
Bibliography

- Acuera. "With Such a People I Want No Peace." In *Great Speeches by Native Americans*, edited by Bob Blaisdell, 3. New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 2000.
- Adams, John. "From John Adams to Hezekiah Niles, 13 February 1818." Founders Online, National Archives. <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-02-02-6854>
- Addams, Jane. "Democracy or Militarism." In *Jane Addams's Essays and Speeches on Peace*. London: Continuum, 2005.
- Allhoff, Fritz, Nicholas G. Evans, and Adam Henschke, eds. *The Routledge Handbook of Ethics and War*. New York: Routledge, 2013.
- American National Conference of Catholic Bishops. "The Challenge of Peace." 1983. <http://www.usccb.org/upload/challenge-peace-gods-promise-our-response-1983.pdf>
- Andrew, Barbara. "The Psychology of Tyranny: Wollstonecraft and Woolf on the Gendered Dimension of War." *Hypatia: A Journal of Feminist Philosophy* 9, no. 2 (1994): 85–101.
- Anscombe, G.E.M. "War and Murder" and "Mr. Truman's Degree." In *Ethics, Religion, and Politics*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota, 1981.
- Anselm. "Monologion." In *Anselm of Canterbury: The Major Works*, translated by Brian Davies and G.R. Evans. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Aquinas, Thomas. *Summa Theologica: Literally Translated by Fathers of the English Dominican Province*, 2017. Online Edition Copyright 2017 by Kevin Knight. At New Advent: <http://www.newadvent.org/summa/3040.htm>
- Aristotle. *Nicomachean Ethics*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1934. At Perseus: <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.01.0054>
- Aristotle. *Politics*, translated by Benjamin Jowett. New York: Digireads.com, 2017.

- Augustine, *Epistle to Boniface*. From *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, First Series*, Vol. 1, edited by Philip Schaff. Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1887. At New Advent: <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/1102189.htm>
- Augustine. *City of God*. From *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, First Series*, Vol. 2, edited by Philip Schaff. Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co, 1887. At New Advent: <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/120119.htm>
- Badru, R.O. “An African Philosophical Account of just War Theory.” *Ethical Perspectives* 26, no. 2 (2019): 153–181.
- Ballou, Adin. *Christian Non-Resistance*. London: Charles Gilpin, 1848.
- Bazon, Emily. “From Bagram to Abu Ghraib.” *Mother Jones*, March/April 2005. <https://www.motherjones.com/politics/2005/03/bagram-abu-ghraib/>
- Bederman, David J. *International Law in Antiquity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Berenbaum, Michael. *The World Must Know*. Washington, DC: United States Holocaust Museum, 2006.
- Black Hawk. “Black Hawk’s Surrender Speech.” 1832. https://s3.amazonaws.com/oh.oercommons.org/media/editor/47/Black_Hawks_Surrender_Speech.pdf
- Boersema, David. “Positive Peace.” In *The Routledge Handbook of Pacifism and Nonviolence*, edited by Andrew Fiala. New York: Routledge, 2018.
- Boxill, Bernard R. “Fear and Shame as Forms of Moral Suasion in the Thought of Frederick Douglass.” *Transactions of the Charles S. Peirce Society* 31, no. 4 (1995): 713–744. doi:<https://www.jstor.org/stable/40320570>
- Brady, Michael and Miranda Fricker, eds. *The Epistemic Life of Groups: Essays in the Epistemology of Collectives*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.
- Bray, Mark. *Antifa: The Anti-Fascist Handbook*. Brooklyn, NY: Melville House, 2017.
- Breasted, James Henry. “Treaty with the Hittites.” In *Ancient Records of Egypt: Historical Documents from the Earliest Times to the Persian Conquest*, Vol. III, 163–175. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1906.
- Brunstetter, Daniel and Megan Braun. “From *Jus Ad Bellum* to *Jus Ad Vim*: Recalibrating our Understanding of the Moral use of Force.” *Ethics & International Affairs* 27, no. 1 (2013): 87–106.
- Bulos, Nabih. “In Afghanistan’s War-Torn Countryside, America’s Exit Means One Thing: Peace.” *Los Angeles Times*, September 17, 2021. <https://www.latimes.com/world-nation/story/2021-09-17/afghanistan-countryside-us-exit-means-peace-taliban>

- Cady, Duane. *From Warism to Pacifism: A Moral Continuum*, 2nd edition. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2010.
- Cady, Duane. "Warism and the Dominant Worldview." In *The Routledge Handbook of Pacifism and Nonviolence*, edited by Andrew Fiala. New York: Routledge, 2018.
- Chenoweth, Erica and Maria J. Stephan. *Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2011.
- Childs, Craig. *House of Rain: Tracking a Vanished Civilization across the American Southwest*. New York: Back Bay Books, 2006.
- Chiu, Yvonne. *Conspiring with the Enemy: The Ethic of Cooperation in Warfare*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2019.
- Christenson, Kit. *Nonviolence, Peace, and Justice: A Philosophical Introduction*. Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 2010.
- Clarke, Barry. "Eccentrically Contested Concepts." *British Journal of Political Science* 9, no. 1 (1979): 122–126. doi:10.1017/S0007123400001654
- Coady, C.A.J. "Terrorism, Morality, and Supreme Emergency." *Ethics* 114, no. 4 (2004): 772–789. doi:10.1086/383440
- Coi, Giovanna. "The War in Afghanistan—by the Numbers." *Politico*, August 19, 2021. <https://www.politico.eu/article/war-afghanistan-numbers-costs-taliban-migration-europe-refugees/>
- Cooper, Ryan. "American Atrocities Doomed the Afghanistan Occupation." *The Week*, August 30, 2021. <https://theweek.com/afghanistan-war/1004297/atrocities-in-afghanistan>
- "Costs of War." Costs of War Project. Watson Institute for International and Public Affairs, Brown University, September 2021. <https://watson.brown.edu/costsofwar/figures/2021/WarDeathToll>
- Davidovic, Jovana. "What Do We Owe Refugees: 'Jus Ad Bellum' Duties to Refugees from Armed Conflict Zones and the Right to Asylum." *Journal of Global Ethics* 12, no. 3 (2016): 347–364.
- Delmas, Candice. *A Duty to Resist: When Disobedience Should Be Uncivil*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2018.
- Dickinson, Goldsworthy Lowes. *The Choice Before Us*. New York: Dodd, Mead, and Co, 1917.
- Dower, John. *War Without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War*. New York: Pantheon, 1986.
- Dubois, Laurent. *Avengers of the New World: The Story of the Haitian Revolution*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2004.
- Dylan, Bob. *With God on our Side*. Warner Bros. Inc, 1963.
- Edwards, Robert. *White Death: Russia's War on Finland 1939–40*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2006.

- Emerick, Barrett. "The Limits of the Rights to Free Thought and Expression." *Kennedy Institute of Ethics Journal* 31, no. 2 (2021): 133–152. <https://philarchive.org/archive/EMETLO-2v2>
- Emonet, Sgt Maj Florian. "The Importance of Ethics Education in Military Training." *NCO Journal*, November 16, 2018.
- Fabre, Cécile. "Cosmopolitanism, Just War Theory and Legitimate Authority." *International Affairs* 84, no. 5 (2008): 963–976.
- Fabre, Cécile. *Cosmopolitan Peace*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.
- Fee, Chester Anders. *Chief Joseph: The Biography of a Great Indian*. Indiana: Wilson-Erickson, Inc., 1936.
- Fiala, Andrew. *Practical Pacifism*. New York: Algora Publishing, 2004.
- Fiala, Andrew. "A Critique of Exceptions: Torture, Terrorism, and the Lesser Evil Argument." *International Journal of Applied Philosophy* 20, no. 1 (2006): 127–142.
- Fiala, Andrew. *The Just War Myth*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2008.
- Fiala, Andrew. *Public War, Private Conscience*. London: Continuum/Bloomsbury, 2010.
- Fiala, Andrew. "Just War Ethics and the Slippery Slope of Militarism." *Philosophy in the Contemporary World* 19, no. 1 (2012), 92–102.
- Fiala, Andrew. *Against Religions, Wars, and States: Enlightenment Atheism, Just War Pacifism, and Liberal-Democratic Anarchism*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2013.
- Fiala, Andrew. "Contingent Pacifism and Contingently Pacifist Conclusions." *Journal of Social Philosophy* 45, no. 4 (2014), 463–477.
- Fiala, Andrew. *Secular Cosmopolitanism*. New York: Routledge, 2016.
- Fiala, Andrew. "Moral Injury and Jus Ad Bellum." *Essays in Philosophy* 18, no. 2 (2017, Special Issue on Moral Psychology and War): 281–294. doi:10.7710/1526-0569.1585
- Fiala, Andrew. "Pacifism." In *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (2018 revision), edited by Edward N. Zalta, 2018a. <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/pacifism/>
- Fiala, Andrew. "The Pacifist Tradition and Pacifism as Transformative and Critical Theory." *The Acorn* 18, no. 1 (2018b): 5–28.
- Fiala, Andrew. *Transformative Pacifism*. London: Bloomsbury, 2018c.
- Fiala, Andrew. *Nonviolence: A Quick Immersion*. New York: Tibidabo, 2020.
- Fiala, Andrew. "Peace as Intrinsic Value: The Pacifist Intuition and Intuitive Pacifism." *Peace & Change* 47, no. 2 (2021): 152–169.
- Finlay, Christopher J. *Terrorism and the Right to Resist: A Theory of Just Revolutionary War*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017.
- Fischer, J.M., M. Ravizza, and D. Copp. "Quinn on Double Effect: The Problem of 'Closeness'." *Ethics* 103, no. 4 (1993): 707–725.

- Fisher, Roger. "Preventing Nuclear War." *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 37, no. 3 (1981): 11–17.
- Fitz-Gibbon, Jane Hall. "Of Course, God Is a Man! Masculinist Justifications of Violence and Feminist Perspectives." In *Pacifism, Politics, and Feminism: Intersections and Innovations*, edited by Jennifer Kling, 80–95. Leiden, Netherlands: Brill Rodopi, 2019.
- Flisi, Ilaria and Lonneke Peperkamp. "Reports from Abroad: An Interview with Dr. Lonneke Peperkamp on Just War Theory and Space Wars." Blog of the APA, 2021. <https://blog.apaonline.org/2021/08/02/reports-from-abroad-an-interview-with-dr-lonneke-peperkamp-on-just-war-theory-and-space-wars/>
- Francis (Pope). "Homily of His Holiness Pope Francis." September 13, 2014. https://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/homilies/2014/documents/papa-francesco_20140913_omelia-sacrario-militare-redipuglia.html
- Freedman, Lawrence and Efraim Karsh. *The Gulf Conflict 1990–1991: Diplomacy and War in the New World Order*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1993.
- Fregosi, Paul. *Dreams of Empire: Napoleon and the First World War, 1792–1815*. London: Hutchinson, 1989.
- Frowe, Helen. *Defensive Killing: An Essay on War and Self-Defence*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Galliot, Jai, ed. *Force Short of War in Modern Conflict*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2019a.
- Galliot, Jai. "An Introduction to Force Short of War." In *Force Short of War in Modern Conflict*, edited by Jai Galliot, 1–10. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2019b.
- Galtung, Johan. "Violence, Peace, and Peace Research." *Journal of Peace Research* 6, no. 3 (1969): 167–191.
- Galtung, Johan. *Peace by Peaceful Means*. London: Sage, 1996.
- Gandhi, Mohandas K. *Collected Works*, Vol. 1–98. New Delhi: Publications Division Government of India, 1999. <https://www.gandhiashramsevagram.org/gandhi-literature/collected-works-of-mahatmagandhi-volume-1-to-98.php>
- Gay, William. "The Military-Industrial Complex." In *The Routledge Handbook of Pacifism and Nonviolence*, edited by Andrew Fiala. New York: Routledge, 2018.
- Goldman, Emma. *Anarchism and Other Essays*. New York: Dover Publications, 2012.
- Gossman, Patricia. "How US-Funded Abuses Led to Failure in Afghanistan." *Human Rights Watch*, July 6, 2021. <https://www.hrw.org/news/2021/07/06/how-us-funded-abuses-led-failure-afghanistan#>
- Grotius, Hugo. *The Rights of War and Peace*. New York: M. Walter Dunne, 1901. At Liberty Fund: https://oll.libertyfund.org/titles/553#Grotius_0138_258

- Harsch, Ernest. "OAU Sets Inquiry into Rwanda Genocide." *Africa Recovery* 12, no. 1 (1998): 4.
- Haslanger, Sally. "Racism, Ideology and Social Movements." *Res Philosophica* 94, no. 1 (2017): 1–22. doi:10.11612/resphil.1547
- Hedahl, Marcus, Scott Clark, and Michael Beggins. "The Changing Nature of the Just War Tradition: How Our Changing Environment Ought to Change the Foundations of just War Theory." *Public Integrity* 19, no. 5 (2017): 429–443. doi:10.1080/10999922.2017.1278667
- Heldke, Lisa. "Do You Mind if I Speak Freely? Reconceptualizing Freedom of Speech." *Social Theory and Practice* 17, no. 3 (1991): 349–368. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23557428>
- Hill, Thomas E. *Virtue, Rules, and Justice: Kantian Aspirations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Hobbes, Thomas. *Leviathan*. Edited by Richard Tuck. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Holmes, Robert. "Pacifism for Non-Pacifists." *Journal of Social Philosophy* 30, no. 3 (1999): 387–400.
- Holmes, Robert. *The Ethics of Nonviolence: Essays by Robert Holmes*, edited by Predrag Cicovacki. London: Bloomsbury, 2013.
- Holmes, Robert. *Pacifism: A Philosophy of Nonviolence*. London: Bloomsbury, 2017.
- Holmes, Robert. "Pacifism and the Concept of Morality." In *The Routledge Handbook of Pacifism and Nonviolence*, edited by Andrew Fiala. New York: Routledge, 2018.
- Homer. *Iliad*. Lattimore Translation. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011.
- Human Rights Watch. *World Report 2020: Somalia*. New York: Human Rights Watch, 2020.
- Jaggar, Alison M. "Thinking about Justice in the Unjust Meantime." *Feminist Philosophy Quarterly* 5, no. 2 (2019). doi:10.5206/fpq/2019.2.7283.
- James, William. "A Moral Equivalent of War." In *Memories and Studies*, edited by William James. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1911.
- Johnson, James Turner. *Just War and the Restraint of War*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981.
- Johnson, James Turner. "Just War: As It Is and As It Was." *First Things*, January 2005. <https://www.firstthings.com/article/2005/01/just-war-as-it-was-and-is>
- Johnson, Rebecca. "'Jus Post Bellum' and Counterinsurgency." *Journal of Military Ethics* 7, no. 3 (2008): 215–230.
- Kant, Immanuel. *Perpetual Peace* in *Kant: Political Writings*, edited by H.S. Reiss. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Kaplan, Shawn. "Are Novel *Jus Ad Vim* Principles Needed to Judge Military Measures Short of War?" In *Force Short of War in Modern Conflict*, edited by Jai Galliot, 213–237. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2019.

- Katchadourian, Haig. "Is the Principle of Double Effect Morally Acceptable?" *International Philosophical Quarterly* 28, no. 1 (1988): 21–30.
- Kaurin, Pauline. "With Fear and Trembling: An Ethical Framework for Non-Lethal Weapons." *Journal of Military Ethics* 9, no. 1 (2010): 100–114. doi:10.1080/15027570903523057
- King, Jr. Martin Luther. "The Quest for Peace and Justice." Nobel Lecture. December 11, 1964. <https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/peace/1964/king/lecture/>
- King, Jr. Martin Luther. "A Christmas Sermon on Peace." In *The Trumpet of Conscience*, 67–78. New York: Harper & Row, 1967.
- King, Jr. Martin Luther. *A Gift of Love: Sermons from Strength to Love and Other Preachings*. Boston: Beacon Press, 2012.
- Klengel, Horst. *From War to Eternal Peace: Ramesses II and Khattushili III*. Toronto: Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies, 2002.
- Kling, Jennifer. "Justifying the State Right of Self-Defense." In *The State Right of Self-Defense: A Claim in Need of Justification*. PhD Dissertation: UNC-Chapel Hill, 2015. <https://cdr.lib.unc.edu/concern/dissertations/bz60cx27s>
- Kling, Jennifer. "Humanitarian Intervention and the Problem of Genocide and Atrocity." In *The Routledge Handbook of Pacifism and Nonviolence*, edited by Andrew Fiala, 154–167. New York: Routledge, 2018.
- Kling, Jennifer. "Engaging in a Cover-Up: The "Deep Morality" of War." In *Pacifism, Politics, and Feminism: Intersections and Innovations*, edited by Jennifer Kling, 96–116. Leiden, Netherlands: Brill Rodopi, 2019a.
- Kling, Jennifer. "The U.S. Military Needs to Budget: Decreasing Military Spending in the 21st Century." In *Ethics, Left and Right: The Moral Issues that Divide Us*, edited by Bob Fischer. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019b.
- Kling, Jennifer. *War Refugees: Risk, Justice, and Moral Responsibility*. Lanham: Lexington Books, 2019c.
- Kling, Jennifer. "Wealth, Violence, and (in)Justice: Refugees, Robin Hood, and Resistance." In *Peaceful Approaches for a More Peaceful World*, edited by Sanjay Lal. Leiden, Netherlands: Brill Rodopi, 2022.
- Kling, Jennifer and Megan Mitchell. "Bottles and Bricks: Rethinking the Prohibition Against Violent Political Protest." *Radical Philosophy Review* 22, no. 2 (2019): 209–237.
- Kling, Jennifer and Megan Mitchell. *The Philosophy of Protest: Fighting for Justice Without Going to War*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield International, 2021.
- Knickmeyer, Ellen. "Costs of the Afghanistan War, in Lives and Dollars." *AP News*, August 16, 2021. <https://apnews.com/article/middle-east-business-afghanistan-43d8f53b35e80ec18c130cd683e1a38f>
- Knight, Franklin W. "The Haitian Revolution." *The American Historical Review* 105, no. 1 (2000): 103–115.

- Laozi. *Daodejing: A Philosophical Translation*, translated by Roger T. Ames and David L. Hall. New York: Ballantine Books, 2003.
- Lau, D.C., H.C. Wah, and C.F. Ching, eds. *A Concordance to the Mengzi*. ICS Series. Hong Kong: Commercial Press, 1995.
- Lazar, Seth. "Authorization and the Morality of War." *Australasian Journal of Philosophy* 94, no. 2 (2016): 211–226. doi:10.1080/00048402.2015.1050680
- Lazar, Seth. "Just War Theory: Revisionists Versus Traditionalists." *Annual Review of Political Science* 20, no. 1 (2017): 37–54. doi:10.1146/annurev-polisci-060314-112706
- Lazar, Seth. "War." In *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, edited by Edward N. Zalta, 2020. <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2020/entries/war/>
- Lazar, Seth and Helen Frowe, eds. *The Oxford Handbook of the Ethics of War*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018.
- Le Guin, Ursula K. "Speech in Acceptance of the National Book Foundation Medal for Distinguished Contribution to American Letters." The National Book Foundation Medal for Distinguished Contribution to American Letters, November 19, 2014. <https://www.ursulakleaguin.com/nbf-medal?rq=National%20Book%20Foundation%20Medal>
- Lewis, Colin and Jennifer Kling. "Justified Revolution in Contemporary American Democracy: A Confucian-Inspired Account." In *The Crisis of American Democracy*, edited by Leland Harper, 167–192. New York: Vernon Press, 2022.
- Li, Chenyang. "The Confucian Ideal of Harmony." *Philosophy East and West* 56, no. 4 (2006): 583–603. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4488054>.
- Lo, Ping-cheung. "The Art of War Corpus and Chinese Just War Ethics Past and Present." *Journal of Religious Ethics* 40, no. 3 (2012): 404–446. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9795.2012.00530.x
- Locard, Henri. "State Violence in Democratic Kampuchea (1975–1979) and Retribution (1979–2004)." *European Review of History* 12, no. 1 (2005): 121–143. doi:10.1080/13507480500047811
- Locke, John. *Letter Concerning Tolerance*. In *Classics of Modern Political Theory*, edited by Steven M. Cahn. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Locke, John. *Two Treatises of Government and a Letter Concerning Toleration*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004.
- Machiavelli, Nicolo. *The Prince*, translated by W.K. Marriott. Project Gutenberg, 1998. <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/1232/1232-h/1232-h.htm#chap14>
- Mallow, Sean L. "Harry S. Truman and the Decision to Use the Atomic Bomb." In *A Companion to Harry S. Truman*, edited by Daniel S. Margolies. Malden, MA: Wiley Blackwell, 2012.

- Masakowski, Yvonne R., ed. *Artificial Intelligence and Global Security: Future Trends, Threats and Considerations*. Warrington, UK: Emerald Publishing Limited, 2020.
- May, Larry. *Contingent Pacifism: Revisiting Just War Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- May, Larry, ed. *The Cambridge Handbook of the Just War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018.
- McMahan, Jeff. "Revising the Doctrine of Double Effect." *Journal of Applied Philosophy* 11, no. 2 (1994): 201–212.
- McMahan, Jeff. *Killing in War*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- McMahan, Jeff. "Pacifism and Moral Theory." *Diametros* 23 (2010): 44–68.
- McPherson, Lionel K. "The Costs of Violence: Militarism, Geopolitics, and Accountability." In *To Shape a New World: Essays on the Political Philosophy of Martin Luther King, Jr*, edited by Tommie Shelby and Brandon M. Terry, 253–266. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2018.
- Meisels, Tamar. "Fighting for Independence: What can Just War Theory Learn from Civil Conflict?" *Social Theory and Practice* 40, no. 2 (2014): 304–326.
- Mill, John Stuart. "Utilitarianism." In *The Blackwell Guide to Mill's Utilitarianism*, edited by Henry R. West. Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2006.
- Mills, Charles W. *The Racial Contract*. Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 1997.
- Morgenstern, George. *Pearl Harbor: The Story of the Secret War*. New York: Devin Adair, 1947.
- Morrow, Paul. "Contingent Pacifism." In *The Routledge Handbook of Pacifism and Nonviolence*, edited by Andrew Fiala. New York: Routledge, 2018.
- Noddings, Nel. *The Maternal Factor: Two Paths to Morality*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010.
- Orend, Brian. "Jus Post Bellum." *Journal of Social Philosophy* 31, no. 1 (2000): 117–137.
- Parekh, Serena. *Refugees and the Ethics of Forced Displacement*. New York: Routledge, 2017.
- Peach, Lucinda J. "An Alternative to Pacifism? Feminism and Just War Theory." *Hypatia* 9, no. 2 (1994): 152–172. <http://www.jstor.org.libproxy.uccs.edu/stable/3810175>
- Perry, James. *Arrogant Armies: Great Military Disasters and the Generals Behind Them*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2005.
- Pinker, Steven. *The Better Angels of Our Nature*. New York: Penguin, 2011.

- Plato. *Laws*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967. At Perseus: <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.01.0166>
- Pratchett, Terry. *Witches Abroad*. New York: HarperTorch, 1991.
- Quinn, Warren S. "Actions, Intentions, and Consequences: The Doctrine of Double Effect." *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 18, no. 4 (1989): 334–351.
- Rawls, John. *The Law of Peoples*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999.
- Rawls, John. "Fifty years after Hiroshima." In *Collected Papers*, 565–572. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999.
- Raz, Joseph. *The Morality of Freedom*. New York: Clarendon Press, 1986.
- Reitberger, Magnus. "License to Kill: Is Legitimate Authority a Requirement for Just War?" *International Theory* 5, no. 1 (2013): 64–93. doi:10.1017/S1752971913000122
- Rodin, David. *War and Self-Defense*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Roosevelt, Theodore. *The Strenuous Life*. New York: Century, 1901.
- Roosevelt, Theodore. *America and The World War*. New York: Charles Scribners, 1915.
- Roosevelt, Theodore. "Wake Up America" (Speech of July 27, 1917). In *Newer Roosevelt Messages*, Vol. 3, edited by William Griffith. New York: The Current Literature Publishing Company, 1919.
- Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. *The Social Contract and Discourses*. London and Toronto: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1923. At Liberty Fund: <https://oll.libertyfund.org/titles/638>
- Russell, Bertrand. "The Future of Pacifism." *The American Scholar* 13, no. 1 (1943): 7–13.
- Ryan, Cheyney. "The Pacifist Critique of the Just War Tradition." In *The Routledge Handbook of Pacifism and Nonviolence*, edited by Andrew Fiala. New York: Routledge, 2018.
- Ryan, Cheyney. "Pacifism." In *The Oxford Handbook of Ethics of War*, edited by Seth Lazar and Helen Frowe. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018.
- Sawyer, Ralph D. *The Seven Military Classics of Ancient China*. New York: Westview, 2007.
- Schweitzer, Albert. *The Philosophy of Civilization*. Amherst: Prometheus, 1923/1987.
- Sharp, Gene. *Civilian-Based Defense*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990.
- Sharp, Gene. *Waging Nonviolent Struggle: 20th Century Practice and 21st Century Potential*. Boston: Porter Sargent, 2005.
- Sharp, Gene, M.S. Finkelstein, and T.C. Schelling. *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*, 3 Volumes. Manchester, NH: Porter Sargent, 1973.

- Singer, Peter. "Famine, Affluence, and Morality." *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 1, no. 3 (1972): 229–243. <http://www.jstor.org.libproxy.uccs.edu/stable/2265052>
- Sitting Bull. "The Life My People Want Is a Life of Freedom." In *Great Speeches by Native Americans*, edited by Bob Blaisdell, 169–170. New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 2000.
- Skrentny, John David. "The Effect of the Cold War on African-American Civil Rights: America and the World Audience, 1945-1968." *Theory and Society* 27, no. 2 (1998): 237–285. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/657868>
- Smart, J.J.C. and Bernard Williams. *Utilitarianism: For and Against*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973.
- Smith, Matthew Noah. "Rethinking Sovereignty, Rethinking Revolution." *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 36, no. 4 (2008): 405–440.
- Stacy, Helen. "Humanitarian Intervention and Relational Sovereignty." In *Intervention, Terrorism, and Torture: Contemporary Challenges to Just War Theory*, edited by S.P. Lee, 89–104. New York: Springer, 2007.
- Steffen, Lloyd. *Ethics and Experience*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2012.
- Steinbeck, John. *Once There Was a War*. New York: Penguin Books, 2007.
- Sterba, James. *Justice for Here and Now*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Sterba, James. "The Most Morally Defensible Pacifism." In *Pazifismus: Ideengeschichte, Theorie und Praxis*, edited by Barbara Bleisch and Jean-Daniel Strub. Bern: Haupt Verlag, 2006.
- Stinnet, Robert. *Day of Deceit: The Truth about FDR and Pearl Harbor*. New York: Free Press, 2001.
- Sundstrom, Ronald. "Frederick Douglass." In *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, edited by Edward N. Zalta, 2017. <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/frederick-douglass/>
- Tecumseh. "Sleep Not Longer, O Choctaws and Chickasaws." In *Great Speeches by Native Americans*, edited by Bob Blaisdell, 50–53. New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 2000.
- Temam, Edgar I. "The 'Might Makes Right' Fallacy." PhD Dissertation: University of Oregon, 2014. https://scholarsbank.uoregon.edu/xmlui/bitstream/handle/1794/18310/Temam_oregon_0171A_10887.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y
- Terpstra, Niels. "The 'new' Taliban regime in Afghanistan: Different Methods but the Same Political Goal." *The Conversation*, September 6, 2021. <https://theconversation.com/the-new-taliban-regime-in-afghanistan-different-methods-but-the-same-political-goal-166793>
- Thoreau, Henry David. "On Civil Disobedience." In *Thoreau: Walden and Other Writings*. New York: Modern Library, 2000.

- Tiwald, Justin. "A Right of Rebellion in the Mengzi?" *Dao* 7, no. 3 (2008): 269–282. doi:10.1007/s11712-008-9071-z
- Tolkien, J.R.R. *The Lord of the Rings*. New York: Ballantine Books, 1973.
- Tolstoy, Leo. *What I Believe*. New York: Gottsberger, 1886. At Nonresistance.org: http://www.nonresistance.org/docs_pdf/Tolstoy/What_I_Believe.pdf
- Tolstoy, Leo. *The Kingdom of God is Within You*. 1894. At Project Gutenberg: <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/43302/43302-h/43302-h.htm>
- Tolstoy, Leo. "Letter to a Hindu." 1908. At Project Gutenberg: <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/7176/7176-h/7176-h.htm>
- Truman, Harry S. *Where the Buck Stops: The Personal and Private Writings of Harry S. Truman*. Boston, MA: New Word City, 2018.
- Twiss, Sumner B. and Ping-Cheung Lo, eds. *Chinese Just War Ethics: Origin, Development, and Dissent*. London: Routledge, 2015.
- UNHCR. *Global Trends: Forced Displacement in 2018*. Geneva: UNHCR, 2019.
- Uniacke, Suzanne. "Proportionality and Self-Defense." *Law and Philosophy* 30, no. 3 (2011): 253–272. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41486983>
- United Nations. *2005 World Summit Outcome [A/RES/60/1]*. Geneva: United Nations, 2005.
- "United Nations Security Council Resolution 678." Geneva: United Nations, 1990.
- United States National Holocaust Museum. "Documenting the Numbers of Victims of the Holocaust and Nazi Persecution." 2020. <https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/documenting-numbers-of-victims-of-the-holocaust-and-nazi-persecution>
- "U.S. Budgetary Costs." Costs of War Project. Watson Institute for International and Public Affairs, Brown University, September 2021. <https://watson.brown.edu/costsofwar/figures/2021/BudgetaryCosts>.
- U.S. Defense Department. *Military and Security Developments Involving the Democratic People's Republic of Korea: A Report to Congress*. U.S. Department of Defense, 2015.
- van der Linden, Harry. "Climate Change Mitigation and the U.N. Security Council: A Just War Analysis." In *Pacifism, Politics, and Feminism: Intersections and Innovations*, edited by Jennifer Kling, 117–136. Leiden, Netherlands: Brill Rodopi, 2019.
- Vine, David, Cala Coffman, Katalina Khoury, Madison Lovasz, Helen Bush, Rachael Leduc, and Jennifer Walkup. "Creating Refugees: Displacement Caused by the United States' Post-9/11 Wars." *Costs of War Project*. Watson Institute for International and Public Affairs, Brown University, August 19, 2021. https://watson.brown.edu/costsofwar/files/cow/imce/papers/2021/Costs%20of%20War_Vine%20et%20al_Displacement%20Update%20August%202021.pdf

- Walzer, Michael. *Arguing about War*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004.
- Walzer, Michael. *Just and Unjust Wars: A Moral Argument with Historical Illustrations*, 4th edition. New York: Basic Books, 2006.
- Wasserstrom, Richard. "On the Morality of War: A Preliminary Inquiry." In *Military Ethics*, edited by C.A.J. Coady and Igor Primoratz. New York: Routledge, 2016.
- Weigel, George. "Moral Clarity in Time of War." *First Things*, January 2003.
- White, Matthew. "War, Massacres, and Atrocities of the 20th Century." 1999. <http://users.erols.com/mwhite28/war-1900.htm>
- Wilde, Oscar. "A Woman of No Importance." In *Complete Works of Oscar Wilde*, edited by Robert Baldwin Ross. New York: Bigelow, Brown & Co., 1921.
- Woods, Mark. "The Nature of War and Peace: Just War Thinking, Environmental Ethics, and Environmental Justice." In *Rethinking the Just War Tradition*, edited by Michael W. Brough, John W. Lango, and Harry van der Linden, 17–34. New York: SUNY Press, 2007.
- Woolard, Fiona. "Double Effect, Doing and Allowing, and the Relaxed Nonconsequentialist." *Philosophical Explorations* 20, no. 2 (2017): 142–158. doi:10.1080/13869795.2017.1356355
- World War Two Museum. "Worldwide Deaths in World War II." N.D. <https://www.nationalww2museum.org/students-teachers/student-resources/research-starters/research-starters-worldwide-deaths-world-war>
- Yoder, John Howard. *The Politics of Jesus*, 2nd edition. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1994.
- Yoder, John Howard. *Christian Attitudes to War, Peace, and Revolution*. Grand Rapids, MI: Brazos, 2009.
- Zhang, Ellen Y. "Weapons are Nothing but Ominous Instruments: The *Daodejing*'s View on War and Peace." *Journal of Religious Ethics* 40, no. 3 (2012): 473–502. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9795.2012.00532.x