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True Faith and Allegiance: The Burden of Military Ethics

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period of unprecedented peace or with multipolar, nationalistic conflicts like those brewing in the Balkans?

Taking the ancient historian Thucydides as an exemplar, the author suggests that there are three fundamental causes for war. First, as advanced by Saint Augustine, human nature might prompt war, perhaps when a magnetic persona, such as Napoleon or Hitler, emerges. Second, organizational reasons might be offered for war—for instance, during the rise of certain Marxist or fascist states. Finally, as we have learned from our readings of Hobbes and Locke, war might begin because of a strategic imbalance emerging as nations scramble to protect turf in order to survive.

Weltman tells us that the French Revolution was a watershed in our understanding of warfare, for prior wars had been fought more for a cause than a state. Indeed, those who joined the Grand Armée fought as much for the flag as for the storied triad of Liberty-Equality-Fraternity.

One must conclude that since the 1860s and 1870s, when Bismarck cleverly expanded the German empire, the price for accepting battle has continued to rise with the advance of tools for increasingly horrifying destruction. Thus by the time nuclear weapons were introduced, we must remind ourselves, the abstract "theory" of Clausewitzian absolute war had become chillingly real. Therefore, Weltman suggests that strategies toward the employment of nuclear warheads take on the more concrete implications, as stated by Jomini.

Weltman races through several other theoretical watersheds in the advancement of warfare, but in closing he poses the ultimate question: Is war now obsolete as a means to achieve political goals?

We are offered the rather safe bet that limited war of a relatively small scale is likely, since the weapons are increasingly distant from the targets. We are reminded that it is one accomplishment to capture and perhaps annex a province, but quite another to win over an entire nation, not to mention a continent.

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Toner, James H. *True Faith and Allegiance: The Burden of Military Ethics.* Lexington, Ky.: The Univ. Press of Kentucky, 1995. 202pp. $25

James H. Toner is professor of military ethics at the Air War College in Montgomery, Alabama. In this excellent volume, he has drawn together the many threads of military ethics into a work readily accessible to military professionals, chaplains, and perhaps even undergraduates in courses that concern themselves with ethics and warfare.

Toner argues for the pivotal importance of ethics for the military professional. He surveys a number of distinct sources for this concern and reviews the sociological literature regarding the nature and function of professions—for example, Huntington's classic analysis of the military profession. This provides him with the occasion to develop a functionalist account of the place of ethics in allowing the military profession to

meet its obligations to society and to maintain coherent internal discipline. He elaborates on the oath of office and the commitments it entails, showing the place and importance of integrity and fidelity to those commitments. He analyzes the intimate connection between the unique character of military training and the inculcation of professional values. He reviews the major military codes of conduct and explores the values they teach, both explicitly and implicitly.

In addition to surveying the bulk of this more "theoretical" literature, Toner also focuses closely on contemporary practical and topical issues. He treats specific examples where disobedience of unlawful orders may be required by one's professional obligations. He deals with the conditions under which resignation from service may be the only honorable option for the military professional. He briefly but intelligently deals with such topical issues as homosexuals in the military, sexual harassment, and fraternization.

The book concludes with an extremely valuable chapter on the practical aspects of including ethics in the education of military professionals. It also lists a gold mine of teaching resources, such as films, novels, military autobiographies, and more philosophical treatments of issues in military ethics.

There are, however, important topics in the ethical use of military power that are treated cursorily, if at all. There is little classic "just war" theory in this volume. Regarding *jus ad bellum* (the ethical issues regarding recourse to military action in the first place), Toner offers very little

indeed. Regarding *jus in bello* (moral conduct in war), again the book is theoretically and historically thin. There is little elaboration of the theoretical framework within which discriminating judgments about noncombatant immunity, proportionality, and discrimination in war have been worked out. The reader of Toner's book will learn nothing of the principle of double effect and its application to, for example, the selection of bombing targets.

These absences are troubling to one interested in the philosophical grounding of military ethics. On the other hand, for a book aimed primarily at a professional military audience as opposed to an academic one, these omissions are (at least arguably) strengths. By their omission, Toner does an excellent job of staying close to the discourse and culture of military professionals. Like much military training, he illustrates many of his points with concrete examples from military history and experience and minimizes the exploration of more abstract categories. In this respect, I am certain Toner's book will be more readily received and given greater credibility by a military-professional audience than it might have otherwise.

My only criticism of substance concerns the broad-brush development of what I call "the country's going to hell in a handbasket" rhetoric. Perhaps simply because I share neither Toner's fairly dismal estimate of the country's overall moral climate nor his assumption of the moral superiority of military culture,

I found the tone of these sections off-putting. At the very least, I would like to have seen a more developed and nuanced treatment of these claims.

However, if I were to recommend any single book to the busy military professional interested in some reflection on the ethical foundations of the profession, this would be it.

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Copson, Raymond W. *Africa's Wars and Prospects for Peace.* Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 1994. 211pp. (No price given)

Raymond W. Copson has been a lecturer at the University of Nairobi, Kenya, and at the University of Ibadan, Nigeria. Since 1978 he has specialized in African affairs at the Congressional Research Service (CRS) of the Library of Congress, of which he is currently head of the Europe, Middle East, and Africa section.

He offers a neat and tidy contribution to the literature on a very unfortunate and pervasive dimension of Africa, a topic not sufficiently studied. Copson's approach is balanced, well supported with solid references, and lacks the numerous, pesky, little mistakes that pepper so many books on Africa. Regrettably, it is too short.

Copson introduces Africa's wars since 1980 with a sympathetic overview of the cost of war, presenting working data on mortality rates and such social consequences as famines, injuries to and dislocation of civilians and wildlife, violations of human rights, and the destruction of economies. His holistic presentation is a nice touch that presents the phenomenon in its true human context.

In chapter two, Copson offers a survey of eleven wars. Of these he counts five as "lesser wars" (Liberia, Namibia, Western Sahara, Chad, and Rwanda), which he discusses only briefly; there is slightly more detail, and also useful maps, on the six largest wars (Sudan, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Angola, Uganda, and Somalia). He ranks each conflict according to total casualty estimates, which is fair enough, but perhaps a system that correlates the number of casualties to the population of the respective states would have better portrayed the national damage. (Analysts generally agree that in civil wars in poor societies, 90 percent of the dead are civilians.) Following this presentation is a short but thorough list of collectively treated "related internal conflict situations." The inclusion of a table is useful, especially for classroom presentations.

The author's thesis is that although the causes for these wars were internal, the international factor contributed to raising the level of violence. (Neo-Marxists would differ, as would those who see the wars originating in colonial structures.) In his case studies, Copson devotes only short, separate paragraphs to France, Britain, and Cuba, with larger coverage of the former Soviet Union and the United States; and although the presentations are well done, still too much detail is omitted that is germane to understanding the wars.