

*Index*

- aboriginal life, 33, 35–36
- absolute power, 175
- absolutism of rights, 126
- act-consequentialism, 16
- Al Qaeda, 104–109
- Algeria, 135–136, 165
- appetite, 49–50, 51, 53, 62, 71–72, 74, 76, 141, 149, 163
- Asian values, 119
- authorized dictatorship, 26, 28–33, 139, 141, 204
- autonomy, 74–75
  - emergency response and, 134–139
  - social forms and, 67–70
- avoidable calamities, 30, 45, 145–146
- avoidable emergencies, 14, 17, 53, 184. *See also* emergencies
- battery (crime), 63–64
- Bin Laden, Osama, 105
- black holes, 8–9, 22–28
  - absence of local authority and, 24
  - emergencies and, 202
  - state of nature and, 25–28
  - unexpected emergencies and, 8–9
- Blair, Tony, 112
- Book of Revelations, 114
- Breivik, Anders, 82–83
- British Asians, 130–131, 133
- Burke, Edmund, 126–127
- Burma, 184–185
- Bush, George W., 104–107, 112
- cannibalism, 10, 12, 14
- Catholicism, 111
- character traits, 75, 80
- charity, 90–91
- charm offensive, 148
- China, 110, 112, 113, 115, 160, 197
- Chinese civilization, 111
- Christianity, 111, 114
- Churchill, Winston, 124–125
- citizens, sovereign as sole judge, 62
- citizenship, 99, 123–124, 131, 147, 198
- civic duties, 37
- civil disturbance, 162
- civil rights, 51, 67, 88–89, 140
- civil science, 150
- civil wars, 22, 24, 26, 30, 32, 33, 35, 40, 44, 124, 170, 174, 180, 183, 188, 204
- civilizations, 110–116, 186
- climate change, 192–201
- cold war, 33–35
- collision with space debris, 8, 13
- commodious living, components of, 196
- commodity, demand for, 196
- commonwealth, 35
  - break-up of, 32
  - civic duties and, 37
  - purpose of, xiii
  - state of nature, 35
- communitarianism, 59, 74, 131, 137
- communities
  - emergencies and, 124–129
  - fundamentalism and, xiv
  - national, 122–124
  - unassimilated minorities in, 129–134
- compulsory ID cards, 129
- Concept of the Political*, *The* (Schmitt), 104
- contractualism, 17, 19, 28, 58
- control orders, 159
- Cortes (Spanish parliament), 45
- cosmopolitanism, 119, 131
- counter-cultural fundamentalism, 28, 41, 42, 83, 92

- counter-terrorism, 153–156, 161, 164
- credit card fraud, 8
- Criminal Justice and Public Order Act (1994), 165
- critical abilities, 70–74
- criticism, 41, 54, 116, 117, 118–119, 137, 180
- Cromwell, Oliver, 104, 112
- Cultural Revolution, 160
- culture, 68
- dangerous sports, 14–16
- De Cive* (Hobbes), 31, 71, 196
- De Corpore* (Hobbes), 30
- debt payments, defaulting on, 13
- democracy
  - argument for, 99–100
  - dictatorship and, 97–102
  - illiberal, 101
  - parliamentarism and, 97–99
- detachment, 51
  - autonomy and, 74
  - capacity for, 142
  - climate change and, 198
  - liberalism and, 72–73
  - liberalism with Hobbesian sobriety, 188–189
  - neo-Hobbesianism and, 53–54, 141–142
  - Raz's theory, 74–76
  - unreconstructed Hobbesianism and, 53, 141
- detention, 107, 154–158, 162–163, 164
- dictatorship
  - authorized, 28–33, 103
  - democracy and, 97–102
  - educational form of, 100
  - emergency powers and, 85
- directed surveillance, 158
- domestic law, 165–175
- domestication of emergency, 2, 14–16, 85–93, 203
- Dummett, Michael, 62
- Dunkirk Spirit, 24
- East Germany, 160
- emergencies
  - agents, 3, 17–18, 21, 40, 50, 64, 91, 164
  - avoidable, 30, 45, 145–146
  - black holes and, 8–9, 202
  - challenges for moral practice, 3
  - communities and, 122–124
  - definition of, 1
  - domestication of, 2, 14–16, 85–93, 203
  - environmental, 197–201
  - excusable power of, 3–5
  - foreign, 187–191
  - general principles in, 13
  - harm and, 14–16
  - ideal-type, 165
  - international, 191–201
  - justifications for actions in, ix–x
  - legislating for, 148–175
  - legislating in, 148–175
  - liberal domestication of, 85–92, 93–109
  - moral latitude and, 7–14
  - moral obligations in, 1
  - normative theory of, 203–204
  - private, 1–21
  - public, 22–54
  - so-called, 166
  - sober Hobbesianism and, 167
  - sports and, 14–16
  - supreme, 91
  - unexpected, 6–7, 8–9
  - waiting to happen, 5–6
- emergency ethics, 125, 202–204
- emergency powers
  - delegation of, 87
  - dictatorship and, 85
  - general vs. limited, 172
  - purpose of, 86
- emergency response
  - in liberalism with Hobbesian sobriety, 139–147
  - in wartime, 124–129
  - liberalism and, 121–147
  - national community and, 122–124
  - unassimilated minorities and, 129–134
- Endtimes, 114
- environmental emergencies, 187–201. *See also* emergencies
- ethics
  - emergency, 125, 202–204
  - for private emergencies, 16–21

- European Convention on Human Rights, 153–154, 168–170
- excusability principles, 10, 19
- excusable actions, 18–19, 81
- excusable wrongdoing, 3–7
- extreme sports, 14–16
- felicity, fundamentalist pursuit of, 40–41
- Fifth French Republic, 165
- first principle of justice, 57
- Foot and Mouth crisis (United Kingdom), 90
- foreign emergencies, 187–191. *See also* emergencies
- Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act, 161
- Fourth French Republic, 165
- Franco-German axis, 111
- freedom of speech, 64–65, 67
- fundamentalism, 40–45
  - civilizations and, 186
  - commonwealth and, xiii
  - counter-cultural, 92
  - emergency response and, 134–139
  - institutionalized, 102–104
  - neo-Hobbesianism and, 56
  - pro-cultural, 92
  - Raz's liberal theory and, 59–60
  - religious, 42
  - social criticism and, 137
- Germany, unification of, 109
- God, 40, 78
- God-playing, 7, 17–20, 204
- good law, 145, 149–150, 156, 161
- good manners, 67–68
- government
  - abnormally empowered, 87–88
  - aboriginal life and, 35
  - civil war and, 35
  - concentration of power in, 38–40
- Gross, Oren, 166
- Guantanamo, 157
- habit, 6
- happiness, pursuit of, 40, 49–50
- harm, 7–8
  - emergencies and, 14–16
- Hassidic Jews, 130
- Hobbes, Thomas
  - De Cive*, 31, 71, 196
  - De Corpore*, 30
  - fleeing England in 1640, 34
  - good law, 149–150
  - laws of nature, 78
  - Leviathan*, 30, 32, 33, 37, 38, 40, 42, 45, 54, 62, 67–70, 71, 154, 197, 198
  - on concentration of power, 38–40
  - on dictatorship, xii
  - on emergency response, 139–141
  - on fundamentalism, 95, 40–45
  - on individualism, 67–70
  - on permanent dictatorship, xv
  - on public emergency, 45–50
  - on state of nature, 25–28
  - on threat to security, 27
  - on war and authorized dictatorship, 28–33
- Hobbesianism
  - unreconstructed. *See* unreconstructed Hobbesianism
  - neo-. *See* neo-Hobbesianism
  - sober. *See* sober Hobbesianism
- Human Rights Act (1998), 154
- Human Rights Covenants (1966), 178
- human rights standards, 118
- human security, 178, 180–187, 188, 189, 190, 191
- humanitarian intervention, 122, 123, 187–191
- Huntington, Samuel, 110–114
- Hurricane Katrina, 23, 43–44, 88
- ideal-type emergency, 166
- immorality, 3, 78, 83
- imports, 197
- impulses, 36, 51, 53
- individualism, 67–70
- insecurity, 31, 49, 180–182, 188–189, 199, 205
- institutionalized fundamentalism, 102–104
- institutions, 20–21
  - legitimization of, 61–64
  - Raz's liberal theory, 58–59
- integrity, 80–83
- inter-civilizational wars, 112

- internal war, 27, 48, 55, 112, 139, 143, 171
- International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, 168, 169
- international emergency, 191–201
- International Emergency Economic Powers Act (1977), 165
- international law, 165–175, 180, 190
- international morality, 119–120
- international war, 70
- internationalism, 119
- intrusive surveillance, 158, 161
- Islamic civilization, 111
- Japan, 91, 110, 189
- Japan earthquake (2011), 91
- Jews, 105, 130
- July 7 bombings (London), 88, 156
- Just and Unjust Wars* (Walzer), 124
- Kant, Immanuel
  - on immorality, 3
  - on state of nature, 26–27
- Katrina (hurricane), 23, 43–44, 88
- Kelsen, Hans, 95
- Kurds, 168
- Law of Equity, 154
- laws, 47–48
  - domestic, 165–175
  - good, 149–150
  - ineliminability of personal from, 95–97
  - international, 165–175
- laws of nature, 46, 54, 78, 154
- legislation, 148–175
  - emergencies and, 148–175
  - good laws, 149–150
  - normal vs. abnormal times, 153–164
    - detention, 154–158
    - domestic law, 165–175
    - international law, 165–175
    - outweighing of liberty by security, 162–164
    - surveillance, 158–161
  - sober Hobbesianism and, 151–153
- Leviathan* (Hobbes), 30, 32, 33, 37, 38, 40, 42, 45, 54, 62, 67–70, 71, 154, 197, 198
- liberalism
  - domestication of emergency and, 76–79
  - emergency powers and, 76–79
  - emergency response and, 121–147
  - parliamentary, 97–99
  - practical rationality and, 72
  - war and, 101–102
- liberalism with Hobbesian sobriety, 55–84, 85, 195. *See also* sober Hobbesianism
  - autonomy and social forms, 67–70
  - emergency response in, 85, 139–147
  - environmental emergencies and, 198–199
  - humanitarian intervention and, 188–189
  - institutions and, 61–64
  - Joseph Raz's liberal theory and, 58–61
  - neo-Hobbesianism and, 56–57
  - Raz's liberal framework and, 74–84
  - reason and critical abilities, 70–74
  - rights grounded on interests, 64–67
  - security and, 185–186
  - security of person and, 57
  - thin conception of security and, 176–177
- liberties, 57
  - security and, 162–164
  - violence in exercise of, 57
- life-plans, 74–75
- life-saving, 2, 12
  - excusable power of emergency, 3–5
  - murder and, 12, 19–20
  - over-ridingness of, 11–12
- London bombings, 88, 156
- looting, 22, 37, 162–163
- loyalty, 60, 75, 80, 83, 112–113, 140
- manners, 67–68
- migration, 110, 132, 197, 199
- minimal morality, 117–120, 186
- minorities, unassimilated, 129–134
- Mitford sisters, 127
- monarchy, 31, 39, 99
- moral black holes, 8–9, 22–28
  - absence of local authority and, 24
  - emergencies and, 202

- state of nature and, 25–28
- unexpected emergencies and, 8–9
- moral latitude, 7–14
- moral obligations, 1
- moral theory, 16, 19, 66
- morality
  - international, 119–120
  - minimal, 117–119
  - public emergency and, 86
- Morality of Freedom, The* (Raz), 58, 64, 66
- multiculturalism, 82, 110, 111–112, 114–115
- murder, 3, 10, 11, 59, 121, 146, 148, 155, 189
- national autonomy, 134–139
- national communities, 122–124
- national security, 87, 158
- natural disasters, 23, 146
- neo-Hobbesianism, 50–54, 55–56. *See also* sober Hobbesianism; unreconstructed Hobbesianism
- contractualism and, 58
- detachment in, 75, 141, 186, 189
- internationalization of security and, 189–190
- liberalism with Hobbesian sobriety and, 56–57, 73
- self-interests in, 141
- social contract in, 146
- security and, 50–54
- New Orleans (Louisiana), 23, 43–44
- New York blackout (1977), 162–164
- Ni Aolian, Fionnuala, 166
- normality, 89
- Northern Ireland, 168
- Office of Surveillance Commissioners, 158
- Ogata, Sadako, 178, 179, 182, 185, 187, 188, 191
- one-man sovereignty, 39
- Paris Minimum Standards, 169
- parliamentarism, 94, 97–99, 101, 103, 104, 109–110
- peace-keeping behaviours, 67–68, 148
- perfectionism, 59, 73, 76–79, 91, 192
- personal needs, 81–82
- personal, ineliminability from legal, 95–97
- playing God, 7, 17–20, 204
- political disorder, 23
- politics, us and them in, 104–109
- poverty, 22, 25, 44, 178, 180, 181, 182, 183
- power
  - absolute, 175
  - concentration of, 38–40
  - for general emergency, 172
  - for limited emergency, 172
- practical rationality, 55–56, 71–72, 73, 77, 116, 120
- Prevention of Terrorism Act (1974), 165
- Prevention of Terrorism Act (2005), 159
- principle of charity, 90–91
- private emergencies, 1–21. *See also* emergencies; public emergencies
  - avoidance of, 2
  - ethics for, 16–21
    - institutions, 20–21
    - playing God, 17–20
  - excusable wrongdoing and, 3–7
  - harm and, 14–16
  - moral black holes and, 8–9
  - to public emergencies, 22–25
  - unexpected, 6–7
  - vs. public emergencies, 1
  - waiting to happen, 5–6
- private property, rights to, 51
- pro-cultural fundamentalism, 41, 92–93
- profligate consumption, 195, 198, 200
- Protestantism, 111
- public disorder, 22, 24
- public emergencies, 22–54. *See also* emergencies; private emergencies
  - black holes and, 25–28
  - concentration of power in, 88–89
  - Hobbes on, 45–50
  - moral demand, 2
  - moral standards and, 89–90
  - morality and, 86
  - neo-Hobbesian framework, 50–54
  - private emergencies to, 22–25
  - vs. private emergencies, 1

- public institutions, private emergencies and, 2
- public opinion, 161
- public security, 41, 45–50, 51–52, 139, 145, 185, 196
- pursuit of happiness, 40, 49–50
- Pythagoras' Theorem, 39
- Questiaux Report, 169
- R v. Dudley and Stephens*, 10–11
- racism, 6
- rape, 8, 14
- Rawls, John, 57
- Raz, Joseph, 58–67
  - insobriety about personal projects, 79–84
- Morality of Freedom, The*, 58, 64, 66
  - on autonomy, 74–75
  - on communitarianism, 59
  - on individualism, 68–70
  - on institutions, 58–59, 61–64
  - on rights, 64–67
  - on security, 204–205
  - and sober Hobbesianism, 60–61
  - on social forms and state-perfectionism, 76–79
- reason, 70–74, 76–79
- relativism, 134–139
- religion, 113, 116, 136–137, 138, 141–142, 186–187
- religious fundamentalism, 42
- Report of the Commission on Human Security, 178, 180
- rights
  - absolutism of, 126
  - freedom of speech, 64
  - grounded on interests, 64–67
  - to life, 64, 66
  - to personal security, 64, 66
- riots, 22, 52
- Robinson, Mary, 178
- rule consequentialism, 16
- Russia, 110
- Rwanda, 23
- salus populi*, 95, 139
- Scanlon, T.M., 17, 19, 58
- Schmitt, Carl, 104–109
  - on democracy and dictatorship, 97–102
  - on ineliminability of personal from legal, 95–97
  - on institutionalized fundamentalism, 102–104
  - on liberal domestication of emergency, 93–109
  - on pro-cultural fundamentalism, 92
- Second World War, 91, 124
- security
  - democratization of, 51
  - human, 180–187
  - liberalism with Hobbesian sobriety and, 57
  - national, 158
  - neo-Hobbesianism and, xvi, 50–54
  - outweighing of liberty by, 162–164
  - right to, 64, 66
  - state, 180–187
  - thick conception of, 178–180
  - thin conception of, 176–177
  - threats to, 88, 180–181
- self-defence
  - community survival and, 127
  - concept of community and, 124
  - international security, 190
  - liberalism with Hobbesian sobriety and, 191
  - manners and, 68
  - national, 132
  - national emergency and, 125
  - playing God, 18, 19
  - reasons for action, 62
  - right to, 138
- Sen, Amartya, 178, 179, 182, 185, 187, 188, 191
- September 11 attacks, 45, 88, 90, 104–107, 130
- Sinic civilization, 111
- Siracusa Principles, 169
- sober Hobbesianism. *See also*
  - neo-Hobbesianism;
  - unreconstructed Hobbesianism
 as antidote to fundamentalism, 205–206
  - authorized dictatorship and, 28–33
 emergencies and, 167
  - environmental emergencies and, 200

- internationalization of security and, 190
- legislation and, 151–153
- practical rationality and, 71
- Raz's liberal framework and, 60–61
- unreconstructed Hobbesianism and, 28–38, 70–74
- war and, 33–38
- sobriety, 40–45, 50–54
- so-called emergencies, 166. *See also* emergencies
- social forms
  - autonomy and, 67–70
  - conservatism about, 76–79, 83–84
  - emergencies and, 140
  - life-organizing pursuits and, 74–76
  - perfectionism and, 77–79
  - Razian, 91, 117, 140, 194
  - reasoning and, 76–77
- Sorell, Georges, 103, 115
- sovereign, 38–39, 53
  - as sole judge, 62
  - charm offensive, 148
  - citizens' well-being and, 55
  - God and, 78
  - good law and, 149–150
- Special Comment No. 29, 169–171, 173
- special interests, 91
- sports, emergencies and, 14–16
- Stasi, 160
- state
  - failure of, 43, 173–174
  - perfectionism, 76–79
- state of nature, 25–28, 30, 34, 35, 38, 43–45, 61–62, 93, 197
- state security, 180–187
- supreme emergency, 91, 122, 124–125, 205
- surveillance, 158–161
- surveys, 161
- Sweden, 135–136
- Taliban, 105–106
- terrorist “sleeper”, 164
- theft, 8, 148, 163
- thin morality, 117
- threshold deontology, 16–17
- tidal wave, 8
- torture, 8, 14, 21, 120, 135
- traits, 75, 80
- trolley problem, 18, 20, 21
- Turkey, 110, 168
- unexpected emergencies, 6–7. *See also* emergencies
  - moral black holes and, 8–9
- United Kingdom
  - counter-terrorism strategy, 155–156
  - surveillance, 158
  - wartime government, 124
  - Western civilization, 111
- United States
  - aftermath of Hurricane Katrina, 43
  - Asia and, 112
  - national identity, 110
  - Taliban regime and, 106
  - Western civilization and, 111–112
- Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 178
- unreconstructed Hobbesianism, 70–74, 145, 185, 195. *See also* neo-Hobbesianism; sober Hobbesianism
  - authorized dictatorship and, 28–33
- environmental emergencies and, 200
- humanitarian intervention and, 188
- internationalization of security and, 189
- legislative detachment in, 53–54
- sovereign in, 154
- thin conception of security and, 176
- to sober Hobbesianism, 28–38
- war and, 28–33
- us/them, 104–109, 118, 176–177, 187
- USA/Patriot Act, 161
- utilitarianism, 16, 18–19
- Vietnam, 112, 113, 115
- vulnerability, 13, 22, 44, 187
- Walzer, Michael, 117–120, 121
  - on emergency response in liberalism with Hobbesian sobriety, 139–141
  - on fundamentalism, 137
  - on national autonomy, 134–139

- Walzer, Michael (*cont.*)
- on national emergency in wartime, 124–127
  - on unassimilated minorities, 129–134
- wars, 24–25
- authorized dictatorship and, 28–33
  - civil, 22, 24, 26, 30, 32, 33, 35, 40, 44, 124, 170, 174, 180, 183, 188, 204
  - cold, 33–35
  - commodity and, 196
  - emergency response in, 124–129
  - Hobbes's concept of, 33–38
  - Hobbesianism and, 139, 141, 145, 149, 152
  - inter-civilizational, 112
  - internal, 27, 48, 55, 112, 139, 143, 171
  - international, 70
  - institutionalized fundamentalism and, 102–104
  - liberalism and, 101–102
  - as public emergencies, 168, 170–173
  - Schmittian politics and, 106, 113
  - Second World War, 91, 124–125
  - War on Terror, 130, 133, 155, 162, 163–164
  - Weimar Republic, 93
  - Western civilization, 111–114, 116
  - whites-only neighbourhood, 5
  - Williams, Bernard, 80–82
  - World Health Organization, 193
  - World War II, 91, 124–125
  - Yeltsin, Boris, 109