WIELDING THE SWORD
WHILE PROCLAIMING PEACE:
Views from the LDS Community on Reconciling the Demands of National Security with the Imperatives of Revealed Truth

Edited by Kerry M. Kartchner and Valerie M. Hudson
A Symposium for LDS National Security Professionals 16–17 May 2003
Wielding the Sword While Proclaiming Peace: Views from the LDS Community on Reconciling the Demands of National Security with the Imperatives of Revealed Truth

Edited by Valerie M. Hudson and Kerry M. Kartchner
Contents

Preface
by Jeffrey F. Ringer

Acknowledgments

Introduction
by Kerry M. Kartchner

Part I
Honoring the Contributions of Distinguished LDS National Security Professionals and Scholars

1. A Tribute to Paul Y. Hammond
   by Valerie M. Hudson

2. Ethical and International Affairs: Some Personal Encounters
   by Stanley A. Taylor

Part II
Toward an LDS Doctrine of War and Peace

3. Waging War While Proclaiming Peace
   by Michael K. Young, Keynote Address

4. Power’s Reality, Power’s Illusion: Policy at the Intersection of the Two Kingdoms
   by Valerie M. Hudson

5. U.S. National Security Strategy and the Gospel: Nexus and Divergence
   by Steven A. Hildreth

6. From Whence Come Wars and Fighting Among You? An Integration of Secular and Sacred
   by Stanley A. Taylor and Jeremy O. Evans

Part III
Is Just War Compatible with LDS Theology? Competing Viewpoints

7. YES—The Book of Mormon as a Touchstone for Evaluating the Theory of Just War
   by John Mark Mattox

8. NO—Murder to Get Gain: LDS Thoughts on U.S. Elements of National Power
   by Mark E. Henshaw

Part IV
LDS Theology and National Security: Policy Perspectives

9. War and Conscience: An LDS Perspective
   by David M. Kirkham

10. The ‘Teancum Option’ and Modern LDS National Security Thought
Part V
Are the Strategy and Doctrine of Preemption Compatible with LDS Theology?
Competing Viewpoints

13. YES—Preemption Doctrine: Self Defense or Indefensible?
   by Eric T. Jensen

   by Fred W. Axelgard

Part VI
Reprinted Selections from the First Volume

15. What Should America’s National Security Objectives Be? The Problems and Possibilities of an LDS Perspective (Abridged)
   by Valerie M. Hudson

16. Securing a Nation: An LDS Perspective on Post-Cold War Strategies for National Security
   by Joseph C. Seeger

17. A Case for Mormon Christian Pacifism
   by Eugene England

18. Security and Morality in a Contingent World
   by Paul Y. Hammond

Afterthoughts on the 2003 Symposium
by Valerie M. Hudson

About the Contributors
Preface

This publication marks the return to a subject first explored a decade ago by Dr. Kerry M. Kartchner and Professor Valerie M. Hudson in their book *Moral Perspectives on U.S. Security Policy: Views from the LDS Community*. That book was drawn from a 1993 conference held at the Kennedy Center. Ten years later they explore how thinking on that topic has developed over the last decade. We were pleased to be involved in the first publication and are equally pleased to be involved in this one.

The Kennedy Center is proud to be supportive of the efforts of scholars like Kartchner and Hudson. The publication of this book also serves to re-emphasize our commitment to and support of research and scholarship in international affairs. It is a vital and necessary companion to our efforts in undergraduate education. Furthermore, we take seriously the idea that a people’s faith and beliefs can influence and inform their professional activities. It is that nexus that particularly interests us in this work.

I wish to thank the authors and conference participants, as well as Kennedy Center Publications staff, for their work in preparing this volume. Finally, I should thank the contributors to the Kennedy Center Endowment who make possible our support of research and publications.

Jeffrey F. Ringer
Director, David M. Kennedy Center for International Studies
Brigham Young University
Provo, Utah
February 2004
Acknowledgments

In May 2003, a conference was held at the new BYU Milton Barlow Center in Georgetown for Latter-day Saint national security scholars, professionals, and students entitled, “Wielding the Sword While Proclaiming Peace: Reconciling the Demands of National Security with the Imperatives of Revealed Truth in the Dispensation of the Fullness of Times.” The conference was sponsored by the David M. Kennedy Center for International Studies, as well as the Washington Seminar Program of Brigham Young University. There were approximately 100 attendees, including students, faculty, and national security professionals. Considerable collaborative efforts go into organizing, sponsoring, and conducting a conference such as this one. The editors wish to gratefully acknowledge the assistance of Ryan Chavez, Tom McIlvain, Steve Hildreth, and Robert Griffiths in organizing and conducting the conference. They also wish to express their appreciation to Jeff Ringer, Scott Dunaway, Cory Leonard, Marilyn Reynolds, and Devin Christensen for their help in sponsoring the conference, making the building available, supporting the travel arrangements for speakers, assisting with the preparation of the manuscript, and countless other contributions.
Introduction and Overview

Kerry M. Kartchner

It cannot be a coincidence that so much of modern scripture is devoted to accounts of nearly continuous warfare, especially between the Nephites and the Lamanites. As one author in this volume notes, “It seems clear that the rich reservoir of revelatory guidance in the Book of Mormon, on the matter of war, has come to us by Divine design” (Mattox). Neither is it a coincidence that Latter-day Saints reportedly make up a far greater proportion of the armed services of the United States than would normally be reflected by their proportion in the general population. This reflects, I am sure, more than the traditional loyalty to nation that is encouraged by our commitment to good citizenship. I think it is also symptomatic of a deep cultural sense that national security is, as a matter of constitutional principle, the government’s foremost responsibility, that all other freedoms, rights, privileges, and prosperity that we may enjoy are based on a secure domestic and international tranquility. Yet, despite our loyalty to the Constitution of the United States, and our devotion to principles of good citizenship, and our endorsement of military service, there are few efforts in print to systematically explore the implications for current national security dilemmas of modern revelation, scripture, and Latter-day Saint doctrine.

The present volume is an attempt to address that shortcoming. Most of what follows constitutes the proceedings of a conference of Latter-day Saint national security professionals held in May 2003 in Washington, D.C. There were three basic motivations for holding such a conference and for making its proceedings available to the public. The first objective was to promote a sense of community among those Latter-day Saints who have chosen to pursue careers in national security and foreign policy. By focusing on national security and foreign policy specialists, we explicitly acknowledge that this is a legitimate and honorable profession for Latter-day Saints, particularly in this era when peace has been taken from the earth and safety and security issues dominate the national political and spiritual agenda. Toward this end, in putting together the conference program, we did not assign topics to selected speakers but put out a general call for papers to see what our fellow professionals were thinking about, to see what current issues preoccupied their time and attention, and to provide a forum for giving voice to those analytical efforts. It is our primary aspiration that this volume, then, will promote a sense of community among Latter-day Saint professionals in the fields of national security, foreign policy, and international relations—one that will eventually be shared by a wider public.

The second objective was to encourage intellectually rigorous, academically systematic, and scripturally sound thinking about the application of the gospel, as reflected in modern revelation, to our professional pursuits and responsibilities, that is, to issues of national security policy. This objective is premised on the notion that there need be no discontinuity or contradiction between our professional endeavors and our private convictions. It is also premised on the desire to promote professional legitimacy for those who would address the broader Latter-day Saint community on issues of national security and foreign policy.
The third objective for holding this symposium was to identify, elaborate, and advocate morally sound and politically sustainable solutions to current national security policy issues that are compatible with modern scripture and revelation, and the teachings of modern prophets, that address current issues of American foreign and defense policy. For the purposes of this volume, we have necessarily restricted our focus for the most part to the security policies of the United States (the treatment of Arab policies by Brent Talbot is an exception). This is not to say that the policies of other nations have no relevance or bearing on the moral dilemmas of a global environment, only that this is a necessary first step. It is our intention, in future efforts, to expand our scope to include an examination of the security policies of other nations and international organizations, subjecting them to the same principles and standards we apply herein to U.S. national security.

The Central Dilemma of the Latter-day Saint National Security Professional

The title we have given this volume is “Wielding the Sword While Proclaiming Peace: Views from the LDS Community on Reconciling the Demands of National Security with the Imperatives of Revealed Truth.” This choice of title warrants some explanation. Because peace has been taken from the earth, as Joseph Smith was forewarned in 1835 (see Doctrine and Covenants 1:35), it is necessary that we should have to resort to defending ourselves from time to time through force of arms. This is what we mean by “wielding the sword.” We considered using the more common phrase “living by the sword,” but we do not believe that accurately characterizes our professional endeavors. Most of us are not in the position of having to “live by the sword,” meaning that we do not resort by choice to deadly force to resolve all conflicts. But we are commanded to “defend our families even unto bloodshed” (see Alma 43:47), and it is clear that there are occasions when we must take up the sword in our own defense, as many (but not all) of the following chapters will assert.

On the other hand, we are also under commandment to “renounce war and proclaim peace” (see Doctrine and Covenants 98:16). Valerie and I have long believed that the central dilemma facing us as Latter-day Saint national security professionals is how to reconcile the seemingly conflicting commandments to “defend our families even unto bloodshed” on the one hand and to “renounce war and proclaim peace” on the other hand. This volume is a fundamental effort to address this seeming paradox.

The Moroni Model

The reader will note throughout the following chapters repeated references to Captain Moroni, and that is entirely appropriate because Captain Moroni represents the clearest example of how to resolve the above dilemma. Captain Moroni took command of the Nephite armies at the age of twenty-five, approximately seventy-two years prior to the birth of Christ in the Old World. It was a period of widespread danger, when wars and rumors of war were rampant throughout the land. The nation Moroni served was beset by traitors within and ravaging armies without. In Alma Chapter 48, the great chronicler Mormon says this of Moroni: “. . . 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.”

He then compares Moroni, a professional soldier, with Ammon, the son of Mosiah, and Alma and his sons, “for they were all men of God” (Alma 48:17–18).
This validates the notion that serving in the military can be among the most honorable professions, and there need be no discontinuity between living the principles of the gospel (i.e., proclaiming peace) and promoting the nation’s secular security (wielding the sword). Mormon further describes those characteristics of Moroni that serve as our guide for reconciling the commandment to “renounce war and proclaim peace” on the one hand, and the commandment to “defend your families even unto bloodshed” on the other. According to Mormon, Moroni (see Alma 48:11–13):

1) Did not delight in bloodshed
2) Took joy in liberty and the freedom of his country and brethren
3) Was humble and grateful for the blessings and privileges God had bestowed upon him and his people
4) Labored exceedingly for the welfare and safety of his people
5) Was firm in the faith of Christ
6) Had sworn an oath to defend his people

These principles, then, may be considered the starting point for reconciling the central dilemma we have posed for consideration by this volume.

Overview

This volume has been divided into five parts. Part I begins with a tribute by Valerie Hudson to the distinguished career of Paul Y. Hammond, whom the editors consider the pioneer of modern Latter-day Saint national security scholars. Hammond spoke at our first conference in 1993, and his remarks at that time have been reprinted in this volume. His career spans the modern era of nuclear weapons and politics, and thus he has been an astute commentator on most of the critical issues we still face today. His body of work exemplifies the academic curiosity of a world class scholar who has been unafraid to tackle the most secular of security policy issues.

We have then included remarks by Stan Taylor regarding the very kind of ethical dilemmas routinely encountered by Latter-day Saint practitioners and scholars of national security policy. Taylor introduces the key measure of merit for Latter-day Saint national security professionals: what is “right” and what is “wrong” in terms of any given policy alternative, from a moral and ethical perspective—especially one informed by Latter-day Saint theology and conviction. The editors consider Taylor, like Hammond, to be a leading example of someone who has applied Latter-day Saint moral perspectives to pressing issues of national security policy. The reader is advised not to overlook his footnotes, which point to a rich literature of books on moral and ethical constraints as applied to international affairs and public policy.

Part II leads off with the May 2003 conference’s keynote address by Michael Young. His contribution reviews the evolution of “just war” doctrine, showing how this doctrine has been stretched throughout history to justify almost any military campaign.

But perhaps even more importantly, Young affirms through the experiences of his daughter, who has embarked on a career in the U.S. Air Force, that a decision to make the armed forces one’s chosen profession can be reconciled with, even justified by, modern scriptural teachings regarding the right to defend our liberties, our homes, our families, and our right to worship as our conscience dictates. Valerie Hudson lays a foundation for distinguishing between the applications and definition of “power” as seen through the perspective of traditional political realism and applied in the kingdom
of men, and the power that derives from the gospel and characterizes relationships in
the kingdom of God. Steve Hildreth eloquently sketches areas of divergence between
traditional U.S. national security objectives and gospel-derived interests. Stan Taylor
and Jeremy Evans then take the classical international relations framework, which
categorizes the causes of war into three levels of analysis—man, the state, and the
international system—and compares these to scriptural references to the causes of war.

Part III provides two perspectives on comparing traditional just war doctrine to
Latter-day Saint scripture and doctrine. John Mark Mattox argues that a good case can
be made for supporting the traditional just war criteria on the basis of Book of Mormon
scripture and refers to Mormon’s account of the life of Captain Moroni as “the most
comprehensive case study on just war contained in holy writ.” Mark Henshaw takes on
the traditional Christian just war doctrine, arguing that these principles don’t hold up
in all cases. He then underscores the thesis that doctrines of “just war” must be supple-
mented by doctrines of “just diplomacy” and “just economics.” He asserts that both
Latter-day Saint perspectives on U.S. history and the Book of Mormon show potential
failings in traditional just war criteria and principles.

In Part IV David Kirkham examines the role of “higher law” in trumping secular
civil law, and provides an insightful review of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-
day Saints’ position on conscientious objection. Ryan Chavez fearlessly takes on the
highly controversial subject of political assassination as an instrument of national
security policy, using the Book of Mormon account of Teancum’s slaying of the wicked
usurper Amalickiah, who he blamed for causing the deaths of thousands of Nephites
and Lamanites and needlessly prolonging an already protracted and bloody war, as a
case study. He places the question of targeting individual enemy leaders in a scriptural,
historical, and contemporary legal context. If individual men are the source of wide-
spread suffering and misery, and their decisions are the cause of war, then why should
whole societies be made to bear the consequences of an individual leader’s lust for
power? Should they not be the target of violence rather than their nations? This topic
seems particularly relevant in light of the U.S. focus on finding and bringing to justice
key individuals like Saddam Hussein and Osama Bin Laden. Chavez takes this subject
on, incorporating the language of war, with references to “enemy command struc-
tures,” “tactical versus strategic preemption,” “covert operations,” and “risk/reward
ratios.” Gary Stradling takes on a no less contentious issue in addressing historical and
Latter-day Saint perspectives on weapons of mass destruction. Brent Talbot lends us
his expertise in Middle Eastern affairs through a discussion of radical and reformist
thought in modern Islam. While exploring the depth of anti-Americanism in the Arab
world, he explains why rising frustration in the Middle East is improperly directed at
the United States and the West by government-controlled Arabian media using the West
as a scapegoat for their own bad governance, and Arab Islamists who blame the West
for their own self-inflicted problems.

In Part V, two authors examine, from competing perspectives, the doctrine of
preemption recently made an issue by the Bush Administration’s public emphasis on
preemption as one instrument in the war on terrorism. Eric T. Jensen argues that gospel
precepts of self-defense support a doctrine of preemptive action under circumstances,
and states that it is justifiable to resort to violence in “anticipatory self-defense.” Jensen
cites Moroni’s threat to take preemption action against the Lamanites in Alma 54:11–
13 as a precedent. Fred Axelgard, on the other hand, dismisses this same scriptural pas-

sage as more “angry rhetoric than inspired doctrine” and delivers a passionate caution against relying on a doctrine of military preemption. Making no distinction between “offensive warfare” and “preemptive strikes,” Axelgard argues that making preemption a major public tenet is to go against the grain of American history. He then addresses a series of legitimate strategic and political questions regarding whether preemption can ever be a militarily or politically effective option.

Since the volume of proceedings from the 1993 conference are now out of print, the editors of the present volume have decided to reprint several key chapters from that publication, which are noted here as Part VI. These include seminal efforts to relate Latter-day Saint doctrine and scripture to relevant national security themes by Valerie Hudson, Joseph Seeger, Eugene England, and Paul Hammond.

Finally, for those interested in further discussions on these topics, a listserv has been established, and instructions for subscribing to the list can be found at http://kennedy.byu.edu/events/enews/listserv.asp The archives of this list, which contain superb examples of this community wrestling with tough national security questions, can be accessed by e-mailing devin_christensen@byu.edu

We are in the planning stages for a third symposium, and information on this event will be available on the ldsnatsec listserv.

NOTES
1. An entity once known as the “Church Military Relations Committee” (I don’t know if such a committee still exists) reported in the early 1980s that while Latter-day Saints made up only about 1 percent of the U.S. population, they accounted for nearly 3 percent of the armed services, concentrated not surprisingly in the branch of the services considered most “family friendly,” the U.S. Air Force.
2. An earlier volume that represented the first such effort, based on a conference held at Brigham Young University in 1993, is now out of print. Some of its most salient portions are reprinted in this volume.