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Just War and Ordered Liberty

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and the stakes are high. Every sailor should look at this book as a compass with a steady north that will guide him or her through the raging storms and hardest sails of his or her life and career.

ANNA MATILDE BASSOLI



Just War and Ordered Liberty, by Paul D. Miller. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2021. 266 pages. \$29.99.

A brilliant and intrepid effort, *Just War and Ordered Liberty* is one of the most current defenses of the just war tradition, and one that promises to be a classic textbook for warriors, scholars, and public servants alike. Unabashedly, Paul Miller argues that the just war tradition is the dynamic framework for conceptualizing and implementing both principled and prudential military strategy and national-security interests. As legendary just war thinkers such as Cicero, Aquinas, and Grotius etched their names into the annals of Western civilization, so Miller has contributed a stellar chapter to the legacy of *jus pax* (just peace) that reenvisions modern theories and practices of war. *Just War and Ordered Liberty* compels serious consideration for at least three important reasons: a unique perspective, a robust dialogue, and a revisionist just war paradigm.

First, Miller, as a warfighter, policy maker, and academic, offers a unique perspective with undeniable subject-matter credibility that very few can rival. Miller served with the U.S. Army, at the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), and as director for Afghanistan and Pakistan on the National Security Council staff in the White House for Presidents George

W. Bush and Barack Obama. Additionally, Miller is a professor of international practice at Georgetown University and the author of several noteworthy books on the relationship between just war principles and foreign policy (e.g., *Armed State Building: Confronting State Failure, 1898–2012* and *American Power & Liberal Order: A Conservative Internationalist Grand Strategy*).

Second, Miller's treatment exemplifies a robust dialogue that engages just war interlocutors of the past and the present. The Georgetown professor explores the three stages of just war development over the Augustinian, Westphalian, and liberal epochs, with their distinctive interpretations of natural law, justice, and sovereignty. As part of the rise of liberalism after World War II, the former CIA analyst underscores (1) the recovery of the just war language first espoused by Paul Ramsey in the postwar era, (2) the Westphalian inviolability of territorial integrity advocated by Michael Walzer, (3) "The Challenge of Peace: God's Promise and Our Response" (1983) proposed by the Roman Catholic bishops in the United States, and (4) the responsibility to protect (R2P) affirmed at the 2005 World Summit sponsored by the United Nations. Miller's analysis of the Challenge of Peace and the R2P illustrates the imprint of just war ideas in the post-World War II context and its suitability for today. Miller points out the relevancy and perspicuity of its doctrines by examining the wars in Iraq, Afghanistan, Libya, and Syria and by critiquing the shortfalls of such campaigns vis-à-vis the just war notion of *jus post bellum* (justice after war). Miller highlights the renaissance of just war ethics in the remarkably massive volume of just war peer-reviewed articles published since

1990 that numbers over eight hundred thousand online sources (p. 155).

Third, Miller champions a revisionist just war paradigm by synthesizing the three stages of just war discourse into what he calls an Augustinian liberalism. Miller incorporates the Augustinian premises of tranquility and sovereignty as a responsibility to pursue a just peace. In conjunction with that Augustinian foundation, Miller adds the liberal emphasis on human rights and humanitarian intervention. The former security director assimilates the Westphalian stress on the balance of international power and national autonomy (as safeguarded by the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648). Miller concedes that the Augustinian heritage of salient religious values cannot parley easily with the pluralistic environment of the international forum. Thus, he weds the Augustinian virtues of justice and *tranquilitas ordinis* (order of tranquility) with the cultural prevalence of human rights as codified and promulgated by the United Nations in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

In terms of constructive input, Miller fuses together Augustinian and liberal presuppositions and describes the strong family resemblance and conceptual alliance between the two schools of thought even without any historical linkage. Yet earlier Miller castigates those just war theory proponents who integrate theories together without the rich continuity of historical insights embedded in the just war discourse (p. 156). Does Miller perhaps open himself up to the same ahistorical criticism he levels at just war theorists? While he does not provide a historical narrative on the causal connections between the two philosophical backgrounds, Miller suspects that he

could mount a plausible defense of such a connection, but such an effort regrettably lies beyond the scope of his book (pp. 167–68). Admittedly, Miller does furnish an ample supply of historical narratives throughout his work, but he does not offer the history of the causal relationship between his two leading philosophies of Augustinianism and liberalism—and he qualifies that this is not his expressed purpose.

That said, the reader already discovers implicitly the precedent of historical ties between Augustinianism and liberalism in the approach of Ramsey and the Challenge of Peace as a basis for Miller's revisionist just war paradigm (p. 150).

All in all, *Just War and Ordered Liberty* represents the highest standards of scholarly research and strategic responsibility, demonstrating a passionate vision and reappropriation of just war ideals repurposed and effectively reclaimed for great-power competition and asymmetric conflict.

EDWARD ERWIN



Battleship Commander: The Life of Vice Admiral Willis A. Lee Jr., by Paul Stillwell. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2021. 368 pages. \$39.95.

It is hard to come away from Paul Stillwell's treatment of the life of Willis "Ching" Lee without wishing you had known the man. Vice Admiral Lee is a fairly obscure figure in the mythos of World War II in the Pacific, in part because he died in 1945, and in part because he was embroiled in controversies that stir debate to this day. That is a shame. Stillwell renders us a service by rescuing Lee's memory and dwelling on