## **Books**

- 1. The Revolution of the Saints: A Study in the Origins of Radical Politics. Harvard University Press, 1965. (Translations: French, Italian, Spanish.)
- 2. *Obligations: Essays on Disobedience, War and Citizenship.* Harvard University Press, 1970. (Translations: Spanish, Portuguese, Japanese.)
- 3. *Political Action*. Quadrangle Books, 1971.
- 4. *Regicide and Revolution*. Cambridge University Press, 1974, new ed. with introduction by author, Columbia University Press, 1992. (Translation: French.)
- 5. *Just and Unjust Wars*. Basic Books, 1977, second edition, 1992, third edition, 2000, fourth edition, 2006. (Translations: Hebrew, Spanish, Italian, German, French, Portuguese, Dutch, Greek, Japanese, Polish, Serbian, Chinese.)
- 6. Radical Principles. Basic Books, 1977.
- 7. *Spheres of Justice*. Basic Books, 1983. (Translations: Italian--second edition with new preface, 2008; German--second edition with new preface, 2006; Swedish, French, Spanish, Japanese, Korean, Chinese, Portuguese, Polish, Farsi.)
- 8. *Exodus and Revolution*. Basic Books, 1985. (Translations: French, German, Italian, Japanese, Hebrew, Spanish.)
- 9. *Interpretation and Social Criticism*. Harvard University Press, 1987. (Translations: French, German, Italian, Japanese, Spanish, Chinese, Persian.)
- 10. *The Company of Critics*. Basic Books, 1988, second edition, 2002. (Translations: Italian, German, French, Spanish, Lithuanian, Russian.)
- 11. What It Means to be an American. Marsilio, 1992, in Italian and English. (Translation: Japanese.)
- 12. *Civil Society and American Democracy*. Rotbuch Verlag, 1992, selected essays--in German.
- 13. *Thick and Thin: Moral Argument at Home and Abroad*. Notre Dame Press, 1994. (Translations: Italian, German, Spanish, Slovak, Greek, French, Japanese, Persian.)
- 14. *Pluralism, Justice, and Equality*, with David Miller. Oxford University Press, 1995. (Translation: Spanish.)
- 15. Toward a Global Civil Society, editor. Berghahn Books, 1995. (Translation: Japanese.)

- 16. *On Toleration*. Yale University Press, 1997. English edition in India by Frank Bros. & Co. (Publishers) Ltd. (Translations in French, German, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, Swedish, Estonian, Greek, Bulgarian, Hebrew, Russian, Polish, Chinese, Japanese, Romanian, Slovak, Ukrainian, Persian; forthcoming in Lithuanian, Turkish.)
- 17. Arguments from the Left. Atlas, 1997, selected essays--in Swedish.
- 18. *Pluralism and Democracy*. Éditions Esprit, 1997, selected essays--in French.
- 19. *Reason, Politics, and Passion*. Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1999. The Horkheimer Lectures, in German. (Translations: also published in Spanish, French, Italian, and Korean.)
- 20. *The Jewish Political Tradition, Vol. I Authority*, co-edited, with Menachem Lorberbaum, Noam Zohar, and Yair Lorberbaum. Yale University Press, 2000. (Translations: also published in Chinese.)
- 21. Exilic Politics in the Hebrew Bible. Mohr Siebeck, 2001, in German.
- 22. War, Politics, and Morality. Ediciones Paidos, 2001, selected essays--in Spanish.
- 23. *The Thread of Politics: Democracy, Social Criticism, and World Government*. Edizioni Diabasis, 2002, selected essays--in Italian.
- 24. *Erklärte Kriege Kriegserklärungen*. Europäische Verlagsanstalt, 2003, selected essaysin German.
- 25. *The Jewish Political Tradition, Vol. II Membership*, co-edited, with Menachem Lorberbaum, Noam Zohar, and Yair Lorberbaum. Yale University Press, 2003. (Translations: also published in Chinese.)
- 26. Arguing About War. Yale University Press, 2004. Selected essays and articles. (Translations in Spanish, French, Italian, Polish, Japanese.)
- 27. *Politics and Passion: Toward a More Egalitarian Liberalism.* Yale University Press, 2005. (Expanded version of #19.) (Translations: Polish, Portuguese, Albanian, and Japanese.)
- 28. *Thinking Politically: Essays in Political Theory*. Yale University Press, 2007. (Translations: Italian, Japanese.)
- 29. *War and Death* published in Dutch as *Oorlog en Dood* (Soeterbeeck Programma, Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen, 2007)
- 30. *Justice Without Boundaries* published in Dutch as *Grenzeloze Recht-Vaardigheid* (Uitgeverij Boom, Stichting Internationale Spinozaprijs, 2008.)

- 31. *Nation and Universe* translated in Hebrew, Shalem Press, 2009, from The Tanner Lectures on Human Values XI, 1990, delivered at Brasenose College, Oxford University, May 1 & 8, 1989, originally published by the University of Utah Press.
- 31. *Getting Out: Historical Perspectives on Leaving Iraq*, edited by Michael Walzer and Nicolaus Mills. University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009.
- 32. La Soif du Gain, Éditions de L'Herne, 2010 (translations of A Note on Greed, and The Good Society? in Dissent, September 29, 2008, and Exclusion, Injustice and the Democratic State in Thinking Politically (Yale University Press).
- 33. *In God's Shadow: Politics in the Hebrew Bible.* Yale University Press.

# Articles, Essays, and Book Reviews

# 1956-60

- 1. "The Travail of the U.S. Communists." *Dissent* (Fall, 1956): 406–10.
- 2. "Hungary and the Failure of the Left." *Dissent* (Spring, 1957): 157–62.
- 3. "John Wain: The Hero in Limbo." Perspective 10 (Summer–Autumn, 1958): 137–45.
- 4. "Politics of the Angry Young Men." *Dissent* (Spring, 1958): 148–54.
- 5. "When the Hundred Flowers Withered." *Dissent* (Fall, 1958): 360–74.
- 6. "Education for a Democratic Culture: I." *Dissent* (Spring, 1959): 107–21.
- 7. "The American School: II." *Dissent* (Summer 1959): 223–36. (Second Part of #6.)
- 8. Exchange with H. Brand. "Classless Education in Class Society?" *Dissent* 7 (Winter, 1960): 86–89.
- 9. "A Cup of Coffee and a Seat." *Dissent* (Spring, 1960): 111–20.
- 10. "The Idea of Resistance." In "Politics of Non-Violent Resistance: A Discussion." *Dissent* (Fall, 1960): 369–73.
- 11. "In Place of a Hero." Dissent (Spring, 1960): 156–62.
- 12. "The Politics of the New Negro." *Dissent* (Summer, 1960): 235–43. **1961**
- 13. Pamphlet. "Cuba: The Invasion and the Consequences." *Dissent* (June, 1961).

- 14. Exchange with Joyce Kolko. "Cuba and Radicalism." *Dissent* (Fall, 1961): 517–19.
- 15. "After the Election." *Dissent* (Winter, 1961): 3–5.
- 16. Exchange with Tom Kahn. "The Idea of Revolution." *Dissent* (Spring, 1961): 180–84.1962
- 17. "The Mood and the Style." *Dissent* (Winter, 1962): 29–33.
- 18. "Students in Washington: A New Peace Movement." *Dissent* (Spring, 1962): 179–82.
- 19. "The Young Radicals: A Symposium." *Dissent* (Spring, 1962): 129–31.

- 20. "In Defense of Spying." Dissent (Autumn 1963): 398–99.
- 21. With Bernard Rosenberg. "King and Reuther for '64!" *Dissent* (Fall, 1963): 300, 390-91.
- 22. Puritanism as a Revolutionary Ideology." *History and Theory* 3 (1963): 59–90.
- 23. "Revolutionary Ideology: The Case of the Marian Exiles." *The American Political Science Review* 57 (1963): 643–54.

# 1964

- 24. "The Future of Goldwaterism." Views (Autumn, 1964): 13–18.
- 25. "The Only Revolution: Notes on the Theory of Modernization." *Dissent* (Fall, 1964): 432–40.
- 26. "Paul Goodman's Community of Scholars." With response by Paul Goodman. *Dissent* (Winter, 1964): 21–28.

- 27. With John Schrecker. "American Intervention and the Cold War." *Dissent* (Fall, 1965): 431–46.
- 28. With Michael Rustin. "Labor in Britain: Victory and Beyond." *Dissent* (Winter, 1965): 21–31.
- 29. "Report from America." Views (Summer, 1965): 12–13.

- 30. "Democracy and the Conscript." *Dissent* (January–February, 1966): 16–22.
- 31. Exchange (co-authored with John Schrecker) with Henry Pachter. "Ideology and Power in Foreign Affairs: Comments on John Schrecker and Michael Walzer, 'American Intervention and the Cold War' in *Dissent*, Autumn, 1965." *Dissent* (March–April, 1966): 198–207.
- 32. "On the Nature of Freedom." *Dissent* (November–December, 1966): 725–28.
- 33. "Options for Resistance Today." In symposium, "The Draft: Reflections and Opinions." *Dissent* (May–June, 1966): 318–19.
- 34. "Puritanism as a Revolutionary Ideology." In *Political Theory and Ideology*, edited by Judith N. Shklar, 49–66. New York: MacMillan, 1966. (Reprint of #22.)

  1967
- 35. Exchange with Lewis Coser. "Anti-Communism and the CIA." *Dissent* (May–June, 1967): 274–80.
- 36. "The Condition of Greece: Twenty Years After the Truman Doctrine." *Dissent* (July–August, 1967): 421–31.
- 37. "The Exodus and Revolution: An Exercise in Comparative History." *Mosaic* 8 (1967): 6–21.
- 38. "Moral Judgement in Time of War." *Dissent* (May–June, 1967): 284–92.
- 39. "The Obligation to Disobey." *Ethics* 77 (1967): 163–75.
- 40. "The Obligation to Disobey." In *Political Theory and Social Change*, edited by David Spitz, 185–202. New York: Atherton Press, 1967. (Reprint of above.)
- 41. "On the Role of Symbolism in Political Thought." *Political Science Quarterly* 82 (1967): 191–204.

- 42. "Civil Disobedience and 'Resistance." *Dissent* (January–February, 1968): 13–15.
- 43. "The New Left." In The University and the New Intellectual Environment: The Frank Gerstein Lectures, York University 1967–8, 29–48. Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1968.
- 44. "Politics in the Welfare State." *Dissent* (January–February, 1968): 26–40.

- 45. "Civil Disobedience and Corporate Authority." In *Power and Community: Dissenting Essays in Political Science*, edited by Philip Green and Sanford Levinson, 223–46. New York: Random House, 1969.
- 46. "Corporate Authority and Civil Disobedience." *Dissent* (September–October, 1969): 395–406. (Reprint of #45.)
- 47. "Prisoners of War: Does the Fight Continue After the Battle?" *The American Political Science Review* 63 (1969): 777-786.

## 1970

- 48. "A Journey to Israel." *Dissent* (November–December, 1970): 497–503.
- 49. "The Revolutionary Uses of Repression." In *Essays in Theory and History: An Approach to the Social Sciences*, edited by Melvin Richter, 122–36. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970.

# 1971

- 50. "Citizens' Politics': How to Do It." Dissent (June, 1971): 252–57.
- 51. "Violence: The Police, the Militants, and the Rest of Us." *Dissent* (April, 1971): 119–27.
- 52. "World War II: Why Was This War Different?" *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 1 (1971): 3–21.

# 1972

53. "Notes for Whoever's Left." Dissent (Spring, 1972): 309–14.

- 54. "In Defense of Equality." *Dissent* (Fall, 1973): 399–408.
- 55. "The Peace Movement: What Was Won by Protest?" *The New Republic* 168 (February 10, 1973): 24–26.
- 56. "Political Action: The Problem of Dirty Hands." *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 2 (Winter, 1973): 160–80.
- 57. "Regicide and Revolution." *Social Research* 40 (1973): 617–42.

- 58. "Civility and Civic Virtue in Contemporary America." *Social Research* 41 (1974): 593–611.
- 59. "Political Action: The Problem of Dirty Hands." In *War and Moral Responsibility*, edited by Marshall Cohen, Thomas Nagel, and Thomas Scanlon, 62–82. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974. (Reprint of #56.)
- 60. "Rebels Without a Cause." Review of *Religion and Revolution*, by Guenter Lewy. *The New York Review of Books* 21 (October 17, 1974): 33–34
- 61. "World War II: Why Was This War Different?" In *War and Moral Responsibility*, edited by Marshall Cohen, Thomas Nagel, and Thomas Scanlon, 85–103. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974. (Reprint of #52.)

# 1975

- 62. "Consenting to One's Own Death: The Case of Brutus." In *Beneficent Euthanasia*, edited by Marvin Kohl, 100–105. Buffalo, N.Y.: Prometheus Books, 1975.
- 63. "The New Terrorists." *The New Republic* 172 (August 30, 1975).
- 64. "A Note on Commitments." *The New Republic* 172 (April 19, 1975): 10–11.
- 65. Exchange with J. Bowyer Bell and Roger Morris. "Terrorism: A Debate." *The New Republic* 173 (December 27, 1975): 12–15.

# 1976

- 66. Unsigned editorial. "Arms to All Men." The New Republic 174 (March 20, 1976): 5–6.
- 67. "Israeli Arabs: The Rabin Government's Dilemma." *The New Republic* 174 (April 17, 1976): 11–13.
- 68. "Israeli Policy and the West Bank." Dissent (Summer, 1976): 234–36.
- 69. "The Memory of Justice: Marcel Ophuls and the Nuremberg Trials." *The New Republic* 175 (October 9, 1976): 19–23.
- 70. "Thoughts on Democratic Schools." *Dissent* (Winter, 1976): 57–64.

# 1977

71. Unsigned editorial. "Disadvantaged Groups, Individual Rights." *The New Republic* 177 (October 15, 1977): 5–9.

- 72. "The Election: Lessons and Rewards?" *Dissent* (Winter, 1977): 5–6.
- 73. Unsigned editorial. "Hope in the Middle East." *The New Republic* 177 (December 3, 1977): 5–6.
- 74. Unsigned editorial. "How to Welcome President Sadat." *The New Republic* 176 (April 9, 1977): 5–6, 8.
- 75. Review of *Taking Rights Seriously*, by Ronald Dworkin. *The New Republic* 176 (June 25, 1977): 28–31.
- 76. "War Crimes: Defining the Moral Culpability of Leaders and Citizens." *The New Republic* 177 (November 5, 1977): 17–23.

- 77. Review of *America in Vietnam*, by Guenter Lewy. *The New Republic* 179 (November 11, 1978): 31–34.
- 78. Unsigned editorial. "Blessed Be the Peacemakers." *The New Republic* 179 (September 30, 1978): 1, 5–6.
- 79. Symposium. "Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy." *Commentary* 65 (April, 1978): 70-71.
- 80. "Israel in Lebanon: Just and Unjust Responses to Terrorism." *The New Republic* 178 (April 8, 1978): 17–18.
- 81. "Must Democracy Be Capitalist?" Review of *Politics and Markets: The World's Political-Economic Systems*, by Charles E. Lindblom. *The New York Review of Books* 25 (July 20, 1978): 40–42.
- 82. Unsigned editorial. "Settlements, Planes, Peace." *The New Republic* 178 (February 25, 1978): 8, 10, 12.
- 83. "Teaching Morality: Ethics Makes a Comeback." *The New Republic* 178 (June 10, 1978): 12–14.
- 84. Review of *Terrorism*, by Walter Laqueur, and *The Terrorizers*, by Donald Hamilton. *The New Republic* 178 (January 14, 1978): 30–31.
- 85. "Town Meetings and Workers' Control: A Story for Socialists." *Dissent* (Summer, 1978): 325–33.
- 86. Symposium. "Vietnam and Cambodia." Dissent (Fall, 1978): 390–91

87. Exchange with Robert L. Heilbroner. "What is Socialism?" *Dissent* (Summer, 1978): 341–60.

## 1979

- 88. Unsigned editorial. "The Arab Card." The New Republic 180 (January 6, 1979): 6, 8.
- 89. Unsigned editorial. "Arafat's Unexpected Ally." *The New Republic* 180 (June 23, 1979): 8–10.
- 90. Unsigned editorial. "Blacks and Jews." *The New Republic* 181 (September 1 and 8, 1979): 5–6.
- 91. "The Islam Explosion: Religion is Reemerging as a Political Force Throughout the Third World." *The New Republic* 181 (December 8, 1979): 18–21.
- 92. "The Moral Problem of Refugees: The Boat People Are an Easy Case. How Will We Handle a Tough One?" *The New Republic* 180 (February 10, 1979): 15–17.
- 93. "Nervous Liberals." Review of *The Neoconservatives: The Men Who Are Changing America's Politics*, by Peter Steinfels. *The New York Review of Books* 26 (October 11, 1979): 5–9.
- 94. Unsigned editorial. "The Only Game in Town." *The New Republic* 180 (March 17, 1979): 7–8.
- 95. "The Pastoral Retreat of the New Left." *Dissent* (Fall, 1979): 406–11.
- 96. Review of *Sideshow: Kissinger, Nixon and the Destruction of Cambodia*, by William Shawcross. *The New Republic* 180 (May 26, 1979): 30, 32–33.
- 97. Exchange (co-authored with Stanley Hoffman) with Edward Luttwak. "An Exchange on 'Sideshow." *The New Republic* 181 (November 3, 1979): 38–40. (See #96.)
- 98. "Socialism and Self-Restraint: The Moral Equivalent of War Requires the Moral Equivalent of Wartime Equality." *The New Republic* 181 (July 7 and 14, 1979): 16–19.
- 99. "A Theory of Revolution." *Marxist Perspectives* 52 (Spring, 1979): 30–44.
- 100. With Irving Howe. "Were We Wrong About Vietnam?: Reconsidering the Antiwar Movement." *The New Republic* 181 (August 18, 1979): 15–18.

# 1980

101. Unsigned editorial. "Chosen for Attention." *The New Republic* 183 (August 16, 1980): 6, 8–9.

- 102. Unsigned editorial. "French Terror." The New Republic 183 (October 18, 1980): 5-6.
- 103. Unsigned editorial. "Greensboro, 1980." *The New Republic* 182 (February 16, 1980): 10–11.
- 104. Symposium. "Liberalism & The Jews." Commentary 69 (January, 1980): 76-77.
- 105. "The Moral Standing of States: A Response to Four Critics." *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 9, 1980: 209–29.
- 106. "The New Masters." Review of *The Intellectuals on the Road to Class Power*, by George Konrád and Ivan Szelényi, and *The Future of Intellectuals and the Rise of the New Class*, by Alvin W. Gouldner. *The New York Review of Books* 27 (March 20, 1980): 37–39.
- 107. "Pluralism: A Political Perspective." In *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, edited by Stephan Thernstrom, Ann Orlov, and Oscar Handlin, 781-787. (Cambridge and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1980.
- 108. "Political Decision-Making and Political Education." In *Political Theory and Political Education*, edited by Melvin Richter, 159–76. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980.
- 109. "Revolution-Watching: The Iranian Captivity." *The New Republic* 182 (March 29, 1980): 14–16.
- 110. Review of *Social Justice in the Liberal State*, by Bruce A. Ackerman. *The New Republic* 183 (October 25, 1980): 39–41.

- 111. "The Challenge of Liberation." Review of *The Making of Modern Zionism: Intellectual Origins of the Jewish State*, by Shlomo Avineri. *The New Republic* 185 (October 21, 1981): 28–29.
- 112. "The Courts, The Elections, and the People." *Dissent* (Spring, 1981): 153–55.
- 113. "Democracy vs. Elections: Primaries Have Ruined Our Politics." *The New Republic* 184 (January 3 and 10, 1981): 17–19.
- 114. "The Distribution of Membership." In *Boundaries: National Autonomy and its Limits*, edited by Peter G. Brown and Henry Shue, 1-35. Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Littlefield, 1981.
- 115. Exchange with Paul Fussell. "An Exchange on Hiroshima: Michael Walzer and Paul Fussell on the Moral Calculus of the Bomb." *The New Republic* 185 (September 23, 1981): 13–14.

- 116. Unsigned editorial. "Israel's Election." *The New Republic* 184 (June 27, 1981): 7–8.
- 117. "Life with Father." Review of *Wealth and Poverty*, by George Gilder. *The New York Review of Books* 28 (April 2, 1981): 3–4.
- 118. "Philosophy and Democracy." *Political Theory* 9 (1981): 379–99.
- 119. "Response to Chaney and Lichtenberg." In *Boundaries: National Autonomy and its Limits*, edited by Peter G. Brown and Henry Shue, 101–5. Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Littlefield, 1981.
- 120. "From R. H. Tawney's Commonplace Book: Introduction." Dissent (Fall, 1981): 487.
- 121. "Timerman and His Enemies." Review of *Prisoner Without a Name, Cell Without a Number*, by Jacobo Timerman, translated by Toby Talbot. *The New York Review of Books* 28 (September 24, 1981): 10, 12, 14, 16, 18.
- 122. "Totalitarianism vs. Authoritarianism: The Theory of Tyranny, the Tyranny of Theory." *The New Republic* 185 (July 4 and 11, 1981): 21, 24–25.
- 123. "Totalitarianism vs. Authoritarianism: The Theory of Tyranny, the Tyranny of Theory." *Dissent* (Fall,1981): 400–403. (Reprint of #122.)
- 124. "Two Kinds of Military Responsibility." *Parameters* 11 (March 1981): 42–46.

- 125. "The Community: Wanted: Moral Engagement." *The New Republic* 186 (March 31, 1982): 11–12, 14.
- 126. "From Contract to Community." *Review of Liberalism and the Limits of Justice*, by Michael J. Sandel. *The New Republic* 187 (December 13, 1982): 35–37.
- 127. "Dirty Work Should Be Shared: In a Society of Equals, Garbage is Everyone's Business." *Harper's* 265 (December, 1982): 22–31.
- 128. "Peace or the PLO: A Dead End (and a Way Out)." *The New Republic* 187 (August 16 and 23, 1982): 13–15.
- 129. Exchange with Stanley Hoffman. "The PLO Problem." *The New Republic* 187 (September 6, 1982): 2, 39.
- 130. Political Alienation and Military Service." In *The Military Draft: Selected Readings on Conscription*, edited by Martin Anderson, 153–70. Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 1982.

- 131. "Response to Lackey." Ethics 92 (1982): 547–48.
- 132. "Socialism and the Gift Relationship." *Dissent* (Fall, 1982): 431-441.
- 133. Unsigned editorial. "Solidarity's Refusal." *The New Republic* 187 (October 4, 1982): 12.
- 134. "What Kind of Triumph?: The Battle of Lebanon: 1." *The New Republic* 187 (July 5, 1982): 11–12, 14.

- 135. "On Failed Totalitarianism." *Dissent* (Summer, 1983): 297–306.
- 136. "Local Struggle, Local Compromise." Review of *Ethnic Dilemmas 1964–1982*, by Nathan Glazer. *The New York Times Book Review* 88 (October 2, 1983): 7, 24–25.
- 137. "Notes from an Israel Journal: What the Students Taught the Teacher about Just and Unjust Wars." *The New Republic* 189 (September 5, 1983): 13–17.
- 138. "The Politics of Michel Foucault." Dissent (Fall, 1983): 481–90.
- 139. "The Pull of Public Life." Review of *Politics in the Ancient World*, by M. I. Finley. *The New Republic* 189 (December 12, 1983): 35–37.
- 140. Exchange with Ronald Dworkin. "Spheres of Justice': An Exchange." *The New York Review of Books* (July 21, 1983): 43-44.
- 141. "States and Minorities." In *Minorities: Community and Identity*, edited by C. Fried, 219–27. Berlin: Springer-Verlag, 1983.

- 142. "Commitment and Social Criticism: Camus's Algerian War." *Dissent* (Fall, 1984): 424–32.
- 143. "Deterrence and Democracy: In a Nuclear Age We Need Both 'Normal' and 'Abnormal' Politics." *The New Republic* 191 (July 2, 1984): 16–21.
- 144. "Dissent at Thirty." Dissent (Winter, 1984): 3-4.
- 145. "Liberalism and the Art of Separation." *Political Theory* 12 (1984): 315–30.
- 146. "The Politics of the Intellectual: Julien Benda's *La Trahison des Clercs* Reconsidered." In *Conflict and Consensus: A Festschrift in Honor of Lewis A. Coser*, edited by Walter W. Powell and Richard Robbins, 365–77. New York: Macmillan, 1984.

- 147. "The Popular Patron." Review of *The Democratic Muse: Visual Arts and the Public Interest*, by Edward C. Banfield. *The New Republic* 190 (April 9, 1984): 33–35.
- 148. "The Secret of Citizenship." Review of *Political Judgement*, by Ronald Beiner. *The New Republic* 191 (December 31, 1984): 34–36.

- 149. "Bitburg-Looking Back." Congress Monthly 52 (July-August, 1985): 2, 23.
- 150. Exchange with Joseph Frank and Lionel Abel. "Camus and the Algerian War." *Dissent* (Winter, 1985): 105–10.
- 151. "Hold the Justice: At McPrison and Burglar King, It's..." *The New Republic* 192 (April 8, 1985): 10–12.
- 152. "The Moral Standing of States: A Response to Four Critics." In *International Ethics*, edited by Charles R. Beitz, Marshall Cohen, Thomas Scanlon, and A. John Simmons, 217–37. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985. (Reprint of #105.)
- 153. Exchange with Milton Babbitt, William J. Bennett, Marshal Cohen, Ashton Hawkins, Philip Johnson, and Richard A. Wollheim. "Panel Discussion: The Arts, the Humanities, and Their Institutions." *Art and the Law* 9 (1985): 179–214.
- 154. "In Search of Solidarity." Review of *The Needs of Strangers*, by Michael Ignatieff. *The New Republic* 192 (May 13, 1985): 36–37.
- 155. With Irving Howe. "Were We Wrong About Vietnam?: Reconsidering the Antiwar Movement." *Dissent* (Fall, 1985): 402–5. (Reprint of #100.)
- 156. "What's Left of Marx?" Review of *Making Sense of Marx*, by Jon Elster. *The New York Review of Books* 32 (November 21, 1985): 43–46.

- 157. "Bleeding Nicaragua: Justice and the Contras." *The New Republic* 194 (April 28, 1986): 15–16.
- 158. "Cheap Moralizing." In symposium, "The Jeweler's Dilemma: How Would You Respond?" *The New Republic* 195 (November 10, 1986): 20.
- 159. "Follow that Network." The New Republic 194 (June 2, 1986): 8.
- 160. Introduction. *The Hedgehog and the Fox*, by Isaiah Berlin. New York: Simon & Schuster, Touchstone, 1986.
- 161. "Justice Here and Now." In *Justice and Equality Here and Now*, edited by Frank S.

- Lucash, 136–50. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986.
- 162. "The Long-Term Perspective." *Bulletin of the New York Academy of Medicine* 62 (January–February 1986): 8–14.
- 163. "Nuclear Deterrence and Democratic Politics." In *The Nuclear Dilemma and the Just War Tradition*, edited by William V. O'Brien and John Langan, S. J., 209–20. Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath and Company, Lexington Books, 1986. (Reprint of #143.)
- 164. "Pleasures and Costs of Urbanity." *Dissent* (Fall, 1986): 470–75.
- 165. "The Politics of Michel Foucault." In *Foucault: A Critical Reader*, edited by David Couzens Hoy, 51–68. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986. (Reprint of #138.)
- 166. "The Reform of the International System." In *Studies of War and Peace*, edited by Øyvind Østerud, 227–50, 276. Oslo: Norwegian University Press, 1986.
- 167. "Toward a Theory of Social Assignments." In *American Society: Public and Private Responsibilities*, edited by Winthrop Knowlton and Richard Zechhauser, 79–96. Cambridge, MA: Harper & Row, Publishers, Ballinger Publishing 1986.
- 168. "What's Terrorism–And What Isn't." Dissent (Summer, 1986): 274–75.

- 169. "The Imperfectionist." Review of *The Morality of Freedom*, by Joseph Raz. *The New Republic* 197 (December 7, 1987): 30–32.
- 170. "Israel's Great Victory: A War of Survival or Conquest?" *The New Republic* 196 (June 8, 1987): 22–25.
- 171. "Notes on Self-Criticism." Social Research 54 (1987): 33–43.

- 172. "The Ambiguous Legacy of Antonio Gramsci." *Dissent* (Fall, 1988): 444–56.
- 173. Published lecture. "Emergency Ethics." *The Joseph A. Reich, Sr. Distinguished Lecture on War, Morality, and the Military Profession*, no. 1 (November 21, 1988).
- 174. "The Green Line: After the Uprising, Israel's New Border." *The New Republic* 199 (September 5, 1988): 22–24.
- 175. Published lecture. "Interpretation and Social Criticism." In *The Tanner Lectures on Human Values*, edited by Sterling M. McMurrin, vol. 8, 1–80. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1988.

- 176. "Search for Zion." *Tikkun* 3 (May–June, 1988): 75–79, 127–28.
- 177. "Socializing the Welfare State." In *Democracy and the Welfare State*, edited by Amy Gutmann, 13–26. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988.
- 178. "Socializing the Welfare State: Democracy in the Distributive Sector." *Dissent* (Summer, 1988): 292–300. (Reprint of #177.)
- 179. "Terrorism: A Critique of Excuses." In *Problems of International Justice*, edited by Steven Luper-Foy, 237–47. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1988.
- 180. "This Almost Chosen People." Review of *God Land: Reflections on Religion and Nationalism* by Conor Cruise O'Brien. *The New York Times* (July 24, 1988).
- 181. "Why Not Jackson?" In symposium, "The Jackson Campaign." *Dissent* (Summer, 1988): 267–68.

- 182. "Citizenship." In *Political Innovation and Conceptual Chang*e, edited by Terence Ball, James Farr, and Russell L. Hanson, 211–19. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- 183. "The Critic in Exile: Breyten Breytenbach and South Africa." *Dissent* (Spring, 1989): 177–85.
- 184. "A Critique of Philosophical Conversation." *The Philosophical Forum* 21 (Fall–Winter, 1989–1990): 182–96.
- 185. "Flight from Philosophy." Review of *The Conquest of Politics: Liberal Philosophy in Democratic Times*, by Benjamin Barber. *The New York Review of Books* 36 (February 2, 1989): 42–44.
- 186. "The Sins of Salman: The Do's and Don't's of Blasphemy." *The New Republic* 200 (April 10, 1989): 13–15.
- 187. "Socialism Then and Now." *The New Republic* 201 (November 6, 1989): 75–78.
- 188. "Two Kinds of Military Responsibility." In *The Parameters of Military Ethics*, edited by Lloyd J. Matthews and Dale E. Brown, 67-72. McLean, Virginia: Pergamon-Brassey's International Defense Publishers, Inc., 1989. (Reprint of #124.)
- 189. "What Kind of State Is a Jewish State?" Tikkun 4 (July–August 1989): 34–37, 126–28.

1991

- 190. "The Communitarian Critique of Liberalism." *Political Theory* 18 (1990): 6–23.
- 191. "The Constitution and Social Change: A Comment." In The Constitutional Bases of Political and Social Change in the United States, edited by Shlomo Slonim, 353-356. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1990.
- 192. "The Minimalist." Review of *Innocence and Experience*, by Stuart Hampshire. *The New Republic* 202 (January 22, 1990): 39–41.
- 193. Review of *Moral Issues in Military Decision Making*, by Anthony E. Hartle. *Parameters* 20 (June, 1990): 110–12.
- 194. Published lecture. "Nation and Universe." In *The Tanner Lectures on Human Values*, edited by Grethe B. Peterson, vol. 11, 507–56. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1990.
- 195. A Note on Positive Freedom in Jewish Thought." S'Vara 1 (Winter, 1990): 7–11.
- 196. "Only Connect." Review of *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*, by E. J. Hobsbawm. *The New Republic* 203 (August 13, 1990): 32–34.
- 197. "What Does It Mean to Be an 'American'?" Social Research 57 (1990): 591–614.

# 198. "The Concept of Civil Society." In *Toward a Global Civil Society*, edited by Michael Walzer, 7-27. Providence, Rhode Island and Oxford, England: Berghahn Books, 1991. (Reprint of #205.)

- 199. "Constitutional Rights and the Shape of Civil Society." In "The Constitution of the People": Reflections on Citizens and Civil Society, edited by Robert E. Calvert, 113–26. Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1991.
- 200. "On Distributive Justice." Preface in *The 1990 American Education Finance Association Yearbook: Spheres of Justice in Education*, edited by Deborah A. Verstegen and James G. Ward, v-viii. New York: HarperCollins, HarperBusiness, 1991.
- 201. "Education." In *The 1990 American Education Finance Association Yearbook: Spheres of Justice in Education*, edited by Deborah A. Verstegen and James G. Ward, 239–68. New York: HarperCollins, HarperBusiness, 1991.
- 202. "Good Aristocrats/Bad Aristocrats: Thomas Hobbes and Early Modern Political Culture." In *In the Presence of the Past: Essays in Honor of Frank Manuel*, edited by Richard T. Bienvenu and Mordechai Feingold, 41–53. Dordrecht, The Netherlands:

- Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1991.
- 203. Exchange with Brian Morton. "The Gulf War–Once More." *Dissent* (Summer, 1991): 424–25.
- 204. Symposium. "The Gulf War–Taking Positions." Dissent (Spring, 1991): 153–54.
- 205. "The Idea of Civil Society: A Path to Social Reconstruction." *Dissent* (Spring 1991): 293–304.
- 206. "Perplexed: Moral Ambiguities in the Gulf Crisis." *The New Republic* 204 (January 28, 1991): 13–15.
- 207. Introduction. In *Toward a Global Civil Society*, edited by Michael Walzer, 1-4. Providence, Rhode Island and Oxford, England: Berghahn Books, 1991.
- 208. "Unquick Fix: The Peace Process Begins." *The New Republic* 205 (November 18, 1991): 13–14.
- 209. "What Is to Be Done?: A Symposium." *The New Republic* 204 (May 20, 1991): 31.

  1992
- 210. "The Civil Society Argument." In *Dimensions of Radical Democracy: Pluralism*, *Citizenship, Community*, edited by Chantal Mouffe, 89–107. London: Verso, 1992. (Reprint of #205.)
- 211. "The Idea of Holy War in Ancient Israel." *The Journal of Religious Ethics* 20 (1992): 215–28.
- 212. "Justice and Injustice in the Gulf War." In *But Was it Just?: Reflections on the Morality of the Persian Gulf War*, edited by David E. DeCosse, 1-17. New York: Doubleday, 1992. Walzer essay copyright 1992 by Basic Books, Inc., and is an adaptation of the Foreword to his 1992 edition of Basic Books' *Just and Unjust Wars*.
- 213. "The Legal Codes of Ancient Israel." *Yale Journal of Law and the Humanities* 4, 1992: 335–49.
- 214. "Moral Minimalism." In *From the Twilight of Probability: Ethics and Politics*, edited by William R. Shea and Antonio Spadafora, 3–14. Canton, MA: Watson Publishing International, Science History Publications, 1992.
- 215. "The New Tribalism: Notes on a Difficult Problem." Dissent (Spring, 1992): 164–71.
- 216. "Scenarios for Possible Lefts: Where Can We Go?" Dissent (Fall, 1992): 466–69.
- 217. Exchange with James B. Rule. "Tribalism and the State." Dissent (Fall, 1992): 519–24.

- 218. "The Turn: Israel's Change of Heart." *The New Republic* 207 (September 28, 1992): 12, 14–15.
- 219. "Two Kinds of Institute." The Cambridge Review 113 (June, 1992): 55–56.
- 220. "The View From Somewhere." Review of *Equality and Partiality*, by Thomas Nagel. *The New Republic* 206 (February 17, 1992): 30–32.

- 221. "Editor's Page." Dissent (Fall, 1993): 401.
- 222. "Exclusion, Injustice, and the Democratic State." Dissent (Winter, 1993): 55–64.
- 223. In Memoriam. "Irving Howe: 1920–1993." Dissent (Summer, 1993): 275–76.
- 224. "Möglichkeiten der Linken. Wohin soll der Weg gehen?" In *What's Left? Prognosen zur Linken*, 141–50. Berlin: Rotbuch Verlag, 1993.
- 225. "Between Nation and World: Welcome to Some New Ideologies." *The Economist*. Special issue, *150 Economist Years* (September 11, 1993): 51–54.
- 226. "Objectivity and Social Meaning." In *The Quality of Life*, edited by Martha C. Nussbaum and Amartya Sen, 165–77. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993.
- 227. "On the Road: The Shock of Recognition IV." *The New Republic* 209 (October 4, 1993): 22–23, 26.

- 228. "Editor's Page." *Dissent* (Spring, 1994): 163.
- 229. "Editor's Page." Dissent (Fall, 1994): 437.
- 230. "The First Locarno Conference." Dissent (Fall, 1994): 548–49.
- 231. "The Last Page." *Dissent* (Summer, 1994): 432.
- 232. "The Legal Codes of Ancient Israel." In *The Rule of Law: Nomos XXXVI*, edited by Ian Shapiro, 101–19. New York: New York University Press, 1994. (Reprint of #212.)
- 233. "Toward a New Realization of Jewishness." *Congress Monthly* 61 (June–August, 1994): 3–6.
- 234. "Notes on the New Tribalism." In *Political Restructuring in Europe: Ethical Perspectives*, edited by Chris Brown, 187–200. London: Routledge, 1994. (Reprint of #215.)

- 235. "The Road Not Taken." Review of *Liberal Socialism*, by Carlo Rosselli, edited by Nadia Urbinati, translated by William McCuaig. *The New Republic* 211 (August 22 and 29, 1994): 38–40.
- 236. "Shared Meanings in a Poly-Ethnic Democratic Setting: A Response." *Journal of Religious Ethics* 22.2 (1994): 401–5.
- 237. "The Solipsist as Hero." Review of *Representations of the Intellectual*, by Edward W. Said. *The New Republic* 211 (November 7, 1994): 38–40.

- 238. "Are there Limits to Liberalism?" Review of *Isaiah Berlin*, by John Gray. *The New York Review of Books* 42 (October 19, 1995): 28–31.
- 239. "The Civil Society Argument." In *Theorizing Citizenship*, edited by Ronald Beiner, 153–74. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995. (Reprint of #205.)
- 240. "The Communitarian Critique of Liberalism." In *New Communitarian Thinking: Persons, Virtues, Institutions, and Communities*, edited by Amitai Etzioni, 52–70. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1995. (Reprint of #190.)
- 241. "Editor's Page." *Dissent* (Spring, 1995): 147.
- 242. "Editor's Page." *Dissent* (Fall, 1995): 435.
- 243. "Education, Democratic Citizenship, and Multiculturalism." *Journal of Philosophy of Education* 29 (1995): 181–89.
- 244. Symposium. "Fifty Years After Hiroshima." Dissent (Summer 1995): 330–31.
- 245. "The Last Page." *Dissent* (Summer, 1995): 432.
- 246. "Locarno II." Dissent (Fall, 1995): 537.
- 247. "The New Tribalism: Notes on a Difficult Problem." In *The Nationalism Reader*, edited by Omar Dahbour and Micheline R. Ishay, 322–32. Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press, 1995. (Reprint of #215.)
- 248. "The Politics of Rescue." Dissent (Winter, 1995): 35-41.
- 249. "The Politics of Rescue." *Social Research* 62 (1995): 53–66. (Reprint of #248.)
- 250. "The Public Impact of the Christian-Jewish Dialogue." *New Theology Review* 8 (May 1995): 79–83.

- 251. "Pulp Fiction." Review of *The Moral Compass: Stories for a Life's Journey*, edited with commentary by William J. Bennett. *The New Republic* 213 (November 27, 1995): 36–37.
- 252. "Reasons to Mourn: What Rabin's Assassin Was and, More Disturbingly, Was Not." *The New Yorker* 71 (November 20, 1995): 7–8.
- 253. "What Does It Mean to Be an 'American'?" In What Does It Mean to Be an American?: The National Conversation Roundtables in Main Anthology of Readings. Portland, ME: Maine Humanities Council, 1995. (Reprint of #197).

- 254. In Memoriam. "Bernard Rosenberg: 1924–1996." Dissent (Fall, 1996): 139–40.
- 255. "In Defense of Equality." In *Princeton Readings in Political Thought*, edited by Mitchell Cohen and Nicole Fermon, 656-668. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996. (Reprint of #54).
- 256. In Memoriam. "A Dissenter's Dissenter." In "Emanuel Geltman: 1914–1995." *Dissent* (Winter, 1996): 125.
- 257. "Editor's Page." *Dissent* (Spring, 1996): 5.
- 258. "Editor's Page." *Dissent* (Fall, 1996): 5.
- 259. "Gulf Crisis." The New Republic 215 (August 5, 1996): 25.
- 260. "For Identity." The New Republic 215 (December 2, 1996): 39.
- 261. Exchange with Cornel West. "The Million Man March." *Dissent* (Winter, 1996): 97–99, 101.
- 262. "On Negative Politics." In *Liberalism Without Illusions*, edited by Bernard Yack, 17–24. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.
- 263. "Opportunism Knocks." The New Republic 215 (September 16 and 23, 1996): 27.
- 264. "Politik und Religion in der jüdischen Tradition." In *Das Europa der Religionen*, edited by Otto Kallscheuer, 121-140. Translation by Andrea Marenzeller. Frankfurt: S. Fischer Verlag GmbH, 1996.
- 265. "Vote Early." *The New Republic* 215 (October 28, 1996): 29.
- 266. "What's Going On?: Notes on the Right Turn." Dissent (Winter, 1996): 5–11.

- 267. "Blacks and Jews: A Personal Reflection." In *Struggles in the Promised Land: Toward a History of Black-Jewish Relations in the United States*, edited by Jack Salzman and Cornel West, 401–9. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- 268. Symposium. "Campaign Financing: Four Views." Dissent (Summer, 1997): 5–6.
- 269. "The Disenfranchised." The New Republic 216 (January 6 and 13, 1997): 23.
- 270. "Editor's Page." *Dissent* (Spring, 1997): 5.
- 271. "Editor's Page." *Dissent* (Fall, 1997): 3
- 272. "Feed the Face." *The New Republic* 216 (June 9, 1997): 29.
- 273. "Judgment Days." The New Republic 217 (December 15, 1997): 13.
- 274. "The Fraud Fraud." The New Republic 217 (November 3, 1997): 27.
- 275. "Left Alone." The New Republic 216 (March 24, 1997): 27.
- 276. "Outside Agitation." *The New Republic* 217 (July 28, 1997): 25.
- 277. "Piracy Isn't What It Used to Be." The New Republic 216 (April 28, 1997): 29.
- 278. "The Politics of Difference: Statehood and Toleration in a Multicultural World." In *The Morality of Nationalism*, edited by Robert McKim and Jeff McMahan, 245-257. Oxford University Press, 1997.
- 279. "Power Drill." *The New Republic* 216 (February 17, 1997): 25.
- 280. "Response to Kukathas." In *Ethnicity and Group Rights: Nomos XXXIX*, edited by Ian Shapiro and Will Kymlicka, 105–11. New York: New York University Press, 1997.
- 281. "The Underworked American." The New Republic 217 (September 22, 1997): 29.
- 282. Special issue. "Zionism at 100: A Symposium." *The New Republic* 217 (September 8 and 15, 1997): 22.

- 283. "The Big Shrug." *The New Republic* 218 (February 2, 1998): 9-10.
- 284. "Crass Demos." *The New Republic* 218 (June 8, 1998): 11-12.

- 285. "Disunited." The New Republic 219 (July 27, 1998): 10-11.
- 286. "Editor's Page." *Dissent* (Spring, 1998): 1.
- 287. "Editor's Page." *Dissent* (Fall, 1998): 1.
- 288. "Getting Personal." The New Republic 218 (March 16, 1998): 11–12.
- 289. "Higher Ground." Review of *Everything for Sale: The Virtues and Limits of Markets*, by Robert Kuttner. *Dissent* (Spring, 1998): 97–99.
- 290. "Ich setze größere Hoffnungen auf Israel." In *Mein Israel: 21 erbetene Interventionen*, edited by Micha Brumlik, 118–21. Frankfurt: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1998.
- 291. "The Idea of Civil Society: A Path to Social Reconstruction." In *Community Works: The Revival of Civil Society in America*, edited by E. J. Dionne Jr., 123–43. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 1998. (Reprint of #205.)
- 292. "On Involuntary Association." In *Freedom of Association*, edited by Amy Gutmann, 64–74. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998.
- 293. "Lone Ranger." *The New Republic* 218 (April 27, 1998): 10–11.
- 294. "Michael Sandel's America." In *Debating Democracy's Discontent: Essays on American Politics, Law, and Public Philosophy*, edited by Anita L. Allen and Milton C. Regan, Jr., 175–82. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- 295. "Multiculturalism and the Politics of Interest." *In Insider/Outsider: American Jews and Multiculturalism*, edited by David Biale, Michael Galchinsky, and Susannah Heschel, 88–98. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998.
- 296. "News Unworthy." The New Republic (September 28, 1998): 10-11.
- 297. "Pluralism and Social Democracy." Dissent (Winter, 1998): 47–53.

- 298. "Deliberation, and What Else?" In *Deliberative Politics: Essays on Democracy and Disagreement*, edited by Stephen Macedo, 58–69. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- 299. Published lecture. "Drawing the Line: Religion and Politics." *Utah Law Review* 1999, no. 3: 619–38.
- 300. "Editor's Page." *Dissent* (Spring, 1999): 1.
- 301. "Editor's Page." Dissent (Fall, 1999): 1.

- 302. "Israel '99: The Three Coalitions." *Dissent* (Fall, 1999): 25–26.
- 303. "Kosovo." *Dissent* (Summer, 1999): 5-7.
- 304. "Rescuing Civil Society." *Dissent* 46 (Winter, 1999): 62–67.
- 305. "Zur Erfahrung von Universalität." In *Ein Ethos für eine Welt?: Globalisierung als ethische Herausfordrung*, edited by Karl-Josef Kuschel, Alessandro Pinzani, and Martin Zillinger, 38–47. Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 1999.

- 306. "The Bridge at No Gun Ri: Responses." *Dissent* (Spring, 2000): 44–45.
- 307. "Choosing a President 2000." *Dissent* (Winter, 2000): 5–6.
- 308. "Editor's Page." *Dissent* (Spring, 2000): 1.
- 309. "Editor's Page." Dissent (Fall, 2000): 1.
- 310. "Governing the Globe: What is the Best We Can Do?" Dissent (Fall, 2000): 44-51.
- 311. "Mut, Mitleid und ein gutes Auge: Tugenden der Sozialkritik und der Nutzen von Gesellschaftstheorie." *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Philosophie* 48 (May, 2000): 709-718.
- 312. In Memoriam. "Simone Plastrik: 1919–1999." Dissent (Winter, 2000): 98.

- 313. "Double Effect." In *The Doctrine of Double Effect: Philosophers Debate a Controversial Moral Principle*, edited by P. A. Woodward, 261-269. University of Notre Dame Press, 2001.
- 314. "Editor's Page." Dissent (Spring, 2001): 1.
- 315. "Editor's Page." *Dissent* (Fall, 2001): 4.
- 316. "Emergency Ethics." In *The Leader's Imperative: Ethics, Integrity, and Responsibility*, edited by J. Carl Ficarrotta, 126–39. West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 2001. (Reprint of #173.)
- 317. "Excusing Terror: The Politics of Ideological Apology." *The American Prospect* 12 (October 22, 2001): 16-17.
- 318. "First, Define the Battlefield." *The New York Times*. (September 21, 2001): A35.
- 319. "History and National Liberation." The Journal of Israeli History: Politics, Society,

- Culture 20 (Summer–Autumn, 2001): 1-8.
- 320. "Liberalism, Nationalism, Reform." In *The Legacy of Isaiah Berlin*, edited by Ronald Dworkin, Mark Lilla, and Robert B. Silvers, 169-176. New York: New York Review Books, 2001.
- 321. "Nation-States and Immigrant Societies." In *Can Liberal Pluralism be Exported?: Western Political Theory and Ethnic Relations in Eastern Europe*, edited by Will Kymlicka & Magda Opalski, 150-153. Oxford University Press, 2001.
- 322. "Terror." Dissent (Fall, 2001): 1.
- 323. Published lecture. "Universalism and Jewish Values." *The Twentieth Morgenthau Memorial Lecture on Ethics & Foreign Policy* (May 15, 2001.) New York: Carnegie Council on Ethics and Foreign Policy, 2001.

- 324. "The Argument about Humanitarian Intervention." *Dissent* (Winter, 2002): 29–37.
- 325. "Can There Be a Decent Left?" Dissent (Spring, 2002): 19–23.
- 326. "Du terrorisme." *Dossiers de l'audiovisuel.* (July/August 2002): 56-58. (Excerpt from the French edition of *Just and Unjust Wars, Guerres justes et injustes*. Paris: Belin, 1999.)
- 327. "Editor's Page." *Dissent* (Spring, 2002): 1.
- 328. "Editor's Page." *Dissent* (Fall, 2002): 1.
- 329. "Equality and Civil Society." In *Alternative Conceptions of Civil Society*, edited by Simone Chambers and Will Kymlicka, 34–49. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002.
- 330. "Excuser la terreur: une politique de justification idéologique." *Dossiers de l'audiovisuel.* (July–August, 2002): 54-56. Translation by Béatrice Bocard. (Translated reprint of #3176.)
- 331. "Five Questions about Terrorism." (Followed by exchange with Leo Casey, Michael Kazin, James B. Rule, and Ann Snitow.) *Dissent* (Winter, 2002): 5–16.
- 332. "The Four Wars of Israel/Palestine." Dissent (Fall, 2002): 26-33.
- 333. "The 9/11 License." *Renewal* 10, no. 3 (2002): 28-31.
- 334. "9/11 Lizenz zur Vergeltung." *Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung* NR. 38 (September 22, 2002): 13. (Revision of #333).

- 335. "No Strikes." *The New Republic* 227 (September 30, 2002): 19–22.
- 336. "Passion and Politics." *Philosophy & Social Criticism* 28 (November, 2002): 617-633.
- 337. Published lecture. "Universalisme et valeurs juives." *Raisons Politiques' La pensee juive* (volume 1). Paris: Presses de Sciences Po, 2002. (Translation of #323.)
- 338. "The Triumph of Just War Theory (and the Dangers of Success)." *Social Research* 69 (2002): 925-944.

- 339. "A Better Vision: The Idea of Civil Society." In *The Civil Society Reader*, edited by Virginia A. Hodgkinson and Michael W. Foley, 306-321. Lebanon, NH: University Press of New England, 2003 (Reprint of #205.)
- 340. "Amerika en de rechtvaardige oorlog." *Project & niews* 15 (Autumn, 2003): 5-16. (Translation of #?)
- 341. "Difficult to Draw a Bead on Issue of Targeted Killings." *Los Angeles Times* (September 8, 2003): B11.
- 342. "Editor's Page." *Dissent* (Fall, 2003): 1.
- 343. "Eine moralische Erörterung anhand eines aktuellen Beispiels." *Die Welt* (March 29, 2003): 8. (First printing from *Dissent* website article, "So, Is This a Just War?", posted March 20, 2003.) Subsequently printed as "¿Es ésta una guerra justa?" *El País* (April 8, 2003): Opinión 21.
- 344. "El imperio posmoderno." *La Vanguardia* (September 14, 2003): 1. Translation by Verónica Canales Medina. (Translated reprint of #347.)
- 345. Published lecture. "Es muß einen Ausweg geben." *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*. (August 16, 2003): Die Gegenwart 9. German translation of lecture, "Judging War," delivered at the Heinrich Böll Foundation, Berlin, on July 2, 2003.
- 346. "Europe and the 9/11 License." In *Desperately Seeking Europe*, edited by Susan Stern and Elisabeth Seligmann, 29-36. London: Archetype Publishers, 2003. (Revision of #333 and #334.)
- 347. "Is There an American Empire?" Dissent (Fall, 2003): 27-31.
- 348. "La façon juste de dire non à la guerre." *Le Monde* (January 30, 2003): 1, 15. Syndicated in *Corrière Della Serra* (January 31, 2003), *La Vanguardia* (January 31, 2003), *Yomiuri Shimbun* (January 31, 2003), *Frankfurter Rundschau* (February 1, 2003), etc.
- 349. "The Last Page." *Dissent* (Summer, 2003): 112.

- 350. "Philosophy and Democracy." In *Philosophy and Democracy: An Anthology*, edited by Thomas Christiano, 258-274. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003 by Trustees of Tufts University. (Reprint of #118.)
- 351. "Πέρα από την ανθρωπιστιχή επέμζαση: Τα διχαιώματα του ανθρώπου στην παγχόσμια χοινωνία." *Isopoliteia: A Review for Legal, Political, and Moral Philosophy* (April-October, 2003): 119-138. (Translated reprint of #358.)
- 352. "The Present of the Past." Review of *The Ethics of Memory*, by Avishai Margalit. *The New Republic* (January 20, 2003): 36-37.
- 353. "The Right Way." *The New York Review of Books* L4 (March 13, 2003): 4. Syndicated in *Dagens Nyheter* (March 13, 2003). (Translated reprint of #348).
- 354. "What a Little War in Iraq Could Do." *The New York Times* (March 7, 2003): A27.
- 355. "What Rights for Illiberal Communities?" In *Forms of Justice: Critical Perspectives on David Miller's Political Philosophy*, edited by Daniel A. Bell and Avner de-Shalit, 123-134. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2003.

- 356. "A Liberal Perspective on Deterrence and Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction." In *Ethics and Weapons of Mass Destruction: Religious and Secular Perspectives*, edited by Sohail H. Hashmi and Steven P. Lee, 163-167. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- 357. "As quarto guerras entre Israel e palestinos." *Folha de S. Paulo* (March 28, 2004): A 24. (Translated reprint of #332.)
- 358. "Au-delà de l'intervention humanitaire: les droits de l'homme dans la société globale." *Esprit* (August-September, 2004): 66-79. Translation by Delphine Veaudor. (French translation of speech, "Beyond Humanitarian Intervention.")
- 359. "Can There be a Moral Foreign Policy?" In *Liberty and Power: A Dialogue on Religion & U.S. Foreign Policy in an Unjust World*, series editors E.J. Dionne, Jr., Jean Bethke Elshtain, Kayla Drogosz, 34-52. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2004.
- 360. "A Cup of Coffee and a Seat." In *50 Years of Dissent*, edited by Nicolaus Mills and Michael Walzer, 63-73. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004. Also in *The Jewish 1960s: An American Sourcebook*, edited by Michael E. Staub, 3-11. Lebanon, NH: University Press of New England, 2004. (Reprints of #9.)
- 361. Published lecture. "Eine Einschätzung des Krieges." Berlin: Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung, 2004. (German translation of lecture, "Judging War.")
- 362. "Las emergencias y las excusas al terrorismo." Claves (June, 2004): 10-20. (Translated

- reprintings of #173 and #179.)
- 363. "Entfesselte Macht: Wer fur die Folter in Irak verantwortlich ist." (First printing from *Dissent* website article, "The Abuse of Prisoners in Iraq.") *Frankfurter Rundschau* (May 15, 2004). Syndicated in *la Repubblica* (May 15, 2004), *Le Monde* (May 17, 2004), *El Pais* (May 18, 2004), *Yomiuri Shimbun*, *Expresso*, *Saudi Gazette*, *Kuwait Times*, *Daily Nation*, *Bangkok Post and Overseas Report*, *Lidove Noviny*, etc.
- 364. Published lecture. "Facciamo una lista deidirittiessenziali." *La Repubblica* (May 28, 2004). (Partial translation of previously unprinted speech, "Beyond Humanitarian Intervention.")
- 365. Published lecture. "Guerra Ancora Più Ingiuista." *L'Unità* (October 27, 2004): 1, 25. Excerpt from talk, "Just War, Iraq, and the American Election," delivered at Editori Laterza, Rome, October 26, 2004.
- 366. "I suoi dialoghi sul futuro della sinistra." *La Repubblica* (January 14, 2004). Epitaph for Norberto Bobbio. Translation by Chiara Rizzo.
- 367. "Political Action: The Problem of Dirty Hands." In *Torture: A Collection*, edited by Sanford Levinson, 61-75. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004. (Reprint of #56.)
- 368. "Les quatre guerres israélo-palestiniennes." *Esprit* (January, 2004): 18-31. Translation by Laurent Eisenman and Damien Fréville. (Translated reprint of #332.)
- 369. "Terrorismo y Guerra justa." Claves (November, 2004): 4-9.
- 370. "To War or Not to War." *The Forward* (August 13, 2004): 1. Partial version of Introduction, *Arguing About War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004): ix-xv.
- 371. "The Triumph of Just War Theory (and the Dangers of Success)." In *One Hundred Year Commemoration to the Life of Hans Morgenthau* (1904-2004), edited by G.O. Mazur, 11-26. New York: Semenenko Foundation, 2004. (Reprint of #338, with an afterword on Hans Morgenthau.)
- 372. Published lecture. "Una lista breve di casi da difendere a oltranza." *Reset* (July-August, 2004): 42-45. Translation by René Capovin. (Translated first full printing of lecture, "Beyond Humanitarian Intervention.")
- 373. "Was ist falsch am Terrorismus?" *Mittelweg 36* (December 2004–January 2005): 73-86. (Translated reprint of #369.)
- 374. "Zionism and Judaism." In *Judaism and Modernity: The Religious Philosophy of David Hartman*, edited by Jonathan W. Malino, 308-325. Hampshire, England and Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate Publishing, 2004.

- 375. "All God's Children Got Values." *Dissent* (Spring, 2005): 35-40.
- 376. "Argomenti per una separazione tollerante." *Reset* 92 (November-December, 2005). (Translated reprint of #386.)
- 377. "Editor's Page." *Dissent* (Spring, 2005): 1.
- 378. "Editor's Page." *Dissent* (Fall, 2005): 1.
- 379. "The Good Society." In *Marx and the Future of Socialism*, edited by Uri Zilbersheid, 260-267. Tel Aviv, Israel: Resling Publishing, 2005.
- 380. Published lecture. "The Healthiest of Separations: U.S. Tradition Good for Church, State." *The Philadelphia Inquirer* (June 5, 2005): C7. (Reprint of #386.)
- 381. Published Lecture. "Human Rights in Global Society." *International Politik Transatlantic Edition* (Spring, 2005): 4-13. (Printing of lecture, "Beyond Humanitarian Intervention.") "Mehr als humanitäre Intervention: Menschenrechte in der globalen Gesellschaft." *Internationale Politik* (February 2005): 8-20. (German translation of speech, "Beyond Humanitarian Intervention.")
- 382. "The Last Page." *Dissent* (Winter, 2005): 128.
- 383. "The Last Page." *Dissent* (Fall, 2005): 112.
- 384. Published lecture. "О(б)съждайки войната." Списание Критика и хуманизъм (*Critique & Humanism Journal*. Vol. 18, No. 2/2005 (January, 2005): 53-66. (Bulgarian translation of lecture, "Judging War.")
- 385. Published lecture. "Scientifically Literate Education is Crucial to our Country's Future." *The Times of Trenton* (Sunday, May 29, 2005): A13, A15. (Keynote address at the Annual National Conference for Community and Justice (NCCJ) Awards, Princeton, May 19, 2005.)
- 386. "A Setting of Settings." In *Civil Society: A Reader in History, Theory, and Global Politics*, edited by John A. Hall and Frank Trentmann, 209-212. Hampshire, England and New York, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005. (Reprint of #205.)
- 387. "The Triumph of Just War Theory." In *Redefining Sovereignty*, edited by Orrin C. Judd, 251-268. Hanover, New Hampshire: Smith and Kraus, Inc., 2005. (Reprint of #338.)

# 2006

388. "Editor's Page." *Dissent* (Spring, 2006): 1.

- 389. "Editor's Page. *Dissent* (Fall, 2006): 1.
- 390. "Excuser la terreur: Une politique de la justification idéologique." In *La terreur spectacle: Terrorisme et télévision*, edited by Daniel Dayan, 281-284. Brussels: De Boeck & Larcier s.a., Instituit national de l'audiovisuel, 2006. (Translation of #317.)
- 391. "Le socialisme aujourd'hui: expérimentation et inclusions." *Raison publique* (May, 2006): 9-12. (Translated by Pauline Thévéniaud.)
- 392. "Moral Education and Democratic Citizenship." In *To Restore American Democracy: Political Education and the Modern University*, edited by Robert E. Calvert, 217-230. Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2006.
- 393. "Ma la famiglia non è solo un valore religioso." *Reset* (January-February, 2006): 10-12. (Revised expanded translation of #386.)
- 394. "Morality and Politics in the Work of Michael Wyschogrod." *Modern Theology* 22, No. 4 (October, 2006): 687-692.
- 395. "Osservazioni di un liberale sul non intervento." *Reset* (May-June, 2006): 45-50. Translation by Marianna Matullo.
- 396. "Political Theology: Response to the Six." *Political Theology* Volume 7.1 (January, 2006): 91-99.
- 397. "Politics and Religion in the United States." *Religious Socialism: The Journal for People of Faith and Socialism* (Vol. 29, No. 4, 2005): 1, 3-4. (Revised English version of #386.)
- 398. "Regime Change and Just War." *Dissent* (Summer, 2006): 103-108. Reprint of Preface to the Fourth Edition, *Just and Unjust Wars: A Moral Argument with Historical Illustrations*. (New York: Basic Books, 2006): ix-xviii.
- 399. "Talk, Talk, Talk." The New Republic 235 (November 27 & December 4, 2006): 23.
- 400. Published lecture. "Terrorism and Just War." *Philosophia* 34, No. 1 (January, 2006): 3-12. (Revision of #402.)
- 401. Published lecture. "Terrorisme I Guerra Justa"/"Terrorism and Just War," 5-60. Barcelona: The Centre de Cultura Contemporània's "At War" series of lectures (June 3, 2004).
- 402. Published lecture. "Who is an American Jew?" *Occasional Papers on Jewish Civilization*, *Jewish Thought*, *and Philosophy* (February, 2006): 8-15. The Program for Jewish Civilization Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University (November 19, 2003).

403. Sphären der Gerechtigkeit: Ein Plädoyer für Pluralität und Gleichheit, German translation of *Spheres of Justice*, Campus Bibliothek, Frankfurt, 2006.

- 404. "Michael Walzer on the American Left." Dissent (Winter, 2007): 83-88.
- 405. "Killing Tyrants." *Dissent* (Spring, 2007): 7-8.
- 406. Editor's Page: Grim, But Hopeful." Dissent (Spring, 2007): 1.
- 407. "Response to Jerome Slater: The Lebanon War." Dissent (Winter, 2007): 109-110.
- 408. "Response" Journal of Military Ethics (Vol. 6, Issue 2, 2007, pgs. 168-171).
- 409. "Terrorisme en rechtvaardige oorlog." In *Burgers en barbaren: over oorlog tussen recht en macht.* (Boom, edited by Jansen, Nijman & Sap, Summer 2007, pgs. 231-245): Dutch version of "Terrorismo y Guerra justa." *Claves* (November, 2004): 4-9.
- 410. Reprint of "In Defense of Equality." In *The New York Intellectuals Reader* (Routledge, edited by Neil Jumonville, 2007, pgs. 355-369). Original in *Dissent* 20 (Fall, 1973): 399–408.
- 411. "Royauté et État dans la pensée juive." In *Le temps de l'État: Mélanges en l'honneur de Pierre Birnbaum* (Fayard, under the direction of Badie & Déloye, 2007, pgs. 52-66).
- 412. "Morality and Universality in Jewish Thought." In *The Globalization of Ethics: Religious and Secular Perspectives* (Cambridge University Press, edited by Sullivan & Kymlicka, 2007, pgs. 38-52).
- 413. "Gott macht kein Kreuz." In *Kulturaustausch*. (Issue III, 2007, pgs. 35-38).
- 414. *A Dream of Zion: American Jews Reflect on Why Israel Matters to Them*, (Jewish Lights Publishing, edited by Rabbi Jeffrey K. Salkin, 2007, pages 89-92).
- 415. "Zionism and Judaism: The Paradox of National Liberation," in *The Journal of Israeli History: Politics, Society, Culture*, Guest Editor Nir Kedar (Routledge, Vol. 26, No. 2, September 2007, pgs. 125-136).
- 416. "The Anomalies of Jewish Political Identity," in *Judaism and the Challenges of Modern Life*, edited by Moshe Halbertal and Donniel Hartman (Continuum, New York, 2007, pgs. 134-138).
- 417. "The Crime of Aggressive War," in *Washington University Global Studies Law Review*, (Vol. 6, No. 3, 2007, pgs. 635-643).

418. "On Fighting Terrorism Justly," in *International Relations* (Sage Journals Online, December 2007, Vol. 21, No. 4, pgs. 480-484).

## 2008

- 419. "The Moral Standing of States: A Response to Four Critic," first published in *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 9, 1980: 209-29. Reprinted in *Global Ethics: Seminal Essays* (Paragon House, edited by Thomas Pogge and Keith Horton, 2008, pages 51-71).
- 420. "Can We Choose Politically between Right and Left?" in *The Jewish Condition*: *Challenges and Responses 1938-2008*, edited by William B. Helmreich, Mark Rosenblum and David Schimel (Transaction Publishers, New Brunswick, NJ, 2008, pgs. 33-37).
- 421. "Of course it does." In *Does the free market corrode moral character?* The John Templeton Foundation, Autumn 2008, pgs. 20-23.
- 422. "On Promoting Democracy," in *Ethics & International Affairs*, (Vol. 22, No. 4, Winter 2008, pgs. 351-355).

# 2009

- 423. "El Argumento de la Proporcionalidad" in *Letras Libres*, (February 2009, No. 122, pgs. 54-55), Spanish translation of "On Proportionality."
- 424. "Israel: Civilians & Combatants" with Avishai Margalit in *The New York Review of Books*, (Vol. 56, No. 8, May14, 2009).
- 425. "Responsibility and Proportionality in State and Nonstate Wars" in *Parameters*, (Spring 2009, Vol. XXXIX, pgs. 40-52).
- 426. "Filosofi och demokrati" (Philosophy and Democracy) in *Fronesis*, (Nr. 29-30, 2009, pgs. 149-169).
- 427. "Prophecy and International Politics" in *Hebraic Political Studies* (Vol. 4, No. 4, Fall 2009, pgs. 319-328).

- 428. "Afterword" in *Poverty and Morality: Religious and Secular Perspectives*, edited by William A. Galston and Peter H. Hoffenberg (Cambridge University Press, New York, 2010, pgs. 285-293).
- 429. "The Anomalies of Jewish Identity" in *Iyyun, The Jerusalem Philosophical Quarterly*, edited by Pini Ifergan (S. H. Bergman Center for Philosophical Studies, the Faculty of Humanities, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2010, pgs. 24-38).

- 430. "The Democratic Peace Theory" in the *Jewish Review of Books* (Vol. 2, No. 1, Spring 2011, pg. 49).
- 431. "Justice globale et locale" in Études, Revue de Culture Contemporaine (Mai 2011).
- 432. "Achieving Global and Local Justice," in *Dissent* (Summer 2011).
- 433. "The Jewish Political Tradition," in *Identities. Journal of Jewish Culture and Identity*, (Vol. 1, 2011, pgs. 13-19.
- 434. "Which Socialism for the Future?" published in Italian as *Quale socialism per il future?* In *Il future de Norberto Bobbio*, Michelangelo Bovero, ed., (Editori Laterza, 2011).

- 435. "The Aftermath of War: Reflections on *Jus Post Bellum*," in *Ethics: Beyond War's End*, edited by Eric Patterson (Georgetown University Press, Washington D.C., 2012, pgs. 35-46).
- 436. "Left Internationalism" in *Dissent* (Vol. 59, No. 2, Spring 2012, pg. 1-1).
- 437. "The Ethics of Warfare in the Jewish Tradition," in *Philosophia* (Vol. 40, Issue 4, 2012, pgs. 633-641.