

just and unjust wars

just and unjust wars have shaped the course of history, impacting nations, societies, and the lives of countless individuals. Understanding the distinction between just and unjust wars is essential for policymakers, scholars, and citizens concerned with ethics, international law, and global security. This comprehensive article explores the key concepts, historical context, philosophical foundations, and real-world examples of just and unjust wars. We examine how the doctrine of just war has evolved, its criteria for legitimacy, and the consequences of unjust conflicts. Readers will also discover the relevance of these debates in modern warfare, the influence of international law, and the ongoing challenges in distinguishing moral from immoral uses of force. By the end, you will have a thorough understanding of the complexities and enduring significance of just and unjust wars.

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Defining Just and Unjust Wars

The distinction between just and unjust wars is central to discussions about the morality and legality of armed conflict. A just war is typically understood as a conflict that meets established ethical criteria, justifying the use of force under certain conditions. In contrast, an unjust war lacks legitimate grounds and is often condemned for causing unnecessary suffering or violating accepted norms.

The concept of just and unjust wars encompasses not only the reasons for going to war (*jus ad bellum*) but also the manner in which wars are conducted (*jus in bello*). This dual approach helps ensure that both the decision to engage in war and the conduct during war are subject to moral and legal scrutiny. Understanding these definitions is crucial for assessing historical and contemporary conflicts.

Historical Perspectives on Warfare

Ancient and Medieval Views

Throughout history, societies have grappled with the ethics of war. Ancient civilizations, such as the Greeks and Romans, developed codes of conduct for warfare, often based on honor, necessity, or religious beliefs. In the Middle Ages, Christian theologians like Augustine and Aquinas formalized the idea of just war, influencing both religious and secular thought.

Evolution in the Modern Era

The emergence of nation-states, new technologies, and ideologies in the modern era transformed attitudes toward war. The horrors of total war in the twentieth century, including the World Wars, led to renewed debates about the legitimacy of armed conflict and the need for clear ethical guidelines.

The Philosophical Foundations of Just War Theory

Key Thinkers and Theories

Just war theory has been shaped by influential philosophers and theologians. St. Augustine argued that wars could be morally justified under certain conditions, emphasizing the importance of right intention. Thomas Aquinas later expanded on these ideas, introducing specific criteria for just war.

Modern philosophers, such as Michael Walzer, have further developed just war theory, addressing contemporary challenges and refining the principles that distinguish just from unjust wars. These thinkers have contributed to a robust ethical framework that guides decision-making in matters of war and peace.

Core Principles of Just War Theory

- **Legitimate Authority:** Only duly recognized authorities can declare war.
- **Just Cause:** War must address a real and serious wrong.
- **Right Intention:** The aim must be to promote good or correct injustice.
- **Probability of Success:** There must be a reasonable chance of achieving the war's objectives.
- **Last Resort:** All peaceful alternatives must have been tried and failed.
- **Proportionality:** The expected benefits must outweigh the anticipated harm.

Key Criteria for Just Wars

Jus ad Bellum: The Justice of Going to War

Jus ad bellum refers to the conditions that must be met before engaging in war. These include just cause, legitimate authority, right intention, reasonable hope of success, proportionality, and last resort. Each element ensures that war is not entered into lightly or for trivial reasons.

Jus in Bello: Justice in Conducting War

Jus in bello governs the conduct of armed forces during conflict. Key principles include discrimination (distinguishing between combatants and non-combatants) and proportionality (using force appropriate to the military objective). Violations of these norms can transform an otherwise justified war into an unjust one.

Distinguishing Unjust Wars

Common Characteristics of Unjust Wars

Unjust wars typically lack a legitimate cause or are waged for reasons such as territorial expansion, economic gain, or ideological domination. They may also be initiated without proper authority or continue after peaceful solutions have been ignored.

Consequences of Unjust Wars

The impact of unjust wars can be devastating. They often result in widespread human suffering, displacement, and the breakdown of social and political order. Unjust wars can undermine international stability and erode trust in global institutions.

Case Studies: Examples of Just and Unjust Wars

Historical Examples of Just Wars

- **World War II:** The Allied response to Nazi aggression is widely cited as a just war due to the defense against egregious violations of human rights.
- **Gulf War (1991):** The coalition effort to repel Iraq's invasion of Kuwait is often considered just based on the principles of defending sovereignty and restoring order.

Notable Unjust Wars

- **Vietnam War:** Critics argue that the war lacked just cause and failed to meet criteria such as proportionality and likelihood of success.
- **Iraq War (2003):** The legitimacy of the invasion has been questioned due to disputed evidence and failure to meet the standards of just war theory.

These examples illustrate the challenges and controversies inherent in labeling wars as just or unjust. The assessment often depends on the perspectives of different stakeholders and interpretations of the facts.

Just and Unjust Wars in Modern International Law

The Role of the United Nations

International law, particularly as embodied in the United Nations Charter, seeks to regulate the use of force and prevent unjust wars. The Security Council is tasked with authorizing collective action in response to threats to peace, ensuring that war remains a last resort.

War Crimes and Accountability

Modern legal frameworks, such as the Geneva Conventions and International Criminal Court, aim to hold individuals and states accountable for violations of the laws of war. These mechanisms are designed to deter unjust conduct and promote adherence to ethical standards during conflict.

Ongoing Debates and Contemporary Challenges

Asymmetric Warfare and Non-State Actors

The rise of non-state actors and asymmetric warfare presents new challenges for distinguishing just and unjust wars. Traditional criteria may be difficult to apply in conflicts involving terrorism, cyber warfare, or interventions in failed states.

Humanitarian Intervention and Responsibility to Protect

Debates continue over the legitimacy of humanitarian interventions, where force is used to prevent mass atrocities. While some argue that such actions can be just wars, others caution against abuse of this rationale for political or strategic gain.

The Future of Just and Unjust Wars

Advances in technology, changing geopolitical dynamics, and evolving norms will continue to shape discussions about just and unjust wars. Ongoing dialogue among policymakers, scholars, and communities is essential to refine the criteria and ensure ethical standards are upheld in an ever-changing world.

Q: What is the difference between just and unjust wars?

A: Just wars are those that meet established ethical and legal criteria, such as just cause, legitimate authority, and right intention. Unjust wars lack these qualities and are often initiated for illegitimate reasons or conducted in ways that violate moral norms.

Q: What are the main criteria for a just war?

A: The main criteria include just cause, legitimate authority, right intention, probability of success, last resort, and proportionality. These principles help ensure that war is only waged when necessary and in a morally acceptable manner.

Q: Can a war that starts as just become unjust?

A: Yes, a war that begins with just intentions can become unjust if it is conducted in ways that violate the principles of *jus in bello*, such as targeting civilians or using disproportionate force.

Q: Are there examples of wars that are universally regarded as unjust?

A: Some wars, such as aggressive conquests or genocidal campaigns, are widely considered unjust by the international community due to their lack of legitimate cause and egregious violations of human rights.

Q: How does international law address just and unjust wars?

A: International law, including the United Nations Charter and Geneva Conventions, sets out rules to limit the use of force and protect non-combatants, aiming to prevent unjust wars and hold perpetrators accountable for violations.

Q: What is the significance of humanitarian intervention in just war theory?

A: Humanitarian intervention involves using force to prevent mass atrocities. While it can be justified as a just war under certain conditions, it remains controversial due to concerns about sovereignty and

potential misuse.

Q: How has technology impacted the distinction between just and unjust wars?

A: Technological advances, such as drones and cyber warfare, have complicated the application of just war principles, raising new ethical questions about accountability and proportionality.

Q: Why is the concept of last resort important in just war theory?

A: The principle of last resort ensures that war is only used after all peaceful alternatives have been exhausted, minimizing unnecessary violence and promoting diplomatic solutions.

Q: Can non-state actors wage a just war?

A: The involvement of non-state actors in conflict challenges traditional just war theory, particularly regarding legitimate authority. However, some argue that oppressed groups fighting for self-determination may meet certain criteria for just war.

Q: What role do civilians play in distinguishing just from unjust wars?

A: Protecting civilians is a key component of jus in bello. Wars that intentionally target or disproportionately harm non-combatants are considered unjust, regardless of the original cause.

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Just and Unjust Wars: A Moral and Philosophical Examination

The clash of arms has been a recurring feature of human history, shaping civilizations and leaving indelible marks on the global landscape. But amidst the chaos and carnage, a fundamental question persists: what distinguishes a just war from an unjust one? This isn't simply an academic exercise; understanding the moral parameters surrounding warfare is crucial for navigating international relations, evaluating historical conflicts, and forming informed opinions on contemporary geopolitical issues. This post delves into the complex philosophical and ethical considerations surrounding just and unjust wars, exploring various perspectives and providing a framework for

critical analysis.

Defining Just War Theory: A Historical Perspective

The concept of a "just war" isn't a modern invention. Its roots lie in ancient philosophy and religious doctrine, evolving through centuries of theological and philosophical debate. Early formulations, often found in writings from thinkers like Augustine and Aquinas, emphasized the importance of just cause, proper authority, and right intention. These early justifications focused largely on the defense of the innocent and the rectification of wrongs. However, the 20th century, marked by unprecedented global conflicts, saw the expansion and refinement of just war theory, incorporating considerations of proportionality, last resort, and discrimination (distinguishing between combatants and civilians).

Key Criteria of a Just War:

Just Cause: The war must be initiated to address a grave injustice, such as self-defense against aggression, the rescue of oppressed populations, or the prevention of genocide. A mere desire for territorial expansion or economic gain doesn't constitute just cause.

Right Intention: The primary motivation for engaging in war must be to rectify the injustice and not driven by greed, revenge, or the pursuit of power. The intention should be to restore peace and justice, not to inflict suffering unnecessarily.

Proper Authority: The war must be declared and waged by a legitimate authority, typically a recognized state or an international body with the mandate to use force. Unlawful aggression by non-state actors or rogue states generally violates this criterion.

Last Resort: All peaceful means of resolving the conflict must be exhausted before resorting to war. Diplomacy, negotiation, and arbitration should be attempted before the use of force is considered.

Probability of Success: There should be a reasonable chance of achieving the war aims. A futile war that leads to excessive suffering without achieving its objectives is morally problematic.

Proportionality: The anticipated benefits of the war must outweigh the anticipated harms. The use of force must be proportionate to the threat and the anticipated results. Unnecessary destruction and suffering should be avoided.

Discrimination: Combatants must distinguish between combatants and non-combatants. Attacks targeting civilians are morally reprehensible and constitute war crimes.

Identifying Unjust Wars: Violations of Moral Principles

Unjust wars, conversely, are those that violate one or more of the principles outlined above. These conflicts are often characterized by aggression, violations of international law, and disregard for human life. The motivations behind unjust wars can range from territorial ambition and resource acquisition to ideological fanaticism and ethnic cleansing.

Characteristics of Unjust Wars:

Aggression: Launching an unprovoked attack on another state or people constitutes a clear violation of international law and morality.

Disregard for Civilian Life: Intentionally targeting civilians, employing inhumane weapons, or engaging in widespread atrocities demonstrates a complete disregard for human life.

Violation of International Law: Ignoring international treaties, agreements, and legal norms establishes a pattern of lawlessness that undermines global stability.

Lack of Proportionality: Engaging in disproportionate violence, using excessive force, or inflicting unnecessary suffering renders a war unjust.

Preemptive Strikes without Just Cause: Launching preemptive strikes without imminent threat violates the principle of last resort.

The Challenges of Applying Just War Theory in Practice

While just war theory provides a valuable framework for evaluating armed conflicts, its application in the real world is often fraught with challenges. Determining the "just cause" can be subjective and complex, particularly in situations involving internal conflicts, proxy wars, and asymmetrical warfare. Assessing the proportionality of force and the likelihood of success often requires making difficult judgments based on incomplete information. Furthermore, the evolving nature of warfare, with the advent of new technologies and strategies, necessitates ongoing re-evaluation and adaptation of just war principles.

Conclusion

The distinction between just and unjust wars remains a crucial ethical and philosophical debate. While just war theory offers a valuable framework for analyzing armed conflicts, its application requires careful consideration of multiple factors and a commitment to upholding fundamental moral principles. Recognizing the complexities involved allows for more informed discussions about the use of force, the prevention of conflict, and the pursuit of a more just and peaceful world.

FAQs

1. Can a defensive war ever be unjust? Yes, even a defensive war can be unjust if it violates principles such as proportionality or discrimination, for example, if excessive force is used or civilians are deliberately targeted.

2. What role does international law play in determining just and unjust wars? International law provides a framework for defining aggression and outlining the acceptable conduct of states during armed conflict. Violations of international law generally indicate an unjust war.

3. How can we reconcile the concept of just war with the realities of modern warfare? The complexities of modern warfare necessitate ongoing critical analysis and adaptation of just war principles. The increasing use of technology and the blurring lines between combatants and non-combatants necessitate careful consideration.

4. Is preemptive war ever justifiable? The justification of preemptive war is highly debated. While some argue it may be necessary in extreme cases of imminent threat, it must adhere strictly to the principle of last resort and demonstrate a clear and present danger.

5. What is the role of civilians in determining the justice of a war? Civilians play a vital role in holding their governments accountable for their actions. Public opinion, protests, and activism can exert significant pressure to promote just conduct and discourage unjust wars.

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just and unjust wars: Arguing About War Michael Walzer, 2008-10-01 Michael Walzer is one of the world's most eminent philosophers on the subject of war and ethics. Now, for the first time since his classic Just and Unjust Wars was published almost three decades ago, this volume brings together his most provocative arguments about contemporary military conflicts and the ethical issues they raise. The essays in the book are divided into three sections. The first deals with issues such as humanitarian intervention, emergency ethics, and terrorism. The second consists of Walzer's responses to particular wars, including the first Gulf War, Kosovo, Afghanistan, and Iraq. And the third presents an essay in which Walzer imagines a future in which war might play a less significant part in our lives. In his introduction, Walzer reveals how his thinking has changed over time. Written during a period of intense debate over the proper use of armed force, this book gets to the heart of difficult problems and argues persuasively for a moral perspective on war.

just and unjust wars: The Dragons and the Snakes David Kilcullen, 2020-02-04 Just a few years ago, people spoke of the US as a hyperpower-a titan stalking the world stage with more

relative power than any empire in history. Yet as early as 1993, newly-appointed CIA director James Woolsey pointed out that although Western powers had slain a large dragon by defeating the Soviet Union in the Cold War, they now faced a bewildering variety of poisonous snakes. In *The Dragons and the Snakes*, the eminent soldier-scholar David Kilcullen asks how, and what, opponents of the West have learned during the last quarter-century of conflict. Applying a combination of evolutionary theory and detailed field observation, he explains what happened to the snakes-non-state threats including terrorists and guerrillas-and the dragons-state-based competitors such as Russia and China. He explores how enemies learn under conditions of conflict, and examines how Western dominance over a very particular, narrowly-defined form of warfare since the Cold War has created a fitness landscape that forces adversaries to adapt in ways that present serious new challenges to America and its allies. Within the world's contemporary conflict zones, Kilcullen argues, state and non-state threats have increasingly come to resemble each other, with states adopting non-state techniques and non-state actors now able to access levels of precision and lethal weapon systems once only available to governments. A counterintuitive look at this new, vastly more complex environment, *The Dragons and the Snakes* will not only reshape our understanding of the West's enemies' capabilities, but will also show how we can respond given the increasing limits on US power.

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write a theory of justice: the challenge is to think through issues of justice in relation to the particular contexts in which people live out their lives. The core strength of his work is his practical instinct: if individuals are contextualized, critique must be too. This book takes the form of an extended conversation between Walzer and Astrid von Busekist, ranging from Walzer's biography and political activism to his work on war, justice and Judaism. Weaving together his theoretical work and his political activism, it provides an outstanding introduction to the life and work of one of the most influential political theorists of our time.

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just and unjust wars: *Just War Thinkers* Daniel R. Brunstetter, Cian O'Driscoll, 2017-08-09

This volume offers a set of concise and accessible introductions to the seminal figures in the historical development of the just war tradition. In what, if any, circumstances are political communities justified in going to war? And what limits should apply to the conduct of any such war? The just war tradition is a body of thought that helps us think through these very questions. Its core ideas have been subject to fierce debate for over 2,000 years. Yet they continue to play a prominent role in how political and military leaders address the challenges posed by the use of force in international society. Until now there has been no text that offers concise and accessible introductions to the key figures associated with the tradition. Stepping into this breach, *Just War Thinkers* provides a set of clear but detailed essays by leading experts on nineteen seminal thinkers, from Cicero to Jeff McMahan. This volume challenges the reader to think about how traditions are constituted—who is included and excluded, and how that is determined—and how they serve to enable, constrain, and indeed channel subsequent thought, debate, and exchange. This book will be of much interest to students of just war tradition and theory, ethics and war, philosophy, security studies and IR.

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just and unjust wars: *Kant and the End of War* Howard Williams, 2012-01-06 The paperback edition (published in 2016) includes a new preface with a discussion of recent examples. Kant stands almost unchallenged as one of the major thinkers of the European Enlightenment. This book brings the ideas of his critical philosophy to bear on one of the leading political and legal questions of our age: under what circumstances, if any, is recourse to war legally and morally justifiable? This issue was strikingly brought to the fore by the 2003 war in Iraq. The book critiques the tradition of just war thinking and suggests how international law and international relations can be viewed from an alternative perspective that aims at a more pacific system of states. Instead of seeing the theory of just war as providing a stabilizing context within which international politics can be carried out, Williams argues that the theory contributes to the current unstable international condition. The just war tradition is not the silver lining in a generally dark horizon but rather an integral feature of the dark horizon of current world politics. Kant was one of the first and most profound thinkers to moot this understanding of just war reasoning and his work remains a crucial starting point for a critical theory of war today.

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just and unjust wars: *Reading Walzer* Yitzhak Benbaji, Naomi Sussmann, 2013-10-30 Michael Walzer is one of the world's leading philosophers and political theorists. In addition to his

best-known books such as *Spheres of Justice*, and *Just and Unjust Wars*, he has contributed to contemporary political debates beyond academia in the *New York Times*, the *New Yorker* and *Dissent*. *Reading Walzer* is the first book to assess the full range of Walzer's work. An outstanding team of international contributors consider the following topics in relation to Walzer's work: the moral standing of nation states individual responsibility and laws governing the conduct of war debates over intervention and non-intervention human and minority rights moral and cultural pluralism equality justice Walzer's radicalism and role as a critic. All chapters have been specially commissioned for this collection, and Walzer's responses to his critics makes *Reading Walzer* essential reading for students of political philosophy and political theory.

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just and unjust wars: *America and the Just War Tradition* Mark David Hall, J. Daryl Charles, 2019-03-30 *America and the Just War Tradition* examines and evaluates each of America's major wars from a just war perspective. Using moral analysis that is anchored in the just war tradition, the contributors provide careful historical analysis evaluating individual conflicts. Each chapter explores the causes of a particular war, the degree to which the justice of the conflict was a subject of debate at the time, and the extent to which the war measured up to traditional *ad bellum* and *in bello* criteria. Where appropriate, contributors offer post bellum considerations, insofar as justice is concerned with helping to offer a better peace and end result than what had existed prior to the conflict. This fascinating exploration offers policy guidance for the use of force in the world today, and will be of keen interest to historians, political scientists, philosophers, and theologians, as well as policy makers and the general reading public. Contributors: J. Daryl Charles, Darrell Cole, Timothy J. Demy, Jonathan H. Ebel, Laura Jane Gifford, Mark David Hall, Jonathan Den Hartog, Daniel Walker Howe, Kerry E. Irish, James Turner Johnson, Gregory R. Jones, Mackubin Thomas Owens, John D. Roche, and Rouven Steeves

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just and unjust wars: *War by Agreement* Yitzhak Benbaji, Daniel Statman, 2019 *War by Agreement* presents a new theory on the ethics of war. It shows that wars can be morally justified at

both the *ad bellum* level (the political decision to go to war) and the *in bello* level (its actual conduct by the military) by accepting a contractarian account of the rules governing war. According to this account, the rules of war are anchored in a mutually beneficial and fair agreement between the relevant players - the purpose of which is to promote peace and to reduce the horrors of war. The book relies on the long social contract tradition and illustrates its fruitfulness in understanding and developing the morality and the law of war.

just and unjust wars: The Future of Just War Caron E. Gentry, Amy E. Eckert, 2014-01-01 Just War scholarship has adapted to contemporary crises and situations. But its adaptation has spurned debate and conversation—a method and means of pushing its thinking forward. Now the Just War tradition risks becoming marginalized. This concern may seem out of place as Just War literature is proliferating, yet this literature remains welded to traditional conceptualizations of Just War. Caron E. Gentry and Amy E. Eckert argue that the tradition needs to be updated to deal with substate actors within the realm of legitimate authority, private military companies, and the questionable moral difference between the use of conventional and nuclear weapons. Additionally, as recent policy makers and scholars have tried to make the Just War criteria legalistic, they have weakened the tradition's ability to draw from and adjust to its contemporaneous setting. The essays in *The Future of Just War* seek to reorient the tradition around its core concerns of preventing the unjust use of force by states and limiting the harm inflicted on vulnerable populations such as civilian noncombatants. The pursuit of these challenges involves both a reclaiming of traditional Just War principles from those who would push it toward greater permissiveness with respect to war, as well as the application of Just War principles to emerging issues, such as the growing use of robotics in war or the privatization of force. These essays share a commitment to the idea that the tradition is more about a rigorous application of Just War principles than the satisfaction of a checklist of criteria to be met before waging “just” war in the service of national interest.

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just and unjust wars: The Morality of War - Second Edition Brian Orend, 2013-09-10 The first edition of *The Morality of War* was one of the most widely-read and successful books ever written on the topic. In this second edition, Brian Orend builds on the substantial strengths of the first, adding important new material on: cyber-warfare; drone attacks; the wrap-up of Iraq and Afghanistan; conflicts in Libya and Syria; and protracted struggles (like the Arab-Israeli conflict). Updated and streamlined throughout, the book offers new research tools and case studies, while keeping the winning blend of theory and history featured in the first edition. This book remains an engaging and comprehensive examination of the ethics, and practice, of war and peace in today's world.

just and unjust wars: Just War Regan Richard J., Richard J. Regan, 1996 Most individuals realise that we have a moral obligation to avoid the evils of war. But this realization raises a host of difficult questions when we, as responsible individuals, witness harrowing injustices such as ethnic cleansing in Bosnia or starvation in Somalia. With millions of lives at stake, is war ever justified? And, if so, for what purpose? In this book, Richard J. Regan confronts these controversial questions by first considering the basic principles of just-war theory and then applying those principles to historical and ongoing conflicts. Part One presents two opposing viewpoints: first, that war is not subject to moral norms and, second, that war is never morally permissible. The author rejects both perspectives, and moves to define the principles of just-war theory. He evaluates the roles of the president, Congress and, most importantly, the UN Security Council in determining when long-term US military involvement is justified. The moral limits of war conduct and the moral problem of using, or threatening to use, nuclear weapons are also discussed. On the just cause to wage war, Regan argues that defense of nations and nationals - whether in self-defense or in defense of others -

remains the only classical cause that in the modern world would justify resorting to war. With respect to military intervention in secessionist and revolutionary wars, he contends that such intervention might be justified, but that prudence dictates extreme caution. In considering acceptable war conduct, Regan elaborates the specific principle of discrimination and proportionality; he maintains that civilians uninvolved in the enemy's war should not be directly targeted and that the costs of military action must be proportionate to the anticipated benefits of destroying military targets. The second part of the book presents case studies of eight historical wars - World War I, the Vietnam War, the Falklands War, the revolution and civil war in Nicaragua, the civil war in El Salvador, the Gulf War, the intervention in Somalia, and the Bosnian War - and poses several provocative questions about each. It invites readers and students to apply just-war principles to complex war-related situations and to understand the factual contingencies involved in moral judgements about war decisions. The book should be of particular interest to students of the moral issues of international relations and to readers interested more generally in philosophy, theology and political science.

just and unjust wars: Just and Unjust Wars in Shakespeare Franziska Quabeck, 2013-03-22 The concept of the just war poses one of the most important ethical questions to date. Can war ever be justified and, if so, how? When is a cause of war proportional to its costs and who must be held responsible? The monograph *Just and Unjust Wars in Shakespeare* demonstrates that the necessary moral evaluation of these questions is not restricted to the philosophical moral and political discourse. This analysis of Shakespeare's plays, which focuses on the histories, tragedies and Roman plays in chronological order, brings to light that the drama includes an elaborate and complex debate of the ethical issues of warfare. The plays that feature in this analysis range from *Henry VI* to *Coriolanus* and they are analysed according to the three Aquinian principles of legitimate authority, just cause and right intention. Also extending the principles of analysis to more modern notions of responsibility, proportionality and the *jus in bello*-presupposition, this monograph shows that just war theory constitutes a dominant theoretical approach to war in the Shakespearean canon.

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introduction to any student of this fascinating period.--Page 4 of cover

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