defendant call witnesses whose testimony the government judges to be a threat to national security. It appears as though liberty must be sacrificed for its own protection. If patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel, national security is the last refuge of a statist. To sacrifice freedom for security soon means the loss of both.

CONCLUSION

Pacifism, in my view, fully accepts the reality of a world largely dominated by principalities and powers of the natural man. I am fully prepared to admit that, without God, human beings would create, not *Lord of the Rings,* but *Lord of the Flies,* or, even worse, *Heart of Darkness.* Kurtz, not Frodo, is the natural man. Which of the boys on William Golding's demented fantasy island would you trust to command an army or a police force? Would you want Simon or Ralph in their weakness (a scriptural meekness, perhaps) to protect you? Hardly. What you would want is strength. You would want to trust in the arm of the flesh to protect you. What you would get in return are the sadism and totalitarianism of Jack and Roger. William Golding's truth is scriptural. Man on his own—the natural man—is carnal, sensual, and devilish. We are our own enemies. Given more time, the Lord of the Flies will be replaced with Kurtz's human heads on stakes. Without God some of us will turn into Kurtz, and many of us will wind up on his stakes.

The grace of God can touch our hearts and transform us, but we remain incomplete souls, still prone to follow our erotic and vengeful passions, still limited in our knowledge, still struggling to live according to the command of love and the hope of Easter.

Christian pacifism is ultimately rooted in Christian hope. Absolute love of neighbor as embodied in the life of the Son of God is possible only because "he first loved us" (1 John 4:19) enough to die for us and be resurrected for us. It is precisely because our hope is not in vain that we may give our best efforts to live the life intended by God. Ours is the call to a life at odds with the ways of warriors and their masters. We know that the

Master would have it no other way, no matter how common war is. We do not pledge allegiance to anything except Jesus Christ and him crucified and risen on the third day.

Freedom is not free, but it is not to be purchased with the blood of our fellow human beings. To seek the destruction of others entangles us in a net of worldly power that restricts our freedom to those ways of life approved by the powers of this world. This is a poor and limited freedom. We might better seek the freedom experienced in the grace of God. If God loves all equally, even the weakest, the most criminal, or the most violent, can we aspire to anything less? War is always the problem, never the solution. To resort to war is a faithless act of desperation by those who have lost the hope of Easter. If "he is risen" (Matt. 28:6), why should we live lives that seem to assume that he is not?

Peace Psychology and Mormonism: A Broader Vision for Peace

Michael E. Nielsen

PSYCHOLOGISTS HAVE LONG BEEN INTERESTED in peace and conflicts, and have made important contributions to society's understandings of war and peace. A small but growing number of psychologists has become involved in the peace movement in many ways, ranging from educational efforts to acts of civil disobedience. In this article I describe points of intersection between peace psychology and Mormon culture and thought. While there are significant areas of consonance between peace psychologists and Latter-day Saints, the two are at opposite ends of the socio-political spectrum. Furthermore, the psychologist's assumption of relativism conflicts with the devout Mormon's assumption of ultimate truth found through God's true church, resulting in a series of conflicting positions on issues regarding peace. These fundamental differences illus-

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trate the broader context in which psychology and contemporary society may be at odds with LDS perspectives.[1]

For individual Mormons who seek consonance among various aspects of their lives, these differences can lead to dissonance. For the Church, these conflicts represent points of institutional choice in its assimilation with a broader culture increasingly steeped in humanistic values.[2]

Peace is often defined in terms of what it is not: Peace is the absence of war. Psychologists, however, are more likely to define peace in terms of what it is: Peace is the "presence of qualities, values and approaches in human relationships that build greater harmony."[3] By defining peace positively (what peace is) rather than negatively (what peace is not), we begin to see the basic assumption underlying psychology's approach to human welfare: Psychologists work to improve human conditions and to facilitate growth and development. Although some aspects of psychology focus on "basic" research with no immediate application to the world, psychologists generally strive to find areas in which basic findings can be applied to improve society. Indeed, the American Psychological Association (APA) bylaws state that psychologists have an obligation to promote human welfare.[4] To this end the APA and the American Psychological Society, the two largest organizations of psychologists in the United States, each devote substantial resources to projects such as child welfare, the treatment of disaster victims, and educating the public in matters of psychological science. In their stance on social issues, psychologists as a group reflect the more liberal portion of the ideological spectrum. Nowhere is this truer

1. For other recent examples, see Michael R. Ash, "The Mormon Myth of Evil Evolution," DIALOGUE 35, no. 4 (Winter 2002): 19–38; and Devyn M. Smith, "The Human Genome Project, Modern Biology, and Mormonism: A Viable Marriage?" DIALOGUE 35, no. 4 (Winter 2002): 61–71.

2. Although Mormonism and humanism are compatible in many ways, the Church's conservatism does much to counteract this trend. For a discussion of humanistic tendencies in Mormonism, see Sterling M. McMurrin, *The Theological Foundations of the Mormon Religion* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1965).

3. Steve Handwerker, n.d., "Peace Initiatives: A Preventive Approach," retrieved in October 2003 from http://www.aaets.org/arts/art81.htm.

4. APA Bylaws I.1, retrieved in October 2003 from http://www.apa.org/about/mission.html.

than in terms of peace psychology, which has working groups dedicated to such issues as feminism and peace, as well as environmental justice and protection.

Peace psychologists assume that it is difficult to justify settling conflicts by assault and that we must consider multiple levels of analysis to understand, remedy, and prevent war or other conflicts. Although they are not necessarily pacifists,[5] peace psychologists advocate nonviolence and conflict resolution in many forms, and they point to successful implementation of these practices in a variety of settings ranging from interpersonal conflicts to wars. Indeed, peace psychologists and others note that societies develop highly elaborate customs and laws for settling such disputes, usually without resorting to individual assault. Likewise, many ethicists find it difficult to justify interstate war on moral grounds; nevertheless, states use war in order to achieve their economic and political ends.[6] This fact points to the need to consider the multi-layered nature of society, which is more than a simple sum of its parts. To understand peace and conflict, we must examine them at both the level of the individual and at the broader societal level.

HISTORY OF PEACE PSYCHOLOGY

The move to establish peace psychology as a formal subdiscipline within psychology occurred in the 1980s, when the Cold War with the Soviet Union was at a high point.[7] Its roots actually extend several decades earlier, paralleling U.S. military involvement in wars as well as social movements throughout the century. Nearly a century ago, William James decried people's tendency to rally around the flag when war clouds darken the horizon.[8] He considered it a basic human tendency to seek security and affiliation and urged societies to create constructive ways to fill this need. Despite James's immense stature in the field, psy-

5. Daniel Christie, "Div[ison] 48 Question," e-mail, October 7, 2003.

6. David P. Barash and Charles P. Webel, *Peace and Conflict Studies* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2002).

7. C. Yatani and D. Bramel, "Trends and Patterns in Americans' Attitudes toward the Soviet Union," *Journal of Social Issues* 45, no. 2 (1989): 13–32.

8. William James, "The Moral Equivalent of War," originally published in 1910, reprinted in *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology* 1 (1995): 17–26.

chologists largely ignored his plea and threw themselves headlong in U.S. war efforts.

During World War I, psychologists developed intelligence tests intended to select and classify new recruits so that the army could best meet its needs with qualified personnel. This type of effort expanded during World War II, with psychologists from many different areas of the discipline lending their expertise to the war.[9] In addition to assisting with personnel selection and assignment, psychologists also began to treat soldiers suffering psychological effects from battlefield trauma. Other psychologists assisted in diverse ways, ranging from the creation of propaganda to the design of equipment that would operate more efficiently. In one of psychology's more curious forays, experimental psychologists joined the effort by training animals to guide weapons to targets. Before laser-guided weaponry was a reality, B. F. Skinner and others taught pigeons to peck at keys to direct missiles to their targets.[10] Although these weapons were not implemented in the war, they illustrate most psychologists' enthusiastic support of the war, which they considered morally defensible.

Following World War II, the presence of psychologists in the military increased, but the Cold War brought significant changes. Many of these changes were attributable to *realpolitik*, the belief that, at its simplest, politics consists of keeping, increasing, and demonstrating power.[11] *Realpolitik* has been cited as a dominant theme in politics over the past several centuries. This belief affected Cold War policies, resulting in the arms race that ultimately helped bankrupt the Soviet Union. During the 1950s, a small number of psychologists became convinced that the power of nu-

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9. Daniel J. Christie, Richard V. Wagner, and Deborah Du Nann Winter, *Peace, Conflict, and Violence: Peace Psychology for the 21st Century* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2001), 2.

10. For more information about this interesting history, see E. Herman, *The Romance of American Psychology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).

11. Perhaps no example of the brazen force of power is clearer than the Athenian attack on Melos. Athens issued an ultimatum to either be destroyed or to accept enslavement. Melos protested that its citizens had given Athens no reason to be violent against them and that the choice was unfair. Athens responded: "Right only comes into question when there is a balance of power, while it is Might that determines what the strong extort and the weak concede." The conflict ended when all Melian males were killed and all women and children enslaved. Barash and Webel, *Peace and Conflict Studies*, 407.

clear weapons to destroy the world necessitated a different political strategy. Not surprisingly, psychologists failed to persuade government officials in questions of foreign policy, but they planted the seed of interest in peace psychology.

During the 1960s, sufficient interest in the psychological community led to the development of the *Journal of Social Issues*, which included a special issue critical of the U.S. nuclear policy of deterrence through strength.[12] Psychologists also published books with titles such as *Preventing World War III: Some Proposals*,[13] illustrating increasing interest among psychologists regarding peace issues. Perhaps the most important development during this time was Osgood's "GRIT" strategy for reducing tension in international relations, which some analysts suggest was used in U.S. and Soviet talks on nuclear arms during the Kennedy era.[14]

More recently, we have seen peace psychology formally established as one of fifty-two "divisions" of the American Psychological Association, making it a subdiscipline within psychology. Its goals are threefold.[15] The division encourages research on the causes and effects of peace by sponsoring research symposia and by publishing *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology* to disseminate the best of that research. It educates other psychologists and the public about peace and facilitates communication among researchers, teachers, and practitioners working on peace issues. Finally, it encourages the active practice and application of nonviolent methods of conflict resolution, reconciliation, and the prevention of war or other forms of conflict. As a new area within psychology, peace psychology is relatively small when compared to subdisciplines such as developmental or clinical psychology. Nevertheless, it is a vibrant part of psychology, as evidenced by criteria such as journal circulation and the

12. R. W. Russell, ed., "Psychology and Policy in a Nuclear Age," special issue, *Journal of Social Issues* 17 (1961).

13. Q. Wright, W. M. Evan, and M. Deutsch, *Preventing World War III: Some Proposals* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1962).

14. Charles E. Osgood, *An Alternative to War or Surrender* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1962). For a discussion of this work, see A. Etzioni, "The Kennedy Experiment," *Western Political Quarterly* 20 (1967): 361–80.

15. For more information, see http://gsep.pepperdine.edu/~mstimac/Peace-Psychology.htm.

increasing number of programs.[16] For example, several universities offer a master's degree in peace psychology or peace studies, and the University of Massachusetts has now established the first doctoral program in peace psychology.[17] Graduates of these programs not only learn about peace but are also actively involved in applying their knowledge and skills to real-world situations.

DIMENSIONS OF PEACE PSYCHOLOGY

Following the Cold War era, peace psychology has broadened from merely preventing nuclear annihilation to smaller-scale concerns. In an influential book, Daniel J. Christie, Richard V. Wagner, and Deborah Du Nann Winter point out that the activities of peace psychologists have become worldwide in scope but focus on local as well as global issues.[18] They divide peace psychology into four general areas: direct violence, structural violence, peacemaking, and peacebuilding.

Direct Violence

Direct violence has been the classic concern of peace psychologists. It includes acts of war between nations, civil war, and genocide but also extends to acts occurring between two individuals. Direct violence occurs quickly and kills people directly; it is typically intentional and dramatic. It does not need a social structure to occur; it merely requires contact between individuals, groups, or nations. Psychologically, direct violence is often rooted in people's ethnic identities or other identities based on social groups, including religion. Groups to which one belongs (in-groups) are favored, at least in part because they bolster one's sense of well-being. When the in-group is sufficiently threatened by an out-group, however, the group members may react violently to protect the group's integrity. This type of process has been found in violence ranging from hate crimes

16. For instance, the number of subscriptions to *Peace and Conflict* compare favorably to several other journals that have been part of APA for a much longer time. "Summary Report of Division Journal Operations, 2002," *American Psychologist* 58 (2003): 664. Furthermore, judging by the percentage of manuscripts accepted for publication, it is more difficult to publish research in *Peace and Conflict* than in many other psychological journals. See "Summary Report of Journal Operations, 2002," *American Psychologist* 58 (2003): 663.

17. See http://www.umass.edu/peacepsychology/ brief_statement.html.

18. Christie, Wagner, and *Winter, Peace, Conflict, and Violence*, 1–13.

to ethnic violence to genocide.[19] When the in-groups and out-groups are religious in nature, the result has prompted observers such as Pascal to conclude, "Men never do evil so completely and cheerfully as when they do it from religious conviction."[20]

It is important to distinguish between conflict and direct violence. Conflict is a psychological concept in which different concepts or ideals are at odds with one another. When conflict occurs, one may work with the opposing party to achieve some compromise, acquiesce to the other party, or use violence to achieve one's aims. Violence is more likely to be considered if one party emphasizes its own goals over those of the other and if violence is expected to succeed or weapons are present.[21]

The classic example of direct violence is war, but war and peace are more than a matter of interstate violence. The majority of wars occurs within the state,[22] and civil wars result in tremendous numbers of casualties to civilians. Renner states that the Sudanese civil war resulted in some 1,500,000 casualties, 97 percent of whom were civilians.[23] Direct violence ranges from large-scale wars such as these, to ethnic violence, "hate crimes" against homosexuals or other groups, and domestic violence.

Three themes should be kept in mind when considering the broad scope of acts constituting direct violence.[24] First, it is often too simplistic to transfer the motives and experiences of a conflict involving two individuals to a conflict involving two groups or nations. Although some common features may exist, for example, between hate crimes and genocide, significant differences should caution us against assuming that the same factors are at work in the two types of violence. Second, cultural context provides the background for the actions and, in many ways, sets the tone for violence to occur. Strident nationalism can stimulate war between nations, and strict gender role expectations can provide the setting for violence against people who deviate from their prescribed role. Third, the

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19. Wagner, "Direct Violence," in ibid., 15–18.

20. Quoted in Barash and Webel, *Peace and Conflict Studies,* 413.

21. Wagner, "Direct Violence," 15; Leonard Berkowitz, *Aggression: Its Causes, Consequences and Control* (San Francisco: McGraw-Hill, 1993).

22. Deborah Du Nann Winter, Daniel J. Christie, Richard V. Wagner, and Laura B. Boston, "Conclusion: Peace Psychology for the Twenty-First Century," in Christie, Wagner, and Winter, *Peace, Conflict, and Violence,* 363.

23. Quoted in ibid., 364.

24. Wagner, "Direct Violence," 16–17.

need to protect one's identity is an important theme in direct violence. Basic psychological forces create biases in favor of groups to which we belong and against groups to which we do not belong. When our in-groups are threatened, we are threatened; a common response to this threat is violence. This occurs in a wide variety of cases ranging from violence against homosexuals to violence between groups or nations.[25]

Structural Violence

Structural violence refers to aspects of society that limit people's ability to reach their potential. Economic stratification, which occurs when one segment of society has difficulty finding adequate shelter or food while other segments of society do not, is an important factor in structural violence. When there are great differences in the educational facilities available to students in different locales, based on funding formulas and other socio-economic structures, structural violence has been committed. Because it is interwoven with the society's economic system, structural violence is seen as a normal part of living in society, an inadvertent consequence of "the way things are." Thus, features of an economic or political system that limit human potential for some while enhancing life for others are considered structural violence.[26] In contrast to direct violence, structural violence kills slowly, unintentionally, and indirectly.[27] It shortens people's lives by chronic exposure to difficult living conditions rather than by a specific, direct act. Globalization adds to structural violence because it fuels tremendous differences among people in terms of their wealth and resources, making some suffer at the expense of others. For example, when economic sanctions are placed on a country, the effect on the leadership of that country is slight relative to that experienced by the general populace.

If we define peace in terms of what it is—"the presence of qualities, values and approaches in human relationships that build greater har-

25. Bianca Cody Murphy, "Anti-Gay/Lesbian Violence in the United States," in Christie, Wagner, and Winter, *Peace, Conflict, and Violence*, 28–38; Ulrike Niens and Ed Cairns, "Intrastate Violence," in ibid., 39–48, and Daniel Druckman, "Nationalism and War: A Social-Psychological Perspective," in ibid., 49–65.

26. J. Galtung, "Violence, Peace and Peace Research," *Journal of Peace Research* 3 (1969): 176–91.

27. J. Galtung, *Peace by Peaceful Means: Peace and Conflict, Development and Civilization* (London: Sage, 1996).

mony"—rather than what it is not—the lack of war or conflict—then the scope of peace broadens substantially.[28] At least two things are gained by doing this. First, if we are truly concerned about peace and the prevention of violence, we must address its root causes. Some causes, such as anti-social personality disorder, greed, and lust for power, are classically "psychological" and reside within the individual. Others are broader, systemic conditions that lie outside the scope of the individual but which nevertheless affect his or her actions.[29] To lessen war, violence, and conflict effectively, we must recognize and use multiple levels of analysis and not limit our efforts simply to individuals, groups, or societies. By improving oppressive living conditions, we may reduce the likelihood of direct violence and improve people's quality of life.[30]

A second benefit from using a broader, more positive definition of peace is moral consistency. It seems inconsistent to claim to seek peace, while at the same time endorsing practices that harm children and others particularly affected by structural violence.[31] A morality that opposes direct violence while supporting structural violence would be inhumane at best. From an LDS perspective, charitable concern and action on behalf of others are inextricably linked to peace (D&C 88:125). From the perspective of psychology, an interesting question regarding structural violence is how people who aspire to live good, moral lives, can do so while ignoring social ills and the problems of structural violence.[32] They appear to do this by limiting their scope of justice so that it applies only to certain people, drawing some people within and leaving others outside their circle of justice.[33] We care for members of our own groups, disregarding the welfare of others. Although societies often have laws and religious prohibitions against direct violence, structural violence is less likely to result in punish-

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28. Handwerker, "Peace Initiatives."

29. Robert J. Sampson, "The Community," in *Crime*, eds. James Q. Wilson and Joan Petersilia (San Francisco: ICS Press, 1995), 193–216.

30. M. Clinard and D. Abbott, *Crime in Developing Countries* (New York: Wiley, 1973); S. L. Kirmeyer, "Urban Density and Pathology: A Review of Research," *Environment and Behavior* 10 (1978): 247–69.

31. Dyan Mazurana and Susan McKay, "Women, Girls, and Structural Violence: A Global Analysis," in Christie, Wagner, and Winter, *Peace, Conflict, and Violence*, 130–38.

32. Christie, Wagner, and Winter, *Peace, Conflict, and Violence*, 1–13.

33. Susan Opotow, "Social Injustice," in ibid., 102–109.

ment. Indeed, even "Good Samaritan" laws designed to encourage citizens to intervene in emergencies remain a controversial form of legislation.

Because the targets of structural violence are people with less power in society, children, women, and minority group members are disproportionately represented. Structural violence toward children manifests itself in many ways. Social policies punish children for their parents' actions; more subtly, children being raised under conditions of economic distress have lower levels of cognitive development due to their parents' limited time and resources to give them cognitive and linguistic stimulation.[34] Structural violence also disproportionately affects mothers worldwide through a systematic denial of access to health care and other resources and even by denying women legal status and rights of citizenship.[35] Similar problems affect minority groups throughout the world.

Peacemaking

Efforts to reduce, eliminate, and prevent direct and structural violence are called peacemaking and peacebuilding, respectively. Peacemaking can take many different forms which share several characteristics: they emphasize nonviolent means of reducing direct violence; they are reactive; they occur in a specific, defined time and place; and they typically maintain the status quo, not disrupting the current power structure.

Related to peacemaking is peacekeeping, which also exists to reduce direct violence but which does so by keeping the parties separate from one another. Peacekeeping does not typically address conflicting motives but only the violence that occurs between the parties. Peacekeeping is sometimes called a negative peace because it is more limited; its basic strategy is to keep the parties apart from one another by the direct intervention of a third party.[36] The two sides of the dispute must desire a resolution for the violence to end. If they do not, the peacekeeping force must remain in place indefinitely, as in the case of the U.N. peacekeepers in Cyprus, who have been there since 1964 to maintain peace between the Greek and

34. Kathleen Kostelny and James Garbarino, "The War Close to Home: Children and Violence in the United States," in ibid., 110–19.

35. Mazurana and McKay, "Women, Girls, and Structural Violence."

36. Richard V. Wagner, "Peacemaking," in Christie, Wagner, and Winter, *Peace, Conflict, and Violence*, 169–72. See also Richard V. Wagner, "Distinguishing between Positive and Negative Approaches to Peace," *Journal of Social Issues* 44, no. 2 (1988): 1–15.

Turk Cypriots. On an interpersonal level, peacekeeping is akin to a restraining order mandating that individuals not contact one another. Although such practices may reduce the violence, there is no expectation that the underlying conflict be addressed.

Peacemaking, sometimes called positive peace, is more flexible than peacekeeping in the number of alternatives available for reducing violence. It can help resolve conflicts rather than simply stopping violence. Moving beyond peacekeeping to peacemaking requires some level of awareness regarding cultural differences. Attempts to apply Western approaches, such as mediation, to non-Western contexts can be ineffective because of cultural differences in interpersonal relations. Mediation, conflict resolution, and other Western approaches to peacemaking may be effective in some situations, but non-Western approaches can also be useful. One example is the Hawaiian custom of *Ho'oponopono,* which focuses on regaining lost family and group harmony, trust, and cooperation, as well as emphasizing spirituality and interpersonal connections.[37]

While several models or techniques for peacemaking exist, successful peacemaking takes place at multiple levels, treating the two parties as a system and addressing underlying conflicts as well as the violence that exists between the parties.[38] Peacemaking must also address the aftermath of the violence to reduce its effects on the populace and to decrease the likelihood that residual effects will later spawn direct violence. Thus, efforts to reduce the traumatic effects of war include not only treating victims of post-traumatic stress disorder following wars, but also forming effective communication patterns among the disputants.[39] Clinical and counseling psychologists regularly volunteer their expertise in assisting victims following calamities ranging from the recent spate of school shootings to the September 11, 2001, terrorist attack on New York and Washington DC.

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37. Paul B. Pedersen, "The Cultural Context of Peacemaking," in Christie, Wagner, and Winter, *Peace, Conflict, and Violence,* 183–92.

38. Peter Coleman and Morton Deutsch, "Introducing Cooperation and Conflict Resolution into Schools: A Systems Approach," in ibid., 223–39.

39. Inger Agger, "Reducing Trauma During Ethno-Political Conflict: A Personal Account of Psycho-social Work under War Conditions in Bosnia," in ibid., 240–50; Cheryl de la Rey, "Reconciliation in Divided Societies," in ibid., 251–61.

Peacebuilding

Like others involved in the peace movement, peace psychologists are devoting increasing efforts to reducing structural violence by peacebuilding—work designed to reduce the adverse impact society has on its most defenseless and disenfranchised members. At its most essential, peacebuilding focuses on reducing hierarchies within and between societies, because the privileges enjoyed by those at the top of the hierarchy come at the expense of those at the bottom.[40] Peacebuilding emphasizes human interdependence rather than isolation. It seeks to be proactive rather than reactive, is not limited to a specific time and place, and threatens the current socio-economic and political status quo.[41]

Although the hazards of intervening in direct violence are obvious, peacebuilding often entails much higher levels of tension and conflict. It too can result not only in psychological discomfort, but also in pain or death.[42] Such effects result from the amount of effort required to address fundamental assumptions and conflicts between parties at different levels in the social hierarchy. People do not easily give up their systems of power, and such revolutionary acts are not undertaken lightly or without risk. The advocate of peace uses peaceful means to seek change—pacifism, negotiation, and mediation—and is left highly exposed should those means fail.

Peacebuilding efforts may focus on either structural transformation or on cultural transformation.[43] Structural transformations alter features of the society such as its economic system so that more effective health care services can be delivered to children, thus reducing mortality rates among the society's youngest members. Cultural transformations address issues such as perceptions that the world is a just place and therefore that people earn their places in the social hierarchy or that people at the bottom of the hierarchy are there because of their laziness, poor choices, or

40. Daniel J. Christie, "Peacebuilding: Approaches to Social Justice," in ibid., 277–81.

41. Galtung, *Peace by Peaceful Means.*

42. Christina Jayme Montiel, "Toward a Psychology of Structural Peacebuilding," in Christie, Wagner, and Winter, *Peace, Conflict, and Violence,* 282–94.

43. Ibid.

even evil nature, while people who are virtuous, hard-working, and "good" earn their place at the top of the hierarchy.[44]

A central aspect of peacebuilding involves changing how people at the bottom of the social hierarchy perceive themselves and are perceived by other segments of society.[45] Empowering individuals at lower levels of a hierarchy gives them greater control over their destiny.[46] One of the most notable examples of peacebuilding is Gandhi's use of nonviolent means to transform Indian society.[47] Conventional wisdom held that change resulted only from the power to commit acts of direct violence. Gandhi demonstrated that nonviolent acts can also generate change in society; his experiment was used in other countries, including the United States during the civil rights era.

SYSTEMS OF VIOLENCE AND PEACE

A systems approach to understanding direct and structural violence is important since the relationship between them is circular. For example, the ethnic conflicts in Rwanda that led to the killing of some 700,000 people were based not only on old racial hatreds but also on a colonialism that had established policies favoring the Tutsis over the Hutus. This environment set the stage for violence, which erupted under conditions of severe poverty and economic emergencies.[48] When people feel unable to improve their living conditions, they sometimes resort to violence, and society responds with more stringent limitations on their living conditions to quell the violence.

Even the tragic 1999 killings at Columbine High School can be under-

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44. Melvin J. Lerner, *The Belief in a Just World: A Fundamental Delusion* (New York: Plenum, 1980).

45. Christie, "Peacebuilding."

46. Linda Webster and Douglas B. Perkins, "Redressing Structural Violence against Children: Empowerment-based Interventions and Research," in Christie, Wagner, and Winter, *Peace, Conflict, and Violence*, 330–40.

47. Susan McKay and Dyan Mazurana, "Gendering Peacebuilding," in ibid., 341–49.

48. V. M. Mays, M. Bullock, M. R. Rosenzweig, and M. Wessels, "Ethnic Conflict: Global Challenges and Psychological Perspectives," *American Psychologist* 53 (1998): 737–42.

stood in terms of systems of violence.[49] Much attention was focused on the boys who killed twelve classmates and a teacher, but we must also consider the system that gave rise to great differences in status and popularity among students, elevating some while others became social outcasts. When feeling sufficiently threatened, social outcasts with ready access to weapons will strike back, sometimes with dramatic and devastating effect. We must recognize the interconnected nature of structural and direct violence.

RECONCILING PEACE PSYCHOLOGY AND LDS BELIEF

How does peace psychology intersect with LDS belief and practice? There are several areas of compatibility as well as some basic conflicts in assumptions. The following examples illustrate areas of intersection between peace psychology and LDS life.

Compatibility

The LDS Church's stance against the MX missile plan is an unusually clear example of the Church's taking a position consistent with peace psychology's early interest in reducing the risk of nuclear war. In 1981 the Reagan administration proposed an MX missile program that would give the United States added security should the Soviet Union attack us directly. According to the plan, an immense system of missile silos would be built in the western states with missiles moving among the silos. Their changing locations and the sheer number of missiles would make it impossible for the Soviets to successfully destroy all the weapons in a first strike, and the Reagan administration believed that the threat of retaliation would deter the Soviets from an attack. Public debate regarding the plan was intense, particularly in Utah and Nevada where the missiles would be housed.

In this context, the Church issued a clear and thoughtful statement against the MX missile plan.[50] The statement offered a reasoned, point-by-point discussion of the plan, discussing issues ranging from the impact of construction crews on the environment and economy of the area to the arms race itself. The plan was defeated, largely because of weak public support for it.

For some insight regarding other forms of direct conflict, we can

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49. Winter et al., "Conclusion," 368.

50. "News of the Church," *Ensign*, June 1981, 76.

look to statements from Church leaders. For example, David O. McKay wrote, "We see that war is incompatible with Christ's teachings. The Gospel of Jesus Christ is the Gospel of peace. War is the antithesis and produces hate. It is vain to attempt to reconcile war with true Christianity."[51] President McKay saw little use for war as a tool, as did an earlier Church president, Heber J. Grant (1918–45). During his presidency, Grant and his counselors issued several statements denouncing war and urging Church members and the world to choose peace instead of violence.

One of the more interesting public statements against war was a letter written by Hugh Nibley to the BYU *Daily Universe* regarding a film titled *No Substitute for Victory*, starring John Wayne.[52] The film was intended to stir support for the war in Vietnam. In his letter, Nibley quoted Doctrine and Covenants: 98:15–17: "Renounce war and proclaim peace . . . lest I come and smite the whole earth with a curse, and all flesh be consumed before me." Nibley then wrote, "'Renounce' is a strong word: we are not to try to win peace by war, or merely to call a truce, but to renounce war itself, to disclaim it as a policy while proclaiming (that means not just announcing, but preaching) peace without reservation." After reminding readers of the destructive power of nuclear weapons, Nibley continued:

> Thus we have the mandate to renounce military action, the order to substitute something very different in its place, and the terrible penalty for failure to do both. A few years ago such an extreme proposition sounded quite fantastic; the consuming of all flesh belonged to the category of wild apocalyptic nightmares. Today however the best scientists all over the world are repeating the same alternatives with ominous urgency and insistence: It is to be either no more war or mutual annihilation. Those two verses of the D&C, revealed almost 140 years ago, are standing alone enough to prove Joseph Smith a true prophet.

Nibley was not the only prominent Mormon with an opinion on the

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51. David O. McKay, "Gospel Ideals," reprinted in *War, Conscription, Conscience and Mormonism*, ed. Gordon C. Thomasson (Santa Barbara, CA: Mormon Heritage, 1972), 277–89.

52. Hugh Nibley, "Renounce War!" reprinted in Thomasson, *War, Conscription, Conscience and Mormonism*, 24–25.

film; Apostle Ezra Taft Benson's remarks supporting the war effort were included in the film itself.

Lesser-known Mormons have taken positions against the direct violence of war. One group worked together to publish a small book to help LDS men who objected to the selective service draft during the Vietnam War. Among them was Robert Keeler, whose reading of the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. 5:21-22, 44) and other passages from the New Testament (Matt. 26:52) and Book of Mormon (Alma 24:24-25; Hel. 15:9) suggested to him that Christians should not engage in direct violence.[53] Keeler concluded that there are occasions when God justifies war, but they are unusual and come only after successive attempts to make peace with the aggressor (D&C 98:33-36).

The classic Book of Mormon story of pacifism that Keeler cites (Alma 24) demonstrates an underlying goal of peacebuilding. After killing hundreds of their opponents with no resistance whatsoever, the Lamanites experienced a change of heart. They repented and threw down their weapons, vowing never to fight again. This narrative illustrates peacebuilding's goal of reducing conflict, not merely violence.

Thoughtful readers of the Book of Mormon often find mixed messages regarding war. Equally mixed are the perspectives of contemporary Church leaders.[54] Although Heber J. Grant and David O. McKay stated their opposition against war,[55] President Gordon B. Hinckley spoke in the April 2003 conference about the U.S. invasion of Iraq, announcing that there are times when nations and people are not only justified but have an obligation to fight. In his view, "God will not hold men and women in uniform responsible as agents of their government in carrying

53. Robert B. Keeler, "A Plea for Tolerance," in Thomasson, *War, Conscription, Conscience and Mormonism*, 10-16.

54. For compilations of relevant scriptures and statements from Church authorities, see Thomasson, *War, Conscription, Conscience and Mormonism*, ii-viii. 106-16, Also see keywords "war" and "peace" combined with "obligation," "duty," "authority," "fight," and "duty," "fight," and "freedom" in the *New Mormon Studies CD-ROM: A Comprehensive Resource Library* (Salt Lake City: Smith Research Associates, 1998).

55. See, for example, James R. Clark, ed., *Messages of the First Presidency*, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1965-75), 5:164; also see Heber J. Grant, J. Reuben Clark, and David O. McKay, "Bravely and Heroically Choose a Better Course of Life," reprinted in *Sunstone*, December 2002, 80.

forward that which they are legally obligated to do."[56] As with many religious questions, the person who searches for a single, unequivocal answer to this question may be disappointed.

LDS Church leaders have addressed other forms of direct violence, typically condemning it strongly. For example, following Christ's injunction to let the children come to him, concern about child abuse led President Hinckley to say, "We cannot tolerate [child abuse]. We will not tolerate it. Anyone who abuses a child may expect Church discipline as well as possible legal action. Child abuse is an affront toward God. Jesus spoke of the beauty and innocence of children. To anyone who has an inclination that could lead to the abuse of children, I say in the strongest language of which I am capable, discipline yourself. Seek help before you do injury to a child and bring ruin upon yourself."[57] Taking a proactive step, the Church recently released to local leaders a videotape of instructions for detecting signs of child abuse.[58] While critics of the Church might see this act merely as a minimization of legal liability, such efforts are all too rare in the broader religious community.[59]

Increasingly important to peacebuilding efforts are nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), which empower people who formerly had no voice.[60] The Church's Perpetual Education Fund represents an effort in this direction. By addressing the educational needs of some of its most disadvantaged members, the fund represents an excellent opportunity to approach issues of empowerment and peacebuilding.

The classic question, "Who is my neighbor?" highlights one of the problems we face when we confront structural violence. The basic human tendency to care for members of our own group rather than members of other groups makes the question a relevant and enduring one for human-

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56. Gordon B. Hinckley, "War and Peace," *Ensign*, May 2003, 80.

57. Gordon B. Hinckley, "To the Men of the Priesthood," *Ensign*, November 2002, 59.

58. *Protect the Child*, videotape (Salt Lake City: Corporation of the President, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2003).

59. Michael E. Nielsen, "Appalling Acts in God's Name," *Society* 40, no. 3 (March/April 2003): 16–19.

60. Winter et al., "Conclusion," 371.

ity.[61] LDS welfare efforts began as a response to assist members of the Church but now extend to countries and regions well beyond its base. The growth of the Church as well as improved communications and transportation abilities have made this possible; but even with such technological changes, humanitarian efforts would not be possible without a desire on the part of the organization to assist others in need.

From a peace psychology perspective, one can also see effort among the Mormons regarding another facet of peace: cultural transformation. A cultural transformation in the Church may be underway in members' attitudes toward Africans. Once seen as deserving their earthly fate because of having been less valiant before coming to earth, Africans are now increasingly accorded a full equality.[62]

Incompatibility

At a very basic level, peacebuilding requires a relativistic context in which parties are open to the idea that other cultural or ideological perspectives must be considered, while one's own perspective may need to yield to another's views regarding the best way to address a problem. This relativistic point of view makes peacebuilding somewhat problematic for Latter-day Saints because it might conflict with the Church's stand on issues deemed religious or moral in nature. Needs that are highly valued in one area of the world may not be equally valued in another.[63]

For a current example, consider that while political freedom is valued in the United States, it may be less highly valued elsewhere than social control of a populace. LDS efforts to engage China might be seen in this light. Despite highly publicized political and even religious oppression occurring in China, LDS-Chinese relations appear to be improving with periodic exchanges and visits to Salt Lake City by Chinese officials. The Church apparently sees in this case an opportunity to gain a foothold

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61. Opotow, "Social Injustice."

62. The idea is expressed in several speeches and books by LDS General Authorities, for example, Joseph Fielding Smith, *The Way to Perfection* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1931), esp. chaps. 7, 15, and 16. For a more recent "classic" analysis, see Lester E. Bush Jr. and Armand L. Mauss, eds., *Neither White nor Black: Mormon Scholars Confront the Race Issue in a Universal Church* (Midvale, UT: Signature Books, 1984).

63. Andy Dawes, "Psychologies for Liberation: Views from Elsewhere," in Christie, Wagner, and Winter, *Peace, Conflict, and Violence*, 295-306.

in a vast part of the world; Chinese officials see a religion that values obedience to the laws of the land, a characteristic regarded very highly in light of recent disputes with both Falun Dafa and the Roman Catholic Church. In another context, LDS missionaries may not baptize men who are married to more than one wife even if polygamy is an accepted practice in that culture.[64] Here we see contrasting cases in which relativism appears to work for the Church (as in China) or does not (as in polygamous West Africa).

Race relations in the Church show more compatibility now than in the past. High-profile African Americans such as Gladys Knight and Thurl Bailey have joined the Church and have been welcomed. Gladys Knight loosened up the typically quiet and staid Temple Square when she directed a gospel choir singing new renditions of Mormon hymns and other songs in celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the 1978 revelation granting priesthood ordination for all worthy males. Still, a gap exists. For example, middle-class blacks are most likely to join the Church in the United States.[65] African Americans at the bottom of the social structure are less likely to join, perhaps because they feel unwelcome or because they are less likely to encounter the Church through its missionary efforts. If peacebuilding involves empowering a society's lower classes, such empowerment has yet to occur among African Americans in general. Although data exist suggesting that African Americans who join the Church do feel some degree of empowerment, we must keep in mind that they are likely to be middle class.[66] Moreover, although Mormons may view themselves as mainstream citizens, evidence exists that the rest of America does not share this perception.[67]

In no part of LDS life does a basic assumption of peace psychology conflict more noticeably than in gender roles. Peace psychologists are committed to promoting social equality, and they measure this type of

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64. Eugene England, "On Fidelity, Polygamy, and Celestial Marriage," DIALOGUE 20 (Winter 1987): 138–54.

65. Cardell K. Jacobson, Tim B. Heaton, E. Dale LeBaron, and Trina Louise Hope, "Black Mormon Converts in the United States and Africa: Social Characteristics and Perceived Acceptance," in *Contemporary Mormonism: Social Science Perspectives*, ed. Marie Cornwall, Tim B. Heaton, and Lawrence A. Young (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 344.

66. Ibid, 330–35.

67. Ibid., 334.

progress in terms such as economic parity, access to health care, opportunity in political and other social spheres, and control over one's own resources. In this regard, LDS culture presents a sort of "separate but equal" state of affairs in which women are considered equal but with different roles. Policies, however, suggest otherwise. For example, today—over a century since the Manifesto was issued ending polygamy—a man may be sealed to more than one woman, but a woman may not be sealed to more than one man. From a peace psychology perspective, this indicates that, at some level, LDS culture does not treat women and men equally. This situation warrants a closer examination of gender issues in the Church.

Family-centered themes are becoming increasingly important in LDS rhetoric,[68] including the idea that mothers in particular should spend the time necessary for the development of children while fathers work to provide for the family.[69] LDS culture and language place priesthood and motherhood as equal but distinct roles for men and women. Observers note, however, that priesthood in this sense has both familial and institutional connotations, whereas motherhood's scope is limited to the family.[70] Indeed, although the Relief Society historically had considerable autonomy, it falls now strictly under the purview of priesthood leadership as part of the "correlation" effort to restructure Church auxiliary organizations. Cornwall suggests that women's roles in the institutional church did change during the 1980s when women began speaking regularly in general conference meetings; changes in the temple ritual were also seen by some as a response to women's concerns.[71] Nevertheless, in the context of simple numbers, two of the twenty-eight speakers during the general sessions of the April 2003 conference were female; the remaining twenty-six were male. Likewise, service as an apostle is for life, while women's auxiliary presidencies serve for five years. Differentials

68. Gordon Shepherd and Gary Shepherd, *A Kingdom Transformed: Themes in the Development of Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1984).

69. Ezra Taft Benson, *To the Mothers of Zion*, pamphlet (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1987).

70. Marie Cornwall, "The Institutional Role of Mormon Women," in Cornwall, Heaton, and Young, *Contemporary Mormonism*, 239–64.

71. Ibid., 260.

such as these will lead most peace psychologists to conclude that only limited progress has been made in giving women a voice.

Indeed, in terms of women's roles, the patriarchal nature of the Church appears to make it difficult for women to achieve the level of autonomy and independence necessary to escape some form of structural violence. Strict gender roles are incompatible with that goal. Research finds that Mormons follow more traditional gender roles in their homes, yet no significant difference exists between the number of Mormon and non-Mormon women who are employed. In their analysis of such data, Heaton, Goodman, and Holman conclude that heightened cultural expectations regarding motherhood lead Mormon women to feel more than others that homemaking is unappreciated, lonely, overwhelming, and poorly done.[72]

Finally, the Church's dealings with feminists illustrates the contentious nature of structural violence as well as the fact that efforts to mitigate its effects threaten the status quo. By asserting gender to be an eternal characteristic, "The Family: A Proclamation to the World" illustrates the extent to which the institutional structure is in place and the status quo is being reinforced. Whether this is desirable or undesirable depends on one's vantage point.

Relativism also is highly unlikely in the area of sexual orientation, another subject of concern to psychologists interested in peacebuilding. In 1999, newspapers reported Church lobbying efforts in California against same-sex marriage.[73] During October general conference that year, President Hinckley stated:

> Nevertheless, and I emphasize this, I wish to say that our opposition to attempts to legalize same-sex marriage should never be interpreted as justification for hatred, intolerance, or abuse of those who profess homosexual tendencies, either individually or as a group. As I said from this pulpit one year ago, our hearts reach out to those who refer to themselves as gays and lesbians. We love and honor them as sons and daughters of God. They are welcome in the Church. It is expected, however, that they

72. Tim B. Heaton, Kristen L. Goodman, and Thomas B. Holman, "In Search of a Peculiar People: Are Mormon Families Really Different?" in Cornwall, Heaton, and Young, *Perspectives on Mormonism*, 87–117.

73. "LDS Urged to Back Ban on Gay Marriage," *Deseret News*, July 5, 1999, A-2.

> follow the same God-given rules of conduct that apply to everyone else, whether single or married.[74]

While this statement decries attacks against homosexuals, there is clearly no wavering in the Church's commitment to the status quo regarding sexual orientation. As with gender roles, this is an area of disharmony between peace psychology and the Church.

Moving beyond the question of war, we see differences in priorities between LDS leaders and peace psychologists, both in terms of how each construes morality and in the underlying issue of relativism. LDS rhetoric on morality tends to emphasize sexuality. Chastity before marriage, sexual fidelity during marriage, masturbation, and the temptations posed by pornography are generally the focus in Mormon discussions of morality. In contrast, peace psychologists are likely to discuss sexuality only as it relates to sexual assault or other forms of intimate violence, and to discuss morality in terms of structural violence, including problems created by the distribution of resources or the exploitation of one person or group by another, more powerful person or group. These kinds of themes receive very little attention in LDS general conference addresses, particularly when compared to matters of sexual morality.[75]

CONCLUSION

In his classic analysis, Sterling McMurrin describes the LDS religion as an interesting and unusual blend of social conservatism and liberal theology.[76] Nowhere does this mix of forces show itself more noticeably than in matters dealing with peace and violence, with periodic denunciations of war contrasting with relative silence regarding more subtle forms of violence. The result is a tension between Church and society as the Church attempts to find a balance in its engagement with the broader culture.

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74. Gordon B. Hinckley, "Why We Do Some of the Things We Do," *Ensign*, November 1999, 52–54.

75. In their study of conference themes, Shepherd and Shepherd, *A Kingdom Transformed*, found that economic matters were discussed only minimally, during the 1860–89 and 1920–49 periods. "Secular Justice" received some attention during 1830–59 and "Divine Justice" during 1890–1919, but otherwise they were not addressed regularly. In contrast, sexual morality was found to be a more enduring theme, whose visibility has increased markedly during recent years.

76. McMurrin, *Theological Foundations*.

From a sociological perspective, this state of affairs is common to religions, which manage their assimilation with the dominant culture by taking particular stands on social issues.[77]

The implications of this tension are important, both for individual members and for the institution. For members, incompatibility between Church and secular cultures can generate tremendous cognitive dissonance, resulting in dissatisfaction with either the institutional church or the other social institutions with which members affiliate. In such cases, the member sometimes becomes disaffected with the Church to the point of lapsing into inactivity or discontinuing membership.[78] For the Church, the tension indicates its engagement with the broader culture. A religious institution claiming prophetic revelation has a degree of flexibility, but only to the extent that its leadership utilizes revelation that is accepted by adherents and observers. As the case of the 1978 priesthood revelation illustrates, some see this flexibility as "additional light and knowledge," while others see it as a response to external pressure and an example of the institution's movement toward the dominant culture.

The issue of war and peace brings such tensions to the forefront. War and other forms of violence treat people as a means to an end, with both combatants and victims serving as a way for socio-political groups to achieve their goals. Underlying this idea is the assumption that people are valued for what they can help the state or group accomplish. This contrasts strongly with the classic LDS ideal that God values individuals for their inherent worth, that they are created in his divine image, and that he grieved when one third of the host of heaven was lost following the war in heaven. However, Elder Russell M. Nelson's recent *Ensign* article may signal a change in LDS views on this point since he argues that God may find greater value in people who are more obedient to God's and the

77. Armand L. Mauss, *The Angel and the Beehive: The Mormon Struggle with Assimilation* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 190–91.

78. For illustrations, see James W. Ure, *Leaving the Fold: Candid Conversations with Inactive Mormons* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1999). Others can be found in the "Why We Left" portion of www.exmormon.org. Many of these stories illustrate the strain experienced by some individuals when their church and secular values collide.

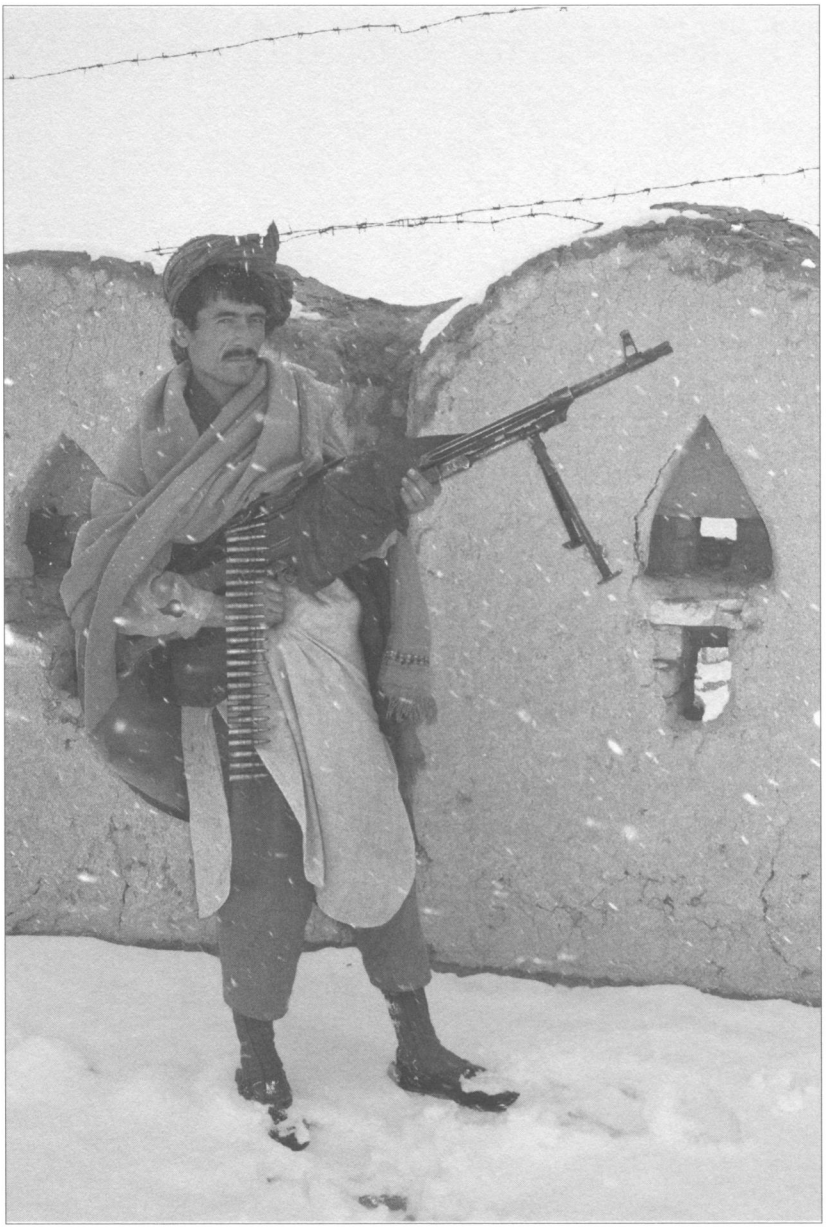
Church's laws.[79] If the institutional church promotes God as loving some more than others, then the gap between the Church and peace psychology—as well as other areas of study influenced by humanistic ideals—will undoubtedly widen, because a basic ideal within humanism is that all individuals are worth respect.[80] To the extent that humanistic values for individuals have become part of modern life, we may expect more conflict between the institutional church and the rest of society.

The potential for conflict in matters of peace is reflected by David Barash and Charles Webel in their discussion of religious pacifism. Referring to A. J. Muste's calls for noncompliance to the military draft, which he described as acts of "holy disobedience," Barash and Webel conclude, "It is interesting to note that in Western religious traditions, disobedience is widely considered to be the primary human sin (witness Satan's disobedience to God, or Adam and Eve's alleged transgressions in the Garden of Eden). And yet a case can be made that throughout human history, far more harm has been done by obedience to authority than by disobedience."[81]

79. Russell M. Nelson, "Divine Love," *Ensign,* February 2003, 20–25. A search of the Church's online publication database (http://library.lds.org) offered over one hundred uses of the term "unconditional love," either as describing God's love or as a means by which people can improve relations with family members or others.

80. Carl R. Rogers, *On Becoming a Person* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1961).

81. Barash and Webel, *Peace and Conflict Studies,* 421.



Northern Alliance Soldier at Qala-i-Jhangi

Aladdin's Lamp, March 4, 2003

on the eve of first strike in Iraq

Emma Lou Thayne

Out of a dream
a fragrance overwhelms me:
not saffron, not lavender
but something in between:
the aroma of Grandma's Rose Jar
on the bookshelf above our bed:
lid of amethyst-embedded silver
lifted from fluted glass coddling
six generations of rose petals,
savings of life and death, savor
salted to dry, settle, never to fill.

Arabian Nights perfume with scent and vibration
my half waking to rub Aladdin's lamp:
See the Genie tell his Semite brothers
Jews and Arabs, "Wait." In some aroma
is written a message also to my torn world
bludgeoned by hatred, "Wait."

EMMA LOU THAYNE received a B.A. in English in 1945 and, in 1970, an M.A. in creative writing from the University of Utah, where she later taught English and coached women's tennis. Author of thirteen books of poetry, fiction, essays, and travel stories, she has published internationally concerning kinship and peace among people and nations. Her suite of poems "How Much for the Earth?" appeared in DIALOGUE*'s first war and peace issue twenty years ago. She and her husband Mel have five daughters and sons-in-law, nineteen grandchildren, and three great-grandchildren.*

I confess bewilderment. Was I coaxed in
by something too big to see over except
by dream? By prayer? With the acrid smell
of war in every headline
am I simply scared with needing
the compromise that will be a human thing,
admittedly the hardest part?

But there she is: My Bedouin woman I met
in her goatskin tent thirty years ago
now shining with sand the lamp
to free you, Genie: Over oceans and continents
unfurl your aura for my Americans here
bent on battle in that far-off land: Take up
the gaps between ideas,
let them relish the scent of peace.

PERSONAL VOICES:
In the Service of Peace, In Defense of War

Reflections on War of a Liberal Catholic in Mormon Utah

M. Diane Krantz

ANXIETY AND FRUSTRATION HAVE accompanied my resistance to the second Bush war on Iraq. I feel such discontent partly because the Roman Catholic Church in Utah tends to be ultraconservative in theology and politics. While Catholic leadership worldwide, including Pope John Paul II, vehemently opposed the war, many of my coreligionists, especially locally, have supported the U.S. president with great fervor. Meanwhile, and just as paradoxically, the Catholic Left, who rarely support the present pope in anything, have hailed his position with respect to the war as prophetic and morally exemplary. This essay reflects on how and why Catholics in the United States responded to the war; it also examines my own complex reactions, paralleling those of my liberal Mormon friends and DIALOGUE writer Jeffrey Johansen, to the U.S. assault on Iraq. Yet marked as my views may be by proverbial shades of gray, let me be clear: I oppose this second Gulf War and cannot endorse the sentiments or the policy that led us to send troops for a second time against Saddam Hussein. I'll begin with some practical information about Catholicism, outline the historical

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Roman Catholic position on war, compare current Catholic responses to the war to those described by Johansen, and finally consider my own stand.

Like The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, the Roman Catholic Church is hierarchical and patriarchal: it has a single leader (the pope); a group of councilors to the pope called cardinals, who have the exclusive right to elect the pope; bishops, who represent the highest order of ministry; priests, who are the local ministers of the church; and laity, or ordinary Catholics understood to be members of a "priestly people." Despite such nominal priesthood, no lay person can celebrate the rite of Eucharist (the ordinary worship service of the Church) nor hear confessions. No woman can be an ordained priest. Unlike LDS men, not all Catholic men are assumed to be called to priesthood, which is just as well since one qualification for most Catholic priests is celibacy.

Catholic doctrine comes in several forms, most notably dogma, a designation "widely used in a strict sense for all and only those truths that have been revealed by God and proposed as such by the [Catholic] Church for belief by the Faithful, that is, those things . . . [that] have to be believed on divine and Catholic Faith. . . . [T]he truth . . . has to be part of the public revelation. . . . [I]t has to be declared by the Church's authority to be believed as revealed."[1] In other words, Catholic belief is determined by Church leaders who interpret scripture and preserve tradition. Such leaders are always male and clerical, with formal training in theology.

Surprisingly, however, this rigid structure for teaching matters of faith does not exclude Catholic laity. Every Catholic is responsible for forming his or her own conscience; and despite a long list of what must be believed and done to be a good member, individual conscience is the last forum of judgment. It must be said, however, that such responsibility is not stressed by those who teach religion. Yet while matters of faith almost never change in the Church, its teaching on morals reflects eventually (i.e., within a century or two) what the faithful perceive to be right or wrong. The teaching with which I am concerned here is that on war.

Just war theory began with Saint Augustine of Hippo in the late fourth century. It was developed and popularized during the Middle Ages, not coincidentally the time of the Crusades. Its first criterion is that war must be waged only when there is "real and certain danger." Second, it

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1. "Dogma," *New Catholic Encyclopedia,* 2d ed. (Boston: Gale Press, 2003): 4:811.

must be declared by a competent authority; third, rights preserved must be proportionate to the lives that will be lost; fourth, all other peaceful alternatives must have been tried and found wanting; fifth, it must be fought for a just reason; and sixth, it must have reasonable chance of success.[2] As might be expected, conservative Catholic theologians and lay persons believe that the second Iraqi war satisfied these criteria. Like many of my Mormon neighbors, they support the war and President Bush's calling for it.

Conservative Catholics today would fit the image William B. Prendergast suggests in his book, *The Catholic Voter in American Politics:* they are anti-abortion with few or no shades of gray to their position; they adhere to the teaching that homosexual acts are intrinsically morally disordered; they support the U.S. president and military; and they vote Republican. Older white males usually support the Church ban on artificial contraception (especially its use by young women), although the decreasing birthrate among American Catholics suggests that women and men, conservative or not, have begun to exercise freedom of conscience with respect to this issue. Such practice is a response to the failure rate of the approved "rhythm method" (also known as "Vatican roulette") in preventing conception.

However, the conservative American Catholic found himself or herself in an awkward situation with respect to the second Gulf War. The pope and the Vatican came out firmly opposed to a preemptive strike, and the pope had some damning things to say about the arrogance and greed of the American president and our country. Nonetheless, very conservative Catholics simply dismissed the pope's words. At least one family I spoke to claimed that the pope was being naive about the evils in Iraq. In this, they echoed the sentiments expressed by the conservative Catholic press. For example, Father Richard Neuhaus, author and editor-in-chief of *First Things: The Journal of Religion and Public Life,* asserted:

> As St. Thomas Aquinas and other teachers of the just war tradition make clear, war may sometimes be a moral duty in order to overturn injustice and protect the innocent. The just cause in this case is the disarmament of Iraq, a cause consistently affirmed by the Holy Father and reinforced by 17 resolutions of the Security Council. Whether that cause can be vindicated

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2. Joan Chittister, O.S.B., "Random Thoughts on Just War Theory," *Catholic Peace Voice* 28, no. 2 (2003): 3.

> without resort to military force, and whether it would be wiser to wait and see what Iraq might do over a period of months or years, are *matters of prudential judgment beyond the competence of religious authority* (emphasis mine).[3]

Such a statement seems ironic issuing from a man who agrees so fully with the pope on so many other matters. The implication of the last sentence is that the pope doesn't understand how evil Saddam Hussein is nor what actions he may precipitate on a worldwide scale. Neuhaus suggests that the pope is politically naive—a remarkable view to take of a man who survived the anticlerical regime in communist Poland and whom some credit for the breakup of the Soviet Union.

Conservative Catholics are similar to those Mormons described by Jeffrey R. Johansen in his essay, "Wars of Preemption, Wars of Revenge." Johansen states, "Many Mormons, being politically conservative, may well support this . . . preemptive war. The members of both houses of Congress who are Mormon are squarely behind this dramatic turn in policy. It surprises me that I have heard so little said among Latter-day Saints about two very clear and very relevant stories in the Book of Mormon."[4] Johansen cites the war of revenge perpetrated by the Nephites against the Lamanites contrary to the advice of the Nephite general, Mormon, and he reminds us of its disastrous consequences. He also calls attention to the refusal of another Nephite commander, Gidgiddoni, to launch a preemptive strike against the Gadianton robbers. His conclusion is that those Latter-day Saints who profess belief in the Book of Mormon would do well to withhold support for the Iraq war. My Mormon friend Jeanne, at least before the war started, thought of George W. Bush as a holy man and the war as a holy cause. Mormons, too, seem intent on ignoring their scriptures and the pronouncements of their leaders.

My analysis of the U.S. population's overall approval of the war—despite the flimsiness of the president's evidence for weapons of mass destruction or collusion between Saddam and Osama Bin Laden, despite the calls of religious leaders worldwide for moderation, despite U.N. disapproval—parallels Johansen's. People felt terribly insecure after 9/11 and

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3. Reverend Richard Neuhaus, "Father Richard Neuhaus on the Iraqi Crisis: Disarmament as a Just Cause," *Rome Zenit*, online edition, March 10, 2003, http://www.catholicjustwar.org/neuhaus.asp.

4. Jeffrey R. Johansen, "Wars of Preemption, Wars of Revenge," DIALOGUE 35 (Fall 2002): 236–38.

needed revenge on someone. When bombing Afghanistan did not bring the necessary relief (we never even found Bin Laden), people seized on Iraq as a place that past success said we could easily destroy. We would show the rest of the world that we were still the most powerful nation on earth. The war would also demonstrate that neither political nor religious arguments would stay our hand.

Liberal Catholics, unmoved by such feelings, believed that the war was uncalled for. Yet these members of the Church do not usually side with its hierarchy. Ordinarily they feel no need to justify disagreement with its official teaching. They believe that many moral issues are matters of private conscience. They are likely to use birth control, support civil protection of homosexuals and of women's rights, and belong to groups seeking peace and social justice. Groups such as Pax Christi (an international Catholic organization for nonviolence), Call To Action (an international Catholic organization for empowering the laity), and Network (an American Catholic social justice lobby) have published articles by other Catholics—theologians and political scientists, clergy and laity—that contested support for Gulf War II. In doing so, they can claim the pope himself as an unaccustomed ally.

In his annual speech at the start of the new year, Pope John Paul II told the Vatican's diplomatic corps:

> War is never just another means that one can choose to employ for settling differences between nations. . . . As the Charter of the United Nations organization and international law itself remind us, war cannot be decided upon, even when it is a matter of ensuring the common good, except as the very last option and in accordance with very strict conditions, without ignoring the consequences for the civilian population both during and after the military operations.[5]

More powerfully, according to the *Albany Times Union*, the pope declared: "When war, as in these days in Iraq, threatens the fate of humanity, it is ever more urgent to proclaim, with a strong and decisive voice, that only peace is the road to follow to construct a more just and united society.

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5. "Breaking News," *Irish Examiner*, online edition, January 13, 2003, http://breaking.tcm.ie/2003/01/13/story84104.html.

. . . Violence and arms can never resolve the problems of men."[6] The Vatican, the city-state of which the pope is head, also made clear its opposition to what U.S. officials called a "preventive war" against Iraq, saying it would not qualify as a just war.

The numerous statements by (or in the name of) the pope are undeviating in their insistence that a U.S. preemptive strike against Iraq did not meet just war criteria. Unfortunately, however, the unity against the war claimed by Cardinal Pio Laghi, special envoy of John Paul II to President Bush, is exaggerated, as any reference to a dozen or so American Catholic writers and speakers like Father Richard Neuhaus would show.[7] Ultimately, like Mormons, Catholics of good faith have divided themselves into opposing camps on the question of the war's moral defensibility.

My own stand results from several decades of envisioning Jesus as a person of peace, a stance shaped by my psychology and personal history. I wept for joy when the Berlin Wall fell and in frustration and pain when the first Bush Iraqi war was declared. My sorrow later turned to anger when I intuited that George W. Bush lied to get us into the second Iraqi war and that U.S. citizens supported it less out of naiveté and more out of a desire for revenge because of 9/11. The first Bush war disappointed me and severely challenged my sense that the United States had evolved beyond physical violence against other countries. The second war threatened my feelings of loyalty and even provoked doubt about the existence of God whose name the Bush administration invoked repeatedly in its calls for war.

Deep empathy with those who suffer political oppression permeates my perception of the world; but my life history, too, contributes to the views I hold today. I entered the convent at seventeen as a devout Catholic girl and left it at forty-three as a woman still driven by a gospel vision. In the early 1980s, then-priest Father Matthew Fox wrote a book called *Whee!*

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6. "Pope Says Iraq War Threatens Humankind," *Albany Times Union*, online edition, March 23, 2003, A5, http://www.timesunion.com/library/summary list.

7. "Statement of Cardinal Pio Laghi, Special Envoy of John Paul II, to President George Bush," *L'Osservatore Romano: Official Newspaper of the Pope*, March 5, 2003, http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/special_features/peace/documents/peace_ 20030306_card-laghi-usa-meeting_en.html.

We, Wee All the Way Home: A Guide to a Sensual, Prophetic Spirituality (Santa Fe, NM: Bear and Co., 1976) that found its way into the library of the convent where I lived. Fox wrote of men's violence against women, the earth, and other men, especially the vulnerable. Inspired by Fox's work, I began to read the Gospels in a new way. I noted that while Jesus evinced anger on several occasions and acted violently at least once, he consistently defended the powerless, especially the poor and those judged as "sinners" and outsiders by his society. He ultimately refused to meet force with force, even though eschewing violent reprisal would lead to his own crucifixion and death. Because these Gospel texts are so central to my stand against war, I want to devote some space to them.

Jesus's anger precipitates a violent outburst from him in three specific passages. First, Jesus gets angry and curses a fig tree (Matt. 21:18–19). I don't find this a serious example of anger—even if I shudder as an environmentalist that Jesus, driven by peevishness, causes a tree to shrivel up and die. (I'm reminded of the commercials for Snickers that show horrible results of hunger, and I have to wonder how hungry Jesus was.) Second, and more seriously, Jesus drives the money changers out of the temple (Matt. 21:12–16). While he wasn't kind, he doesn't seem to have done damage to wares or vendors since he isn't accused of criminal offense. More importantly, his motivation for the act was the misuse of holy ground: Jesus objected not only to using a house of prayer as a place to make profit, but also as a place to cheat one's fellow Jews. No evidence presents itself that his actions were motivated by anything other than piety and charity.

The third moment occurs at the Last Supper. Jesus allows the disciples to bring a sword to the Garden of Olives (Luke 22:36–38), but in the garden he chastises Peter for using it, saying that they who live "by the sword" shall die by it (Matt. 26:52). Some scholars believe that Jesus commanded the sword to be brought so he could make this very point. Such a reading accords better with the majority of his teachings than the possibility that he would use the sword to protect himself by injuring others. So while Jesus prophesies that he comes to bring not peace but the sword (Matt. 10:34), this declaration describes the result of adhering to his teaching rather than what he wishes to happen.

While instances of Jesus's anger are few, New Testament moments when Jesus spurns or teaches us to spurn aggression are numerous. A few such examples include the following: "Blessed are the peacemakers" (Matt. 5:10); "If a man strikes you on one cheek, offer to him the other"

(Matt. 5:39); "Love your enemies, do good to those who hate you, and pray for those who persecute you" (Matt. 5:44). When he describes the right uses of power, Jesus says that whoever wishes to govern must serve the rest (Matt. 23:11–12). At the Last Judgment, those invited into the kingdom have given to the poor, the outcast, and the prisoner (Matt. 25:34–45).

Perhaps the most powerful moment of witness to nonviolence occurs in the accounts of the passion. Jesus offers no resistance to those who arrest and falsely accuse him, assuring Peter that he need only petition his Father and "twelve legions of angels" would respond, presumably to deal death and destruction to his enemies (Matt. 26:53). My own sense of the passion is that it culminates a life of learning (insofar as Catholicism understands Jesus growing experientially in wisdom); it validates the power of nonresistance. Refusing to meet aggression with aggression, anger with anger, and hatred with hatred, Jesus gives personal witness to the power of peacemaking. Killed at the behest of his own people by an occupying government, Jesus rises from the dead. His first word to his apostles after the resurrection is "peace" (John 20:19).

Jesus's espousal of peacemaking became a subject of my meditations through much of my religious life. Over the years, I became convinced that the message of the resurrection was that the only triumph over evil is nonviolence. This idea had become a major inspiration in my political understanding by the time President George Bush declared the first Iraq war. I had believed that the American people, having lived through the horrors of two world wars and the quagmire of Vietnam, would renounce war forever. When President George Bush ordered the U.S. bombing and invasion of Iraq, I was stunned. While this attack was not preemptive and world opinion supported Bush's reaction, I knew our stated purpose of "liberating" the Kuwaitis was at best euphemistic. Kuwait is, after all, a constitutional monarchy where, according to our own CIA, only 10 percent of the people (all of them male) may vote. "Liberation" for Kuwait will require social changes far more complex than simply causing an occupying force to withdraw.

When terrorists struck at the United States on September 11, 2001, I wondered to what extent the attack was motivated by U.S. aggression in the Middle East. My anger and anguish over George W. Bush's threat of a strike against Afghanistan, and then his preemptive invasion of Iraq, grew until the president finally announced that we had "won" the war and were

pulling out. I have felt betrayed by my own compatriots whose support of the war seems to compromise the very principles of peace and justice we have long prided ourselves on. I have been puzzled by a nation that has seemed increasingly under the sway of the religious right but which has ignored the counsel against the war of religious leaders from almost every major U.S. denomination, especially if not supported by the United Nations. David Skidmore, writing for Episcopal News Services in December 2002, reported:

> In a letter to President Bush drafted Thanksgiving week and signed by over 30 of the 47 denominational and faith group leaders making up the [Council of Religious Leaders of Metropolitan Chicago], Chicago's religious leaders urged the President to continue working with other nations for greater security in the Middle East and Persian Gulf "while avoiding, if at all possible, a costly, dangerous and destructive war."[8]

The Council of Religious Leaders of Metropolitan Chicago includes "most mainstream Protestant and Catholic denominations, along with the Chicago Board of Rabbis, the Council of Islamic Organizations, several Baptist conventions, the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World, the Salvation Army, and the Unitarian Church."[9] Reconciling American religious self-righteousness about making war on Iraq with such religious leaders' resistance to it seems impossible.

Our bombing and shooting of Iraqis has led me to an examination of my own life and to a reflection on my own violent tendencies. I have played (for longer hours than I want to admit) video games which entail eradicating whatever "monsters" appear on my computer screen. I enjoy James Bond movies as well as *Star Wars* and *Star Trek*. I have followed television shows like *The Highlander, Buffy the Vampire Slayer, Hercules,* and *Xena: Warrior Princess* with glee. Seeing bad guys beaten to a pulp and murderers die in agony gives me satisfaction on some visceral level. If I use the excuse that these instances are fictitious and are, therefore, safe ways to express my aggressive tendencies, then I must face the ways in which my anger surfaces in real life. For example, I have slammed doors hard enough to make paint fall off; I have cuffed my pet rat on the snout when he per-

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8. David Skidmore, "Chicago Religious Leaders Ask President Bush to Give Peace a Chance," *Episcopal News Service,* online edition, December 2002, http://gc2003.episcopalchurch.org/ens/ 2002-272.html.

9. Ibid.

sisted in doing something I didn't want him to do; I have slammed a door in a neighbor's face when she came to argue with me about a job I was doing; I have ranted at my sister when she said, quietly but with conviction, that she supported the war. When my previously mentioned friend and neighbor Jeanne spoke positively about Bush, I cut her short with a vituperative speech about him. Even my tendency to argue about almost everything, a tendency reinforced by my role as a teacher of argumentation to university freshmen, marks me as more violent than I like to admit.

I submit my confession not because I think I am a really bad person or because I am looking to be judged by readers, but because I believe that being "for peace" is difficult in ways overlooked even by outspoken war critics. Morally, for example, and despite my own espoused ideal of charity toward all, I find myself increasingly intolerant of religious and political conservatism. My gut-level reaction is to brand those who disagree with me as intellectually and morally inferior. My ability to discuss issues on which I differ from others is hampered by being angered into speechlessness.

So where does this leave me? While I do not believe that being either a doormat or passively aggressive identifies a person of peace, I submit that we who wish to follow that path must examine ourselves for ways in which we fail to measure up to our own ideals. Yet admitting our own limitations does not mean we must be paralyzed by them. Given that the U.S. has become increasingly imperialistic in the past twenty years, given that it alone possesses the power it manifested in Iraq to reduce any other nation on earth to rubble, given that the majority of U.S. citizens seems willing to support war whenever a leader finds such a move expedient—those of us who oppose war, the U.S. and international peace communities, must be willing to oppose it with our money, our time, even, if necessary, our lives. But whatever the cost, we must continue to strive for peace, both here and abroad, both politically and in the battlefields of our own hearts. Of those who profess to become persons of peace, no less can be asked. No less must be required.

From Flanders Fields

Deborah J. Sheridan

> Then Abram . . .
> . . . . . .
> stretchèd forth the knife to slay his son,
> When lo! an Angel called him out of heaven,
> Saying, Lay not thy hand upon the lad. . . .
> . . . . . .
> . . . Offer the Ram of Pride, instead.
> But the old man would not do so, but slew his son,
> And half the seed of Europe, one by one.
>
> (Wilfred Owen, "The Parable of the Old Man and the Young")

A LITTLE OVER TWENTY YEARS AGO on a beautiful July day in London when the sun glittered in a cloudless sky, warm breezes blew the music of the Royal Green Jackets band across Hyde Park. English families and tourists wandered the park or settled themselves on the grass and benches to listen. Close by, the Household Cavalry gathered inside the gates of their barracks and, when the hour struck, rode out on their magnificent steeds to stand guard at Horseguards Parade on the other side of the park. Their armor shone in the sun, the plumes on their helmets swaying rhythmically. The horses' hooves clattering on the cobbles, they made their way down

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Rotten Row and through the park. Twenty-five miles away, I left my office and went in search of some lunch.

When my brother Chris joined the British army, his entrance scores were so high he was allowed to choose any regiment. He had always loved the pomp and ceremony of our small island, and what could be more romantic and eccentrically English than to join the antiquated, ceremonial Household Cavalry? This regiment is two brigades combined: the Life Guards and the Blues and Royals. Having chosen the pageantry and glamour of the ceremonial, mounted division, Chris started his equestrian career. He polished his knee-length boots until his face gazed patiently back at him from the burnished depths, cleaned his white leather breeches to pristine condition, shined his dazzling silver breastplate and helmet, and combed the horsetail plume springing from the crown of his helm. He spent hours grooming and exercising his horse.

Chris and I grew up in a blended family that had not blended well. As children we fought; but since he had left home, I had missed him dreadfully. My heart swelled with pride as he made his way through the rigors of training and became a fully fledged trooper. He was finally engaged in something he loved, and I delighted in seeing him so absorbed in a task he found worthwhile.

Now in the warm, breezy afternoon, belly full, I drove the country lanes back to my office, the sun filtering through the leaves. I mused on how good it was to be alive, to breathe in the beauty of life afforded us on our "sceptered isle," the blitheness of youth guiding me through each day. We lived in violent times. Terrorist bombs irrevocably changed the course of people's lives in nearby London, but we were untouched, safe, our small town a safe harbor. I returned to my office and was greeted by the receptionist's grave face. Handing me a note, she advised me to phone the number scribbled across it. Bombs had exploded in Rotten Row and Hyde Park. Soldiers had been killed.

Trembling, I hurried to the office and grabbed the phone, dialing as I sank into the chair. The calm, measured tones of a policewoman at the crime scene asked me for my brother's name. She asked for his height, the color of his eyes and hair. "Any distinguishing marks?" she probed. I was silent while screaming filled my head. She was going to take those details and search through the bodies strewn across the street. She would have to step over the fallen, mutilated horses, searching to see if I had identified one of the dead and dying men. I shook from head to foot as scenes of our

childhood barreled into each other in my mind: me, the big sister when he had started school; at the beach in summers past; laughing with his father; scrapes, wounds, sitting on the back step counting our scabs; his recent graduation parades from basic training. I recounted the victories, minor and major, of Chris's life as it had touched my own.

Why were I and other sisters, mothers, brothers, and fathers staggering through these minutes wondering where our soldiers were? Terrorists, willing to die for their cause and take as many others with them as they could, had attacked bandsmen armed only with wind instruments. When military bandsmen are called to active service, they serve as stretcher bearers, never carrying a gun. In times of war, Chris and his fellow troopers would serve in the palace guarding the monarch, the last defense between her and the enemy. These were not boys who would go into battle, fire weapons in anger, destroy homes, property, lives. They were not "legal targets."

A couple of agonizing hours passed before I heard the news that the soldiers killed in Hyde Park were Blues and Royals. Chris was a Life Guard. Guilty tears of gratitude fell. My brother was safe. Other sisters' brothers lay dead. Eight soldiers and seven horses died in the park that day, three soldiers died later from their injuries, and forty-one spectators were maimed. Those hours have left an indelible mark on my soul. Not a lover of the army before Chris joined, I found my dislike growing into antagonism toward those who created the need for defensive forces. I'd been sympathetic to the Catholic Ulstermen's desire for equality, not because my own father was a Catholic Irishman, nor from my studies of history, but because they were part of God's family. But terrorism is never justified, whatever the cause, whatever name or excuse we may use to disguise it.

Until 1999 when I moved to Utah to study, I lived in the United Kingdom, where my family was converted to Mormonism in the early sixties. Reared in a country still recovering from the ravages of World War II, where city streets are battlefields for terrorists, I learned both to fear war and to loathe it. As we were led into other wars in patriotic fevers induced by double-speaking politicians, I learned to abhor their endorsements of the use of force. In anticipation of the U.S. attack on Iraq, I actively demonstrated and spoke at public meetings against it. Thankfully, in neither the United States nor Europe am I alone.

War has dogged Europe for tens of centuries, and we are tired of it. We have lived through its horrors firsthand in our own countries, not just

witnessed it on the TV screen. We have built, and lost, our empires. In the process we have learned the evil of subjugating other nations while hiding behind the claims of civilizing, modernizing, and proselytizing for God. We created misery, resentment, poverty, hatred, and untold suffering. With these lessons emblazoned across the pages of our history, why would we fall for the same idiocy in the twenty-first century? That is not to say that all Europeans opposed the attack on Iraq, but the numbers of those who supported the war were small. From where we sit, the war was a nightmarish replay of every empire-building conflict and excuse we have already invented, pursued, and justified to our deluded imperialist selves. All over Europe, in acts of terrorism brought to our doorsteps by our empire-building, politicians and ordinary citizens alike have been bombed, mortared, and shot. Our experience has cost and is still costing us an exorbitant price in lives, property, and taxes. Why would Europeans want another war?

In 1939 my mother was a small child living in London. My granny, who had survived London's bombing by the Kaiser's Zeppelins during the First World War, evacuated my mother to a small town called Chelmsford, the first place to be bombed in the Second World War. Despite Hitler's *Blitzkreig* on London, my granny took her young daughter back to the center of the city to be safe. Later my mother was evacuated to Wales and didn't see her family for four years. Children were regularly sent home from school to collect their belongings, then loaded onto boats and transported to Australia for safety—until a U-boat sank one of those boats and all the children were lost. My grandfather and stepfather, who saw active service in that war, remain silent to this day about their experiences.

In the early summer of 1997, I accompanied twenty high school students on a trip to the area of the River Somme in Flanders. We visited some of the thousands of First World War cemeteries there, row upon row of young men and boys, slaughtered. The largest ones are the last resting places of thousands of soldiers. Thousands more whose bodies were swallowed in the mire are merely names engraved in lists on the huge walls at the graveyards. The smallest graveyards hold only hundreds of bodies. Alive, these young men were filled with the patriotic fervor of "For the Fatherland" or "Kill the Kaiser." Dead, they are a grim reminder of war's utter waste.

As night fell, we listened in solemn silence to the bugler's last call. We were standing on the edge of Ypres, by the monolithic gate covered

with the half million names of soldiers who died in that town. I was overwhelmed, left inarticulate at the unbounded, pointless destruction of humanity witnessed by the fields of Flanders. At one lonely graveyard, as I searched for Sheridans, I felt a whisper and sensed that the man whose body lay in the forlorn grave before me, Philip Sheridan, was a member of my family. Overcome with despondency, I wondered if he had felt the same futility about the "the war to end all wars" that I did eighty years later. Some of those men stood in the trenches for four years, some for mere hours before their supreme sacrifice was wrenched from them. After a few weeks' fighting, no longer blinded by political or patriotic rhetoric, they were trapped.

Carefully maintained by the governments of the countries involved in the conflict, the tidy rows of patient dead and the orderliness in which they rest belie the horror of the Battle of the Somme. But scrunching my eyes, I pictured the victory recounted in the groans and screams of the wounded and dying. They had lived—and died—in appalling circumstances, feet rotting as they stood knee-deep in their comrades' blood and guts, fighting rats for food and a place to sleep. It was not a heroic war, and it robbed my beloved homeland of untold potential.[1]

Tony Blair supported the attack on Iraq with less than 30 percent of the population behind him. He faced a revolt in his cabinet and lost a very

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1. Of the 9.5 million British forces mobilized during World War I, 908,371 were killed in action or died from wounds. Norman Davies, *Europe: A History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 1,328. About 57,000 British lives were lost on the first day of the Battle of the Somme alone, with about 420,000 perishing over the course of the battle. Davies, *The Isles: A History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 896. Paul Kennedy notes that, of the 40.7 million Allied troops (including British) mobilized in the war, "Around 8 million men were killed in actual fighting, with another 7 million permanently disabled, and a further 15 million [sustaining serious wounds]—the vast majority of these being in the prime of their productive life. In addition, Europe *excluding* Russia lost over 5 million civilian casualties through what [D. H. Aldcroft in *From Versailles to Wall Street, 1919–1929* (London: n.pub., 1977), 15] termed 'war-induced causes'. . . . The Russian total, compounded by the heavy losses in the civil war, was much larger." Kennedy also cites such collateral damage as a "birth deficit," the genocidal massacres of displaced ethnic populations, and the severity of the 1917–18 influenza epidemic—with "the final casualty list for this extended period . . . as much as 60 million people." He estimates that the war's total expense, including munitions, mobilizations, and destruction of such facilities as railroads, factories,

able cabinet member. The French and German attitudes toward the war are now the stuff of stories to frighten children. Are they all cowards—or simply weary? The face of the U.K. countryside and the hearts of her people teem with reminders of past conflicts, while the countryside of France and her citizens' souls are pockmarked with war tokens of their own. Every year the fields of Flanders vomit forth bombs and bodies buried in the quagmires of the First World War battlefields. Some German cities were almost entirely obliterated. From the death camps in Germany, never dismantled, evil emanates from the ground they infest, and no birds sing. Reminded constantly of man's inhumanity to man, both by our geography and by the legions of our disabled and disturbed, why would we want another war, especially one declared on tired, spurious claims?

In the two decades between the July day of the IRA attacks and this, thousands of people have died on my small island home, victims of terror. Chris has married and had a son of his own. I have five children, three girls and two boys, big strapping lads named after prophets, all of whom joined with me in objecting to the attack on Iraq. I live thousands of miles from my oldest three children, but that invisible cord which binds us to our Heavenly Father is replicated in the feelings I have for them, whatever they choose to do or be. I tremble at the thought of severing the mortal cord that ties their lives to mine, and I understand the ferocity with which a lioness defends her cubs. I dread the day when some maniac will precipitate another war, one which will engulf us all. I do not want my children to fight against their brothers and sisters, from whatever shore they hail, or see other mothers weep over the bodies of children they have battled to bring into the world.

I demonstrated against the attack on Iraq because it went against the teachings of Jesus Christ as I understand them. Peace is not bought by aggression, hatred, or murder by the military. War destroys the sensitivities of the souls we compel to commit those crimes against humanity, breeds hatred in their hearts, and violates the very earth over which we are stewards. War diffuses darkness and fear over this glowing orb, a darkness and

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and warehouses, exceeded $260 billion, more than the total accumulated GNPs of European countries from 1800 to 1920, with even the most industrialized countries taking an additional ten years to make up economically for where they would otherwise have been in 1921. Paul Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers* (New York: Vintage Press, 1989), 278–79.

fear which infiltrated my heart ten thousand miles from the scene of the attack. What damage has it done in the hearts and souls of those on whom the attack was perpetrated?

As an apostle, Spencer W. Kimball taught that the Book of Mormon "should convince all living souls of the futility of war." Indeed, he seemed unequivocal when he stated:

> We do not favor war. We do not like the blood of war, the stench of war, the suffering of war, the deprivations of war, the cruelty of war, the degradation of war. We hate war. . . .
>
> It seems almost a hopeless undertaking to establish peace on earth and good will to men throughout the world, when at this very moment nations are in civil combat and are armed to the teeth. . . . All great movements had their small beginnings. . . .
>
> First we make ourselves humble. We change our own lives; that is the beginning.[2]

In general conference on October 4, 2003, Elder Shirley D. Christensen reaffirmed the LDS position that we believe and revere the words of our present prophet and those of past prophets.[3] Spencer W. Kimball's words ring hopefully in my head.

As I write now in late November 2003, President George W. Bush is visiting the small, war-weary island I have called my home. There he will face tens of thousands of my countrymen and women, anti-war protestors whose courage I praise, demonstrating against a colonial enterprise that will yield the same chaotic crises Europe now yearns to leave behind. For our own sakes and our children's, we must humble ourselves, change our lives, and require that our leaders change, too. As weary as we are of war, it is up to us to begin a revolution of peace.

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2. Edward L. Kimball, ed., *The Teachings of Spencer W. Kimball* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1982), 414–15.

3. See Shirley D. Christensen, "The Clarion Call of Prophets," *Ensign*, November 2003, 32–34.

Of Wars, Maps, and Ideals

Barney Hadden

I AM A CHILD OF THE SIXTIES. I mean this in a more literal sense than is generally understood: I was a child during the 1960s. One result is that I have a distinctive view of the anti-war movement and the rest of the counterculture that dominated media presentations about youth during the latter part of that decade. I looked at the protesting students, the hippies, yippies, and longhairs with the sort of hero worship that is seen in young boys with teenaged brothers. I had no older brothers. The student protestors I saw on television, the baby-boomers, were my substitute. For me, opposition to war seemed mature and intelligent.

Where boomers were raised to see war as heroic—as it was in the life stories of their parents and John Wayne films—my generation inherited the legacy of a dirty, unpopular war. Where they had George Patton and Audie Murphy, we had William Westmoreland and, worse, William Calley. The events of Vietnam lacked the epic scale, the heroic action, and the moral rectitude of "the big one," and it is no wonder that I am somewhat embarrassed to admit publicly—especially to my contemporaries—that I support the current conflict in Iraq.[1]

Still, I come to the position honestly. I am under no compunction, religious or otherwise, to be a pacifist. In fact, because I was raised a Lat-

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1. My feelings about the war in late October 2003—as I read of a series of suicide attacks on American occupation forces, agents of reconstruction, and ministers of relief—are ambivalent in the extreme. One friend wrote to me that the variances from the truth in the rhetoric of the administration have convinced him that its representatives are either incompetent and undeserving of continuing in office past the election, or duplicitous and deserving of removal from office. I

ter-day Saint and still largely think of myself as one, I cannot see pacifism as always and unfailingly moral. My own ethic would suggest that pacifism is the first path, useful in dealing with others when they have their own commitment to a morality that views life as valuable and people as important. Not everyone who offends us does so purposefully, and many would be willing to return good for good if we are willing, initially, to turn the other cheek to an injustice.

Others are not willing to deal justly. At the level of the community, those who purposely harm others are punished. Customarily, they are excluded from social interaction and made to give up those benefits they received from acts of injustice. Critics of human justice systems decry the fact that the law can only punish but never restore to victims what was lost; religious people often look forward to a godly justice when righteousness is rewarded. Still, most view that final restoration as a place where, as the Book of Mormon puts it, everything restored will be to a "proper order" (Alma 41:4). In other words, not only will goodness be met with good, but evil will have evil returned to it. The end involves both the rewarding of the just and the punishment of the unjust; God is capable of punishing those who do wrong without himself being evil. Thus, the possibility exists that punishment of the unjust is just, even godly, behavior.

The blending of Old and New Testament laws that make up the Mormon view of God and God's will are at variance with religious views that understand the "Spirit of Christ" as universally a peaceful influence. Mormons view Jesus and Jehovah as one. Though this belief does not seem to put them at variance with Trinitarian Christians, it gives LDS theologians no easy distinction between an angry God in the Old Testament and a loving one in the New. A reading of the New Testament itself reveals that Christ was not altogether incapable of violence. The same Christ who commanded Peter to put up his sword (Matt. 26:52) also instructed his disciples to sell their clothes to obtain weapons (Luke 22:36). Mormon theology is as peculiar as its people, including both the desire for

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think the argument is a good one. On the other hand, in for a dime, in for a dollar. There appears to be no easy way out of the current conflict, and the best outcomes involve long-term action to rebuild the nation in the image of the Western democracies.

permanent and millennial peace and the periodic raising of an army for Israel, whether that host is led by Joshua, Moroni, or Joseph Smith.

I would say, finally, that LDS theology embraces a God with far more humanity than the God that other flavors of Christianity worship. Instead of a God of spirit, different in makeup from his creations, Mormons worship a God of body and spirit. This may simply be another way of saying that the LDS God is both divine and human, showing that we do not consider the two mutually exclusive. We put an emphasis on the notion that Christ was tempted in all points as we are (Heb. 14:15). At least historically, Mormons saw their God as a sexual being, something which other Christian denominations eschew, sometimes so completely as to regard celibacy as a characteristic of the holiest of men and women. I think at this level, we can see why LDS believers are comfortable with an Old Testament God who can be passionate in every way: loving, but also vengeful and angry.

The God of Christianity was much more influenced by the Platonic ideals of rationality and reflection than Mormonism's, and that makes Elohim a bit more like the raging, middle-class father of the living room than the untouchable regent of the heavenly court.

It should be clear that my stance on the war is mine, not the official position of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints nor any subset of LDS believers. I know many members who adamantly opposed the current conflict, just as I know Mormons who are absolute pacifists. And just as, for example, individual Quakers have determined in good conscience that they needed to engage in wars past, at least one Mormon I know was a conscientious objector during the Vietnam era.

THE POSSIBILITY OF A SANCTIFYING WAR

Although I see war as always and inevitably horrible, I believe that some evils are greater. The old creed of New Hampshirites, "Live free or die; death is not the worst of evils," resonates for me. It may just be that I was acculturated through public school history courses to accept Patrick Henry's call for "liberty . . . or death," and to believe that conflicts like the American Civil War resulted in a more just and free world. That is, war, as terrible a force as it always is, sometimes is worth the toll it takes if it makes life better. Abraham Lincoln said, at his second inaugural,

> Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the

> wealth piled by the bondsman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn by the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, "The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."[2]

This declaration, abutted against that line from the Mormon hymn, "Sacrifice brings forth the blessings of Heaven"[3] causes me to view some (by no means all) war as sacrificial and, as that word's origins would indicate, holy.

I recognize that the term "holy war" has, in recent years, become one of the most frightening in the modern lexicon, but I want to invest that term with a newness that we can't easily find today. War is holy when it is a means of making the world more just, very much the way the Holy Ghost is regarded by Mormons as both a justifier and a sanctifier of the human being. The term "holy war" is too often a call for violence without thought, but I mean to suggest that what is needed is a pondering of the possibilities inherent in violent action. If action is likely to relieve more suffering than it causes, to enrich many more lives than it takes, it is a course that must be considered in our united attempt to make the world more like the one God intends.

But war is done so badly most of the time. The purveyors of war seek to acquire lands and treasures, to inflict harm on others, to get even for past injustice. Even when war is undertaken for the noblest causes and with the best of intentions, it results in unforeseen horrors: the deaths of noncombatants, the destruction of much that is valuable and beautiful, the ride of accompanying apocalyptic cavaliers.

The landmark event for those in our time who seek an *apologia* for armed conflict is World War II and the resistance to European fascism and Japanese imperialism. The argument is tiresomely familiar and subject to some revision in light of all we know about the failings of the Allies to live up to high-minded ideals. I grant that America and Britain—to say nothing of the Stalinist regime, which was as evil as the Nazis and perhaps worse for its callous disregard for the lives of its own citizens—displayed

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2. I memorized this statement at the Lincoln Memorial, Washington DC, in the summer of 2003.

3. William W. Phelps, "Praise to the Man," *Hymns of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1985), no. 27.

their own racial injustices, built their own concentration camps, held rallies for nationalistic rah-rah, and repressed dissent.

Nevertheless, no hectoring about the deficiencies of the Allies will dissuade me that the Nazis were infinitely worse. Neither could I believe that anything but armed resistance—total war—would have halted the advance of repression in Europe or Asia. The regimes of which we speak had an unprecedented capacity for taking innocent life; they combined what Hugh Nibley called the "Mahan principle"—that man may take life and get gain—with industrial techniques of mass production.[4] Mass destruction. And while the war resulted in the deaths of millions, both uniformed personnel and civilians, I cannot see those deaths as comparable to the slaughter in the death camps. Individual actions of soldiers during the war can (indeed, must) be evaluated as unique moral or immoral actions, answerable to conscience and to God. But the combatant who fired in war in order to end the Nazi regime had a righteous cause of action which the death camp guard could not claim. And even though many youthful soldiers died in the horrors of the war, their deaths were not the same as those who were herded into showers and gassed. At least the soldier has the ability to construct a meaning for his sacrifice.

THE STATE OF THE DEBATE

Thus, I begin with the axiom that some war is just and, therefore, justifiable. On the other hand, I recognize that war is unpredictable, so that, whatever justification is offered, it may not be that war achieves its desired end or does so without its awfulness overwhelming the potential good it could do. Much more frightening to me is the possibility that a disingenuous government will fight for what it desires while hiding that end under the camouflage of noble purpose. After all, as a child of the sixties, I naturally have Watergate as a formative impression of the workings of government. I distrust the information I get because the source has so often been dishonest in the past. And the tendency of the American government to lie seems proportional only to its own assessment of its ability to get away with dishonesty. Governments enjoying widespread support and fighting against enemies widely reviled lie with reassuring consistency.

Given these assumptions, how did I become persuaded by *this* gov-

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4. Hugh Nibley, *Approaching Zion*, vol. 9 in *Collected Works of Hugh Nibley* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1989), 225.

ernment that *this* war is just? To a small extent, I was convinced by the arguments of the Bush administration. Some of those urgings were more persuasive than others. But the government's case was strong compared to the one offered by those who rebutted it. I was convinced to a much larger degree by the poverty of arguments offered by those opposed to the war.

Proverbial wisdom holds that generals continually fight the last war rather than the current one. This viewpoint holds that the lessons of the last war are always learned, but few anticipate or immediately recognize the shifts that the introduction of new weapons and tactics has caused. My favorite example comes from my training in medieval history: at Agincourt, Henry V led an outnumbered force to victory over better-armed and -supplied French troops who controlled the engagement. His victory was largely aided by the French belief that archers with longbows were not capable of engaging knights on horseback. After all, such longbowmen were commoners, and knights were gentlemen. This was a belief that, nearly a hundred years earlier, had earned the French similar defeats at Crécy and Poitiers when smaller English forces, sometimes on the brink of annihilation and far from resupply, managed to rout well-equipped French armies and, at least at Poitiers, captured King John and his son James. The eventual ransom of French officials cost millions of pounds, a sum so astronomical that in today's terms it staggers the imagination. And all because of a misplaced belief in invulnerability.

What is true in war is, evidently, equally true in intellectual engagement. So often during the days leading up to the current war in Iraq, I was struck by the anti-war movement's use of slogans and strategies from the past, almost as though they longed for the days when their rhetoric accurately answered the arguments of the "establishment." I am sure that, like the French nobles, they are convinced of the rightness of what they do and believe that they are so obviously better than those they oppose that the shield of their betterness will protect them from the arrows of their opponents. For me, however, the old arguments that worked during the Vietnam era, and even during the first Gulf War, were largely nonresponsive to the justifications for war that were current in late 2002.

THE SITUATION IN IRAQ

Here is what I believed in the days before the war began: first, Saddam Hussein was bad. He may not have been the worst of the national despots on the scene in December 2002, but he was odious, nonetheless.

He terrorized his people, killed capriciously, attempted to conquer the territory of often peaceful neighbors, and enjoyed acquiring and using weapons that the world regards as improper even in war. Second, Saddam had, in the past, held and stockpiled chemicals and biological agents used in making weapons, as well as some enriched fissionable materials. He used these in fighting a war against Iran and in suppressing threats to his power within his nation. Third, Iraq was unlikely to withstand the American military, but it would attack nations and peoples that it perceived as too weak to put up much of a fight. Fourth, in the past, Saddam had shown his continuing interest in acquiring by conquest the lands of his neighboring nations. Finally, I believed that Saddam would support terrorism if he ever thought it was in his interest to do so.

One more pertinent point: I believed that a state of war between the U.S.-led coalition had existed since the first Gulf War and that it had never been ended by formal treaty. Thus, I looked at the cease-fire agreement that ended open hostilities in the early 1990s as conditional, based on the adherence of both sides to the terms of the agreement.

Here is what I did not believe: I never found persuasive the idea that Iraq was involved in the 9/11 attacks. I just didn't see the connection. Even if I had swallowed the highly publicized intelligence reports that an Iraqi official met with an Al Qaeda official, I don't think that 9/11 would have been high on the agenda. I also never believed the argument that Iraq was an immediate threat to the United States.

However, saying that I did not believe these things is not tantamount to believing that administration claims about these matters were lies. I think intelligence reports are sometimes faulty. I know people who are involved in their production and am familiar with the difficulty intelligence agencies have in making sense of the data they evaluate. I expect intelligence to be imperfect. It simply did not matter to me that U.S. citizens and territories had not been violated in the past and were unlikely to be disturbed in the future. The United States and its people were a concern of mine, but not the only one.

Even without these justifications that were important to others, I saw the potential war in Iraq as a just cause if it would remove the tyrant and liberate the people of Iraq. I thought it would also benefit the world by reducing the numbers of weapons in the hands of a person likely to use them. Historically, the liberal bias has been my own: I think repression of individual liberty is an evil and "eternal hostility against every form of tyr-

anny over the mind of man"—to use Jefferson's venerable phrase—is a part of the American birthright.

THE WEIGHT OF PERSUASION

As I was weighing the rationale for war, I heard these arguments from the left: First, there were lots of slogans like "No blood for oil." While I never specifically heard "One, two, three, four, / What in the hell are we fighting for?" I did see a number of aging hippies in San Francisco protesting, sometimes violently, in support of international pacifism. These arguments were unpersuasive to me. I can't say that the first war in the Gulf was free of avarice for oil and even for alliance with Arab states in the Gulf, but I could say that the United States was getting along fine without Iraqi oil. The United States has not been, in recent years, involved in armed conflict as a means of gaining territory or of looting nations. While I don't always agree with the intrigues by which we have toppled freely elected governments who refuse to support American goals, I could not see the Iraq war as primarily motivated by our desire to steal Iraqi resources or replace the evil Saddam with an equally evil dictator who was friendly to the United States.

A second argument advanced previous to the war was the familiar history of our previous support for Saddam and other dictators throughout the world. The argument was never made explicitly, but it seemed to be that, since we have previously supported despots, it would be hypocritical of us to now oppose one militarily. My opinion was and is that we are not condemned to repeat the stupidities of the past. The fact that we gave aid to Hussein's regime does not mean that we are forbidden to do the right thing now.

In the days leading up to war, several made the persuasive point that Saddam was hardly the worst despot in the world. Why were we troubling ourselves with Iraq while ignoring North Korea, China, or Zimbabwe? I wrestled with this argument the longest, and it still seems to me the strongest, but eventually I rejected it. Iraq was different from the other nations most often cited. War with China might be morally justified: The regime there is horribly repressive, and it has annexed peaceful neighbors. But the United States could not conquer that nation, so war against the People's Republic would not improve the world. North Korea is despotic and undeniably possesses weapons far worse than those believed to have existed in Iraq, but the border of North Korea is closer to

Seoul—the third most populous city in the world—than I am to the job to which I commute several times a week. It is probable that the North could launch a nuclear warhead into that metropolitan area with a catapult. War there would not improve the world. As for Zimbabwe, Robert Mugabe may be destructive to his own nation and unconcerned about his people's welfare, but he is not an international criminal nor does he seem set to violate the integrity of other nations' borders. Yet.

But Saddam Hussein offered a combination of internal and external menace together with an inability to mount real resistance to American attack. The military planners believed (and they were largely accurate about this prediction) that they could move against Iraq without the kinds of civilian deaths and injuries that result from the inaccuracies of older ordnance. Saddam probably didn't have many means of launching nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons against targets in nearby allied nations; and most population centers (read: Jerusalem and Tel Aviv) were far enough away that they were not at significant risk. It seemed that few American or British soldiers would die. Though this sounds cavalier, and I regard both the civilian and military deaths of the war as horrible tragedies to families, friends, and communities, those tragedies are offset, in my mind, by the betterment of political considerations in Iraq. This is why, in the end, I found the arguments for war more compelling than the arguments against it.

LOOKING BACK

In the end, I thought the war was just and might result in a better future for the citizens of Iraq, a safer future for their neighbors, and a better regard for America in the world. Some of these hopes have been borne out as the war was prosecuted. Some have not. Some of my assumptions about the justice of the war seem to have been correct; others, false. Nevertheless, I am not embarrassed to have embraced this war. It was not my natural inclination, but I continue to believe that it was the right thing to do based on the evidence and argument made in the days prior to military involvement.

One final argument that is always made before war is undertaken is that, no matter what we think is going to happen, war has a habit of defying expectations. Things go wrong. Perhaps this is the strongest reason to hold on to peace for as long as possible, to embrace it tightly. This is the reason why war is held justly as a scourge of nations and why I, as a believer

in a loving God, can never feel celebratory regarding war. If we take up the sword, as I feel we must from time to time, it seems that we have a responsibility to fight in a manner that becomes us as citizens of a free society and believers in certain ideals. If we believe that humanity is the express image of God, we can hardly undertake to destroy other people except in order to save more people. We must rely on the most fundamentally ambiguous charge in scripture: "It is better that one man should die, than that a nation should dwindle and perish in unbelief" (1 Ne. 4:13). And we should remember that while this was the rationale for killing the drunken, avaricious, and cruel Laban, it was also the justification given for killing the Lamb of God (John 11:50). We never fully know what impact our actions will have or whether our understanding is congruent with the shapes of reality. We make the best decisions we can and pray that our actions will be understood in light of the charity we feel in our hearts. I believe that, in the end, it is what exists there that will be the true measure of the righteousness of our actions.

When I was six or seven years old, my mother brought home from one of her garage-sale expeditions a large, red-covered atlas. The book was old—older even than my parents—and full of the past. It smelled like damp basements and threatened to disintegrate every time I turned a page. Because it had been published prior to the Great Depression and the Second World War, the world it delineated was very different from the one I saw on the globe at school. Nations had seemingly vanished, becoming part of new configurations.

Europe in the atlas contained many countries that no longer existed in the world of my childhood. In Africa and Asia, many country names indicated that they somehow belonged to the European powers, another thing that was not true in the late 1960s. Nations were color coded to show those allegiances. The great British Empire was most prominent—colored a gorgeous pink in all its far-flung outposts: Canada, Tanganyika, India, South Africa, Australia.

The maps were sumptuous and fascinating, and I thought of them the other day when I passed a map in the social sciences building on campus, a map of the world printed in 1997. The atlas had been my first visual clue that the impact of war and politics changes the political realities of the world.

Of course, the world will always be configured for me, to some extent, as it was when I was a child or as it was when I sat in junior high geog-

raphy class. In 1976 it was different than it is now, than it is on the map I looked at that day last week. In those days of my youth, tanks faced each other on the border of a divided Germany. Cambodia was in the grip of the Khmer Rouge. I remember the initials of that time: FRG, DDR, NATO, CCCP. It was a world of polarities, of good guys and bad guys, because I was young and idealistic. It also seemed to me a very dangerous place in which to grow up.

I learned the nations of the world then by coloring in blank maps with colored pencils. They are all different now. Rhodesia is Zimbabwe. Kampuchea is Cambodia. Yugoslavia is a tenth its former size, surrounded by nations I could have seen in that fusty atlas I read as a boy: Serbia, Croatia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Macedonia. Germany is one nation. Europe is confederating into something that may one day look very much like the United States of America. A political prisoner who worked from a jail cell from the time I was one year old until I finished graduate school was elected president of the nation that imprisoned him, then retired voluntarily and peacefully in an act at least as heroic as the rest of his life had been.

The world of 2003 is incomprehensibly changed from the one I knew, mostly for the better.

The bad guys of my youth are gone. That's not to say there is no longer evil in the world. Plenty of that remains. But the evils we most feared in my childhood—the organized evil of totalitarian superpowers bent on world domination—have retired from the scene. What's left are people who do evil on a smaller scale but who haven't the energy to expand their spheres of control, just as the comic figure Kim Il-Jung struts ridiculously before cameras, hoping to aggrandize himself while his starving people have neither televisions nor electricity by which to view his antics.

Evil is disorganized, but sometimes for that it is all the more brutal. Suicide terrorists kill people who, unsuspecting, attend a Passover ceremony in a local hotel or peel carrots in the kitchen of an elegant restaurant overlooking a great city or take their baby into the day-care center in the building where they work. Anonymous killers shoot others as they load the SUV with purchases from Home Depot. Postal workers learn that, in addition to braving rain and snow and gloom of night, they must also brave spores that cause them to sicken and take to their beds. And then they die, and that is considered by someone, somewhere, a victory for righteousness.

For me, the worst part of growing up was coming to know that the good guys aren't always good. In the past, the nation I idealized (and wish I still could) was expansionistic and imperialistic. It subjugated people so that bananas or coffee or gasoline could be sold for a few pennies less per unit.

On the map in the social science building, the United States is outlined in green. Green is the color of youthful inexperience—the "salad days," as Shakespeare called his own adolescence. LDS tradition, encapsulated in temple ritual, makes green the color of change and repentance. Green is what humans have to cover their sin, symbolic of the opportunity to make the future both different and better. I want to believe that the nation moves now to make the world better. It moves borders or fights governments in order to liberate people, rather than to control commodities. Believing certainly doesn't make it so any more than wishing. But always believing the worst doesn't prevent evil any more effectively.

I supported the war because I believed (and still hope) that it will do good, not for the people of the United States, but for the people of Iraq. My own life hardly needs improvement. I have enough freedom, enough work, enough self-expression, enough society, enough family. The only thing that would seemingly improve my life is increased personal wealth. That, in itself, shows me that I lack for nothing. But elsewhere people cannot speak and cannot worship, cannot eat or read after dark, cannot sleep unmolested by forces of fear and brutality. What this war has asked of America is not too much. It is, rather, far too little.

War Is Eternal: The Case for Military Preparedness

Robert M. Hogge

"Perpetual peace is possible but . . ."
—Count Pierre Bezákhov, Tolstoy's *War and Peace*

THE HISTORY OF EMPIRES and nation-states is often a chronicle of wars, as this sprinkling of names clearly evokes: Ghengis Khan, Attila the Hun, Julius Caesar, Napoleon Bonaparte, William T. Sherman, Dwight D. Eisenhower, Fidel Castro, and Ho Chi Minh. The twentieth century, the bloodiest and most war-crazed in the history of the world,[1] has alone been responsible for combat in which "not less than 62 million civilians have perished, nearly 20 million more than the 43 million military personnel killed."[2]

Enumerating deaths caused by war in the single decade of the1990s creates a litany singularly grim: Sudan (1.5 million); Rwanda (800,000);

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1. Ironically Alfred B. Nobel (1833-96), Swedish chemist and philanthropist, contributed to this dubious distinction with his invention of dynamite.

2. Chris Hedges, *War Is a Force That Gives Us Meaning* (New York: Public Affairs, 2002), 13. Hedges has been a foreign correspondent for fifteen years and

Angola (500,000); Bosnia (250,000); Guatemala (200,000); Liberia (150,000); Burunia (250,000); and Algeria (75,000) along with untold tens of thousands in the border conflict between Ethiopia and Eritrea.[3] Then there are Colombia, Israel/Palestine, Chechnya, Sri Lanka, southeastern Turkey, Sierra Leone, Northern Ireland, Kosovo, Iraq. And war continues unabated during the first decade of the twenty-first century. I list the names of historical warriors, numbers of casualties, and recent areas of brutal conflict to demonstrate that war has always been with us and shows no sign of abating.

Although I love peace and have great sympathy for pacifists such as the Quakers, I don't believe they can achieve their hoped for Edenic ideal in the world as we now know it. Though you might logically or emotionally seek to discount war's omnipresence, it is nonetheless real; historian Will Durant "calculated that there have only been twenty-nine years in all of human history during which a war was not underway somewhere."[4] The nature of war itself, senseless, brutal, and often unprovoked, convinces me that perpetual peace is not even remotely possible. In fact, a nation-state's military preparedness, either singly or in coalitions, and its ability to deter would-be aggressors are absolute prerequisites for survival, let alone for any hoped-for incremental progress towards world peace.

In our time, the U.S. military's greatest legacy to the American people is that no aggressor nation has successfully attacked and occupied the mainland of the United States. Many of the Latter-day Saint military men and women I have worked with attribute our favorable position in this war-plagued world both to the theory of deterrence, peace through military and economic strength, and even more to the hand of God. As journalist Chris Hedges reminds us: "Civil war, brutality, ideological intolerance, conspiracy, and murderous repression are part of the human condition—indeed almost the daily fare for many but a privileged minority."[5] Because of

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recently received the 2002 Amnesty International Global Award for Human Rights Journalism. His book is reviewed in this issue.

3. Ibid., 13.

4. Quoted in ibid., 10.

5. Ibid., 13.

the grace of God and our military preparedness, we Americans are now that privileged minority.

World history is rife with examples of city-states, clans, races, or nation-states overrun because they were not prepared militarily. Let me focus first, in some detail, on two millennia-long conflicts that are still with us in the twenty-first century: Chinese-backed "liberation" movements and the Arab/Israeli conflict. Then I'll analyze forms of pacifism, showing why each one can never lead to perpetual peace.

First, the "China Connection." After two world wars, the still unresolved Korean War became the first test case between two opposing ideologies and mindsets: the United Nations' "peacekeepers" led by U.S. military forces and Asian "people's liberation forces" backed by the Chinese. On June 25, 1950, the North Korean Democratic People's Army invaded, crushing South Korean defenses and entering Seoul, all in the space of three days. The North Korean leaders commanded their military forces to attack, believing that the South Koreans did not have a military force strong enough to deter them. Their assessment was correct, and the result was the immediate and brutal conquest of South Korea.

Most reasonable people in the West would automatically see North Korea's invasion of South Korea as an unprovoked act of aggression. But many Asians at the time saw the same military action as a needed step to reunify the homeland, liberating the South Koreans from their ties to Western imperialism. A few months later in October, U.S.-led forces of the United Nations not only recaptured all South Korean territory below the 38th parallel, but they also advanced all the way into the "aggressor nation" to the Yalu River, the border between China and North Korea. Again, from a Western perspective, military forces are trained to drive invading forces out of captured territory and then to penetrate the aggressor's homeland, cutting supply lines and destroying the ability to wage war.

General Douglas MacArthur, in a devastating miscalculation, believed that China would not enter the war. Yet the Chinese saw the U.S. advance toward its borders as yet another in a series of Western preparations to conquer and eventually dismember their homeland.[6] Consequently, massive numbers of Chinese troops crossed the Yalu River in late November and successfully drove U.N. forces out of North Korea. Sur-

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6. In the latter decades of the nineteenth century, Imperial China lost much

prised and humiliated by the counterattack, the United Nations branded China "an aggressor nation."[7] Mao Tse-tung, however, saw the issue of aggression from a different perspective: "We are for peace. But so long as U.S. imperialism refuses to give up its arrogant and unreasonable demands and its scheme to extend aggression, the only course for the Chinese people is to remain determined to go on fighting side by side with the Korean people."[8] Mao Tse-tung is for peace, as he defines it. In his support for wars of national liberation, Chairman Mao envisioned an Asia free from Western hegemony as Korea, Vietnam, and several other former dominions once again become subservient to China.

The two perspectives I've briefly presented, the United Nations' and Mao Tse-tung's, were diametrically opposed and are still unresolved. Chairman Mao acted according to a principle advocated by Sun Tzu, a Chinese military theorist, in his *Art of War*, the oldest military treatise in the world, written more than 2,400 years ago—and still relevant today: "The art of war teaches us to rely not on the likelihood of the enemy's not coming, but on our own readiness to receive him; not on the chance of his not attacking, but rather on the fact that we have made our position unassailable."[9]

While stationed at Osan Air Base, South Korea, in the mid-1970s, I met one evening with several members of the Korean general staff who told me how grateful they were for the U.S. military presence since it ensured stability in the region. Earlier that day, I had reviewed war plans with other commanders as we prepared for what we thought would be an

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of its territory and suzerainties to five other imperialist powers: Russia, Japan, France, England, and Germany. These losses both humiliated and angered the Chinese in the Qing Dynasty, paving the way for Mao Tse-tung and the revolutions of the twentieth century.

7. For a brief but well-documented history of a pro-American assessment of this limited war, see Robert C. Freeman and Dennis A. Wright, *Saints at War: Korea and Vietnam* (American Fork, UT: Covenant Communications, 2003), 2–16 (reviewed in this issue).

8. This is an excerpt of a speech Chairman Mao delivered at the First National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, February 7, 1953. For a variety of perspectives on the history and theory of warfare, see the Air War College Gateway to Military Theory and Strategy Website http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/awc-thry.htm.

9. Retrieved in October 2003 from http://earthops.org/sun-tzu.html.

attack from the north. Thankfully the attack never materialized. Although the situation remained tense for several months, the gratitude expressed to me that evening by the South Korean generals made me feel that my contribution, however small, to their country's security was both valuable and appreciated.

Contrast that experience with the one I had when I returned from Korea to pursue an air force-sponsored doctoral program at the University of Arizona. That first day on campus, I proudly wore my military uniform. When a small group of young men saw me, they crowded me from the sidewalk. One spit on me and called me a baby killer. Somehow I managed not to lose control. A few minutes later, I signed in at the university's ROTC detachment,[10] and the commander, dressed in a civilian suit and tie, told me what I had just learned about anti-war protesters, then ordered me to return home to change into civilian clothing.

I understood that I was, to the demonstrators at least, not an individual but a symbol of the military-industrial complex they despised. Yet it was that same military that silently deterred hostile nation-states from attacking the United States, giving the campus demonstrators the freedom to protest. Though the jostling I experienced that day was personally uncomfortable, I knew that those college students had the right to free speech, and I would have fought, especially to preserve that freedom for them, if I were ever called upon to defend our homeland.

For a fleeting moment that fall day, I longed to return to Korea where I felt that what I represented and who I was, both as a military officer and as a peace-loving Latter-day Saint, had been appreciated.[11] Then, in later moments of personal reflection, I remembered that, while I was in Korea, university students in Seoul had held a demonstration, protesting what they perceived as a U.S. occupation of their homeland. On the day I witnessed it, what began as a nonviolent protest quickly developed into another Selma, Alabama, as police officers confronted the demonstrators.

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10. Many major colleges and universities in the United States have Reserve Officer Training Corps programs that prepare selected students for commissioning as officers in the United States Air Force or other branches of military service. I received my commission as a second lieutenant in 1969 at BYU.

11. In addition to my role as a commander of three hundred enlisted men and women, I was the president of the LDS servicemen's branch at Osan Air Base.

Tempers flared, then chaos: students breaking windows and overturning vehicles, police officers clubbing the protesters, destructive counterattacks, the use of tear gas, the arrival of reinforcements, and ultimately a painfully enforced stalemate.

This brief protest reminded me of other long-term organized resistance movements throughout the world. Some, such as Mahatma Gandhi's resistance to British rule in India, have become legendary. But we often forget the epilogue: Gandhi was assassinated by a Hindu fanatic; a civil war between Hindus and Muslims fractured the newly formed Indian state; and Pakistan and India, now both nuclear powers, are engaged in a protracted cold war of their own, the potential detonator being the struggle to control Kashmir. And as in Korea, human casualties along contested borders continue to pile up.

Fifty years after negotiators achieved a hostile stalemate in Korea, I still cannot envision any peaceful resolution that would be acceptable to both sides, especially now that North Korea has devastating weapons and delivery systems. When its military capability is linked with poverty, desperation, and a fanatical ruler, potential scenarios are catastrophic. The earlier decade-long wars in Vietnam, from the Chinese perspective, are simply seen as other attempts by Western imperialists, France and the United States, to invade another nation-state, like Korea, once under the suzerainty of China. Chinese military strategists think historically. When they feel that China is strong enough militarily and economically, they will advocate reclaiming former lands and territories taken from China by Western imperialists.

From a Chinese perspective, future conflict with one or more Western powers is inevitable. As we know, the past wars in Korea and Vietnam brought the United States almost to the brink of World War III with China. But the United States continues to intervene militarily throughout the world. The United States, both at home and abroad, has been criticized—and justly so in some cases—for fifty years of military interventions. Yet some human rights advocates like Hedges feel that the armed forces of our country, along with those of other members of the industrialized world, have not intervened enough and therefore are responsible for many of the world's genocides (Chechnya, Sri Lanka, Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Rwanda) because we "had the power

to intervene and did not."[12] To intervene or not is a complex moral question.

As one of several resources of our political leaders, the United States military has been tasked with an ever-increasing role, from war fighting to peacekeeping to deterrence, along with alleviating humanitarian suffering and making a show of force in a crisis. Although our military is one-third smaller and one-third less expensive than it was at the end of the Cold War, our force has never been better educated or more experienced. But there's only so much that the United States and its allies can do diplomatically, economically, and militarily to further the goal of world peace.

During my twenty years in the military, I had hoped briefly that a peaceful solution might be possible after more than two millennia of Arab/Israeli wars. The event was the 1978 Camp David Peace Accords signed by Egyptian president Anwar al-Sadat and Israeli prime minister Menachim Begin, facilitated by U.S. president Jimmy Carter. That same year, Sadat and Begin shared the Nobel Peace Prize for their historic agreements. And in 2002, Carter won that same prize, with emphasis on his post-presidential international humanitarian efforts through the Carter Center.

Though these three men made important progress toward world peace, Israel today still finds itself in a state of war with its Arab neighbors. Sadat was assassinated in 1981, only three years after signing the accords, and today's "road map for peace" in the Middle East is already in tatters due to a variety of factors, the most obvious being Hamas-sponsored suicide bombings; Israeli hard-liners with their mentality of immediate retribution; and America's "shock and awe" bombing of Baghdad, along with its present occupation of Iraq.

Writing about the current Arab/Israeli conflict, Bradley J. Cook asks us "to actively publish peace," then admits that it "may be regrettably true" that, in this region of the world, "bloody conflict is inevitable."[13] I don't know where the road map will direct us, but it probably won't be toward the perpetual peace so hoped for in that limited, but perennially explosive, region of the world.

Although the continuing Arab/Israeli conflict receives global atten-

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12. Hedges, *War Is a Force that Gives Us Meaning*, 16.

13. Bradley J. Cook, "The Palestinian-Israeli Conflict Reconsidered," DIALOGUE 36 (Spring 2003): 6.

tion in the news, dozens of lesser known, limited wars rage throughout the world, many of them requiring U.S. military presence. No longer does our military demobilize, as had been the case historically, when the immediate threat of war seems remote. Presidents from Harry S. Truman to George W. Bush have encouraged Congress to fund and maintain a strong military. But hotly debated issues remain unresolved, such as when, where, how, to what extent, and even whether the United States should use its military forces abroad.

Some would argue for the just war theory: that a nation-state has the legal and moral right to bear arms. Of all the wars in the twentieth century, World War II, many feel, best represents this theory. For example, Fascist forces terrorized much of Europe, and several nation-states reacted militarily to those attacks, arguing that they had the legal and moral right to do so. The positive results of the war, although not uniformly perfect, were nonetheless measurable. Repressive regimes were destroyed; and with the help of the Marshall Plan, freedom-loving societies were rebuilt, many of them still flourishing more than fifty years later.

Still many reject the just war theory, instead espousing various forms of pacifism. But a closer look at these versions of pacifism reveals why each one, no matter how appealing it may be individually, can never produce perpetual peace. And without military preparedness, the peace process itself would never even be considered seriously by the leaders of many regimes. For example, one approach to the threat of World War II was a failed form of pacifism attempted diplomatically. In addition to numerous peace negotiations that had taken place during the decade preceding the war, Neville Chamberlain, British prime minister, advocated "peace in our time" through appeasement. But concessions usually do not stop an aggressor like Adolf Hitler. What stops him, if he is to be stopped, is self-imposed restraint based upon his perception of an opponent's strength as measured directly in military preparedness. What Hitler perceived was weakness, so he attacked.

Other alternatives tried in a World War II setting could be categorized as absolute pacifism—the belief that all forms of violence and war are always wrong and therefore need to be replaced by surrender (Belgium), displacement of scapegoat populations (the Jews being moved from ghettoes to concentration camps), migration (Parisians abandoning their city), arbitration (the Treaty of Versailles at the end of World War I), or compromise (the Munich Agreement). Absolute pacifism, of course, assumes that

there are acceptable peaceful alternatives to war. In too many instances, however, absolute pacifism simply results in a blood bath.

In Asia three decades after World War II, we see what happens, as in neighboring Vietnam, when Cambodians are left alone to face a brutal regime that subscribes to the Chinese model of liberation. Pol Pot and his Khmer Rouge simply attacked, displacing entire urban populations, leaving millions dead in "the killing fields."[14] While stationed at the U.S. Air Force Academy, I talked to several Cambodian men who had escaped the mass slaughters and made their way to Thailand where they found LDS military officers willing to sponsor them in the United States. In my interviews, I found that these peace-loving Cambodians would have been killed by the Khmer Rouge simply because they wore glasses, the identifying mark of an intellectual.

Pol Pot had learned from Hitler's earlier example how to occupy a country and, at the same time, destroy any resistance. In 1939, for example, after Germany and Russia had conquered Poland in just a few weeks, German SS troops entered the capital and "went door to door, murdering two hundred people a day: teachers, intellectuals, doctors, clergymen, and, of course, the hated Jews."[15] Because of these and hundreds of other similar historical examples, I cannot accept absolute pacifism as a viable option for averting war because martyrs and conscientious objectors, no matter how noble and worthy of respect, will never deter ruthless aggressors.

A more reasonable alternative to war is conditional pacifism, the realization that the duty to uphold peace may conflict with an equally compelling duty to defend and uphold rights, such as liberating once free peoples or countries now being oppressed and brutalized. One of the most appealing arguments for conditional pacifism is Jonathan Schell's essay, "No

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14. Kampuchea, before 1976, was known as Cambodia. In 1953, under the leadership of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Cambodia achieved a precarious neutrality with neighboring Vietnam. An anti-Communist military junta overthrew the Sihanouk regime in 1970, provoking Communist insurgents in the countryside, popularly called the Khmer Rouge, to initiate guerrilla warfare against the new government. On April 17, 1975, two weeks before the fall of Saigon, Pol Pot and his Khmer Rouge seized power in the capital Phnom Penh, executing millions of Kampucheans.

15. Peter Jennings and Todd Brewster, *The Century* (New York: Doubleday, 1998), 215.

More Unto the Breach," published in *Harper's* in 2003.[16] Schell begins with the assumption that war is futile in resolving international conflicts, then argues for establishing cooperative structures that incrementally pursue "revolutionary ends by peaceful, reformist means." Yet at the same time, he admits that some type of enforcement is needed, not American hegemony or Gandhian global politics, but rather "a vision of an international community that fundamentally relies on consent and the cooperative power it creates but nevertheless reserves the right to use force in certain limited, well-defined circumstances sanctioned by defined, widely accepted procedures."[17]

Of course, the foundation of Schell's plan is the credible military force the international community would have to assemble, a force strong enough to ensure the peace. Though I admire Schell's proposal, I'm somewhat cynical when I try to envision its being implemented peacefully worldwide. If even a majority of world leaders shared Schell's mindset, then the paradigm shift from war to peace would be possible. But the reality is that many leaders glory in war, conquest, brutality, dominion, and power. Hedges states this unsettling reality: "War, at times inevitable and unavoidable, is part of human society. It has been since the dawn of time—and probably will be until we are snuffed out by our own foolishness."[18]

Rating the overall success of conditional pacifism or even nonviolence to achieve peace then and now as an alternative to war is a difficult process. LDS intellectual Robert A. Rees believes that Mormon culture must radically "change in its attitudes toward war and peace."[19] Essentially he argues for a Gandhi-type nonviolent resistance as a way of stopping Saddam Hussein, Adolf Hitler, or other brutal tyrants. To support his argu-

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16. Jonathan Schell, "No More Unto the Breach. Part 1: Why War Is Futile," *Harper's*, March 2003, 33–46; "Part 2: The Unconquerable World," *Harper's*, April 2003, 41–55. Schell is Harold Willens Peace Fellow at the Nation Institute.

17. Schell, "The Unconquerable World," 47, 53.

18. Hedges, *War Is a Force That Gives Us Meaning*, 25–26.

19. Robert A. Rees, "America's War on Terrorism: One Latter-day Saint's Perspective," DIALOGUE 36 (Spring 2003): 24, 27. Rees, former editor of DIALOGUE, presents a thoughtful and clearly articulated argument for peace, but one that, it seems to me, is much too idealistic for this world in which we live. In his article, Rees added a "Grace Note." May I now add one of my own? My father too served in the infantry on the German front in World War II. He was involved

ment, he cites an article entitled "With Weapons of the Will: How to Topple Saddam Hussein—Nonviolently," by Peter Ackerman and Jack DuVall. According to Rees, these two believe that nonviolent resistance "worked against the Nazis"[20] and could have worked against Hussein.

Now that Hussein's regime has been displaced, the issue is moot. But one thing is sure: it was the military might of the United States and its allies that was the major force in defeating the Nazis. Some might call this approach "pacificism," a term defined by Martin Caedel (*Thinking about War and Peace,* 1987) to describe those who prefer peace to war but who also accept that some wars may be necessary if they advance the cause of peace. World War II did just that. My hope is that, as the United States begins to act more in concert with freedom-loving nation-states, many current wars might achieve similar results, not only in the Middle East, but worldwide.

Realistically, though, the dark side of human nature seems to preclude perpetual peace. Well-coordinated actions (just war theory, various forms of pacifism, or even deterrence) sometimes produce spectacular short-term results, but the actions themselves, no matter how well-intentioned, usually result in future conflict as various warlords, power-hungry militarists, oppressed ethnic minorities, or religious fanatics demonize "the other," creating or re-creating targets of hate, discord, and instability: "Gentlemen may cry, 'Peace! Peace!' But there is no peace."[21] Historically and theologically, it is war that is eternal, not peace. Jan Dalby's succinct assertion is one with which I must sadly concur: "I wish I could say that war has no value whatsoever. However, when depraved and evil men forcibly enslave, brutally torture, or systematically murder innocent human

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in hand-to-hand combat with rifle and bayonet and was later severely wounded by shrapnel from a mortar. When he returned home, he told me, throughout my growing-up years, that he had shed enough blood for both of us, so that I would never have to serve in the military. He also was much too idealistic as had been President Woodrow Wilson in an earlier World War I, the war "to make the world safe for democracy."

20. Ibid., 19.

21. Patrick Henry spoke these words in his address to the Virginia Assembly of Delegates, March 23, 1775, quickly changing the tenor of the debate from thoughts of peace and reconciliation with England to preparations for war and separation.

beings, the skillful application of accepted principles of war to eliminate such scum seems all too kind–but absolutely necessary."[22]

Even LDS theology, despite the Church's admittedly multi-faceted official position on war, suggests its eternal nature. Writing in 1992, scholar Robert S. Woodson sees the LDS position on war as a complex synthesis of at least five values: (1) an idealistic view that true peace can be found only in Jesus Christ; (2) a God-given mandate to renounce war and proclaim peace; (3) repugnance toward any political system, group, or nation-state that uses force to deny personal choice or agency; (4) the recognition that some defensive wars may be necessary; and (5) a belief that the United States has a divine destiny to establish international peace and freedom.[23] Referencing just war theory, President Gordon B. Hinckley stated recently that "there are times and circumstances when nations are justified, in fact have an obligation, to fight for family, for liberty, and against tyranny, threat, and oppression."[24]

From the Latter-day Saint theological concept of a "war in heaven"

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22. Jan Dalby, e-mail to author, June 18, 2003. Dalby, a former colleague in the Department of English, U.S. Air Force Academy, in the 1980s, a Latter-day Saint, and a close friend for the past twenty years, is a retired air force lieutenant colonel and public affairs officer.

23. Robert S. Wood, "War and Peace," *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 4 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 4:1547. See also the varied perspectives of Joseph F. Boone, "The Roles of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Relation to the United States Military, 1900–1975," 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1975); Pierre Blais, "The Enduring Paradox: Mormon Attitudes Toward War and Peace," DIALOGUE 17 (Winter 1984): 61–73; Eugene England, "Can Nations Love Their Enemies? An LDS Theology of Peace," *Sunstone*, November/December 1982, 49-56; Ronald W. Walker, "Sheaves, Bucklers, and the State: Mormon Leaders Respond to the Dilemmas of War," *Sunstone*, July/August 1982, 43-55; Edwin Brown Firmage, "Violence and the Gospel: The Teachings of the Old Testament, the New Testament, and the Book of Mormon," *BYU Studies* 25 (Winter 1985): 31–53; Edwin Brown Firmage and Christopher L. Blakesley, "Clark, Law and International Order," *BYU Studies* 13 (Spring 1973): 273–346.

24. Gordon B. Hinckley, "War and Peace," *Ensign* 33 (May 2003): 80. President Hinckley's conference address shows how difficult it is for a leader of an international church to articulate a complex theological position without being misunderstood or misinterpreted. Within my small circle of acquaintances, it

in a preexistent state to the great war following the hoped for millennium, war seems to be everlasting. According to the Federation of American Scientists, there are currently thirty-three conflicts being waged at various sites around the world, with an additional 155 having concluded during the past sixty years.[25] Its Military Analysis Network begins its extensive lists with a quotation from Immanuel Kant, an "enlightened" idealist who lived long before the devastating wars of the twentieth century: "Perpetual peace is no empty idea, but a practical thing which, through its gradual solution, is coming always nearer its final realization." This quotation ironically precedes a sobering multi-page list of today's wars. In fact, all of our contemporary philanthropic efforts to achieve peace (the Carnegie and Wilson endowments, along with the Carter Center, to name only a few) have not substantially reduced the number or the ferocity of worldwide conflicts.

On March 24–25, 1989, just months before I retired from active duty in the U.S. Air Force, the Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies sponsored a symposium at Brigham Young University on "Warfare in the Book of Mormon."[26] Participant William J. Hamblin observed: "The inevitability of war has always been a chief criterion in determining how ancient societies organized themselves."[27] Another presenter, Hugh Nibley, cited a famous military theorist who also uses the word *inevitable:* "It seems that war is inevitable according to Clausewitz. President [Ezra Taft] Benson is right—he says it all applies to us. That's why I don't like the wars in the Book of Mormon. They make me ill."[28]

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seems to me that too many people allow themselves to become offended by a word, phrase, or idea he expressed.

25. Retrieved in October 2003 from http://www.fas.org/man/dod-101/ops/war/.

26. The conference proceedings were published as Stephen D. Ricks and William J. Hamblin, eds., *Warfare in the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1990). I rely on this volume for much of the material in this section.

27. William J. Hamblin, "The Importance of Warfare in Book of Mormon Studies," in ibid., 482.

28. Hugh Nibley, "Warfare and the Book of Mormon," ibid., 144. He was referring to Karl von Clausewitz (1780–1831), a Prussian soldier, military theorist,

When my friend Don Darnell [29] and I read the Book of Mormon for the first time in the summer of 1960 while working as miners in Uravan, Colorado, we too were saddened by Mormon's vivid depiction of warfare. But our first reading was personal, not scholarly. As we read, Nibley had not yet made his enumerations: "The words 'destruction' and 'destroy' appear 534 times in the Book of Mormon, and nearly always in conjunction with the word *war.*"[30] Don and I did not count the hundred instances of armed conflict as John Sorenson would later do. Nor did we concern ourselves categorizing many of the main wars ("The Early Tribal Wars" to "The Final Nephite Wars, Phase 3") as would John W. Welch.[31]

As Don and I talked each night about the material we had read, we gradually were able to accept Mormon's depiction of the inevitability of war while we focused on his description of the righteous warriors who had fought, not for blood or power or glory, but for defense of family, homeland, and the weak: Ammon, Captain Moroni, the sons of Helaman, Mormon himself, and his son Moroni. While we discussed these spiritual warriors, our admiration for them grew, as did our love for the Book of Mormon. Then one night, as we knelt in prayer, we sensed God's presence, and our lives changed forever.[32] From that moment on, Don and I have tried to model our lives on the great spiritual warriors delineated so powerfully in this sacred book of scripture.

But even Mormon and Moroni could not avert the inevitable. The

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and author of the three-volume *On War* in which he relates war to politics: "War is a continuation of politics by other means." I studied von Clausewitz's theories first in ROTC classes and later, during my military career, in three military education programs: Squadron Officer School, Air Command and Staff College, and Air War College.

29. Don received his commission as a second lieutenant from BYU's ROTC program in May 1965, just a month after I returned from an LDS mission to France. We had long talks before he and his wife, Celia, left for pilot training. Don became an F-4 fighter pilot, a "top gun" in Vietnam, and later a district president in the Philippines. Because of his example and the reality of an imminent military draft in May 1967 when I completed my bachelor's degree, I competed successfully for a position in the Professional Officer Corps in BYU's ROTC program.

30. Nibley, "Warfare and the Book of Mormon," 135.

31. John W. Welch, "Why Study Warfare in the Book of Mormon?" in *Warfare in the Book of Mormon*, 5–16.

32. Robert M. Hogge, "A Friend in Christ," *Ensign*, October 1992, 25–26.

Book of Mormon ends in genocide, a reality with which we're all too familiar. Although our twenty-first century world is still at war, I continue to hope for the coming of the millennium. Yet even after this blessed thousand years of peace, a brief interlude in the earth's long history, war will recommence, bringing about the end of the world in its present form.

If today's leaders and their people were righteous, then perpetual peace would be possible. But, as Friedrich Nietzsche reminds us, "We children of the future do not by any means think it is desirable that the kingdom of righteousness and peace should be established on the earth."[33] As the prophet Joseph Smith once said, "The greatest acts of mighty men have been to depopulate nations and to overthrow kingdoms; and whilst they have exalted themselves and become glorious, it has been at the expense of the lives of the innocent, the blood of the oppressed, the moans of the widow, and the tears of the orphan."[34] Though we should use all peaceful means of persuasion, diplomacy, arbitration, and negotiation to help resolve worldwide disputes amicably, military preparedness, when all else fails, is essential for any nation's survival, including our own.

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33. Quoted in Boone, "The Roles of the Church," 1:182.
34. Quoted in ibid., 1:32.

Postcript from Iraq

A Flicker of Hope in Conflict's Moral Twilight

Matthew Bolton

HURTLING OUT OF THE SKY in a tight corkscrew spiral—the so-called "Mogadishu Landing"—our U.N. Humanitarian Air Service (UNHAS) C-130 cargo plane bumped unceremoniously onto the runway of "Hawler International Airport," consisting of an airstrip, two forty-foot containers, a gravel parking lot and, evidently, big ambitions.

I was finally in Iraq. Reality hit me as I stepped onto the asphalt, blinking in the brightness of the subtropical sun. U.N. trucks bustled around like ants, although it was unclear what exactly they were doing. A couple of sand-colored Humvees, guided by unshaven American soldiers sporting Ray-Bans and deep tans, whizzed by while I clutched my backpack, feeling sheepish and out of place.

The flight had carried the same motley bunch of expatriates I have seen as an aid worker in other "transition countries" like Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Clad in "aid-worker chic"—khakis and shirts with thousands of pockets—smoking heavily, and carrying kit bags decorated with U.N., donor, or NGO (nongovernmental organization) logos, they exhibited the humanitarian's

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MATTHEW BOLTON, a member of the Community of Christ and son of Andrew Bolton (see his essay in this issue), wrote in November 2003 from Erbil, Iraq, where he is an aid worker with a nongovernmental organization. He is a 2001 graduate of Graceland University with majors in history and religion. He has published articles in the Journal of Mine Action, Aid Workers Exchange, The Examiner, Theology, Paths of Peace, *and* Herald. *Because the political and religious views he expresses in the article are personal and entail possible security risks, he does not identify the organizations with which he has worked.*

uniquely odd mode of conversation as they compared the myriad stamps in each other's passports: cynically dark humor mixed with world weariness and earnest idealism.

Gathering our belongings, we all boarded a U.N. bus and drove to Ainkawa, a suburb of Erbil, the de facto capital of the primarily Kurdish northern Iraq. Ainkawa is home to a massive complex of U.N. buildings that has taken over whole city blocks and cordoned off roads with barbed wire, concrete planters, and armed guards. Sitting on the bus, surrounded by such surreality, I began to reflect on the life journey that had brought me thus far.

It was as I waded through the sewage, stagnant in the streets of one of Africa's biggest slums—Mukuru, Nairobi, Kenya—while on an assignment with the Community of Christ-sponsored WorldService Corps in summer 2000, that I was first struck by the enormity of the world's problems and the horrifying conditions faced by the majority of its inhabitants. It was a deeply troubling and difficult summer for me, but I was seized by the challenge, the intensity, and the adventure that is aid work. Since then I have worked with nongovernmental aid organizations in Nicaragua, the Philippines, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Zambia, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and now Iraq.

My work itself is quite mundane. I am, in effect, a writer, and my job is to conduct social research and assessments of the situation within the country. I also do a great deal of public relations writing—compiling reports for donors, writing press releases, and assisting with webpage development. However, while my day-to-day tasks are not so different from those of a writer in any other part of the world, the places in which I am situated confront me with many disconcerting realities.

One of my recent assignments was researching disability issues here in the north. Iraq has a disproportionate number, caused largely by combat and a mine-riddled landscape, of disabled persons. Less dramatic, but also key, was the deterioration in nutrition and health care caused by the economic sanctions. As a result, many humanitarian organizations have set up prosthetic limbs centers, often staffed primarily by patients themselves. I have visited several. It was haunting to see rows and rows of plastic limbs and leg braces lined up on work benches, waiting for their new owners.

Recently, I visited Koya District, one of the earlier towns to suffer the use of chemical weapons in the Ba'ath regime's 1988 "Anfal"

("spoils") campaign—a systematic effort to destroy Kurdish society, which left over 100,000 persons killed or "disappeared." This campaign culminated in the horrific gas attack on Halabja, but chemical weapons had been used earlier in the campaign in places like Koya on a smaller, but equally brutal, scale. All the villages surrounding Koya had been razed to the ground. Hundreds of males of military age were "disappeared."

I visited several "Anfal families," as they call themselves, as part of a study of the conditions for displaced persons in the region. Some mothers still make the bed of their missing son, hoping that one day he will return. One man had been driven insane after watching his brother snatched away, never to be heard from again. Another family told the story of an infant who survived the massacre of a whole village. They said she lay in the midst of dead bodies for three days until people from a neighboring town rescued her and took her to a mosque in Kirkuk. Putting her arm around the girl, who is now a teenager, her aunt told me she had visited the mosque and recognized the necklace around the infant's neck as a gift she had given the family. Since then she has raised the girl as her own.

And Iraq is not the only place I have confronted such heartbreaking situations. In my work I have seen children a knife's edge from death at the cruel hands of malnutrition, knelt at the bed of an emaciated woman dying of AIDS, become friends with a former guerilla, shaken the hand of a former hit man, looked into the eyes of men bent on killing each other as they fought with machetes and jumped over trenches next to a mined airfield—seeing the discarded boots of soldiers and the "artillery roses" filled with shrapnel.

While these experiences have helped me to grow and mature as a human being, they have also been profoundly disturbing. I am angry that people still have to live and die this way. I am angry that any child must learn to survive in such a terrifying and morally ambiguous world. Throughout my childhood, my parents, educators, and Sunday School teachers all taught me the values of truth, integrity, honesty, fairness, justice, morality, and ethics. And I feel cheated when I see that these values are more often the exception than the rule.

It deeply disturbs me that known war criminals run free while people are executed then posthumously found innocent. It infuriates me that the former concentration camp in Brèko, the town where I used to live in Bosnia, remains unmarked, while there is an enormous monument to the troops who were at least partly responsible for the town's "ethnic cleans-

ing" and while graffiti on my apartment building extolled the greatness of the vicious gangster, war criminal, and profiteer Arkan.

This anger sometimes surfaces at the most unexpected times. I will be sitting typing in my office and suddenly a lump stops up my throat, and I am filled with utter hatred for the people who allowed thousands of Kurds, Shia, and other minorities to die over the last two bloody decades in Iraq—especially while Saddam was still considered a "friend" of the United States and Britain. I want to imagine a world where we really, genuinely, believe that we have the power to change things. Where warlords, criminals, and corrupt politicians do not seem invincible. Where the poor, the refugee, the sick, and the dispossessed hold their heads high with the dignity that comes only from controlling one's destiny. Where the strong do not rub salt into the wounds of the weak, and where the embittered weak do not lash out in furious vengeance at any symbol associated with their oppressors.

I want to imagine a world where people live without the gut-wrenching fear that comes when whole villages are razed to the ground, where disturbed minds no longer prey on the naiveté of innocents, where airplanes don't smash into buildings. But sometimes, in the midst of the world's complexity, I forget how to hope. I lose the will to love the world in spite of its problems. We aid workers almost inevitably become hardened to the terrible suffering we see on a daily basis. Sometimes I am horrified to realize that I am no longer emotionally affected when I see a malnourished child. Instead of letting my anger out (which would not be wise, given the political contexts in which I work), I bottle it up inside. It manifests itself in a lack of empathy for people's "lesser problems." I don't like the person I am becoming at these moments.

This emotional toll has cost me my faith—at least in the sense that most would see it. Theodicy—the problem of evil that I have faced so starkly in my work—has shaken my belief in God to its very core. This was a painful process, for the Church meant a great deal to me. I grew up a devout member of the Community of Christ, my formative years shaped and molded by its stories, doctrines, and concepts. My grandfather is a former Church leader; my father is a Church employee. I was baptized at the age of eight and studied religion at the church-sponsored college, Graceland University.

It is perhaps because of this background that I cannot deny that I still find a mustard-seed-sized flicker of hope in the stories and myths that

shaped my childhood. I would describe myself as a religious agnostic rather than an atheist. I find the stories of Jesus's birth and death particularly moving.

Although it is traditional to read the whole of Luke's Christmas narrative during the advent season, we often seem to forget the context Luke gives. This baby boy, Jesus, was born in the context of a brutally repressive regime—and at the bottom of its pile. Ponder for a moment the familiar words at the beginning of Luke 2, "In those days a decree went out from Emperor Augustus that all the world should be registered. . . . All went to their own towns to be registered." Can you imagine everyone in the whole country going back to the town of their ancestors? Just think of the chaos that would have caused. What do you think would happen if President Bush decreed that all the people in the United States should go back to the hometowns of their great-great-great-great-grandfathers to be "registered"? There would be a public outcry. Clearly this Augustus was not concerned about "people-centered governance." Or consider the brutality of Herod, who, upon discovering that a new king was born in his territory, ordered the slaughter of all the young boys in the land. Or finally, the injustice of Mary having to give birth in a dirty cattle shed with no birth attendant or midwife.

From these passages, we see that the Christmas story is not a sugary fairy tale. It is a story that cries out from the depths of a people's despair, "Enough is enough!" This story does not focus on the comings and goings of the celebrities of the day. It is a story about a God who so loved the world, who so cared for the lowly, the poor, the forgotten invisible people of this world that s/he took on their wretched form and dwelt among them—among us. It is the story of the King of All Creation, the Most High God, being born into a humble family in a dirty stable, next to the animals, and being put to sleep in a feed trough. It is the story of a poor humble teenage girl, visited by angels, chosen by an Almighty God to bring into the world its greatest hope. She sang of a love so sublime that her words would echo through the ages from the mouths of story-tellers, preachers, mystics, and poets. It is the story of three great wise men, the mysterious Magi of the East, kneeling before this child.

The story of the end of Jesus's life is just as powerful. Once again, having heard the story so many times, we tend to decontextualize it and gloss over its deeply disturbing nature.

Here is a story of an innocent man, thrown to the will of the mob,

whipped viciously, nailed to a wooden frame, and left to hang until he dies. This treatment makes the electric chair appear humane. Implicit in this story is a stinging condemnation of torture and the brutality of unchecked empire. It is an indictment of state terror, a cry for justice from the downtrodden.

Left at that, the story would be very depressing. We have all heard stories of the innocent crushed by the powerful, but what makes the gospel so unique is that the victim rises again—shattering the cold chains of death. In a world where militaries paint skulls on their airplanes, where paramilitaries collect vulgar trophies from their victims, and where we put our faith in the hope of our enemies' demise, the resurrection calls us away from the worship of death and toward an embrace of life's fullness.

On the main road out of Kirkuk, Iraq, a disabled tank stands in the central meridian. Children have painted it with bright flowers and messages of peace—a powerful symbol that, though their formative years were racked by poverty, conflict, and displacement, they may be the new generation that can lead this country out of the years of oppressive rule and foreign intrusion to a new life.

In scenes like these, I see the hope embodied by children, like the baby Jesus, and the possibility of societal resurrection. It is this hope that acts as a beacon, guiding me through the moral twilight of our fallen world. The gospel—that great ode to the humble—tells me that it is possible to rise from the ashes of war, poverty, and moral depravity and begin again, bringing reconciliation to those torn by division and healing the wounds of conflict. My dream is that, through my work, I can play my small part in ensuring that this flicker of hope does not go out.

FICTION

Flight

Vicki Ramirez

OUT OF THE CORNER OF HER EYE, Leila watched a woman and her husband climb into the Peugeot taxi that Leila was taking from Oran to Algiers. The woman wrapped her black *haik* close against her full contours to avoid stepping on its hem. She smiled at Leila and her daughter Fatima, sprawled half on Leila's lap, half across the car seat. As Leila moved the child closer to give the couple room, the older woman's smile was clear, even with her face-veil covering her lips. Leila acknowledged the woman with a slight nod as she continued stroking her sleeping child's locks. Then the young mother faced away from the newly arrived passengers and closed her eyes.

Even if she had wanted to, Leila could not smile, her face tight and heavy at once. Grit scratched the corners of her eyes, and she knew that what she needed even more than food or a bath was sleep. Hours, days of dreamless slumber. The night before she had dozed in fits on the flight from London to Oran, but ugly dreams had haunted what little rest she got.

Leila shifted to avoid the sun, just risen above the Mediterranean. Like a crow folding a wing over itself against the night, she twisted away from the window to rest her chin in her *haik's* black silk, the dust of travel streaked in its folds.

But she feared sleep. Dreams, jangling and vivid, threatened. Even

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worse, they were no less terrifying than her waking reality. Was it possible that five days ago they were all together in Salt Lake City? It seemed like years since Musa had informed her that he would be delayed a week in Salt Lake City and that Ismael, a Syrian who worked for him, would be accompanying her and Fatima to Saudi Arabia. Although Leila had not wanted to travel to Musa's adopted homeland and she did not know Ismael, she knew better than to object. Her husband had not even seen them off at the airport.

Wedging her back between the window and car seat, Leila tried clearing her head of all thought, but their journey across continents and days insinuated itself into her mind. The long flight from Salt Lake's airport to Newark International with half a day's layover. Then, the overnight flight to London. Leila so exhausted when she walked off the plane at Heathrow that she learned what it must be like to be drunk, struggling with her carry-on luggage and daughter, her words tangling themselves on her tongue. She made sure Fatima nibbled fruit and drank bottled water but could hardly keep from dozing when the three of them waited in line for boarding passes and carry-on inspection.

In London Ismael had directed the airport cabby to an Islington address, a flophouse at the end of an hour-long drive from the airport. The dingy neighborhood teemed with Africans and Middle Easterners, their unfamiliar languages booming up the rank stairwell. Leila was grateful for the bed and the toilet down the hall. Mother and child slept on the lumpy mattress, while Ismael laid chair cushions on the floor. But even four-year-old Fatima grasped the oddity of a man not her father sleeping in the same room with her and her mother.

Its seats now filled, the Peugeot nosed out of the taxi stand, negotiating crowds that wandered across the unpaved road feeding into the Oran-Algiers highway. Leila repositioned her daughter's head—how light it was!—to gaze dully out the window. Dun expanses, reminding her of late summer grass on mountainsides above Salt Lake City, rimmed the highway. Near the coast Leila glimpsed palms against an already sultry sky. She felt no hunger but recalled the food Ismael had brought them in the room: pastries and that bitter, weak tea the English drank with milk. Tucked under his arm was a daily dated September 11—her mother's birthday, Leila remembered with a jolt when she spied the date. Deep sad-

ness settled on her when she realized it had been five years since she'd felt her mother's arms around her.

Ismael stood abruptly after gulping food and tea, flicking pastry flakes from his trousers. He was going out to meet some people. No, he didn't know when he'd be back, but there was no cause for concern—their flight to Saudi Arabia wasn't until the next day. If they needed food, why, Leila could go out and buy some. The purse her husband had entrusted Ismael to carry, filled with documents and a thick fold of paper money, dangled in the air before falling onto the bed. "Hold this for now. I'd rather not travel around London with so much money."

Withdrawing two bills and grabbing his small pack with phone, papers, and PalmPilot, he hurried out the door and down the stairs. Leila heard the building's front door bang shut, and from the window she watched Ismael scurry down the street, as if late for an appointment.

He never returned.

It was early evening before she took Fatima out to buy fruit and meat. Because their own door didn't lock, Leila carried the purse in a deep pocket sewn inside her *haik*. She bought fried fish and potatoes reeking of vinegar. Mother and daughter dismally ate as they watched rain glaze the darkened street beneath their window. People entered and left the rooming house regularly; every time someone passed their room or the front door banged shut or feet pounded in the stairwell, she strained to hear if it was Ismael. Fatima said not a word about him as they lay in a night sickeningly bright with orange street lights. Through the slightly opened window, Leila was awakened more than once by slurred shouts.

The following day was gray and cool. Leila feared leaving the room and missing Ismael if he returned, but finally left him a note. She and Fatima bought bread, some good English cheese, and, at a green grocer's, unripe, overpriced dates. They waited a second day for Ismael. When he didn't return by early evening, Leila had to face the frightening prospect that he would not be coming back. He had left their travel papers on the dilapidated nightstand near the bed—but his passport and ticket were gone. Leila knew she and Fatima would be able to reach Riyadh, but she could find no information explaining where to go once they arrived. She had no way to contact her husband since he had flatly refused to let her have his cell phone number. It was a phone used only for his work, he insisted.

She and Fatima were stranded in London.

While the child slept, Leila gave in to dark fears, sobbing as softly as she could while biting her clenched fist so hard she left teeth marks. Outside the window here, and in New York, and in Salt Lake City—perhaps outside every window from which she was destined to view the world—Leila knew women walked about without veils, without male escorts, without fear and shame, able to reach their destinations. Here she was, alone with a child in a huge city where she did not speak the language. How to get help? How to contact Musa? Leila prayed to Allah for a knock on the door and when she opened it, there Musa would be.

Shivering in the growing darkness, her unfocused gaze reached beyond the window pane and the lowering sky. Musa had put them in this predicament, and yet, she was lying in bed *crying* that he save them? A burning tide of anger flooded her at the injustice of her situation.

Then a terrible clarity settled on her.

She had tickets, no? And she had money. Yes, making herself understood would be difficult, but at the airport she'd surely find someone who spoke Arabic. Or French. She would get the airline to exchange the Riyadh tickets for ones to Oran. After all, she was Algerian, and Oran was closer than Riyadh.

Leila blinked at the simple logic of her circumstances. As dusk settled, she brought their two suitcases and Fatima onto the street, dragging the luggage while the child clutched a doll. On the main avenue Leila hailed a cab and said one word: "Heathrow."

Speeding along the coastal highway, Leila groaned at the memory. Had it really been only two nights ago? Every sound, odor, sensation of exhaustion as she lugged their bags through the vast airport now haunted her, as if she had passed but a moment ago through the British Airways terminal. Still flitting across her closed eyes were confused flashes of the airline counter opening early that next morning, how the authorities had inspected her with suspicious, searching looks, even as a translator explained her predicament.

While the airline attendants discussed the problem in English, Leila considered escalating the situation—crying, perhaps even wailing. She was spared the need for public display by Fatima, who began droning over and over, "It hurts, Mama," as she pulled her ear. A frowning man identifying himself as a supervisor soon announced they should follow him. In a drab

room with a table but no chairs, the official asked Leila questions through an interpreter. His queries were quickly interrupted by a soft, high-pitched wail as Fatima cupped her ear. Seeing that the child was ill, the supervisor and a policeman stepped aside to talk in private.

In the end, the supervisor agreed to change their tickets and send her to Air France for the Oran flight. At the counter, Leila overheard some travelers who had listened as the attendants discussed her case. One elderly, elaborately coiffed woman glared at Leila's *haik* and face veil, commenting in loud French, "I hope she's not on our flight. After that New York business, I don't want to get on a plane with any Muslim murderers."

Her companion did not drop her voice to reply, "Surely this is the safest time to fly. Airport security will be at its best right now, not so? Anyway, it's those Arab men that are terrorists. She's got that child with her, poor thing." But others appeared to be examining Leila and Fatima. An elegantly dressed man scowled and hissed, "*Sale Arabe*"—"dirty Arab"—as he passed. Leila lacked the energy to care; she had given the child a dose of cough syrup to ease the throbbing ear, and soon they would be on the flight to Oran, and home.

Later Leila awoke with a start—the taxi's rhythmic thrumming had halted. They were parked at a market in El-Asnam, midway to Algiers. The older woman's husband was leaning forward, saying this was the best market in all of western Algeria to buy dates. Leila's eyes no longer felt swollen, but she was parched from the sun and heat. Fatima had just squirmed awake and was whimpering for a drink. The child appeared to look around, then collapsed back onto Leila's lap, already asleep. But her forehead was cool to the touch, and for the first time in several days, Leila briefly smiled.

Leila thanked Allah for the child's need to rest. Having to answer questions about where Fatima's father was, when they would see him again, or where they were going . . . no, this silence was far better. Fatima didn't even know her great-aunt Fouzia, toward whose home they were traveling.

Leila recalled the last time she had seen Fouzia, her mother's youngest sister. Smiling, rhythmically clapping with the rest of the women at Leila's wedding, Fouzia had kissed her niece lightly on both cheeks, whispering in French, "I love you," and "Good luck, Leila, eh?" Fouzia, who always wore her wiry hair as short as a schoolboy's, who had graduated from

university in France, who now taught English and French literature at a lycée in Algiers. All the women said she'd never marry: too old, too plain, much too educated. But Leila would dream of a life like Fouzia's in the White City, with its dazzling cafés and restaurants, with its *bon vivants* who sipped wine and argued about books. And those stylish outfits Fouzia wore that would never be covered by a *haik!*

Fouzia, with a high, lilting voice that sometimes broke into whispers, just like Leila's mother. But Fouzia's voice was less guttural, the Arabic tones tempered by the cadences of polished French. That voice had tempted a man no less than Nabile Bey of the old caliphate family. The Beys had ruled the coastal lands for the Ottomans before the French settled and annexed Algeria as part of France. Nabile had appreciated Fouzia's interest in his work on the Arabic roots of the European Renaissance, but he'd married her for her wit, her gracious heart, and her swift, bold mind.

Leila's thoughts wobbled toward the image of her mother, who was still desolate at the loss of her eldest daughter and her only grandchild. Leila conjured a scene just before her wedding when the women were preparing flat bread for the family meal, and old Tété started in.

Tété had lumbered over to where Leila was shelling almonds, calling the girl's arms "willow switches." All the women laughed as Tété encircled Leila's upper arm within thumb and forefinger. Everyone except her mother.

"Never mind, Tété. When I married your nephew, my arms were as slender as Leila's. He's never complained." Her mother stood rigid with hands on hips, arching one eyebrow in Tété's direction. Leila scooped up the shells into her skirt, heading for the rubbish bin outside the door. Little Yamina followed to help, lisping, "I heard Tété tell Mama he's wealthy, Leila. It's a good match." Leila snatched the lid from the child, banging it down, hissing at her to shut up.

After the meal, under the parlor's single light bulb, her mother's eyes fixed on her oldest daughter. "Some henna in your hair would be just the thing." Frowning as she lifted Leila's heavy plait, she held it this way and that. "Yes," she mused in utter sadness. "With those pale eyes like your father's and that creamy skin, you'll make a beautiful bride."

She'd been married to the forty-year-old Musa two months later. Her sister Mariam, and Saida, her best friend, told her after the wedding that

some said her father had gone soft in the head, marrying a daughter just sixteen to a man over twice her age.

As the white noontide sun began its slide down the western sky, Leila's vision darkened, eclipsed by a bitterness toward the old man that she'd blinked away for years. Musa, the demon? How could that be? All along it had been her father who ensured that her life would be empty of intimacy, of passion, of even the smallest portion of dignity. The old man had doted on his daughters Leila and Mariam, born to his second wife. How he had boasted of Leila's good grades in primary school and Mariam's clear singing voice! Much later Leila would hear of her mother's shock when her husband informed her of the betrothal the day before Musa's visit. Never could her mother have anticipated that her husband, on his own, would arrange a marriage for their daughter. The Egyptian did not even have to bribe the old man.

Leila fell at last into dream. Frantically searching the rooms of an old Oranian villa, she kept calling out Musa's name. Then the driver swerved to avoid a dead dog on the highway, jostling her awake.

Outside, the sun had crisped the grass and bushes, reminding her again of Utah. All those emerald lawns, but beyond the sprinklers, a brown land relieved only by scraggy weeds and sagebrush. She preferred Salt Lake City to their first home on suburban Long Island, where she'd given birth to Fatima. There, cars choked storefront-lined streets, housing tract after housing tract compressed into neighborhoods where your next-door neighbor was a stranger.

After Musa's company relocated him to Salt Lake City, Leila could again enjoy skies as vibrant as those over her mother's village, on the edge of the Sahara. The New York sky had been a cornflower wash lacking the crisp, metallic sharpness over deserts. In such high, thin air, Utah's Wasatch Mountains seemed close enough to squeeze. She delighted in standing on their apartment's veranda not far from the great temple, focusing on gnarled juniper trees that stuck out of distant crags.

If only I could climb that high, Leila thought, *I'd have a view of the valley like those birds, so still in their flight.*

At least Musa had loved his daughter and, for a brief time during the pregnancy and after Fatima's birth, seemed to dote on Leila. He'd dance to Egyptian music, wanting the baby to learn his cultural roots. Musa's attention had made Leila happy for the first and only time in her marriage.

But Leila's life soon slowed to a narrow routine, caring for Fatima, keeping house for Musa. Her only outings were to shop for household groceries with him. He forbade her to study English, meet other Arabic-speaking families, or become friends with women frequenting the local Islamic Center. She never would have met Amina, who with her Egyptian husband, Mahmoud, had two young sons, except that Musa realized Fatima needed playmates. It was through Amina that Leila heard about the other families in the Salt Lake area from North Africa and the Middle East.

Soft-spoken Amina was a careful listener, who always found something good to say about Musa. When Leila feared her husband would send her back to her father's home for breaking household rules, Amina rolled her eyes and insisted Musa loved her deeply. The problem was, he couldn't show it.

But that was before Leila foolishly confessed to him how she'd been slipping out of the apartment, after finding a key ring with spare apartment and mailbox keys. Leila began checking the mailbox herself, discovering that such correspondents as Saida, Fouzia, and even her mother, had not received letters which Musa claimed he had mailed. So began a phase of clandestine letter-writing.

Soon Leila began hiding coins left in Musa's pants pockets. One day, emboldened by the thought that, with no house phone, Musa wasn't likely to catch her gone, she wheeled Fatima in the stroller to buy napoleons at a local bakery. She had spied them on an earlier outing and nearly wept with nostalgia as she recalled how, at the end of Ramadan, she and her sister would saunter with their father down to Artaud's Patisserie. They would carry back pastries even as the call to prayer still echoed along the morning-blue byways.

To Leila's delight, the young shop girl in Salt Lake City used the same white-and-red string the baker's wife had tied the pastry box with in Oran, half a world away.

That night Leila planned to serve the napoleons to Musa after the potato stew she'd spent the afternoon preparing. It was a risk; he would know that she'd been out of the apartment, but perhaps more importantly, that she'd taken some of his money. As she chopped onions and potatoes, Leila considered options. She decided to defend her actions with a bold assertion: Despite Mahmoud's status as a graduate student living on a small stipend, Amina always had some money in her purse. Musa

was a supervisor at a company and surely could afford to give Leila a small allowance for shopping.

While she fried almonds in sweet butter for Musa's favorite dish, Leila realized she could not defend taking money by simply saying there was more than enough. Mentally searching through the chapters of the Qur'an, she alighted on "The Women," which outlined the rights of women and children, and men's duty toward them: "A man shall have a portion of what the parents and close relatives leave, and a woman shall have a portion of both as well . . . whether there is but a small amount or a vast portion."

Equal portions. Or from the same chapter: "Men shall have the benefit of what they earn, while women shall have the benefit of what they earn." True, she didn't earn a salary, but was not marriage an equal sharing? Was Fatima any less her husband's daughter because she—and not Musa—had given birth to the child?

That night Leila made sure to sit across from Musa while he ate. When he finished, she asked whether he wanted coffee with the napoleons. His wide-spaced eyes narrowed slightly, as if concentrating. "Where did you get pastries?"

She almost lied. She could have said Amina brought them, but instead confessed, "I went out today and bought them with change I found . . . on the bureau." The last words stuck in her throat.

Musa seemed to be pondering this when up he sprang in one violent motion, landing closer than an inch from her. Jabbing her chest with his forefinger, he warned through clenched teeth that it was the last time she would take Fatima out. He called her a stupid cow, insisting she knew it was forbidden to go out. He ranted about Fatima's safety, about the evil of America, about the godlessness of its people, about how these enemies of Allah-the-Wise would come to know the dialogue of bullets. Didn't she understand secrecy? Didn't she know, as the Qur'an counseled, that the hearts of freemen were the sepulchers of secrets?

Careful not to raise her voice, Leila pointed out that she was neither a freeman nor a keeper of secrets. But even if she did keep secrets, didn't *he* know the Qur'an said that one who keeps a secret always becomes two, since Allah is All-Knowing?

Musa coldly asked where she had heard that. "She Who Pleaded," Leila responded, and triumphantly started to fetch the Qur'an to show him.

But he grabbed her arm, spitting with anger. "'A disobedient wife should be exiled from the bedroom, should be beaten until she complies.' *That* is what the Holy Book says. And, 'You who believe: obey Allah, his messenger, and those who are given authority in his name.' Don't make the mistake of disobeying, Leila. Justice will fall hard on you." Musa's face had darkened and she could feel his trembling.

Not for a moment did she believe it was an empty threat.

At Khemis-Miliana the highway bends seaward, toward Algiers. When Leila's eyes opened, she spied the woman seated next to her winking at Fatima, who stared back in silence. The child lifted herself up and sipped water from a bottle Leila held; from the woman's husband, she accepted two plump dates. Fatima was content to hold and gnaw them while Leila pondered the dream she had just awakened from, one she'd had before.

As pieces of the dream fit together, she realized it was the same nightmare that had followed her across the Atlantic to the rooming house in London: The golden angel atop the Latter-day Saints' temple somehow had become alive. She noticed the figure as she passed by, poised on tiptoe as if about to soar with its horn above the temple. Then Leila saw the angel's terrible eyes. All jubilation gone, it glared in her direction, an angel clearly bent on dispensing vengeance.

She did not want to ponder on whom, or for what reason.

The night before, as their Oran flight vaulted the blue Mediterranean haze, Leila's anger had given way to somber strategy. Her thoughts, dull from lack of sleep, formed and re-formed themselves into an escape plan. It would be *she* who would leave Musa. Sewn into the hem of her *haik* was the money—some bills she had taken from Musa's bureau and from his trouser pockets. There was also the small fortune Ismael had abandoned in London. She would return to her father's home, but not as a millstone dragging down her relatives with her and Fatima's dependency. No, she'd pay her own way. If her father allowed, perhaps she would finish her studies at the lycée. When Musa arrived—as surely he would—she would obey neither husband nor father. She vowed that this time she would decide both her own fate and her daughter's.

The moment Leila carried Fatima off the plane, she sought a money-changer. Just one of the bills she slipped from the bundle in her

pocket yielded enough dinar to feed and house them for a month. The money was powerful, even with the money-changer robbing her right before her eyes. Her resolve to abandon her life with Musa was still strong, for guilt had not had time to cause doubt. She bustled toward a metal cart for their luggage, then headed to the taxi stand outside the terminal.

In the predawn light, Oran dimly rose before her in one breathtaking moment, with such smells and sounds and rushing of cars that her throat ached.

After stowing the bags in a taxi, Leila and Fatima watched the tumult around them. The driver, his hair slicked back and a thin smudge of mustache on his lip, stood in front of the terminal with the other drivers, deep in conversation between canvassing for customers. As a newspaper vendor passed, Leila watched as the driver drew coins from his pocket for a paper he carried to the car, ready to leave.

He snapped on the interior light and sat for a long moment behind the wheel, then sought her eyes in the rear-view mirror. "What do you think of those crazy bastards, anyway?" When Leila, puzzled, met his gaze, he shook the paper at her. "Haven't you heard? Look on the front page." He shoved the daily back for her to read.

In the poor light she first noticed the photos of several men. One of them had Fatima's widespread eyes and that long, distinctive eyebrow crossing her forehead. Leila glanced from the photo of Musa to her daughter, and then to the headline: TERRORISTS BOMB AMERICA! The driver, hoping to have been the one to reveal such rare, exciting news, monitored Leila's face as she read of horrific events involving hijacked planes used as deadly missiles. Thousands were thought to be dead in the Twin Towers, a place Leila had once visited with Musa when they lived in New York. She dropped the paper into the front seat away from Fatima's curious eyes and turned to the window.

Her mind seemed to float upward like a child's balloon. It was Fatima's voice that anchored her. "Where are we going? To Grandpapa's?" Leila nodded, imagining her father's tall, now-gaunt form slowly take shape. She envisioned the flowing white beard and rich robes, conjured his high voice, raspy with age. She imagined Alhaji Mesbah smiling, beckoning her and Fatima onto his veranda. No! No, he was angry, sobbing; Leila knew he would have heard the news, would have been awaiting their shameful return. She was a widow now, and as

such, must return to her father's care. As head of the family, he would again be ruler of his daughter and her child.

The driver was edging his taxi into speeding traffic in front of the terminal. Leila leaned forward to breathlessly redirect him from the address of her father's seaside villa to the car park for taxis heading to Algiers. The driver shrugged, saying it would triple the fare. She clasped a handful of dinar from her pocket, thrusting the bills in his face. Muttering about the incessant capriciousness of the entire female race, the driver turned east at the next corner, taking Leila and Fatima to the Oran-Algiers taxis, just beyond the city line.

As they approached the outskirts of Algiers, she showed the driver an envelope with Fouzia's address. It was near the university; if Leila could wait until the other passengers got out at the Algiers car park, he'd drive her right to the door.

Inside the envelope was a well-worn photograph of the Bey's home, tinted the palest of mint hues. Bougainvillea and spiky cacti peeked from behind a black iron fence, its gate intricately wrought. Leila recognized the house as soon as the taxi turned into its narrow street. Set on the side of a hill, the home towered above the pavement. After haggling with the driver about the fare—Leila knew he was overcharging her—she dragged the bags just inside the gate and climbed the steps to Fouzia and Nabile's door. Her heart beat louder than waves battering the coast as she grasped the brass knocker, giving it three stout claps.

Reverberations shot through the entrance hall, straight into Nabile's study. Through an open window Leila heard him call, "Fouzia? Can you get that?" Her eyes, smarting from too much sorrow, winced as the late afternoon sun glinted like molten blood in the front window-panes. She closed her eyes against fear for herself and Fatima. Fouzia pulled open the heavy door.

Both women stood motionless, like statuary frozen outside time and its consequences.

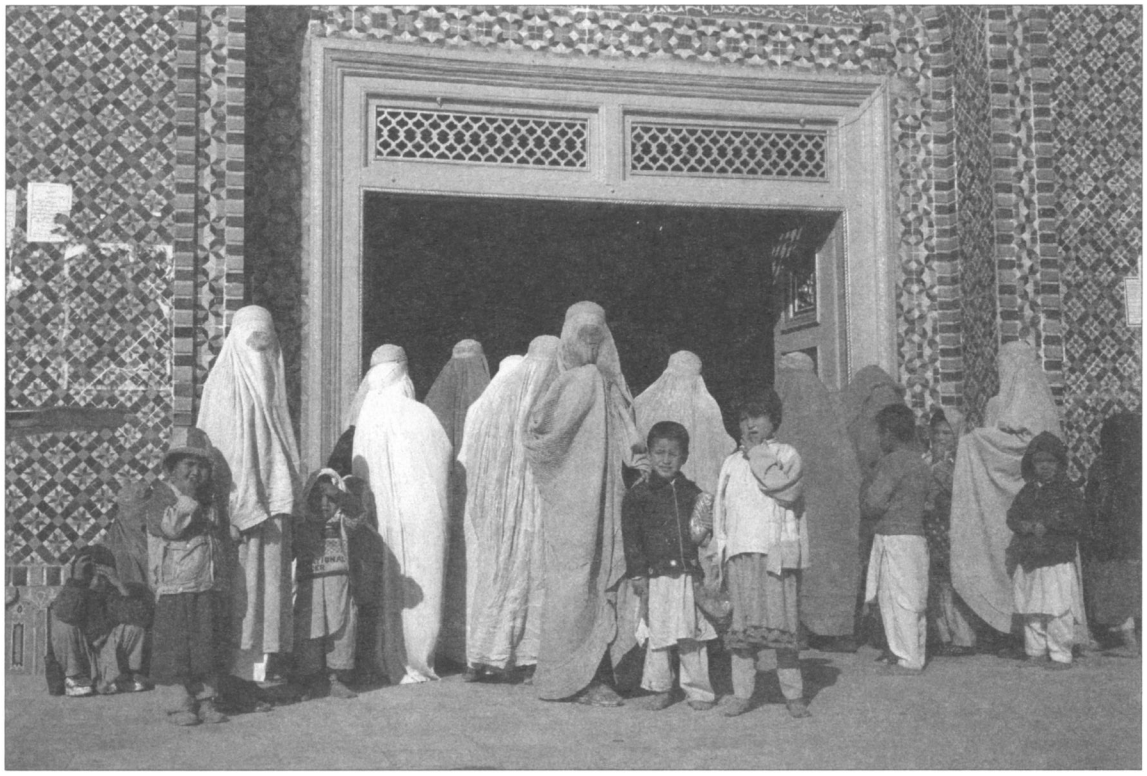
Fouzia found words first, throwing her arms around Leila and child, murmuring into her niece's ear, "Do you know?"

Leila could only nod as Fouzia gently lifted Fatima into her arms. She watched her aunt gaze into the girl's curious, shy eyes. Leila hoped Fouzia would not see the father in the daughter; instead, around the

mouth and chin were the features of Grandmama, now falling into childishness, Leila knew, faster than Fatima was climbing out of it.

With her free arm around Leila, Fouzia again kissed her niece's cheeks. Then Nabile was beside them, drawing all three into the house. He, too, kissed Leila on the cheeks and smiled at Fatima, who hid her face from him.

"Here you'll be safe," he said in French, so that Fatima could not understand. "We must get you both into hiding. I'm afraid, for a very long time."



Ladies Day at the Mosque

The Cedars of Lebanon

Robert A. Rees

There is nothing in Lebanon.
We are playing in our own blood.
—A Maronite monk (1988)

Across a shattered street, a Muslim groom lifts
the train of his Christian bride as he steps over
broken glass, old tires, and miles of rubblestone.
Her face, a dark rose, is the only beauty
in this ravaged landscape.

The guns are silent for this small repose, although Mars
waits greedily for those born to murder one another
for reasons no one will remember.

ROBERT A. REES, *past editor of* DIALOGUE *(1971–76), has taught literature at the University of Wisconsin, UCLA, and UC Santa Cruz; he was also a Fulbright Professor of American Literature at Vytautas Magnus University in Kaunas, Lithuania (1995–96). He has published poems in such journals as* West/Word, Sunstone, Dialogue, Onthebus, Wasatch Review, *and* BYU Studies. *Several of his poems have won awards. Three of his poems appear in* Harvest: Contemporary Mormon Poems *(Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1989).*

Here Phoenicians made their alphabet
for lovers to speak their marriage vows and death be
called by its endless names. At nearby Cana
Jesus turned water into wine at a wedding feast of friends.

Today there are no miracles, just these two figures
in white, like fugitive angels fleeing the world.

Each spring the waters of the Adonis flow out
of limestone caverns deep in the heart
of Mount Lebanon. As they descend
through rust hills, the waters turn red, flowing,
as the old story goes, from wounds torn
in the flesh of the beautiful youth by Ares
disguised as a wild boar.

Wild pigs and dogs rout in rubble even on this day.

Even on this day, when Adonis blossoms adorn
the wedding bed and where, when night shrouds the war,
Christ and Mohammed will make peace,

Venus holds her dying love in her arms as her tears
speed the crimson river to the sea.

A Triple Combination for Proclaiming Peace

Chris Hedges. *War Is a Force That Gives Us Meaning.* New York: Public Affairs, 2002. 211 pp.

David Anderson and Andrew Bolton, *Military Service, Pacifism, and Discipleship: A Diversity of Callings?* (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 2003), 86 pp.

Reviewed by ROB FERGUS, *Ph.D. candidate in geography at the University of Texas at Austin*

I GREW UP WITH TOY MACHINE GUNS, plastic army men, and John Wayne movies on a black and white television set. We read the Book of Mormon as a family every morning before school, and I remember organizing my friends and siblings for a mock Book of Mormon battle along the banks of our own River Sidon—a small creek winding through a nearby subdivision. Before anyone had contemplated prying a gun from the cold, dead hands of Charlton Heston, we all watched *Red Dawn* and imagined fighting a guerilla war to protect our homes from Soviet invaders. The Olympic hockey win at Lake Placid, the U.S. bombing of Libya, the invasion of Grenada, and the cinematic success of *Top Gun*—all reinvigorated a nation demoralized after military defeat in Vietnam. The Soviets were our enemies—the Evil Empire—and we knew who we were as Americans because, as indicated in the title of Chris Hedges's latest book, war was a force that gave us meaning.

Hedges, a Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist and seasoned war correspondent for the *New York Times*, draws from his own experiences covering wars in the Balkans, Central America, and the Middle East to chronicle what he terms the "enduring attraction of war" (3)—the addictive fulfillment that warfare provides individuals and societies, along with the true costs of achieving that fulfillment. In doing so, Hedges examines the myths that we use to justify and build support for war, the ways nationalism is used to promote war, the destruction of truth that accompanies warfare, the seductive nature of war, the ways historic facts are manufactured and manipulated to provoke and sustain warfare, the sanctification of soldiers as martyrs for their cause, and the addictive lust for battle that fuels the commission of brutal atrocities.

While clearly and graphically reaffirming that "war is hell," Hedges is not a pacifist. He believes that "the poison that is war does not free us from the ethics of responsibility" in the face of oppressive governments

and ethnic cleansing and that "there are times when we must take this poison—just as a person with cancer accepts chemotherapy to live" (16). Sometimes, "force wielded by one immoral faction must be countered by a faction that, while never moral, is perhaps less immoral" (16). However, by cataloguing the atrocities of war, Hedges disabuses us of the myth that war is glorious, moral, or good. As such, this book serves as a useful antidote to war and as "a call for repentance" (17) from our addiction to the spoils and ideology of war.

Hedges's book is itself a peculiar illustration of our complicated relationship to war. His graphic depictions of atrocities and gross distortions of truth and emotions in war are both horrific and fascinating and, perhaps most troubling, surprisingly easy to read—reminding us that books and movies about war cannot adequately describe the true visceral experiences of those who experience war. At best they serve as pale warnings against war, while at their worst they seduce us with depictions of horrors making war more attractive.

Hedges echoes other writers in recounting the various ways that truth is distorted in times of war. Ironically, *War Is a Force That Gives Us Meaning* is itself a powerful witness to this fact, as critics have accused Hedges of plagiarizing a passage from Hemingway's *Farewell to Arms* and of willfully misrepresenting or distorting the facts in describing alleged Israeli war atrocities—making the case once again that truth is the first casualty in war and, apparently, in writing about war.

For Latter-day Saint readers, *War Is a Force That Gives Us Meaning* helps dispel cultural myths and traditional readings of scripture that lead us to glamorize, justify, or accept war and disregard the scriptural injunction to "renounce war and proclaim peace" (D&C 98:16). Because warfare is prevalent in portions of the Book of Mormon, we may be tempted to interpret these scriptures from a modern nationalistic stance, leading us to see heroes and role models where the Book of Mormon depicts tragic figures, and glorious battles in place of dehumanizing horror and suffering. Perhaps Hedges's book, by helping us see war for what it is, can help us rescue the Book of Mormon from our own cultural biases and reveal it as possibly the most powerful renunciation of war and proclamation of peace given to God's children.

It is hard not to recall the machinations of a Zerahemnah or Amalickiah when Hedges writes that modern wars are not "the result of ancient ethnic hatreds" but rather "manufactured wars, born out of the collapse of civil societies, perpetuated by fear, greed, and paranoia, and they are run by gangsters, who rise up from the bottom of their own societies and terrorize all, including those they purport to protect" (20). The Book of Mormon exposes how apostates and traitors manufactured racial hatred to provoke attacks on the Nephites, and it is easy

to compare them with Yugoslavian or Central American warlords.

But Hedges would remind us that in warfare, both sides play the same games. In our own times, we often present ourselves as the embodiment of goodness and justify our own violence by reference to the sins of others. What aren't we justified in doing if we are the lone defenders of civilization and all that is decent and fair, while our enemies are dark and loathsome, two-dimensional, almost inhuman figures (like Laman and Lemuel)? As Hedges points out repeatedly, such rhetoric is always used to manipulate good people to perform horrible deeds. In early Nephite history, how much did their depictions of Lamanites as a "wild, and a ferocious, and a blood-thirsty people, full of idolatry and filthiness" (Enos 1:20) contribute to fueling the continuous rounds of warfare between these closely related lineages?

Hedges reminds us that war requires us to sacrifice the physical and mental lives of our children, who perish as soldiers or return with emotional scars. His examples from modern wars can lead us to revisit the scriptural account of Helaman and the stripling warriors. What are we missing in our traditional reading of this story? We celebrate these young men as heroes because they "were exceedingly valiant for courage" (Alma 53:20) and, as a sign of their righteousness, they all survived the brutal hand-to-hand combat of the Lamanite wars. But do we ever ask what happened to these young men after they returned home with grave physical and emotional scars? Fourteen years after the end of the war, many of the Ammonites emigrated to the land northward (Hel. 3:12) and twenty-three years later the missionary Nephi is totally rejected by the inhabitants of this land (Hel. 7:1-3). Could it be that the stripling warriors, after having been seduced into battle by a militaristic Nephite society, returned home jaded and eventually rejected Nephite society and the gospel embraced by their parents? And what are we to make of formerly militaristic parents who covenant to forsake violence but eventually send their children off to be sacrificed on the altar of war? Is this not a tragic example of faith faltering in the face of overwhelming cultural influences?

And what about Captain Moroni? For all his struggles to preserve his people, he returned home at war's end and was dead within five years. The peace he established did not last; and five years after his death, the Nephites were at war again. We admire Moroni's courage and laud his values, while excusing his violence as righteous indignation. When we read about the great slaughtering of Nephites and Lamanites during these wars, we tend to gloss over the horror, pain, death, depredations, and deceptions. But they are all there. *War Is a Force That Gives Us Meaning* helps us to see these passages again, to remember the dismemberings, bloodshed, slaughter, and cost in human life and hardening of souls—the stench and moldering mounds of human bodies. This book helps us re-

member that war is not a football game or Olympic hockey match between trained and disciplined athletes. As Hedges reiterates forcefully, no matter what cause is used for its justification, war is organized killing or murder.

Hedges shows us how we are a warlike people, which places us on the same moral ground as the Nephites. We seek to justify our wars, as the Nephites did, as necessary for our preservation. We reject the example of the recently converted Ammonites, who were willing to die for their cause without causing the death of others, and we embrace the values of acculturated Ammonites who narrowly avoided breaking their own covenants of nonviolence only by sending their own children into battle. We forget that the culture and ideology of warfare led to the destruction of the Nephites and fail to liken this scriptural cautionary tale unto ourselves (1 Ne. 19:23).

Perhaps unwittingly, the powerful message of *War Is a Force That Gives Us Meaning* has caused me to revisit and appreciate the scriptures. In calling me to repentance, Hedges, with his master's of divinity from Harvard, has fulfilled the avowed purpose of this book. However, in viewing war as a necessary evil, he accepts its inevitability and is unable to provide an alternative to warfare. Fortunately, the Lord has revealed to Latter-day Saints an alternative, and Hedges's book can lead us to "remember the new covenant, even the Book of Mormon and the commandments which I have given them" (D&C 84:57)—commandments that would have us establish a just and equitable society free from warfare—"fruit meet for [our] Father's kingdom" (D&C 84:58). Until we build that society, "there remaineth a scourge and judgment to be poured out upon the children of Zion" (D&C 84:58) as there is nowhere to flee for those who "will not take his sword against his neighbor" (D&C 45:68). If we are to avoid this condemnation (D&C 84:54-56), we must take on the difficult task of repenting of our warlike tendencies and follow the example of Jesus in renouncing war and proclaiming peace.

In doing so, Latter-day Saints might benefit from dialogue with their brothers and sisters in the Community of Christ (formerly the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints). In *Military Service, Pacifism, and Discipleship: A Diversity of Callings?*, Community of Christ members David Anderson and Andrew Bolton invite Saints from both Community of Christ and LDS congregations to examine Christian responses to war against a shared restorationist tradition. Though written by and mostly for members of the Community of Christ, scriptural references are graciously given with both Community of Christ and LDS versification to facilitate LDS entry into the discussion.

For saints unfamiliar with the Community of Christ, *Military Service, Pacifism, and Discipleship* is a valuable introduction to an alternative Mormon worldview. For over forty years, the Community of Christ has recognized a wide array of views in relation

to the use of military force and sanctions the rights of its members to either enter the armed forces or register as conscientious objectors. In England, future RLDS Apostle F. Henry Edwards was court-martialed and risked execution during World War I, then later became a prominent advocate of nonviolent resistance to militarism, even as RLDS President Frederick M. Smith encouraged Saints to serve their country in both world wars. In recent years, while recognizing a diversity of views among its members, the Community of Christ has sought closer ties with the peace church community—including Quakers and descendants of the Anabaptists (Hutterites, Amish, Mennonites, and Church of the Brethren). This institutional commitment to peace is reflected in the 1994 dedication of the Community of Christ Temple in Independence, Missouri, to the "pursuit of peace, reconciliation, and healing of the spirit" (5). As a part of this mission, the Peace and Justice Office of the Community of Christ has published *Military Service, Pacifism, and Discipleship* as a workbook for use in congregations and study groups interested in exploring historic and contemporary Christian responses to war.

The discussion begins with a preface from the First Presidency of the Community of Christ, recommending the book "to members and friends of the church" to "stimulate discussion and raise awareness" of the "issues of discipleship and the use of violent force" (5). In the introduction, Anderson and Bolton invite readers to join in pursuing "peace, reconciliation, and healing of the spirit" while revealing their own disparate approaches to the topic. Anderson, a colonel in the U.S. Air Force, "believes that at times the use of force is unfortunate but necessary to protect the innocent and achieve justice," while Bolton, coordinator of the Peace and Justice Ministries for the Community of Christ, "is committed to the nonviolent pursuit of justice" (6).

An even greater diversity of views within the Community of Christ is represented in the first section of the book, which consists of testimonies and personal experiences from eight Saints with different backgrounds and perspectives. These range from troubled combat veterans, to career military officers, and conscientious objectors. These testimonies, while expressing divergent opinions about the necessary use of force, represent faithful attempts by each member to best follow the teachings of Christ as revealed in the New Testament and modern revelations. As befitting its role as a workbook, the testimonies are introduced with questions inviting the reader and class members to examine and seek an appreciation and understanding of each perspective.

The second section of *Military Service, Pacifism, and Discipleship* is an exploration of five traditional Christian responses to war—patriotic obedience, nonviolent action, just war, holy war, and Christian realism. The history and main arguments of each view are articulated and compared with RLDS

scriptures, statements, and practices. Thoughtful study questions lead readers to examine each of these positions from their own experience and understanding of Christ's teachings. The authors note that, while patriotic obedience is perhaps the most common perspective within the restoration tradition, it has only tenuous support from biblical scripture. They also make strong claims that Jesus advocated a nonviolent position and trace the origins of just-war traditions to the teachings of Ambrose and Augustine after Constantine adopted Christianity as the official religion of the Roman Empire in the early fourth century.

Anderson and Bolton see the origins of holy war in Maccabean and later Christian crusader reenactments of the biblical story of the Israelite conquest of the promised land. Christian realism, a twentieth-century position outlined by Reinhold Niebuhr, considers violence a necessary evil that we must embrace while simultaneously seeking forgiveness from God.

After reviewing the tenets of each position, Anderson and Bolton invite us to evaluate these views in terms of the worth of souls revealed in the Doctrine and Covenants—our peace-making goals and strategies should honor the worth of both "good people" and "sinners, those who need to repent, that need to change" (64). The authors then conclude with essays sharing their personal testimonies and positions. As a career military officer, Anderson argues that "the profession of arms is compatible with Christian living" (66). Bolton claims that the Christian cross is an indictment of oppression and violence, disclosing "how evil works by persecuting and oppressing the innocent" (75), and symbolizing the Savior's invitation to become his disciples in seeking a path of nonviolence.

The authors also suggest seven books for further reading and provide additional study questions and class exercises as appendices.

As a course manual, it is interesting to compare *Military Service, Pacifism, and Discipleship* with official course materials produced by the LDS Church. Readers of this Community of Christ workbook are encouraged to read, ponder, reflect, and seek to understand divergent views. Suggested questions are specific and address current and historic political conflicts. This approach stands in stark contrast to that found in recent LDS course manuals—which steer clear of specific political issues and present a unified and correlated perspective on gospel principles, which individuals are encouraged to adopt in their personal and family lives. I see *Military Service, Pacifism, and Discipleship* as providing a useful model for gospel study and discussion, one that illustrates the value of respectful dialogue in addressing important issues upon which individual Saints may hold a diversity of opinions.

Indeed, for Anderson and Bolton, Saints need to engage in these discussions if both denominations are to achieve their shared injunction to establish Zion, a "peaceable kingdom . . .

where swords are hammered into plowshares and where lions lie down with lambs and every little child is safe to play" (77). For Anderson and Bolton, this "peaceable kingdom" is a community seeking to embody Christ's nonviolent teachings—a community where disciples of all denominations and views on war dwell together, seek joint understanding, and eventually work out their differences with mutual respect. By engaging in the activities and discussions outlined in *Military Service, Pacifism, and Discipleship,* Saints and their friends can start bridging the gaps between their various traditions and take additional steps away from a world where "war is a force that gives us meaning" and toward the world depicted in the official seal of the Community of Christ, where a lion, lamb, and little child share a circle with the simple, yet illusive, gospel fruit—peace.

In conclusion, *War Is a Force That Gives Us Meaning* shows us where we are, the Book of Mormon shows us where we could end up if our society continues on that course, and *Military Service, Pacifism, and Discipleship* provides a path towards a more peaceful alternative. Together, this triple combination gives us cause to ponder our choices—and our future.

War Bride

Helen Walker Jones

She pictures heavy boots, plodding through sand,
and wonders if the socks she knitted fit him.
In sundown-smoky Baghdad, her Marine digs trenches,
longing for double beds and salt-rimmed tequilas,
tallying his buddies in the Black Hawk crash toll,
sung homeward by old doughboys on bus benches.
His wife, on their Sanpete porch, stirs Shirley Temples with tiny umbrellas,
watches the sunrise beyond Temple Hill, her speculations turning brittle

as sculpted ice. She blots up ginger ale/grenadine stains with an unsteady hand,
her carmine-tinted mouth pressing lip smudges on the goblet's rim.
While her Lance Corporal dreams of his stateside bride, blonde Marybeth,
trailing the scent of roses down the slope of the Manti Temple's lawn,
owls haunt the wounded, helicopters circling incessantly till dawn's
mirage: pale spring frost rendering those boys alive, proving their breath.

HELEN WALKER JONES has been a Pushcart Prize nominee, a finalist in the Iowa Short Fiction Contest, and first-prize winner in the Utah Arts Council fiction competition. She was awarded DIALOGUE's *fiction prize, and the Association for Mormon Letters short story award. Her work has appeared in* Harper's, Wisconsin Review, Wittenberg Review, Gargoyle, Richmond Quarterly, Florida Review, Texas Review, Indiana Review, Chariton Review, Cimarron Review, Nebraska Review, *and many other journals.*

Bundles on Their Heads, Mazar-i-Sharif

Cargoes II

Brent Corcoran

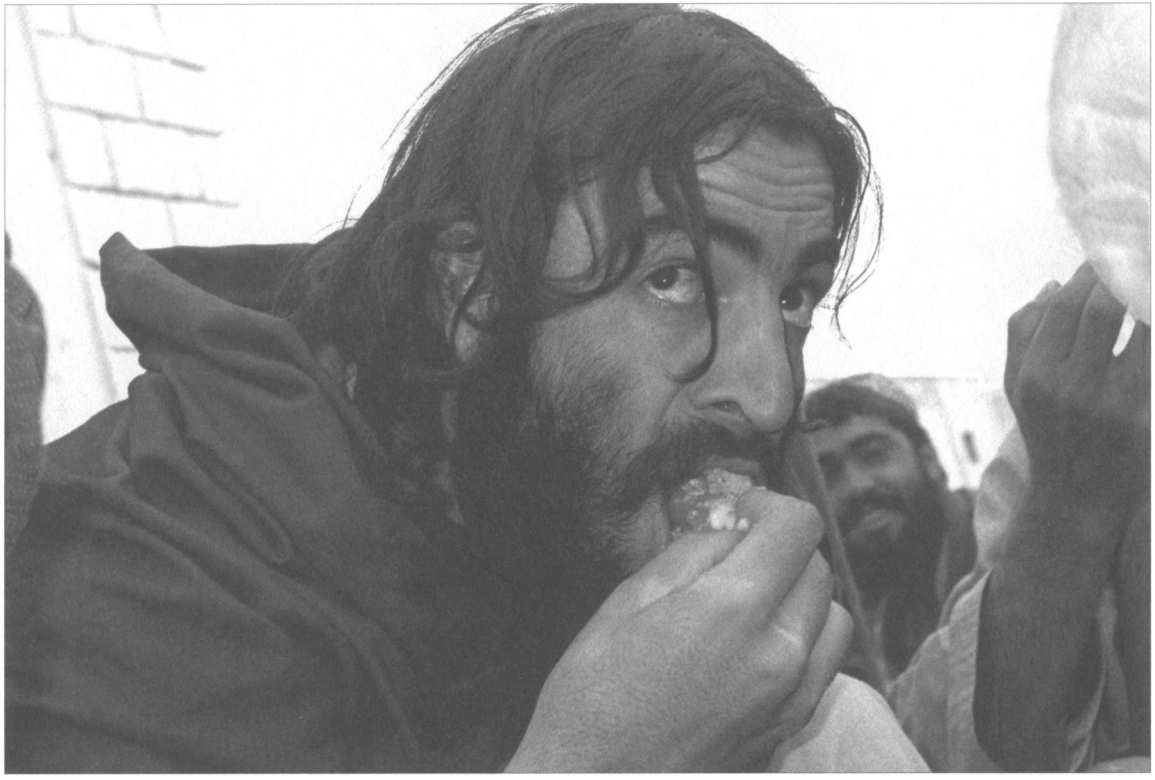
Quinquereme of Nineveh from distant Ophir
Running home to haven in sunny Palestine . . .
—John Masefield, "Cargoes"

Tanker from al-Kuwayt on the Persian Gulf
Passes the Straits of Hormuz (which Americans hold),
With a cargo of "black gold"—
Gas and petroleum—
For further refinement in Galveston.

Corporate carrier commissioned in Kobe
Swims on its brimming hull across the North Pacific,
With a cargo of VCRs and stereos
And fine automobiles,
For resale in sunny Los Angeles.

Charity tramp ship chartered at London
Tugs across the Channel in an August heat,
Going to pick up crates of tin cans
And cast-off clothes,
As alms for famished Africa.

BRENT CORCORAN *is author of* Park City Underfoot: Self-Guided Tours of Historic Neighborhoods *(Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1995) and editor of* Multiply and Replenish: Mormon Essays on Sex and Family Life *(Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1994). He has been employed for the past ten years as a compositor for the* Journal of Mormon History *and joins the new* DIALOGUE *editorial team as production manager.*



Taliban Prisoner Eating, Sheberghan Prison, Afghanistan 2001

ABOUT THE ARTIST

Scott Carrier, whose photographs we feature in this issue of *Dialogue*, is an independent writer and radio producer. His print stories have been published in *Harper's*, *Rolling Stone*, *Esquire*, *GQ*, and *Mother Jones* magazines. His radio stories have been broadcast on *All Things Considered*, *This American Life*, *Savvy Traveler*, and other public radio programs. A collection of his stories, *Running After Antelope*, was published by Counterpoint Press in 2001.

"I started taking photographs of the people I interviewed for radio stories. Or at least I did this in the beginning, and then stopped because it seemed like asking too much of the subject to do both things, and also there was no use for the photos in those days. Now there is the World Wide Web, which combines audio and visual photos very well. But the photos in the show [and in this issue of *Dialogue*] were taken for magazine articles I wrote for various publications. I was hired as a writer, but I also took photos and the magazines liked them and published them."

Scott Carrier lives in Salt Lake City, Utah.

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