

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-40950-6 - Violence, Terrorism, and Justice

Edited by R. G. Frey and Christopher W. Morris

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

---

**In this volume a group of distinguished moral and social thinkers address the urgent problem of terrorism. The essays attempt to define terrorism, discuss whether the assessment of terrorist violence should be based on its consequences (beneficial or otherwise), and explore what means may be used to combat those who use violence without justification.**

**Among other questions raised by the volume are: What does it mean for a people to be innocent of the acts of its government? May there not be some justification in terrorists' targeting certain victims but not others? May terrorist acts be attributed to groups or to states?**

**The collection will be of particular interest to moral and political philosophers, political scientists, legal theorists, and students of international studies and conflict resolution.**

Cambridge University Press  
978-0-521-40950-6 - Violence, Terrorism, and Justice  
Edited by R. G. Frey and Christopher W. Morris  
Frontmatter  
[More information](#)

---

## **Violence, terrorism, and justice**

Cambridge University Press  
978-0-521-40950-6 - Violence, Terrorism, and Justice  
Edited by R. G. Frey and Christopher W. Morris  
Frontmatter  
[More information](#)

---

## **Cambridge Studies in Philosophy and Public Policy**

GENERAL EDITOR: Douglas MacLean

The purpose of this series is to publish the most innovative and up-to-date research into the values and concepts that underlie major aspects of public policy. Hitherto most research in this field has been empirical. This series is primarily conceptual and normative; that is, it investigates the structure of arguments and the nature of values relevant to the formation, justification, and criticism of public policy. At the same time it is informed by empirical considerations, addressing specific issues, general policy concerns, and the methods of policy analysis and their applications.

The books in the series are inherently interdisciplinary and include anthologies as well as monographs. They are of particular interest to philosophers, political and social scientists, economists, policy analysts, and those involved in public administration and environmental policy.

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-40950-6 - Violence, Terrorism, and Justice

Edited by R. G. Frey and Christopher W. Morris

Frontmatter

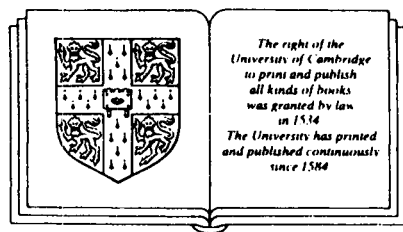
[More information](#)

# Violence, terrorism, and justice

edited by

R. G. FREY & CHRISTOPHER W. MORRIS

BOWLING GREEN STATE UNIVERSITY



CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

CAMBRIDGE

NEW YORK PORT CHESTER MELBOURNE SYDNEY

Cambridge University Press  
 978-0-521-40950-6 - Violence, Terrorism, and Justice  
 Edited by R. G. Frey and Christopher W. Morris  
 Frontmatter  
[More information](#)

Published by the Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge  
 The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge CB2 1RP  
 40 West 20th Street, New York, NY 10011, USA  
 10 Stamford Road, Oakleigh, Melbourne 3166, Australia

© Cambridge University Press 1991

First Published 1991

*Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data*

Violence, terrorism, and justice / edited by R. G. Frey & Christopher W. Morris.

p. cm. – (Cambridge studies in philosophy and public policy)  
 Papers from a conference held at Bowling Green State University in the fall of 1988.

ISBN 0-521-40125-9. – ISBN 0-521-40950-0 (pbk.)

1. Terrorism – Moral and ethical aspects – Congresses. 2. National liberation movements – Congresses. I. Frey, R. G. (Raymond Gillespie) II. Morris, Christopher W. III. Series.

HV6431.V56 1991

363.3'2 – dc20

91-7848

CIP

*British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data*

Violence, terrorism, and justice. – (Cambridge studies in philosophy and public policy)

1. Terrorism

I. Frey, R. G. (Raymond G.) II. Morris, Christopher W.

363.32

ISBN 0-521-40125-9 hardback

ISBN 0-521-40950-0 paperback

Transferred to digital printing 2001

Cambridge University Press  
 978-0-521-40950-6 - Violence, Terrorism, and Justice  
 Edited by R. G. Frey and Christopher W. Morris  
 Frontmatter  
[More information](#)

## Contents

List of contributors	page vii
Preface	ix
1 Violence, terrorism, and justice <i>R. G. Frey and Christopher W. Morris</i>	1
2 What purposes can “international terrorism” serve? <i>Thomas C. Schelling</i>	18
3 Violent demonstrations <i>Annette C. Baier</i>	33
4 Terrorism, rights, and political goals <i>Virginia Held</i>	59
5 The political significance of terrorism <i>Loren E. Lomasky</i>	86
6 Terrorism and morality <i>Jan Narveson</i>	116
7 Which are the offers you can’t refuse? <i>Onora O’Neill</i>	170
8 Making exceptions without abandoning the principle: or how a Kantian might think about terrorism <i>Thomas E. Hill, Jr.</i>	196
9 State and private; Red and White <i>Alan Ryan</i>	230
10 State terrorism <i>Jonathan Glover</i>	256
11 Nuclear hostages <i>Gregory S. Kavka</i>	276
12 Rape as a terrorist institution <i>Claudia Card</i>	296

Cambridge University Press  
978-0-521-40950-6 - Violence, Terrorism, and Justice  
Edited by R. G. Frey and Christopher W. Morris  
Frontmatter  
[More information](#)

---

## Contributors

**Annette C. Baier**, Professor of Philosophy, University of Pittsburgh

**Claudia Card**, Professor of Philosophy, University of Wisconsin, Madison

**Jonathan Glover**, Fellow and Tutor in Philosophy, New College, Oxford University

**Virginia Held**, Professor of Philosophy, City University of New York, Graduate School and Hunter College

**Thomas E. Hill, Jr.**, Professor of Philosophy, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

**Gregory S. Kavka**, Professor of Philosophy, University of California, Irvine

**Loren E. Lomasky**, Professor of Philosophy, Bowling Green State University

**Jan Narveson**, Professor of Philosophy, University of Waterloo

**Onora O'Neill**, Professor of Philosophy, University of Essex

**Alan Ryan**, Professor of Politics, Princeton University

**Thomas C. Schelling**, Professor of Economics and Public Affairs, University of Maryland

Cambridge University Press  
978-0-521-40950-6 - Violence, Terrorism, and Justice  
Edited by R. G. Frey and Christopher W. Morris  
Frontmatter  
[More information](#)

---

*Contributors*

**R. G. Frey**, Professor of Philosophy, Bowling Green State University

**Christopher W. Morris**, Associate Professor of Philosophy, Bowling Green State University



## Preface

The use of violence for social/political ends, whether by individuals, organized groups, or the state, is a troubling feature of contemporary life. On the one hand, we denounce it, even as we increasingly encounter it on all sides; on the other, we often find ourselves wanting to pick and choose rather more carefully the objects of our denunciation. Is the view we take of Middle Eastern kidnappings and bombings or the many killings perpetrated by the Irish Republican Army in Britain and Western Europe to be the same as that we take of Nelson Mandela and the African National Congress? What is to be our view when a group within a state, such as the Tamil Tigers in Sri Lanka, resorts to violence against the majority Sinhalese population, in the names of religious and political freedom? And what are we to make of Indian and Sinhalese attempts to crush the Tigers? More locally, how exactly are we to regard those who blow up abortion clinics? Are we to see them in the same light as those who break into animal laboratories? And what of those people who experience – and resist – rather violent police methods, including, after arrest, those employed in interrogation? The overwhelming temptation for many of us is to favor some causes as opposed to others and to do so on the ground that we think these causes just.

Yet violence and terrorism in support of what we regard as a just cause appear to represent the very antithesis of the democratic pursuit of social/political ends, which we try to

Cambridge University Press  
978-0-521-40950-6 - Violence, Terrorism, and Justice  
Edited by R. G. Frey and Christopher W. Morris  
Frontmatter  
[More information](#)

---

### *Preface*

adhere to ourselves and advocate that others adhere to also. Terrorism is often held to be wrong not only because it deliberately inflicts harm upon the innocent and violates the rights of persons but also because it represents the adoption of nondemocratic means to social/political ends. Rather curiously, given the degree of coercion present in, for example, Anglo-American society, we hold to a picture of ourselves as nations of laws, in which respect for law and the rights of others is held in tandem with the claim that social, political, and legal change is always possible through democratic means. Of course, where such means do not exist, we still condemn terrorism on grounds of harming the innocent and violating rights; but the question how else to bring about change except through violence can seem to weigh against this condemnation, especially as we cast our eyes on other peoples, in other lands.

In the fall of 1988, we held a conference at Bowling Green State University on some of these issues connected with violence and terrorism on the one hand and justice on the other. This volume is based on the conference papers, supplemented with several invited essays. Our aim has been to bring together different approaches to the issues but at no loss in philosophical depth; we have tried to be careful as well, however, to achieve breadth, in order to be faithful to our understanding of how ubiquitous a feature of modern life violence and threats of violence have become.

Numerous people have helped us with both the conference and this volume, especially among the graduate students, staff, and faculty of the philosophy department at Bowling Green, and we are grateful to them all. We are also indebted to our series editor, Douglas MacLean, and our Cambridge editor, Terence Moore, for their advice and encouragement. The referees for Cambridge proved helpful as well.

Bowling Green, Ohio

R.G.F.  
C.W.M.