

# Notes

## Chapter 1

1. Joel Feinburg, *Problems at the Roots of Law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 144.
2. Prime Minister Tony Blair, Statement from Gleneagles, July 7, 2005, available at <https://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/4659953.stm> (accessed March 22, 2007); “Blair speech on terror” at the Labor Party National Conference, July 16, 2005, available at [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk\\_news/4689363.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/4689363.stm) (accessed March 22, 2007).
3. George W. Bush, Speech from Gleneagles, July 7, 2005, available at [https://www.cba.ca/news/background/london\\_bombing/bush\\_speech.html](https://www.cba.ca/news/background/london_bombing/bush_speech.html) (accessed July 15, 2005); Michael Howard, July 11, 2005, available at <http://uk.news.yahoo.com/050711/143/fn3yb.html> (accessed July 15, 2005).
4. John Howard, condolence book message for the victims of the July 7 attacks on London, British High Commission, Canberra, July 8, 2005.
5. See Philip Gourevitch, *We Wish to Inform You That Tomorrow We Will be Killed With Our Families* (London: Picador, 2000); Bill Berkeley, *The Graves Are Not Yet Full: Tribe and Power in the Heart of Africa* (New York: Basic Books, 2001); Carlos Santiago Nino, *Radical Evil on Trial: Reflecting on the Rwandan Genocide* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996).
6. Graham Jones, “Srebrenica: ‘A triumph of evil,’” CNN, May 3, 2006, available at <http://www.cnn.com/2006/WORLD/europe/02/22/warcrimes.srebrenica> (accessed March 23, 2007); Remarks by Ambassador Pierre Richard Prosper at the Tenth Anniversary Commemoration, Srebrenica, Bosnia and Herzegovina, July 11, 2005, Embassy of the United States of America, Belgrade, available at <http://belgrade.usembassy.gov/archives/press/2005/b050712.html> (accessed March 26, 2007).

7. Albert Likhanov, "Against Evil—In the Name of Good," 57th Conference of UN Associated NGOs. Available at <https://www.un.org/dpi/ngosection/annualconfs/57/likhanov.pdf> (accessed March 26, 2007)
8. George W. Bush, "Statement by the President in Address to the Nation," September 11, 2001, available at <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010911-16.html> (accessed March 22, 2007).
9. George W. Bush, "President's Remarks at National Day of Prayer and Remembrance," National Cathedral, Washington, D.C., September 14, 2001, available at <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010913-2.html> (accessed March 22, 2007).
10. George W. Bush, "State of the Union Address," United States Capitol, Washington D.C., January 29, 2002, available at <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/01/20020129-11.html> (accessed March 26, 2007); see also Peter Singer, *The President of Good and Evil: The Ethics of George W. Bush* (New York: Dutton, 2004), 2.
11. George W. Bush, "State of the Union Address," United States Capitol, Washington D.C., January 23, 2007, available at <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2007/01/20070123-2.html> (accessed March 27, 2007).
12. United Nations, Report of the Panel on United Nations Peacekeeping Operations, A.55.305, S/2000/809, August 21, 2000, par. 50, available at [http://www.un.org/peace/reports/peace\\_operations](http://www.un.org/peace/reports/peace_operations) (accessed March 22, 2007)
13. United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan, "Address to the United Nations General Assembly," SG/SM7977, GA/9920, 1/10/2001, September 24, 2001, available at <http://www.un.org/News/press/docs/2001/sgsm7977.stm> (accessed March 22, 2007).
14. General Assembly President, "Terrorism Is Our Irreconcilable Enemy," 9/11/2002, GA/SM/289, September 12, 2002, available at <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2002/GASM289.doc.htm> (accessed March 22, 2007).
15. Ri Yong Ho, Counselor, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea, World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance, South Africa, August 31–September 7, RD/D/34, available at [http://www.un.org/WCAR.aconf189\\_12.pdf](http://www.un.org/WCAR.aconf189_12.pdf) (accessed March 22, 2007).
16. President Bedjaoui argued at the International Court of Justice that nuclear weapons were the "ultimate evil," 103. "The Legality of the Threat or Use of Nuclear Weapons, International Court of Justice Advisory Opinion," July 8, 1996, <http://www.un.org/law/icjsum/9623.htm> (accessed March 22, 2007).
17. Newspaper headlines documenting the use of rape by Serbian forces read, "Serbian 'Rape Camps': Evil upon Evil"; "Sexual Violence and Armed Conflict: United Nations Response Division for the Advancement of

- Women, Department of Economic and Social Affairs,” <http://www.un.org/womenwatch.daw/public/cover.pdf> (accessed March 22, 2007).
18. “International Security Includes ‘Peaceful War’ Against Aids, Economic and Social Council Told,” ECOSOC.5884, February 28, 2000, available at <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2000/20000228.ecosoc.5884.doc.html> (accessed March 22, 2007).
  19. Crime Congress High Level Segment, Bangkok, April 23, 2005, SOC/CP/333, available at <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2005/soccp333.doc.htm> (accessed March 22, 2007).
  20. Ibid.
  21. *Prosecutor v. Radislav Krstic* (IT-98-33), Judgement of the Trial Chamber, International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, August 2, 2001, par. 70.
  22. Richard J. Bernstein, *Radical Evil: A Philosophical Interrogation*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2002), x.
  23. Singer, *The President of Good and Evil*, 2.
  24. As Douglas Klusmeyer and Astri Suhrke point out, this phenomenon is not simply confined to public discourse as increasing numbers of scholars are being drawn to the term but find little cause to consider the concept itself. Douglas Klusmeyer and Astri Suhrke, “Comprehending ‘Evil’: Challenges for law and policy,” *Ethics and International Affairs* 16, no. 1 (2002): 28. For example, they highlight the fact that Carlos Santiago Nino “put ‘evil’ on the title page of his book and uses the word prominently in the introduction, where he acknowledges his debt to Hannah Arendt. Yet he makes no use of it in his analysis of events or conclusions for dealing with the perpetrators.” Similarly, “Martha Minnow cites several other scholars who invoke the term, although she herself does not use it either descriptively or as a tool in her analysis of overcoming the legacy of massive violence.” Finally, “after declaring his book ‘is about evil,’ Bill Berkeley offers a definition that is so broad as to be virtually useless,” Berkeley, *The Graves Are Not Yet Full*, 5; see Nino, *Radical Evil on Trial*; Martha Minnow, *Between Vengeance and Forgiveness: Facing History After Genocide and Mass Violence* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1998).
  25. Catherine Lu, “Editor’s Introduction,” *International Relations* 18, no. 4, (2004): 403.
  26. Richard J. Bernstein, *The Abuse of Evil: The Corruption of Politics and Religion Since 9/11* (Cambridge: Polity, 2005), 10–11.
  27. Lu, “Editor’s Introduction,” 403.
  28. Stephen Toope and Jutta Brunnée, “Slouching Towards New ‘Just’ Wars: The Hegemon after September 11th,” *International Relations* 18, no. 4, (2004): 405–23.
  29. Inga Clendinnen, *Reading the Holocaust* (Melbourne: Text, 1998), 104.

30. Ibid., 101.
31. Thomas W. Simon, "Genocide, Evil, and Injustice: Competing Hells," in *Genocide and Human Rights: A Philosophical Guide*, ed. John K. Roth (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 69.
32. Ibid.
33. Peter Dews, "Disenchantment and the Persistence of Evil: Habermas, Jonas Badiou," in *Modernity and the Problem of Evil*, ed. Alan D. Schrift (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005), 51.
34. Gil Bailie, "Two Thousand Years and No New God," in *Destined for Evil? The Twentieth-Century Responses*, ed. Predrag Cicovacki (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2005), 20. However, Thomas Simon concedes that the frequency with which thinkers have turned to the idea of evil can, at least in part, be attributed to the fact that there is no comparable word in the secular vocabulary. In the aftermath of the Holocaust, for example, "the concept of evil," whether conceived in a traditional religious sense or in wholly secular terms, "gave philosophers a way to deal with Auschwitz, for the term *evil* seemed to capture the extreme moral outrage needed to describe" its horrors. Simon, "Genocide, Evil, and Injustice," 71.
35. Scott M. Thomas, "Faith, History and Martin Wight: The Role of Religion in the Historical Sociology of the English School of International Relations," *International Affairs* 77, no. 4 (October 2001): 907.
36. See Vendulka Kabalkova, "Towards an International Political Theology," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 29, no. 3 (2000): 628–83. Scott Thomas suggests that there are four possible reasons for this state of affairs. First, he argues that with modernization came secularization and the assumption that modern society is secular in orientation. Second is what he terms the "Westphalian presumption," the idea that after 1648 religion became a matter "to be disciplined by the state" and, as a result, could no longer be viewed as "part of international politics." The third factor used to explain the marginalization of religion in the study of international relations is the fact that the dominant paradigms and traditions of thought, according to which the subject is conventionally viewed, have not considered such social forces to be of great importance. Although it is not necessarily incompatible with religious thought—the works of Reinhold Niebuhr stand as testimony to this—realism, the dominant perspective of twentieth-century international relations is, of course, the major culprit in this state of affairs. By focusing on the state and conceiving power primarily in military terms, realism has managed to ignore religion as both a social and an intellectual force. Finally, Thomas also cites the rise of positivism and materialism as a further reason for the marginalization of religion in international relations. By privileging "facts" over "values" and in applying scientific methodologies according to which hypotheses are tested and

- “general laws, patterns or regularities” “discovered” religion, and in particular religious belief, is pushed beyond the margins of acceptable scholarship. Scott M. Thomas, *The Global Resurgence of Religion and the Transformation of International Relations: The Struggle for the Soul of the Twenty-First Century* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 54.
37. See the conclusion to my work *Hugo Grotius in International Thought* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006); Daniel Philpott, “The Religious Roots of Modern International Relations,” *World Politics* 52, no. 2 (2000): 206–45.
  38. Bernstein, *The Abuse of Evil*, 3.
  39. John Kekes, *Facing Evil* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990), 28.
  40. *Ibid.*, 11.
  41. *Ibid.*, 11–12.
  42. *Ibid.*, 12 and 28.
  43. Reinhold Niebuhr, *The Nature and Destiny of Man*, vol. 1 (London: Nisbet, 1941), 18.
  44. John Haldane, *An Intelligent Person’s Guide to Religion* (London: Duckworth, 2003), 94.
  45. Gordon Graham, *Evil and Christian Ethics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), xiii. See Renée Jeffery and Nicholas Rengger, “Review of Gordon Graham, *Evil and Christian Ethics*,” *Conversations in Religion and Theology* 3, no. 1 (May 2005): 24–42.
  46. Graham, *Evil and Christian Ethics*, 119.
  47. *Ibid.*, 24.
  48. The focus is on the Judeo-Christian tradition as the dominant religious tradition of thought about evil in the west. However, this is not to suggest that one singular and continuous tradition of Judeo-Christian thought about evil can be identified in Western thought. For a discussion of what I understand an intellectual tradition to entail, see “Tradition as Invention: The ‘Traditions Tradition’ and the History of Ideas in International Relations,” *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 34, no. 1 (2005): 57–84. Similarly, it is not to deny that other religious traditions have made important contributions to notions of evil but is rather to simply suggest that Judeo-Christian ideas have dominated Western thought.
  49. Most of the modern thinkers whom I do not discuss in detail are covered at length in the works of Susan Neiman and Richard Bernstein. For example, Neiman includes chapters on Hegel and Marx, Nietzsche and Freud in *Evil in Modern Thought*, while Bernstein includes individual chapters on Hegel, Nietzsche, and Freud in *Radical Evil: A Philosophical Interrogation*.
  50. R. Douglas Geivett, *Evil and the Evidence for God: The Challenge of John Hick’s Theodicy* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1985), 3.

51. C. S. Lewis, *The Problem of Pain* (London: G. Bles, 1940); For a work viewed by many as providing a more honest assessment of pain see C. S. Lewis, *A Grief Observed* (London: Faber, 1961), written after the death of his wife.
52. Philip Yancey, *Where Is God When It Hurts?* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1990). This criticism is a little unfair as Lewis directly addresses the reality of pain as follows: "You would like to know how I behave when I am experiencing pain, not writing books about it. You need not guess, for I will tell you; I am a great coward. . . . But what is the good of telling you about my feelings? You know them already: they are the same as yours. I am not arguing that pain is not painful. Pain hurts. That is what the word means." *The Problem of Pain*, 93.
53. Jennifer L. Geddes, introduction to *Evil After Postmodernism: Histories, Narratives and Ethics*, ed. Jennifer L. Geddes (London: Routledge, 2001), 3.
54. *Ibid.*
55. *Ibid.*
56. *Ibid.*, 3–4.
57. Michael Oakeshott, "Present, Future and Past," in *On History and Other Essays*, by Michael Oakeshott (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1999), 18.
58. Michael J. Shapiro, *Language and Political Understanding: The Politics of Discursive Practices* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), 20.
59. Murray Edelman, quoted in Herbert Hirsch, *Genocide and the Politics of Memory: Studying Death to Preserve Life* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 98.
60. Shapiro, *Language and Political Understanding*, 14.
61. Hans Georg Gadamer, "The Universality of the Hermeneutical Problem," in *Philosophical Hermeneutics*, trans. and ed. David E. Linge, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 3.
62. Hans Georg Gadamer, "Man and Language," in *Philosophical Hermeneutics*, trans. and ed. David E. Linge, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 62.
63. Fred Weinstein, quoted in Hirsch, *Genocide and the Politics of Memory*, 98.

## Chapter 2

1. Charlotte Delbo, *Auschwitz and After* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 226.
2. Terrie Waddell, Introduction to *Cultural Expressions of Evil and Wickedness: Wrath, Sex and Crime*, ed. Terrie Waddell (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2003), ix.
3. Simone Weil, *Gravity and Grace* (London: Routledge, 1952), 62–63. For example, as David Parkin's edited collection *The Anthropology of Evil* makes clear, in the Balinese and Bantu languages, "evil" is related to that which is "physically rotten, misshapen and ugly." Similarly, among the Piaroa

Indians of Venezuela, while “good” is equated with beauty and cleanliness, “evil” is associated with dirt and ugliness. However, of greatest bearing on the Western tradition of thought about evil is its conceptualization in terms of imperfection within ancient Hebrew tradition. David Parkin, ed., Introduction to *The Anthropology of Evil* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1995), 7; Mark Hobart, “Is God Evil?” in *The Anthropology of Evil*, 187; David Parkin, “Entitling Evil: Muslims and non-Muslims in Coastal Kenya,” in *The Anthropology of Evil*, 226. As Parkin notes, the relationship between “evil” and physical deformity can be extreme; babies born in the breach position and those who cut their top teeth before the first two that usually appear on the bottom are often deemed “bad” children. Joanna Overing, “There Is No End of Evil: The Guilty Innocents and Their Fallible God,” in *The Anthropology of Evil*, 254.

4. Weil, *Gravity and Grace*, 62–63.
5. Raimond Gaita, “Refocusing Genocide: A Philosophical Responsibility,” in *Genocide and Human Rights*, by John K. Roth (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 162.
6. Robert Manne, *The Culture of Forgetting: Helen Demidenko and the Holocaust*, (Melbourne: Text Publishing, 1996), 107. Of course there are many thinkers that strongly refute the claim that evil has a mysterious aspect, preferring instead to view evil as “ordinary” and absolutely comprehensible. Their arguments will be discussed in some detail in Chapter 6. See Michael True, “Evil as Mystery: Primal Speech and Contemporary Poetry,” in *Destined for Evil? The Twentieth Century Responses*, ed. Predrag Cicovacki, (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2005), 241–47.
7. Delbo, quoted in Clendinnen, *Reading the Holocaust*, 62; Charlotte Delbo, *Auschwitz and After* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 1.
8. W. B. Gallie, “Essentially Contested Concepts,” in *Philosophy and Historical Understanding* (New York: Shocken, 1968), 157–91.
9. Frederick Sontag, “How Should Genocide Affect Philosophy?” in *Genocide and Human Rights: A Philosophical Guide*, by John K. Roth (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 29.
10. Neil Forsyth, “The Origin of Evil: Classical or Judeo-Christian?” in *Perspectives on Evil and Human Wickedness* 1, no. 1 (January 2002): 17.
11. David Pocock, “Unruly Evil,” in *The Anthropology of Evil*, ed. David Pocock (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985), 57.
12. Alan Macfarlane, “The Root of All Evil,” in *The Anthropology of Evil*, ed. David Parkin (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985), 57.
13. Paul Ricoeur, *The Symbolism of Evil*, trans. E. Buchanan, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1967), 155; Hans Morgenthau, “The Evil of Politics and the Politics of Evil,” in *Ethics: An International Journal of Social, Political and Legal Philosophy* 56, no. 1 (October 1945): 13.

14. Pocock, "Unruly Evil," 52.
15. Parkin, Introduction to *The Anthropology of Evil*, 23.
16. Susan Neiman, *Evil in Modern Thought: An Alternative History of Philosophy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002), 2.
17. Gillian Rose, *Mourning Becomes the Law: Philosophy and Representation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 43. Rose seeks to distinguish, as Freud did before her, between mourning, "the sorrowful attitude of those who know the world is cursed by suffering and evil, and that loss must be endured," and melancholia, which is marked by *stasis*, "the refusal to inhabit time, and accept loss, that is a sort of 'bad faith' alternative to mourning." Clearly mourning allows and perhaps even facilitates intelligibility while melancholia does not. Rose in Charles T. Mathewes, *Evil and the Augustinian Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 46; Rose, *Mourning Becomes the Law*, 76, 103.
18. Bernstein, *Radical Evil*, 228.
19. Neiman, *Evil in Modern Thought*, 8.
20. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The First and Second Discourses Together with the Replies to Critics and Essay on the Origin of Language*, ed. and trans. Victor Gourevitch (New York: Harper & Row, 1986).
21. Susan Neiman, "What's the Problem of Evil?" in *Rethinking Evil: Contemporary Perspectives*, ed. Maria Pia Lara (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 30–31.
22. Neiman, *Evil in Modern Thought*, 8.
23. Theodore W. Adorno, "Cultural Criticism and Society," in *Prisms*, trans. Samuel and Shierry Weber (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1967), 34.
24. Robert B. Pippin, "Hannah Arendt and the Bourgeois Origins of Totalitarian Evil," in *Modernity and the Problem of Evil*, ed. Alan D. Schrift (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005), 149; Theodor Adorno, *Negative Dialectics*, trans. E. B. Ashton (New York: Seabury, 1973).
25. Adorno, quoted in *After the Evil: Christianity and Judaism in the Shadow of the Holocaust*, by Richard Harries (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 33.
26. Primo Levi, Afterword in *If This Is a Man*, trans. Ruth Feldman, and *The Truce*, trans. Stuart Woolf (London: Abacus, 1987), 390.
27. Elie Wiesel, "Trivializing Memory," in *From the Kingdom of Memory: Reminiscences* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1990), 166.
28. Elie Wiesel, "Some Questions That Remain Open," in *Comprehending the Holocaust: Historical and Literary Research*, ed. Asher Cohen and Charlotte Wardi (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Peter Lang, 1988), 12–13.
29. Hannah Arendt, Preface to the first edition of *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (1951), new edition (New York: Brace: Harvourt and Jovanovich, 1973), viii.



30. Clendinnen, *Reading the Holocaust*, 26.
31. Susan Sontag, *On Photography*, quoted in *Regarding the Pain of Others* (London: Penguin, 2003), 97.
32. Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others*, 7.
33. *Ibid.*
34. *Ibid.*
35. *Ibid.*
36. *Ibid.*, 85.
37. Judith N. Shklar, *Ordinary Vices* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1984), 3.
38. *Ibid.*
39. Pope John Paul II, *Salvifici Doloris: On the Christian Meaning of Human Suffering*, February 11, 1984, 1; V. E. Frankl, quoted in *Life's Meaning in the Face of Suffering: Testimonies of Holocaust Survivors*, by Teria Shantall (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Magnes Press, 2002), 33.
40. Jamie Mayerfeld, *Suffering and Moral Responsibility* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 11.
41. *Ibid.*, 12.
42. Lewis, *The Problem of Pain*, 78.
43. Mayerfeld, *Suffering and Moral Responsibility*, 24.
44. *Ibid.*, 25.
45. *Ibid.*
46. R. M. Hare, "Pain and Evil," in *Moral Concepts*, ed. Joel Feinburg (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), 29.
47. *Ibid.*, 32.
48. *Ibid.*, 35.
49. Ophir, *The Order of Evils*, 6.004, 259.
50. Amartya Sen, *Commodities and Capabilities* (Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1985); Martha Nussbaum, "Human Functioning and Social Justice: In Defense of Aristotelian Essentialism," *Political Theory* 20 (1992): 202.
51. Mayerfeld, *Suffering and Moral Responsibility*, 109.
52. Ophir, *The Order of Evils*, 6.023, 261.
53. Emmanuel Levinas, *Time and the Other*, trans. Richard A. Cohen (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1987), 69.
54. David Kraemer, *Responses to Suffering in Classical Rabbinic Literature* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 4.
55. Roy F. Baumeister, *Evil: Inside Human Cruelty and Violence* (New York: Freeman, 1997), 18–19.
56. Shklar, *Ordinary Vices*, 18.
57. *Ibid.*
58. *Ibid.*, 19.
59. *Ibid.*

60. Ophir, *The Order of Evils*, 6.031, 262.
61. *Ibid.*
62. *Ibid.*, 6.024, 261.
63. Erich H. Loewy, *Suffering and the Beneficent Community: Beyond Libertarianism* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1991), 4.
64. Ophir, *The Order of Evils*, 6.050, 265; 6.051, 266.
65. Josef Bleicher, *Contemporary Hermeneutics: Hermeneutics as method, philosophy and critique*, (London: Routledge, 1980), 1.
66. James A. Sanders, "Suffering as Divine Discipline in the Old Testament and Post-Biblical Judaism," *Colgate Rochester Divinity School Bulletin* 29 (1955): 1; quoted in Kraemer, 34; see also Oliver Leaman, *Evil and Suffering in Jewish Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).
67. Norman Solomon, *Jewish Responses to the Holocaust* (Centre for the Study of Judaism and Jewish-Christian Relations, Birmingham, UK, 1988), 8.
68. Of course different theories of punishment focus on different aspects of punishment. Traditionally, theoretical debates about punishment have taken place between proponents of consequentialism and retributivism. As Matt Matravers writes, "Consequentialist theory defends punishment as a means to secure greater utility, typically through individual and general deterrence. Retributivism, in contrast, justifies punishment through the notion of desert. The criminal is said to deserve to suffer for his past act of wrongdoing." Matt Matravers, Introduction in *Punishment and Political Theory*, ed. Matt Matravers (Oxford: Hart Publishing, 1999), 1.
69. R. A. Dudd and D. Garland, "Introduction: Thinking About Punishment," in *A Reader on Punishment*, ed. Antony Duff and David Garland (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 7.
70. Jeremy Bentham, quoted in *After Evil: Responding to Wrongdoing*, by Geoffrey Scarre (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2004), 7.
71. *Ibid.*, 34.
72. Marilyn McCord Adams, "Redemptive Suffering: A Christian Solution to the Problem of Evil," in *Rationality, Religious Beliefs and Moral Commitment: New Essays on the Philosophy of Religion*, ed. Robert Audi and William J. Wainwright (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1986), 248–67.
73. Weil, "Evil," in *Gravity and Grace*, 65.
74. *Ibid.*
75. Pope John Paul II, *On the Christian Meaning of Human Suffering*, 1.
76. Harries, *After the Evil*, 49.
77. V. E. Frankl, quoted in *Life's Meaning in the Face of Suffering: Testimonies of Holocaust Survivors*, by Teria Shantall (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Magnes Press, 2002), 33. See V. E. Frankl, *The Doctor and the Soul: From Psychotherapy to Logotherapy* (New York: Bantam Books, 1969).
78. Arthur Schopenhauer, *On the Suffering of the World*, trans. R. J. Hollingdale (London: Penguin, 1970), 3.

79. C. G. Jung, *Answer to Job*, Vol. 11, *Collected Works* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1973); Carl Gustav Jung, "Searching for Self-Knowledge and Divine Wholeness," in *Destined for Evil? The Twentieth-Century Responses*, ed. Predrag Cicovacki (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2005), 171–76.
80. Kraemer, *Responses to Suffering*, 19.
81. Ophir, *The Order of Evils*, 6.333, 286.
82. *Ibid.*, 6.531, 302.
83. Some have attempted to make arguments along these lines and these will be addressed in Chapter 5.
84. Shantall, *Life's Meaning in the Face of Suffering*, 94.
85. R. J. Brahm, quoted in Shantall, *Life's Meaning in the Face of Suffering*, 94; see R. J. Brahm (ed.), *The Psychological Perspectives of the Holocaust and its Aftermath* (Boston: Kluwer-Nijhoff, 1988).
86. For perhaps the most famous debate on this subject, see Bruno Bettelheim, *Surviving and Other Essays* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1979); and Terence Des Pres, *The Survivor: An Anatomy of Life in the Death Camps* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976).
87. Friedrich Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morals: A Polemic*, trans. Douglas Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 49.
88. *Ibid.*, 136.
89. Emmanuel Levinas, "Useless Suffering," in *The Provocation of Levinas: Rethinking the Other*, ed. Robert Bernasconi and David Wood, (London: Routledge, 1988), 157–58.
90. *Ibid.*
91. *Ibid.*, 159.
92. *Ibid.*
93. *Ibid.*, 162.
94. Mayerfeld, *Suffering and Moral Responsibility*, 85.
95. Ophir, *The Order of Evils*, 7.014, 331.
96. Mayerfeld, *Suffering and Moral Responsibility*, 85.
97. Lewis, *The Problem of Pain*, 80.
98. Clifford Geertz, "Ethos, World View, and the Analysis of Sacred Symbols," in *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 130.
99. Clifford Geertz, "Religion as a Cultural System," in *The Interpretation of Cultures*, 107–8.
100. William E. Connolly, *Identity/difference: Democratic Negotiations of Political Paradox* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991), 2.

### Chapter 3

1. Augustine of Hippo, *Enchiridion on Faith, Hope and Love*, trans. J. F. Shaw, available at <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/1302.htm> (accessed October

- 27, 2004), I.11. The *Enchiridion* was composed by Augustine at the request of the little known Roman, Laurentius, who had asked him to write a handbook of Christian doctrine.
2. Epicurus, quoted in Neil Forsyth, "The Origin of 'Evil': Classical or Judeo-Christian?" *Perspectives on Evil and Human Wickedness* 1, no. 1 (January 2002): 20.
  3. Graham, *Evil and Christian Ethics*, 98.
  4. Kenneth Surin, *Theology and the Problem of Evil* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986), 27.
  5. Marilyn McCord Adams, *Horrendous Evils and the Goodness of God* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press; Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1999), 8. Adams also directs the reader to Alvin Plantinga, "Self-Profile," in *Alvin Plantinga*, ed. James E. Tomberlin and Peter Van Inwagen (Dordrecht, Holland: D. Reidel Publishing, 1985), 38.
  6. Marilyn McCord Adams and Robert Merrihew Adams, Introduction to *The Problem of Evil*, ed. Marilyn McCord Adams and Robert Merrihew Adams (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 2.
  7. J. L. Mackie, quoted in Adams and Adams, *The Problem of Evil*, 2; J. L. Mackie, "Evil and Omnipotence," *Mind* 64 (1955): 200–12. As Daniel Howard-Snyder remarks, "anyone modestly acquainted with medieval philosophy will tell you that the proposition that evil exists is not an *essential* part of theism. Perhaps Mackie just meant to voice his conviction that it is exceedingly unreasonable for a theist to deny that evil exists, which seems quite right." Daniel Howard-Snyder, Introduction to *The Evidential Argument from Evil*, ed. Daniel Howard-Snyder (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), xix.
  8. Adams and Adams, Introduction, 16.
  9. William L. Rowe, "The Problem of Evil and Some Varieties of Atheism," in *The Evidential Argument from Evil*, ed. Daniel Howard-Snyder (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), 2.
  10. Daniel Howard-Snyder, Introduction to *The Evidential Argument from Evil*, xiv.
  11. Joseph F. Kelly, *The Problem of Evil in the Western Tradition: From the Book of Job to Modern Genetics* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1989), 121.
  12. Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibniz, *Theodicy: Essays on the Goodness of God, the Freedom of Man, and the Origin of Evil*, trans. E. M. Huggard, ed. Austin Farrar, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1952). As with the so-called "problem of evil" it is also more accurate to speak of "theodicies" in the plural, for different thinkers provide quite divergent, and in some cases, incommensurable, theoretical arguments in answer to the problem of evil.
  13. Mathewes, *Evil and the Augustinian Tradition*, 36–37.
  14. *Ibid.*, 39.

15. Michael Scott, quoted in *Ibid.*
16. Rowan Williams quoted in *Ibid.*, 39. See Rowan Williams, "Reply: Redeeming Sorrows," in *Religion and Morality*, ed. D. Z. Phillips (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996), 132–48.
17. See W. G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1960).
18. W. G. Lambert, quoted in Shalom M. Paul, "Psalm XXVII 10 and the Babylonian Theodicy," *Vetus Testamentum* 32, fasc. 4 (October 1982), 489.
19. *The Babylonian Theodicy*, in Thomas D. Winton, "The Babylonian Theodicy," *Documents from Old Testament Times* (New York: Harper, 1961), 97–103.
20. *Ibid.*
21. *The Babylonian Theodicy*.
22. For example, Hindu philosophers of the Vedanta school include a type of theodicy, albeit with a different structure, in their thought. See J. N. Mohanty, *Classical Indian Philosophy* (Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield, 2000).
23. Donald Taylor, "Theological Thoughts About Evil," in Parkin, *Anthropology of Evil*, 27.
24. See also, Judges 3:7; 3:12; 4:1; 6:1; 10:6; 13:1. In Hebrew, the word *ba'al* means "master," "possessor," or "husband." In the Old Testament, the singular name "Baal" refers to Hadad, the Canaanite storm god. The plural "baals" seems to suggest the existence of multiple deities that were identified as "Baal." D. F. Payne, "Baal," *The Illustrated Bible Dictionary*, vol. 1 (Leicester, UK: Intervarsity Press, 1980), 153.
25. Parkin, Introduction, 4.
26. Kelly, *The Problem of Evil*, 19. It is interesting to note, as Eleonore Stump does, that unlike most contemporary readers who interpret the story of Job as an attempt to reconcile his suffering with the existence of "an omnipotent, omniscient, perfectly good God," Thomas Aquinas "understands the book as an attempt to come to grips with the nature and operations of divine providence." This we will see in more detail when Aquinas is discussed shortly. Eleonore Stump, "Aquinas on the Sufferings of Job," in *The Evidential Argument from Evil*, ed. Daniel Howard-Snyder (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), 50.
27. *Ibid.*
28. It is significant that Satan here acts as God's instrument and not, as he is portrayed in the New Testament, as an independent adversary.
29. Kelly, *The Problem of Evil*, 19–20.
30. Arthur S. Peake, *The Problem of Suffering in the Old Testament*, The Hartley Lecture Delivered to the Primitive Methodist Conference in Carr's Lane Chapel, Birmingham, June 8, 1904 (London: Robert Bryant, 1904), 102.
31. *Ibid.*

32. Kelly, *The Problem of Evil*, 28.
33. *Ibid.*, 21.
34. Forsyth, "The 'Origin' of Evil," 26.
35. *Ibid.*
36. Kelly, *The Problem of Evil*, 26.
37. *Ibid.*
38. *Ibid.*, 28. As we will see shortly, dualist theologies proposed the existence of two rival gods, each responsible for either good or evil in the world.
39. Elaine Pagels, *The Origin of Satan* (New York: Random House, 1995), 39.
40. *Ibid.*
41. *Ibid.* The Greek word used here is *diabolos*, meaning "one who throws something across one's path." As Jeffrey Burton Russell makes clear, although the "devil" has come to be understood as the "single personification of evil," there is no linguistic connection between "evil" and "devil." Jeffrey Burton Russell, *The Prince of Darkness: Radical Evil and the Power of Good in History* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1988), 5 and 7.
42. Pagels, *The Origin of Satan*, 11.
43. *Ibid.*, 13.
44. Differing accounts date the Gospel of Mark between 50 and 70 CE, thereby situating it well within the period in which Jewish apocalyptic literature remained influential.
45. Russell, *The Prince of Darkness*, 19. Yasna 30, quoted in Kraemer, *Responses to Suffering in Classical Rabbinic Literature*, 5. Translations of the Zoroastrian texts can be found in *Textual Sources for the Study of Zoroastrianism*, ed. and trans. Mary Boyce (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990).
46. *Ibid.*, 19–20.
47. *Ibid.*
48. Maneckji Nusservanji Dhalla, *History of Zoroastrianism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1938), 85.
49. Kelly, *The Problem of Evil*, 37.
50. Russell, *The Prince of Darkness*, 57.
51. *Ibid.*, 69.
52. *Ibid.*
53. *Ibid.*
54. Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem*, in *Tertullian: Adversus Marcionem*, ed. Ernest Evans (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), II.5, 98–99.
55. *Ibid.*, II.5, 99.
56. *Ibid.*, II.6, 101
57. Russell, *The Prince of Darkness*, 82.
58. Lucius Caecilius Firmianus Lactantius was, prior to his conversion to Christianity, the head of rhetoric in Nicomedia, appointed by Emperor

- Diocletian. After his conversion, he was employed by Constantine to tutor his son. His most important works that discuss the question of evil are his *Divine Institutions*, written between 303 and 311, a work defending Christianity against paganism, and *De Ira Dei*, a supplement to the *Institutions* in which he attacks Epicurus's understanding of suffering.
59. Russell, *The Prince of Darkness*, 82.
  60. Lactantius, quoted in Russell, *The Prince of Darkness*, 62.
  61. *Ibid.*, 82–83.
  62. *Ibid.*, 83.
  63. Russell, *The Prince of Darkness*, 83.
  64. John Hick, *Evil and the God of Love* (New York: Harper and Row, 1966), 21.
  65. Forsyth, "The Origin of 'Evil,'" 22.
  66. Alexander of Lycopolis, *Of the Manichaeans 2*, available at <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/0618.htm> (accessed October 27, 2004).
  67. Forsyth, "The Origin of 'Evil,'" 24–25.
  68. Kelly, *The Problem of Evil*, 52.
  69. Augustine's disillusionment with the Manichaean system at the time of his conversion to Christianity was multifaceted and saw, in addition to the publication of the works named above, the composition of five other works that explicitly sought to refute the central tenets of Manichaeism: *De Duabus Animabus contra Manichaeos* (*Of Two Souls against Manichaeus*) (391 CE), *Contra Epistolam Manichaei quam Vacant Fundamenti* (*Against the Fundamental Epistle of Manichaeus*) (397 CE), *Acta Seu Disputatio contra Fortunatum Manichaeum* (*Acts or Disputation Against Fortunatus the Manichee*) (392 CE), *De Moribus Ecclesiae Catholicae* (*Of the Morals of the Catholic Church*) (388 CE), and *De Moribus Manichaeorum* (*On the Morals of the Manichaeans*) (388 CE). Douglas R. Geivett, *Evil and the Evidence for God: The Challenge of John Hick's Theodicy* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1985), 11.
  70. Geivett, *Evil and the Evidence for God*, 11.
  71. Augustine, quoted in Geivett, 11–12.
  72. Augustine, *Confessions*, trans. Henry Chadwick (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), II.iv(9), 28–29; III.viii(16), 33.
  73. Peter Brown, *Augustine of Hippo: A Biography* (London: Faber & Faber, 1967), 59.
  74. Augustine, *Against the Fundamental Epistle of Manichaeus, Contra Epistolam Manichaei quam Vacant Fundamenti*, 397 CE, available at <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/1405.htm> (accessed October 27, 2004), 34, 24.
  75. Jean Bethke Elshtain, *Augustine and the Limits of Politics* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1995), 20.
  76. Augustine, *Confessions*, trans. R. D. Pine-Coffin (London: Penguin, 1961), V.3, 97.

77. Ibid., V.3, 92–93; V.7, 98.
78. Connolly, *Identity/Difference*, 3.
79. Augustine, *Confessions*, IV.1, 71.
80. For a description of Ambrose see *Confessions*, V.13, 107; the conversion, VIII.8–12, 170–79.
81. Augustine, *Against the Fundamental Epistle of Manichaeus*, 35.41; *On the Morals of the Manichaeans, De Moribus Manichaeorum*, 388 CE, available at <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/1402.htm> (accessed October 27, 2004), 2.2; *Confessions*, VII.5, 138.
82. Ibid.
83. References to his works and the conversion of his translator, Victorinus, in *Confessions*, VII.20, 154.
84. Plotinus, *Six Enneades*, trans. Stephen Mackenna and B. S. Page, <https://ccat.upenn.edu/jod/texts/plotinus>, (accessed October 27, 2004), I.8.1.
85. Augustine, *On the Nature of Good*, available at <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/1407.htm> (accessed October 27, 2004), 1.
86. Augustine, quoted in Geivett, *Evil and the Evidence for God*, 13.
87. Augustine, *Enchiridion*, I.12.
88. Geivett, *Evil and the Evidence for God*, 14.
89. Augustine, *City of God Against the Pagans*, ed. and trans. R. W. Dyson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), XI.22, 477.
90. Augustine, *Enchiridion*, I.11.
91. David Grumett, “Arendt, Augustine and Evil,” *The Heythrop Journal* 41 (2000): 156.
92. Plotinus, *Six Enneades*, I.8.3.
93. Ibid.
94. Ibid., I.8.5.
95. Ibid.
96. Ibid.
97. Hick, *Evil and the God of Love*, 48.
98. Ibid.
99. Augustine, *City of God*, XI.9, 461.
100. Augustine, *Enchiridion*, I.12.
101. Augustine, *On the Nature of Good*, 18.
102. Augustine, *Confessions*, I.12.
103. Augustine, *Against the Fundamental Epistle*, 35, 39.
104. W. S. Babcock, “Sin and Punishment: The Early Augustine on Evil,” in *Augustine, Presbyter Factus Sum*, ed. J. T. Leinhard, E. C. Muller, and R. J. Teske (New York: Lang, 1993), 241.
105. Hick, *Evil and the God of Love*, 65.
106. Augustine, *Freedom of the Will*, III.XVII.48.



107. Ibid., II.IX.53.
108. Augustine, *Of Two Souls, De Duabus Animabus Contra Manichaeos*, 391 CE, available at <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/1403.htm> (accessed October 27, 2004), 10.14.
109. Hick, *Evil and the God of Love*, 68.
110. Geivett, *Evil and the Evidence for God*, 15.
111. Mathewes, *Evil and the Augustinian Tradition*, 73.
112. Kelly, *The Problem of Evil in the Western Tradition*, 53.
113. Ibid., 54.
114. Stephen Chan, *Out of Evil: New International Politics and Old Doctrines of War* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2005), 10.
115. John Kekes, *The Roots of Evil* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005), 11.
116. Ibid., 13–14.
117. Saint Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, in *A Shorter Summa: The Essential Philosophical Passages of St. Thomas Aquinas' Summa Theologica*, ed. Peter Kreeft, (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1993), I.2.3., 53–54.
118. Ibid., I.2.3., 55–64. Aquinas's five arguments are, in turn: (i) the "argument from motion" that maintains that "whatever is in motion must be put in motion by another" and, as such, something must be responsible for causing the first motion; (ii) the argument "from the nature of efficient cause"; (iii) the argument "from possibility and necessity"; (iv) the argument "from the gradation to be found in things" that "Among beings there are some more and some less good, true, noble and the like. . . . The maximum in any genus is the cause of all in that genus" and, as such, "goodness, and every other perfection" is what "we call God"; and v) the argument "from the governance of the world."
119. Ibid., I.2.3., 64.
120. Ibid.
121. Ibid., I.49.1., 98.
122. Brian Davies, Introduction to *On Evil*, by Thomas Aquinas, trans. Richard Regan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 14.
123. Ibid.
124. Aquinas, *On Evil*, 1.1.a.1, 55.
125. Ibid., 1.1.b.1, 57.
126. Ibid., 1.1.Answer, 58.
127. Ibid., 59.
128. Ibid., 1.1.d.20., 62.
129. Hick, *Evil and the God of Love*, 115.
130. Ibid.
131. Ibid., 116.

132. Elmar J. Kremer and Michael J. Latzer, Introduction to *The Problem of Evil in Early Modern Philosophy*, ed. Elmar J. Kremer and Michael J. Latzer (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 7.
133. *Ibid.*, 7–8.
134. *Ibid.*, 8.
135. *Ibid.*
136. Alfred J. Freddoso, “Suarez on God’s Causal Involvement in Sinful Acts,” in *The Problem of Evil in Early Modern Philosophy*, ed. Elmar J. Kremer and Michael J. Latzer (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 10.
137. *Ibid.*, 10–11.
138. *Ibid.*, 11.
139. Suarez, *Disputationes Metaphysicae* 11.2.5., quoted in *ibid.*, 11.
140. Freddoso, “Suarez on God’s Causal Involvement in Sinful Acts,” 11.
141. Suarez, *Disputationes Metaphysicae* 11.2.5., quoted in *ibid.*
142. *Ibid.*, 11.3.24, in *ibid.*, 12.
143. Freddoso, “Suarez on God’s Causal Involvement in Sinful Acts,” 12.
144. Suarez, *Disputationes Metaphysicae* 11.3.24., quoted in Freddoso, *ibid.*
145. Kremer and Latzer, Introduction, 8.
146. See, for example, Mathewes, *Evil and the Augustinian Tradition*, 77.

## Chapter 4

1. Immanuel Kant, *Religion Within the Boundaries of Mere Reason and other essays*, trans. and ed. Allen Wood and George di Giovanni (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 6:44, 65.
2. Hick, *Evil and the God of Love*, 145.
3. William King, *On the Origin of Evil*, trans. Edmund, Lord Bishop of Carlisle (London: Faulder, 1781), ix.
4. *Ibid.*, II.II., 71.
5. Hick, *Evil and the God of Love*, 148.
6. King, *On the Origin of Evil*, II.VII., 76.
7. King, quoted in Hick, *Evil and the God of Love*, 148.
8. Susan Neiman, “Metaphysics, Philosophy: Rousseau on the Problem of Evil,” in *Reclaiming the History of Ethics*, ed. Andrews Reath, Barbara Herman, and Christine M. Korsgaard (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 140–41.
9. Hick, *Evil and the God of Love*, 154.
10. Geivett, *Evil and the Evidence for God*, 22.
11. Bayle said the following of Moréri’s work: “I share the opinion of Horace on those who lead the way. The first compilers of dictionaries made many errors, but they deserve a glory that their successors ought never to deprive them. Moréri has given himself a great deal of trouble, has been useful to

- everybody, and has sufficient information to many.” <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/10567a.htm> (accessed March 22, 2007).
12. Leibniz, quoted in Geivett, *Evil and the Evidence for God*, 22.
  13. Stuart Brown, “The Seventeenth Century Intellectual Background,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Leibniz*, ed. Nicholas Jolley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 57. As Brown writes in another work, “Leibniz had enjoyed a lengthy and amicable correspondence with Bayle in spite of their being a fundamental disagreement between them on whether faith could be reconciled with reason.” Stuart Brown, *Leibniz* (Brighton, UK: The Harvester Press, 1984), 66–67. See Leibniz, *Theodicy*, I.3–4, 124–25.
  14. Neiman, *Evil in Modern Thought*, 20.
  15. Ibid. What is more, Bayle also argued that “reason cannot buttress faith and that the only plausible way to defend the Church’s teaching and doctrines is to adopt a strictly ‘fideist’ stance.” Jonathan I. Israel, *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity 1650–1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 332.
  16. Bayle, quoted in D. Anthony Larivière and Thomas M. Lennon, “Bayle on the Problem of Evil,” in *The Problem of Evil in Early Modern Philosophy*, ed. Elmar J. Kremer and Michael J. Latzer (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 104.
  17. Hick, *Evil and the God of Love*, 21.
  18. Jonathan I. Israel, *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity, 1650–1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 331.
  19. Hick, *Evil and the God of Love*, 23.
  20. Spinoza, *Ethics*, ed. and trans. G. H. R. Parkinson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), i, appendix.
  21. Ibid., IV. 64. The notion that evil is not real has not been popular in subsequent thought for it seems to deny the reality of human suffering in the world. The most prominent exception to this is found in the 1875 Christian Science work of Mary Baker Eddy, *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures*, a work John Hick described as a “confused medley of half-digested philosophical themes.” In it, Eddy argued that “Evil has no reality. It is neither person, place nor thing, but is simply a belief, an illusion of material sense . . . evil is but an illusion, and it has no real basis.” As such, she reasoned that evil along with pain and suffering could be overcome by recognizing that they are nothing. Hick, *Evil and the God of Love*, 24.
  22. Leibniz, *Theodicy*, 9, 128–29.
  23. Hick, *Evil and the God of Love*, 18–19.
  24. Leibniz, *Theodicy*, I.9., 128–29.
  25. Alfonso X, quoted in Neiman, “Metaphysics, Philosophy,” 142.
  26. Ibid.

27. Ibid., 143.
28. Leibniz, *Theodicy*, 194, 248.
29. Ibid., 21, 136.
30. Ibid., 23, 137.
31. Ibid.
32. Neiman, *Evil in Modern Thought*, 22.
33. Jan T. Kozak and Charles D. James, "Historical Depictions of the 1755 Lisbon Earthquake," National Information Service for Earthquake Engineering, University of California, Berkeley. <http://nisee.berkeley.edu/lisbon/> (accessed on May 10, 2004).
34. Voltaire, *Candide*, ed. Haydn Mason (London: Bristol Classical Press, 1995), 121.
35. Schopenhauer, *On the Suffering of the World*, 13.
36. As Victor Gourevitch writes, "Optimism" became a much debated topic in subsequent years. In 1755 the Berlin Academy announced as the topic of its Prize competition "a thorough discussion of Pope's thesis, and Kant had considered submitting an essay to it." As we will see shortly, in the end it was Rousseau who emerged as the great defender of Optimism against Voltaire's criticisms. Victor Gourevitch, introduction to Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Discourses and other early political writings*, ed. and trans. Victor Gourevitch (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), xxvi
37. Voltaire, quoted in Neiman, *Evil in Modern Thought*, 135.
38. Ibid.
39. Schopenhauer, *On the Suffering of the World*, 14.
40. Neiman, "Metaphysics, Philosophy," 145.
41. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, "Observations by Jean-Jacques Rousseau of Geneva: On the Answer Made to His Discourse," in *The Discourses*, 22, 37.
42. Neiman, "Metaphysics, Philosophy," 147.
43. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, "Letter to Voltaire," in *The Discourses*, 1, 232; 37, 246.
44. Ibid., 3, 232.
45. Ibid., 4, 233.
46. Ibid., 4, 5, 233.
47. Neiman, "Metaphysics, Philosophy," 141.
48. Neiman, *Evil in Modern Thought*, 41, emphasis in text.
49. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *émile*, trans. Barbara Foxley (London: Dent, 1969), 5.
50. Rousseau, "Letter to Voltaire," 8, 234.
51. Neiman, *Evil in Modern Thought*, 39.
52. Rousseau, "Letter to Voltaire," 8, 234.
53. Neiman, *Evil in Modern Thought*, 41.
54. Ibid., 41–42.
55. Rousseau, "Letter to Voltaire," 23, 240.

56. *Ibid.*, 23, 240; 26, 242.
57. Rousseau, "Letter by J. J. Rousseau to M. Philopolis," in *The Discourses*, 10, 225.
58. *Ibid.*
59. Neiman, *Evil in Modern Thought*, 43.
60. *Ibid.*, 45.
61. *Ibid.*
62. Kant, quoted in Neiman, "Metaphysics, Philosophy," 140.
63. Gordon E. Michalson, *Fallen Freedom: Kant on Radical Evil and Moral Regeneration* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 19.
64. *Ibid.*
65. Michael Despland, *Kant on History and Religion* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1973), 170.
66. *Ibid.* 171–72.
67. Immanuel Kant, *On the Failure of All Attempted Philosophical Theodicies (1791)*, trans. Michael Despland, in *Kant on History and Religion* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1973), 283.
68. *Ibid.* 291.
69. *Ibid.*
70. Kant, quoted in Neiman, "Metaphysics, Philosophy," 149.
71. Kant, *On the Failure of All Attempted Philosophical Theodicies*, 293.
72. Kelly, *The Problem of Evil*, 130.
73. *Ibid.*, 128–29.
74. David Hume, *An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding*, ed. Tom C. Beauchamp (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 10.41, 186.
75. David Hume, *Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion in Focus*, ed. Stanley Tweyman (Routledge: London, 1991), 10, 160.
76. *Ibid.*, 157.
77. Bernard M. G. Reardon, *Kant as Philosophical Theologian* (Basingstoke, UK: Macmillan, 1988), 90
78. *Ibid.*, 90, 92.
79. Kant, *Religion Within the Boundaries of Mere Reason*, 6:44, 65.
80. Kant, quoted in Bernstein, *Radical Evil*, 13.
81. *Ibid.*
82. *Ibid.*
83. Kant, *Religion Within the Boundaries of Mere Reason*, 6:20, 46.
84. *Ibid.*, 6:26, 50.
85. *Ibid.*, 6:29, 52–53.
86. *Ibid.*, 53.
87. *Ibid.*, 6:23, 55.

88. Henry E. Allison, "Reflections on the Banality of (Radical) Evil: A Kantian Analysis," in *Rethinking Evil*, ed. Maria Pia Lara (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 92.
89. *Ibid.*
90. Gordon E. Michalson, *Fallen Freedom: Kant on Radical Evil and Moral Regeneration* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 35. This marks a distinct shift from his earlier *Lectures on Philosophical Theology*, trans. Allen W. Wood and Gertrude M. Clark (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1978), 117.
91. Kant, *Religion Within the Boundaries*, 6:32, 56.
92. Bernstein, *Radical Evil*, 20, 27.
93. *Ibid.*, 27.
94. Stephen R. Grimm, "Kant's Argument for Radical Evil," *European Journal of Philosophy* 10, no. 2 (2002): 160–77; Allen Wood, *Kant's Ethical Thought* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999).
95. Immanuel Kant, "An Answer to the Question: What is Enlightenment?" [1784], in *Perpetual Peace and Other Essays*, trans. Ted Humphrey (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 1983), 41.

## Chapter 5

1. Wiesel, "Some Questions That Remain Open," 16.
2. Primo Levi, *The Drowned and the Saved*, trans. Raymond Rosenthal (London: Michael Joseph, 1988), 169.
3. The intellectual discussion of the Holocaust in this context is mired in controversy, controversy that emanates from a number of different corners of the scholarly, religious, and secular worlds. For example, scholars and theologians alike have disagreed over the very term *Holocaust* itself. For many Jews, the term *Shoah*, signifying catastrophic destruction, is a more appropriate term than *Holocaust*, which is "derived from the Greek *holókauston*, meaning 'burnt whole'" and brings with it connotations of sacrifice. In this vein, Walter Lacquer argues that the term *Holocaust* is "singularly inappropriate" as "it was not the intention of the Nazis to make a sacrifice of this kind, and the position of the Jews was not that of a ritual victim." These arguments aside however, in most scholarship and general discourse, the attempted eradication of the Jewish race at the hands of the Nazis is known as the Holocaust. Richard Rubenstein and John K. Roth, *Approaches to Auschwitz: The Holocaust and its Legacy*, 2nd ed. (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2003), 4–5. Walter Lacquer, quoted in Rubenstein and Roth, *Approaches to Auschwitz*, 5; although, as Rubenstein and Roth argue, the term *Shoah* is preferred in Israel, Israeli writers such as Adi Ophir and others still use the term *Holocaust*. Ophir, *The Order of Evils*.

4. Bernstein, *Radical Evil*, 4.
5. Emmanuel Levinas, "The Paradox of Morality: An Interview with Emmanuel Levinas," in *The Provocation of Emmanuel Levinas: Rethinking the Other*, ed. Robert Bernasconi and David Wood (London: Routledge, 1988), 176.
6. Hannah Arendt, "Some Questions of Moral Philosophy," *Social Research* 61, no. 2, (Winter 1994), 742.
7. Berel Lang, *Post-Holocaust: Interpretation, Misinterpretation and the Claims of History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005), 35.
8. Bernstein, *Radical Evil*, 214.
9. The exception to this is, of course, Sigmund Freud who argued that alongside overt agency, human action is also directed by impulses that are not apparent to them. He wrote: "Psychological—or, more strictly speaking, psycho-analytic—investigation shows instead that the deepest essence of human nature consists in instinctual impulses which are of an elementary nature, which are similar in all men and which aim at the satisfaction of certain primal needs. These impulses in themselves are neither good nor bad. We classify them and their expressions in that way, according to their relation to the needs and demands of the human community. It must be granted that all the impulses which society condemns as evil—let us take as representative the cruel and selfish ones—are of this primitive kind." Sigmund Freud, *Civilization and Its Discontents: The Standard Edition* (London: Hogarth Press, 1930), 122.
10. Neiman, *Evil in Modern Thought*, 271.
11. The focus in this chapter is on individual moral agency, leaving aside the moral agency of groups. For a discussion of this, see Toni Erskine, ed., *Can Institutions Have Responsibilities? Collective Moral Agency and International Relations* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); and Arne Johan Vetlesen, *Evil and Human Agency: Understanding Evildoing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).
12. Harries, *After the Evil*, 25.
13. Karl Barth, quoted in Timothy J. Gorringer, *Karl Barth: Against Hegemony* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 180.
14. Gorringer, *Karl Barth: Against Hegemony*, 180.
15. *Ibid.*, 181.
16. *Ibid.*
17. Karl Barth, quoted in Gorringer, 181–82.
18. Elie Wiesel, *Night*, trans. Marion Wiesel (New York: Hill and Wang, 2006), 9.
19. Rubenstein and Roth, *Approaches to Auschwitz*, 321–22.
20. Harries, *After the Evil*, 48.
21. Levinas, "Useless Suffering," 160–61.
22. *Ibid.*, 161.

23. Ibid., 161–62.
24. Ibid., 162.
25. Ibid.
26. Ibid., 163.
27. See, for example, Bruce Reichenbach, “Natural Evils and Natural Laws: A Theodicy for Natural Evils,” *International Philosophical Quarterly* 14, no. 2 (June 1976): 179–96; William L. Rowe, “Evil and Theodicy,” *Philosophical Topics* 14, no. 2 (Fall 1988): 119–32; John Hick, *Evil and the Love of God* (New York: Harper and Row, 1966); William L. Rowe, “The Problems of Evil and Some Varieties of Atheism,” *American Philosophical Quarterly* 16, no. 4 (October 1979), 335–41; Alvin Plantinga, *God, Freedom and Evil* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1975), 29–59; Keith E. Yandell, “The Problem of Evil and the Content of Morality,” *International Journal for Philosophy of Religion* 17 (1985): 139–65. What is particularly interesting about this particular discourse about evil is that it revisits a number of themes that had been prominent in early modern literature on the subject, in particular, the claim that this is the “best of all possible worlds” and the “free will defense.”
28. Bernstein, *Radical Evil*, 185.
29. Hans Jonas, quoted in Peter Dews, “‘Radical Finitude’ and the Problem of Evil: Critical Comments on Wellmer’s Reading of Jonas,” in *Rethinking Evil: Contemporary Perspectives*, ed. Maria Pia Lara (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 48.
30. Hans Jonas, “Mind, Matter and Creation: Cosmological Evidence and Cosmological Speculation,” in *Mortality and Morality: A Search for the Good after Auschwitz*, ed. Lawrence Vogel (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1996), 189–90.
31. Dews, “Radical Finitude,” 48.
32. Rubenstein and Roth, *Approaches to Auschwitz*, 327.
33. Ibid.
34. Ibid.
35. Richard Rubenstein, *Commentary* 1996 symposium on “The Conditions of Jewish Belief,” in *After Auschwitz: Radical Theology and Contemporary Judaism* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1966), 153.
36. Harries, *After the Evil*, 26.
37. Rubenstein, *After Auschwitz*, 151–52.
38. “Toward a Hidden God,” *Time*, April 8, 1966, available at <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article10,9171,835309,00.html> (accessed March 26, 2007).
39. “The New Ministry: Bringing God Back to Life,” *Time*, December 26, 1969, available at <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,9418,16,00.html> (accessed March 26, 2007).



40. Paul van Buren, *A Theology of the Jewish Christian Reality*, vol. 1, *Discerning the Way* (New York: Harpercollins, 1987), 116.
41. Rubenstein and Roth, *Approaches to Auschwitz*, 335–36; see Ignaz Maybaum, *The Face of God After Auschwitz* (Amsterdam: Polack & Van Gennep, 1965).
42. Maybaum, quoted in Rubenstein and Roth, *Approaches to Auschwitz*, 336.
43. Harries, *After the Evil*, 49.
44. Ibid.
45. Emil Fackenheim, “Jewish Values in the Post-Holocaust Future,” in *The Jewish Return into History: Reflections in the Age of Auschwitz and a New Jerusalem* (New York: Schocken Books, 1989).
46. Yale University, The Cambodian Genocide Program, available at <http://www.yale.edu/cgp/> (accessed March 28, 2007).
47. Berel Lang, “The Evil in Genocide,” in *Genocide and Human Rights: A Philosophical Guide*, ed. John K. Roth (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 11.
48. Unfortunately, in the aftermath of the tsunami some commentators reverted to the age-old explanation that the people of Southeast Asia somehow deserved to suffer.
49. Bruce Reichenbach, “Natural Evils and Natural Laws: A Theodicy for Natural Evils,” *International Philosophical Quarterly* 14, no. 2 (June 1976): 179.
50. Ibid.
51. Nina H. B. Jørgensen, *The Responsibility of States for International Crimes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 73.
52. Toni Erskine, “Making Sense of ‘Responsibility,’ in International Relations: Key Questions and Concepts,” in Erskine, *Can Institutions Have Responsibilities?* 6.
53. Ibid.
54. Ibid.
55. Kekes, *Facing Evil*, 47.
56. Ibid., 46; see also David Marcus, “Famine Crimes in International Law,” *American Journal of International Law* 97, no. 2 (April 2003): 245–81.
57. John Kekes, *Moral Wisdom and Good Lives* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995), 67 and 69.
58. Berel Lang, *Act and Idea in the Nazi Genocide* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1990), 23.
59. Ibid., 24.
60. Ibid.
61. William A. Schabas, *An Introduction to the International Criminal Court*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 108.

62. Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, Article 30, paragraph 2, available at [http://www.un.org/law/icc/statute/99\\_corr/3.htm](http://www.un.org/law/icc/statute/99_corr/3.htm) (accessed March 22, 2007).
63. *Ibid.*
64. Shapiro, *Language and Political Understanding*, 109.
65. Gaita, "Refocusing Genocide," 160.
66. Justice Robert H. Jackson, quoted in James Owen, *Nuremberg: Evil on Trial* (London: Headline, 2006), 35.
67. *Ibid.*, 39.
68. David Maxwell Fyfe, foreword to G. M. Gilbert *Nuremberg Diary*, (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1948), xi.
69. Charles Dubost in James Owen, *Nuremberg: Evil on Trial*, 109.
70. Hans Frank in G. M. Gilbert, *Nuremberg Diary*, 13.
71. *Ibid.*
72. *Ibid.*, 53.
73. *Ibid.*, 84.
74. Leon Goldensohn interview with Wilhelm Keitel, May 17, 1946, in Leon Goldensohn, *The Nuremberg Interviews: Conversations with the Defendants and Witnesses*, ed. Robert Gellately (London: Pimlico, 2007), 166.
75. Katz, *Confronting Evil*, 54.
76. Robert Gellately, "Introduction: Nuremberg—Voices from the Past," in *The Nuremberg Interviews*, xxvii.
77. John Kekes, *The Roots of Evil*, (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005), 102.
78. Allen, quoted in Kekes, *Roots of Evil*, 102.
79. Roy F. Baumeister, "The Holocaust and the Four Roots of Evil," in *Understanding Genocide: The Social Psychology of the Holocaust*, ed. Leonard S. Newman and Ralph Erber (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 254.
80. Tzvetan Todorov, "Ordinary People and Extraordinary Vices," in *Destined for Evil? The Twentieth-Century Responses*, ed. Predrag Cicovacki (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2005), 120.
81. Ron Rosenbaum, *Explaining Hitler: The Search for the Origins of his Evil* (New York: Macmillan, 1998), xxi.
82. *Ibid.*, 86.
83. Milton Himmelfarb, "No Hitler, No Holocaust," *Commentary* 76, no. 3 (March 1984): 37–43.
84. Kekes, *Facing Evil*, 84.
85. *Ibid.*
86. *Ibid.*
87. Philippa Foot, quoted in Kekes, *Facing Evil*, 84; see Philippa Foot, "Moral Beliefs," in *Virtues and Vices* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), 129.

88. Rudolph Hoess interview with Leon Goldensohn, April 8, 1946, in *The Nuremberg Interviews*, 296.
89. Rudolph Hoess interview with Leon Goldensohn, April 9, 1946, in *The Nuremberg Interviews*, 309.
90. *Ibid.*, 304.
91. Rudolph Hoess interview with Leon Goldensohn, April 11, 1946, in *The Nuremberg Interviews*, 315.
92. Foot, quoted in Kekes, *Facing Evil*, 85.
93. Rudolph Hoess interview with Leon Goldensohn, April 11, 1946, in *The Nuremberg Interviews*, 315.
94. Simon Wiesenthal, quoted in Gitta Sereny, *Into that Darkness: An Examination of Conscience* (London: Picador, 1974), 21.
95. Sereny, *Into that Darkness*, 163–64.
96. Stangl quoted in Sereny, 164.
97. *Ibid.*
98. Kekes, *Facing Evil*, 66.
99. Kekes, *Roots of Evil*, 56.
100. Rome Statute, Article 30, paragraph 2.
101. Stangl, quoted in Kekes, *Roots of Evil*, 57.
102. Sereny, *Into that Darkness*, 134.
103. Himmler, quoted in Manus I. Midlarsky, *The Killing Trap: Genocide in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 180–81.
104. Richard Breitman, *The Architect of Genocide: Himmler and the Final Solution* (Hanover, NH: Brandeis University Press and University Press of New England, 1991), 243.
105. Hoess, quoted in Clendinnen, *Reading the Holocaust*, 123. See Rudolph Hoess, *Commandant of Auschwitz: The Autobiography of Rudolph Hoess*, trans. Constantine Fitzgibbon (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1959), 181.
106. Kekes, *The Roots of Evil*, 101.
107. Kekes, *Moral Wisdom and Good Lives*, 68.
108. Lang, *Act and Idea in the Nazi Genocide*, 24–25.
109. J. R. Lucas, *Responsibility* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 5.
110. Michael S. Moore, “Causation and Responsibility,” in *Responsibility*, ed. Ellen Frankel Paul, Fred D. Miller, Jr., and Jeffrey Paul (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 4.
111. For more on Moore’s distinction between causation and correlation, see Moore, “Causation and Responsibility,” 7–8.
112. Lucas, *Responsibility*, 5.
113. Martin Buber, quoted in Daniel Warner, *An Ethic of Responsibility in International Relations* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1991), 20; see Martin

- Buber, *Between Man and Man*, trans. Ronald Gregor Smith (New York: Macmillan, 1965), 16.
114. See also Joel Feinburg, "Action and Responsibility," in *Philosophy in America*, ed. Max Black (London: G. Allen and Unwin, 1965), 134–60.
115. Midlarsky, *The Killing Trap*, 11.

## Chapter 6

1. C. S. Lewis, preface to the 1961 edition of *The Screwtape Letters* (London: G. Bles, 1961).
2. Primo Levi, Afterword, 214.
3. Hannah Arendt, "The Concentration Camps," *Partisan Review* 15, no. 7 (1948): 745.
4. Hannah Arendt to Karl Jaspers, August 17, 1946, in *Hannah Arendt and Karl Jaspers Correspondence 1920–1969* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Jovanovich, 1992), 69.
5. Jaspers to Arendt, *Ibid.*, 62.
6. Arendt to Jaspers, *Ibid.*, 69
7. *Ibid.*
8. Dana Villa, *Politics, Philosophy, Terror: Essays on the Thought of Hannah Arendt* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999), 32.
9. Henry E. Allison, "Reflections on the Banality of (Radical) Evil: A Kantian Analysis," in *Rethinking Evil: Contemporary Perspectives*, ed. Maria Pia Lara (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 87.
10. See Arendt, *The Human Condition*, for an explanation of the role of spontaneity in the *vita activa*. Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).
11. Arendt to Jaspers, March 4, 1951, *Hannah Arendt and Karl Jaspers Correspondence*, 166.
12. This essay appeared in a revised form as the chapter titled "Total Domination," in *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York: Brace, Harcourt and Jovanovich, 1973).
13. Arendt, "The Concentration Camps," 751.
14. *Ibid.*
15. Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, 452.
16. Arendt, "The Concentration Camps," 759.
17. Lara, introduction to *Rethinking Evil*, 7.
18. Villa, *Politics, Philosophy Terror*, 32.
19. Arendt quoted in Richard J. Bernstein, "Did Hannah Arendt Change Her Mind? From Radical Evil to the Banality of Evil," in *Hannah Arendt: Twenty Years Later*, ed. Larry May and Jerome Kohn (Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1996), 130.

20. Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, 459, emphasis Bernstein's; Ibid.
21. Arendt, "The Concentration Camps," 748.
22. Hannah Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil* (New York: Penguin, 1964), 5.
23. Ibid., 263, 253.
24. Ibid., 21.
25. During Eichmann's trial, questions were raised about the alleged murder of an individual but this was not pursued in the trial.
26. Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, 153.
27. Katz, *Ordinary People and Extraordinary Evil*, 19.
28. Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, 276.
29. Ibid., 276.
30. Ibid., 287.
31. Wiesel, "Some Questions that Remain Open," 16.
32. Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, 276.
33. Ibid., 21.
34. Ibid., 25.
35. Ibid., 277.
36. Ibid.
37. Ibid., 24.
38. Ibid., 24.
39. Ibid., 135–36.
40. Ibid., 136.
41. Allison, "Reflections on the Banality of (Radical) Evil," 88.
42. Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, 136. Frank, quoted in Arendt.
43. Arendt writes: "Eichmann, who never made a decision on his own, who was extremely careful always to be 'covered' by orders, who—as freely given testimony from practically all the people who had worked with him confirmed—did not even like to volunteer suggestions and always required 'directives,' now, 'for the first and last time,' took an initiative contrary to orders: instead of sending these people to Russian territory, Riga or Minsk, where they could have immediately been shot by the *Einsatzgruppen*, he directed the transport to the ghetto of Łódź, where he knew that no preparations for extermination had yet been made—if only because the man in charge of the ghetto, a certain Regierungspräsident Uebelhör, had found ways and means of deriving considerable profit from 'his' Jews." Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, 94.
44. Ibid., 114.
45. Ibid.
46. Ibid., 247.
47. Ibid.
48. Ibid., 248.

49. Ibid., 155.
50. Hannah Arendt, "Thinking and Moral Considerations: A Lecture," *Social Research* 38, no. 3 (Fall, 1971): 417.
51. Bernard J. Bergen, *The Banality of Evil: Hannah Arendt and "The Final Solution"* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 1998), 102.
52. Arendt, *The Life of the Mind*, (London: Seder and Warburg, 1978), 60–61, and 13–14.
53. David Grumett, "Arendt, Augustine, and Evil," *The Heythrop Journal* 41, (2000): 163.
54. Arendt, *The Life of the Mind*, 131.
55. Arendt, quoted in Dana R. Villa, "The Banality of Philosophy: Arendt on Heidegger and Eichmann," in *Hannah Arendt: Twenty Years Later*, ed. Larry May and Jerome Kohn (Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1996), 185.
56. Hannah Arendt, "For Martin Heidegger's Eightieth Birthday," in *Martin Heidegger and National Socialism: Questions and Answers*, ed. Günther Neske and Emil Kettering, trans. Lisa Harries (New York: Paragon House, 1990), 216.
57. Robert Bernasconi, quoted in Villa, "The Banality of Philosophy," 181.
58. Villa, "The Banality of Philosophy," 181.
59. Ibid.
60. Ibid.
61. Arendt, quoted in Villa, "The Banality of Philosophy," 182.
62. Arendt, "Thinking and Moral Considerations: A Lecture," *Social Research* 38, no. 3 (Fall 1971): 24.
63. Ibid.
64. Arendt, quoted in Villa, "The Banality of Philosophy," 185.
65. Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, 221.
66. Eichmann, quoted in Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, 48.
67. Ibid.
68. Ibid., 252.
69. Arendt, "Thinking and Moral Considerations," 417.
70. Arendt, *Life of the Mind*, 3–4.
71. Hannah Arendt, "Personal Responsibility Under Dictatorship," *Listener* (August 6, 1964): 186.
72. Gershom Scholem to Hannah Arendt, "Eichmann in Jerusalem: An Exchange of Letters between Gershom Scholem and Hannah Arendt," in *Hannah Arendt, The Jew as Pariah: Jewish Identity and Politics in the Modern Age*, ed. Ron H. Feldman (New York: Grove Press, 1978), 245.
73. Hannah Arendt to Gershom Scholem, "Eichmann in Jerusalem: An Exchange of Letters between Gershom Scholem and Hannah Arendt," 251.
74. Ibid.

75. Bernstein, *Radical Evil*, 218.
76. Robert H. Pippin, "Hannah Arendt and the Bourgeois Origins of Totalitarian Evil," in *Modernity and the Problem of Evil*, ed. Alan D. Schrift (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005), 149.
77. Bernstein, *Radical Evil*, 218.
78. See Renée Jeffery and Nicholas Rengger, "Moral Evil and International Relations: Old Concepts, New Challenges?" *SAIS Review of International Affairs* 25 (2005): 3–16.
79. Elshtain, *Augustine and the Limits of Politics*, 73.
80. Bernard J. Bergen, *The Banality of Evil: Hannah Arendt and "The Final Solution"* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 1998), ix.
81. *Ibid.*
82. Julia Kristeva, *Hannah Arendt*, trans. Ross Guberman (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 145.
83. Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, 5.
84. Kristeva, *Hannah Arendt*, 145.
85. Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, 117.
86. *Ibid.*, 91.
87. *Ibid.*, 115.
88. *Ibid.*, 91, indeed, as Julia Kristeva notes, Gershom Scholem argued that Arendt lacked *Herzenstakt*, or sympathy. *Hannah Arendt*, 145.
89. Gershom Scholem, "Exchange," in *The Jew as Pariah*, 243.
90. Arendt, quoted in Kristeva, *Hannah Arendt*, 146.
91. Arendt, quoted in Seyla Benhabib, "Arendt's *Eichmann in Jerusalem*," in *The Cambridge Companion to Hannah Arendt*, ed. Dana R. Villa (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 70–71.
92. Kristeva, *Hannah Arendt*, 145.
93. *Ibid.*
94. Ron H. Feldman, "The Jew as Pariah: The Case of Hannah Arendt (1906–1975)," in Hannah Arendt, *The Jew as Pariah: Jewish Identity in the Modern Age*, ed. Ron H. Feldman, (New York: Grove Press, 1978), 17.
95. Bergen, *The Banality of Evil*, x.
96. Tzvetan Todorov, "Ordinary People and Extraordinary Vices," in Predrag Cicovacki (ed.), *Destined for Evil? The Twentieth-Century Responses*, (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2005), 122.
97. Bergen, *The Banality of Evil*, ix.
98. As Arendt made clear at a conference on her work in Toronto some years later: "You say I said there is an Eichmann in each one of us. Oh no! There is none in you and none in me! This doesn't mean that there are not quite a number of Eichmanns. But they look really quite different. I always hated this notion of 'Eichmann in each one of us.' This is simply not true. This would be as untrue as the opposite, that Eichmann is in nobody." "On

- Hannah Arendt,” in *Hannah Arendt: The Recovery of the Public World*, ed. Melvin A. Hill (New York: St. Martins Press, 1979), 308.
99. Fred E. Katz, *Ordinary People and Extraordinary Evil: A Report on the Beguilings of Evil* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993), 7.
  100. *Ibid.*
  101. *Ibid.*, 26. See also Katz, *Confronting Evil*, 69–86.
  102. *Ibid.*, 37.
  103. *Ibid.*
  104. *Ibid.*, 103.
  105. *Lieutenant William Calley: His Own Story, as Told to John Sack* (New York: Viking Press, 1971), 225.
  106. Katz, *Ordinary People and Extraordinary Evil*, 103.
  107. Herbert C. Kelman and V. Lee Hamilton, *Crimes of Obedience: Towards a Social Psychology of Authority and Responsibility* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989), 47.
  108. Katz, *Ordinary People and Extraordinary Evil*, 16.
  109. Christopher Browning, *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* (London: Penguin, 2001).
  110. Staub, *The Roots of Evil*, 134; Clendinnen, *Reading the Holocaust*, 144. This notion of coming to enjoy killing also accords well with Joanna Bourke’s *The Intimate History of Killing* that documents the sense of enjoyment many soldiers have reported upon returning from war. Joanna Bourke, *The Intimate History of Killing: Face-to-face Killing in Twentieth Century Warfare* (London: Granta Books, 1999).
  111. Milgrim, quoted in Clendinnen, *Reading the Holocaust*, 147; Stanley Milgram, *Obedience to Authority: An Experimental View* (London: Tavistock, 1974); Craig Haney, Curtis Banks, and Philip Zimbardo, “Interpersonal Dynamics in a Simulated Prison,” *International Journal of Criminology and Penology* 1 (1983): 69–97.
  112. Katz, *Confronting Evil*, 74.
  113. *Ibid.*
  114. *Ibid.*
  115. *Ibid.*, 75.
  116. Daniel Jonah Goldhagen, *Hitler’s Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust* (New York: Vintage Books, 1997), 379.
  117. *Ibid.*, 597n4.
  118. Clendinnen, *Reading the Holocaust*, 136.
  119. Quoted in Clendinnen, *Reading the Holocaust*, 136; see Gordon Craig, *New York Review of Books* (May 23, 1996): 52; Raul Hilberg, “The Goldhagen Phenomenon,” *Critical Inquiry* 23 (Summer 1997): 721–28.
  120. Neiman, *Evil in Modern Thought*, 277.
  121. Morton, *On Evil*, 2 and 4.



122. Neiman, *Evil in Modern Thought*, 2.
123. Morton, 7.
124. *Ibid.*, 8.
125. *Ibid.*
126. *Ibid.*, 55–56.
127. *Ibid.*, 57.
128. *Ibid.*, 69, 71, and 87.
129. Bernstein, *Radical Evil*, 232.
130. Karl Jaspers to Hannah Arendt, *Hannah Arendt and Karl Jaspers Correspondence*, 542.
131. Arendt, quoted in Villa, *Politics, Philosophy, Terror*, 57.
132. Villa, *Politics, Philosophy, Terror*, 57.
133. Arendt, quoted in Kristeva, *Hannah Arendt*, 154.
134. Voegelin, quoted in Kristeva, *Hannah Arendt*, 154.
135. Arendt, quoted in Kristeva, *Hannah Arendt*, 155.

## Chapter 7

1. George W. Bush, September 12, 2001, available at <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010912-4.html> (accessed December 15, 2006).
2. George W. Bush, remarks by the President on Arrival, The South Lawn, September 16, 2001, available at <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/print/20010916> (accessed December 15, 2006).
3. Bush has also used the term to refer to the massacre at Srebrenica, domestic violence, segregation and human trafficking in recent years. George W. Bush, Presidential Message: 10th Anniversary of the Massacre in Srebrenica, July 11, 2005, available at <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2005/07/print/20050711> (accessed December 8, 2006); National Domestic Violence Awareness Month, September 30, 2005; President Signs H.R. 4145 to Place Statute of Rosa Parks in U.S. Capitol, Room 350, Dwight D. Eisenhower Executive Office Building, December 1, 2005, available at <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2005/12/print/20051201> (accessed December 8, 2006); President signs H.R. 972, Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act, Eisenhower Executive Office Building, January 10, 2006, available at <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2006/01/20060110-3.html> (accessed December 8, 2006).
4. Louis P. Pojman, *Terrorism, Human Rights and the Case for World Government* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2006), 4.
5. United States Department of Defense quoted in Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1998), 38. The definition of terrorism is a particularly contentious issue. For example, in his survey, *Political*

- Terrorism: A Research Guide*, Alex Schmid identifies 109 different definitions of the term! Alex P. Schmid, *Political Terrorism: A Research Guide* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 1984).
6. Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, 15 and 17. Burke famously described the French Revolution as “Thousands of those Hell hounds called Terrorists . . . let loose on the people.”
  7. *Ibid.*, 26.
  8. *Ibid.*, 27.
  9. Pojman, *Terrorism, Human Rights*, 2.
  10. Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, 28.
  11. Pojman, *Terrorism, Human Rights*, 2.
  12. The “War on Evil” is a phrase devised by Stephen Chan that combines the “War on Terror” with the “Axis of Evil.” Stephen Chan, *Out of Evil*, viii.
  13. Pojman, *Terrorism, Human Rights*, 2.
  14. Cicovacki, ed., *Destined for Evil?*; Arne Johan Vetlesen, *Evil and Human Agency: Understanding Collective Evildoing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Fred Emil Katz, *Confronting Evil: Two Journeys* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2004); Morton, *On Evil*.
  15. Singer, *The President of Good and Evil*; Scott Kline, “The Culture War Gone Global: ‘Family Values’ and the Shape of U.S. Foreign Policy,” *International Relations* 18, no. 4 (December 2004): 453–66; Catherine Lu, editor’s introduction to *International Relations* 18, no. 4 (2004): 403–4; Bernstein, *The Abuse of Evil*; Michael Ignatieff, *The Lesser Evil: Political Ethics in an Age of Terror* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004); Graham Maddox, “The ‘crusade against evil’: Bush’s Fundamentalism,” *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 49, no. 3 (2003): 398–411.
  16. Bernstein, *Radical Evil*; Klusmeyer and Suhrke, “Comprehending ‘evil’”; Nieman, *Evil and Modern Thought*; Lara, ed., *Rethinking Evil*; Forsyth, “The Origin of Evil: Classical or Judeo-Christian?”; Geddes, ed., *Evil After Postmodernism*; Ophir, *The Order of Evils*; Morton, *On Evil*.
  17. Morton, *On Evil*, 87.
  18. Although other world leaders, most notably, Tony Blair, have also used the term evil in contemporary rhetoric, George Bush remains the most prominent proponent of the term and is thus the central focus of this chapter.
  19. Bush, quoted in Singer, *The President of Good and Evil*, 4.
  20. Howard Fineman, “Bush and God,” *Newsweek*, March 10, 2003.
  21. David Frum, *The Right Man: An Inside Account of the Bush White House* (New York: Random House, 2003), 4.
  22. For a critique of this award, see *Christian Century* 119, no. 2 (January 16, 2002): 14–15.
  23. Fineman, “Bush and God.”
  24. *Ibid.*

25. Greg Thielmann, quoted in Singer, *The President of Good and Evil*, 100.
26. Kevin Phillips, *American Theocracy: The Peril and Politics of Radical Religion, Oil, and Borrowed Money in the 21st Century* (New York: Penguin, 2006), 192.
27. "How God Speaks in Religious Code," *Boston Globe*, September 12, 2004, quoted in Phillips, 207.
28. Phillips, *American Theocracy*, 192.
29. Stephen Mansfield, quoted in Esther Kaplan, *With God on Their Side: How Christian Fundamentalists Trampled Science, Policy, and Democracy in George W. Bush's White House* (New York: The New Press, 2004), 10; Stephen Mansfield, *The Faith of George W. Bush* (New York: Penguin, 2003), 109.
30. Bush, quoted in Phillips, 208.
31. Quoted in Maddox, "The 'Crusade' Against Evil"; see Tony Carnes, "Bush's Defining Moment: The President, Facing a Grief-stricken Nation Under Attack, Finds His Voice and His Mission," *Christianity Today* 45, no. 14 (November 12, 2001): 38–43.
32. Ivo Daalder and James M. Lindsay, *America Unbound: The Bush Revolution in Foreign Policy* (Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, 2003), 87.
33. Bush, quoted in Daalder and Lindsay, *America Unbound*, 87.
34. Singer, *The President of Good and Evil*, 2.
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### Conclusion

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