

# POWER AND SPIRITUALITY IN THE THOUGHT OF HANS J. MORGENTHAU\*

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*Hans J. Morgenthau's legacy has been undergoing a scholarly reevaluation. From an earlier perception of Morgenthau as a one-dimensional advocate of pure realpolitik, more recent scholarly literature has been emphasizing significant transcendent themes in Morgenthau's thought, that reflect his concerns relating to the importance of morality in statecraft, man's philosophic quest, and even spirituality. Drawing on his teaching, unpublished works, and lesser known published works, this work contends that Morgenthau had significant spiritual concerns that underlined his assumptions about man's behavior in the political realm, upon which his understanding of international behavior was ultimately based. Morgenthau's sensitivity to spiritual concerns also seemed to run parallel to his strong sense of Jewish identification which he expressed during the course of his lifetime and in particular through his involvement with the causes of Soviet Jewry and Israel, during the final decade of his life.*

*It is argued here, that Protestant theologian Reinhold Niebuhr had a significant impact on Morgenthau, with whom he believed that without an understanding of the spiritual forces which drive man, man, his power seeking, and his political behavior in society could not be fully understood.*

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Just over fifty years ago, Hans Morgenthau's landmark work *Scientific Man vs. Power Politics* (1946) appeared, which laid the philosophical foundations and assumptions of Morgenthau's approach to international relations which was powerfully articulated in his magnum opus, *Politics Among Nations* (first edition 1948). In his written works and teaching Morgenthau refined the assumptions of "political realism" and argued that the drive for power was the central force that motivated men and nations.

In recent years, however, Morgenthau's legacy has been undergoing a reevaluation. From an earlier perception of Morgenthau as a one-dimensional advocate of pure realpolitik, more recent scholarly literature has been uncovering and emphasizing significant transcendent themes in Morgenthau's thought, expressed in his writing and teaching, that reflect concerns relating to the importance of morality in statecraft, man's philosophic quest, and even spirituality.<sup>1</sup> In particular, one recent interpreter of his life and work, Greg Russell, has described Morgenthau's outlook as a combination of the European tradition of *raison d'état* and the American liberal heritage.<sup>2</sup>

Little noted in the scholarly literature, but of perhaps even greater interest is the fact that Morgenthau was a German-Jewish refugee from Nazism, who came to the U.S. in 1937 as part of the great wave of German-Jewish emigration following Hitler's rise to power. As such he experienced the searing impact of rabid anti-Semitism and the existential insecurity of being a Jew.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore it has been recently argued that the Jewish aspect of Morgenthau's life appeared to contribute to his awareness of the harshness of the social and political environment, upon which his theory of power politics and particular brand of political realism was based, while in parallel directing him to seek moral, philosophical and even spiritual transcendence.<sup>4</sup>

This article will further develop the theme of transcendence in Morgenthau's work and thought in an area which has received insufficient attention, that being the realm of spirituality. It should emerge from this analysis that Morgenthau viewed the spiritual in human existence as a very real force. Furthermore, he saw the harshness and tragedy in man's existence as intermingled with the striving for spiritual transcendence.

While it should emerge that Morgenthau's spirituality appeared to take the form of a generic religiosity, it ought to be viewed in parallel to the strong sense of Jewish identity which Morgenthau displayed throughout his lifetime and in particular intensified in his later years. He served for a decade until his death in 1980, as Chairman of the Academic Committee for Soviet Jewry, and through-

out the 1970s spoke out frequently on behalf of Israeli security needs as well as visiting Israel frequently. These activities represented Morgenthau's most prominent expressions of Jewish involvement, however at no time during Morgenthau's illustrious academic career was evidence of Morgenthau's Jewish involvements and interests entirely absent.<sup>5</sup>

Although Morgenthau was not an observant Jew per se, there is definite evidence, in Morgenthau's writings of his awareness of the "spiritual side" of Jewish existence. Indeed he referred to such themes in a number of significant writings, and in particular called attention to the philosophical and spiritual significance of the Soviet Jewry struggle in his advocacy of that cause.<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, he had a definite interest in, and respect for Jewish tradition and at various times in his life performed Jewish rituals.<sup>7</sup>

Thus, as both man and Jew we cannot fully understand Morgenthau without regard to his understanding of, and sensitivity to the spiritual realm of life. As an international relations theorist, Morgenthau's appreciation for the "reality of spirituality" as manifested in politics and in human nature deserves far more attention than has been hithertofore given.

## Morgenthau and Niebuhr

A starting point for this exploration is the connection between Hans Morgenthau and the Protestant thinker Reinhold Niebuhr. Kenneth Waltz, in his important study, *Man, the State and War*, established the similarity of Morgenthau's thought to that of Niebuhr's in that both traced the source of conflict in international politics to human nature, or the "first image" level of analysis. This similarity between Morgenthau, a political scientist, and Niebuhr a theologian, apparently was not coincidental. Morgenthau had a deep regard for, and acknowledged a strong intellectual debt to Reinhold Niebuhr, whom he considered both friend and colleague.<sup>8</sup> In a letter to Niebuhr's widow Ursula, shortly after his death in 1971, Morgenthau paid tribute to the theologian by citing "the man to whose mind and soul I owe so much."<sup>9</sup>

Kenneth W. Thompson, affirmed Morgenthau's life-long reverence for Niebuhr. He recalled how some of Morgenthau's colleagues at the University of Chicago, spoke disparagingly of Niebuhr and his scholarship, referring to him as "just another preacher." Thompson noted that Morgenthau would never have "spoken that way about Niebuhr."<sup>10</sup>

We also know that Morgenthau exhibited a profound respect for the contribution of religious thought to an understanding of politics as reflected in an observation published originally in 1951 that "it reveals as much about the nature of religious thought as about politics that many of the most important insights about politics have come from the pens of theologians."<sup>11</sup> Similarly, to his students, he pointed out that "a theologian like Reinhold Niebuhr has made the greatest contemporary contribution to the understanding of basic political problems" rather than a professor of political theory.<sup>12</sup>

Niebuhr's analysis of man's nature was based on a religious/spiritual understanding of his essence. While he saw man as having a dual nature, as a seeker of both power and of justice, which had a single source within the human soul, so apparently did Morgenthau. For while Morgenthau prominently traced the source of power seeking in international politics to man himself, the answer, according to him, is less clear as to why man seeks power in the first place? But in Morgenthau's philosophical writings and some of his classroom reflections, an answer can be discerned.

He told his students in 1952, that "there is one thing which distinguishes man from all other living beings" which is "that man aspires beyond himself." He asserted that man, unique among all living beings, has the inherent drive "to transcend one's own natural limits and to become more than one is by nature."<sup>13</sup> He also told his students that man attempts to transcend his natural limits through three realms: religion, love, and power. Death is the most final and powerful limit that man is confronted with, and therefore Morgenthau suggested that since the "beginning of history man has tried to meet the challenge of death either by trying to prolong life or by believing in immortality."<sup>14</sup>

In 1962, he wrote that the awareness of his insufficiency and finiteness drives man "to seek the extension of his self in offspring — the work of his body; in the manufacture of material things — the work of his hands; in philosophy and scholarship — the work of his mind; in art and literature — the work of his imagination; in religion — the work of his pure longing toward transcendence."<sup>15</sup>

In an essay written in 1974, Morgenthau asserted that the quest for transcendence is an integral part of man's being. "Man is moved by a number of basic quests: life, sex, wealth, power, justice, knowledge, beauty, transcendence."<sup>16</sup>

## Power and Love

Just as the striving for power has its source within the human soul, so does love according to Morgenthau. He believed that both love and power originated from the same source in the human soul — the desire to overcome loneliness.

This theme of man being “alone” was further developed in spiritual terms by Morgenthau, as he utilized Biblical imagery in a fascinating unpublished article entitled “The Significance of Being Alone.” In it he analyzed the attributes of man as described in the Book of Genesis, and suggested that the “attribute that it is not good for him to be alone sets man apart from God...for He would not be the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, but an idol among others if He were not alone.”<sup>17</sup>

He continued, that the “difference between God and man results from the necessary perfection of God and the necessary imperfection of man.” For God in contrast to man is goodness, wisdom, and power; He is complete and suffices unto Himself; for Him to have a companion in perfection is not only unnecessary but unthinkable.”<sup>18</sup> For man’s tragic dilemma is that he is born alone but is not content to remain alone, and is imperfect but carries within himself the unattainable vision of perfection. For before man ate from the tree of knowledge he had the possibility of “living in complete harmony with himself, his fellowman, and God.” Reiterating themes presented previously, Morgenthau identifies power and love as realms in which man attempts to find solace and solution to the pain of being alone, stressing that “the perpetuation of one’s existence beyond its natural limits, intermingles with the desire for power and love.”<sup>19</sup>

Significantly, Morgenthau saw man’s need and aspiration for love (not necessarily sex) as manifested “unconsciously” in the political realm by the “attempt of all governments and dictators (e.g., Stalin) to appear as the servant of the people.”<sup>20</sup> In answer to a student’s question, in 1952 Morgenthau asserted that there is a close relationship between the religious experience and the realms of love and power. He stated:

I have said many times that if Hitler had lived in the 17th century he would probably have become one of those raving monks that roamed the countryside and incited people to war, or in the 12th century one of those who called for crusades against the infidels, or in the Thirty Years War one of the religious leaders. In Napoleon you have the most impressive example of a man who comes closest to having absolute aspirations for power. He might

have become a great religious mystic or a great lover, such as Don Juan.<sup>21</sup>

In another classroom discussion, also in 1952, Morgenthau explored the interrelationship between power and love in the following fascinating manner:

Nobody who disparages the perennial importance of power in human existence and human society can do justice to the other great force which determines human existence and human life and society, and that is the element of love. It may be surprising to some of you that I would correlate in a discussion such as this the problem of power with the problem of love... And no political society can exist for any length of time in any harmonious and stable way which does not take into consideration both the desire for power and the desire for love.<sup>22</sup>

Thus in similarity to Niebuhr, Morgenthau identifies man's transcendent urges such as spirituality as well as his harsh power seeking, to the same source within the very essence of the human being.

### **Philosophy and Religiosity**

In his rejection of a quantitative oriented social science and as an ardent proponent of the classical approach to Political Science, Morgenthau affirmed the centrality of philosophy to the task of social analysis. It is significant to note how he connected philosophy with the essence of religion:

Religion in its proper sense operates on the same functional level as metaphysical philosophy. Both open human consciousness with the means proper to them to the mysteries within which the empirical world is confined, and both in this respect supplement empirical science.<sup>23</sup>

Furthermore, as man becomes aware of the mysteries of the world, and his own consciousness, which occurs particularly when he confronts the fact of death, he experiences the essence of the religious impulse — and is brought closer to God:

The religious impulse is at work wherever man, shaken in his soul by the rift between his consciousness and the world, seeks union with the world by becoming conscious of its mysteries. Thus the religious impulse is at work in genuine scientific thinking that is moved by the shock of wonderment toward the unraveling of the mysteries.<sup>24</sup>

He continues, that "in that movement religion, philosophy, and science are one; they differ only in the outward manifestation of that movement. Philosophy and religion in the proper sense are equally close to God."<sup>25</sup>

Similarly in another context, he wrote that: "Nowhere, except in the contemplation of his suffering and hope, is man more triumphantly aware of his kinship with the Creator than in his cognitive and manipulative relations with nature."<sup>26</sup> Thus, Morgenthau essentially asserts that man's cognitive capabilities are unable to totally penetrate the mysteries of the universe, and the recognition of his finiteness brings man to the religious quest.<sup>27</sup>

In another context, Morgenthau stressed the importance of religiosity for mankind's future.

It can well be argued — and I would support the argument — that most of the failures of the modern age and many of its accomplishments stem from one single source: the lack of religiosity. Modern man, as he sees himself, has become a self-sufficient entity who knows what he sees and can do what he wills. He has lost the awareness of his dependence upon a will and a power which are beyond his understanding and control.<sup>28</sup>

In Morgenthau's analysis of Abraham Lincoln, written towards the end of his life, we are able to gain further insight into his approach to religion through his description of Lincoln's:

...while Lincoln was indifferent to religion as dogma and organization, he was profoundly and consistently aware of the existential human condition from which the religious impulse in dogma and visible in organization springs: the finiteness of man in knowledge and action.<sup>29</sup>

Interestingly, in a classroom lecture in 1949, Morgenthau referred to the "power of prayer" and the "tremendous satisfaction that one derives from his exercise of his own will in establishing a relationship with God."<sup>30</sup> Also, consider the following question he posed to his students at the University of Chicago on their final

examinations in the Spring of 1944, for his course entitled International Organization, designated as Political Science 368: "How does belief or lack of belief in a life after death influence our conception of international affairs?"<sup>31</sup>

The importance which Morgenthau assigned to the spiritual for the viability of political life was further underscored in his evaluation in 1955, of Arnold Toynbee's belief that religion was vitally necessary as a force to renew civilization.<sup>32</sup> "The reaction against philosophic relativism, methodological dogmatism, and positivist scientism has been most sweeping not in the field of political science but in that of history....In *A Study of History* Mr. Toynbee tries to restore the claims of historic imagination and spirituality."<sup>33</sup>

In support of Toynbee's claim that only religion can save Western civilization, Morgenthau suggested that the "great achievements of civilization owe their greatness to the religious experience of mystery, tragedy, and guilt."<sup>34</sup>

In dealing with a similar theme, from a slightly different perspective, Morgenthau emphasized the theme of the divine actualizing itself in the world, through the lone man's quest, in these terms:

Man's future depends ultimately upon himself. Although he cannot live without social ties to other men, he alone, in the solitude of his autonomous reflection, decides his future as man. By doing this, he also decides the future of the divine. Man's existence is organically tied to his consciousness of the divine. What would man be if his consciousness were not deepened and enlarged by his longing for union with an infinite world? If there were no men to carry within themselves this consciousness of the divine, man's existence on earth would have lost its meaning since man would have missed his natural calling. Yet if no man were to live in a manner appropriate to man, the divine itself would lose its meaning."<sup>35</sup>

Robert J. Lifton, professor of psychology and psychiatry at the City University of New York, who came to know Morgenthau during the 1970s affirmed the existence of Morgenthau's spiritual side. He indicated that he could readily see Morgenthau's attraction to a figure like Lincoln who "had a deep spirituality but was also pragmatic." Lifton perceived a sense of Morgenthau's "ethical passion" which is a "part of spirituality." Furthermore, in reference to Morgenthau's particular type of religiosity, Lifton suggested that within all people who "are concerned about the future of mankind there is a sense of religiosity."<sup>36</sup>

Similarly, Kenneth W. Thompson recalls Morgenthau speaking about the "decline of religion" to his students in his course in the Philosophy of International Relations at the University of Chicago. He conveyed to his students the belief that religion is a central foundation of life, and was critical of the fact that "modern man didn't take religion seriously enough."<sup>37</sup>

### **Power, Justice and Spirituality**

In introducing the pervasiveness of power as a fact of life, Morgenthau caused his students to reflect on the implications of this phenomenon for the human condition. Interestingly enough, this led to lectures and discussions in religious terms as evidenced from this statement made in a Philosophy of International Relations class in 1952.

It follows that there is in the Christian tradition a long run optimism and a short term pessimism whereas in modern philosophy there is not a long run outlook at all since history is short and there is a short term optimism. Only one more effort is needed and everything will turn out all right because of the inherent qualities of the historic process. To the Christian it is exactly those inherent qualities which prevent salvation here and now, the inherent deficiencies of man and the process created by man make it impossible for man to deliver himself from evil."<sup>38</sup>

And during a classroom discussion in 1952, Morgenthau replied affirmatively to a student's inquiry if his position is "closer to the Christian position: that there is no salvation around the corner."<sup>39</sup>

In an address delivered before the Chicago Institute for Religious and Social Studies on February 5, 1946, entitled "The Transformation of our Contemporary Culture into a Spiritual Culture as Seen by a Political Scientist," Morgenthau urged that:

[We] face bravely the lust for power and power politics in all their threatening ugliness as the inevitable elements of human life in a political society. And, on the other hand, let us also face the facts of spiritual life, those transcendent values which give meaning to our political struggles and to our political sufferings, and which may enable us to overcome, first in our own consciousness and, then, on the political scene itself the misery of power politics."<sup>40</sup>

Following this address, in answer to a question from the audience Morgenthau fully acknowledged the similarity of his analysis to that of Reinhold Niebuhr's concerning the central thrust of his view, that "any true political culture is able to face the facts of political life and at the same time is capable of transcending those facts in terms of a moral conception of life."<sup>41</sup>

In his Political Theory course at the University of Chicago, Morgenthau explained Marxism's influence by describing its "religious character." In describing the power of its appeal, Morgenthau explained to his students that "Marxism gave to Europe an explanation of the misery of the working classes, which showed them that such misery was but the precondition of tomorrow's triumph as the scientific scheme of history showed was inevitably to be. "According to Morgenthau this was analogous to the Christian promise that the "meek shall inherit the earth"; that "the last shall be first"; that "suffering is all a part of God's plan."<sup>42</sup>

Also of significance in a similar vein, are Morgenthau's written comments to Professor Max Lerner in 1954 concerning the latter's manuscript on American civilization. Morgenthau had the following critique of Lerner's assessment of the basis of American power:

I would not have stressed to such an extent the objective material conditions of American power and would have qualified the emphasis on them by pointing to the intellectual, moral, and *spiritual factors* which have transformed the potential of geography, manpower, etc. into the actuality of American power."<sup>43</sup>

All of this concern and reflection which Morgenthau directed to man's spiritual transcendent needs and strivings were organically linked to his understanding of the contemporary direction of international politics. In *Politics Among Nations* he connected the decline of the traditional religions and the vacuum which this has left in man's consciousness, to the generation of new political forces capable of marshaling enormous commitment and power. He described the process in these terms:

With his intellectual and moral energies no longer primarily concerned with the life thereafter, modern man looks for conquests, conquest of nature and conquest of other men. The age of the machine which has sprung from man's self-sufficient mind, has instilled in modern man the confidence that he can save himself by his own aided efforts here and now. Thus the traditional religions, negating that confidence and relying upon divine intervention, have become bloodless images of themselves.

The intellectual and moral lifeblood of modern man streams into the political religions that promise salvation through science, revolution, or the holy war of nationalism."<sup>44</sup>

Indeed this aspect of human reality was reflected in Morgenthau's analysis of the role of propaganda (or the struggle for the minds of men). He wrote as follows in *Politics Among Nations*:

The great philosophies of the past which captured the imagination of men and moved them to political action, such as the ideas of the American and French Revolutions and the slogans of bolshevism and fascism, were successful not because they were true, but because they were believed to be true, because they gave the people to whom they appealed what they were waiting for, both in terms of knowledge and in terms of action."<sup>45</sup>

### **Theology and a Higher Law of Politics**

The basis of Morgenthau's strivings for justice and other transcendent goals in human affairs can, according to one interpreter, be traced paradoxically to Morgenthau's emphasis on power. "His purpose in recognizing the power motive relates to his belief that justice cannot be achieved or even recognized, without understanding that power is there in us and in the world. But if power is there, so is justice."<sup>46</sup>

In tones reminiscent of Niebuhr's recognition of man's dual striving for power and justice, Morgenthau referred in 1974 to man's innate drive to seek justice, as a form of transcendence:

For man, both seeking and resisting power, cannot forgo the conviction that what he does and suffers has a transcendent meaning, expressed in terms of justice. Thus the quest for justice is on its most profound level a parable of human nature itself: a being that, unlike the animals, cannot remain content within its empirical existence but strives to transcend itself by giving its existence a meaning beyond what can be empirically ascertained. In that perspective, the quest for justice takes the place beside the quest for God, philosophical knowledge, beauty — neither answered nor abandoned, but pursued without cease in spite of its apparent futility."<sup>47</sup>

In fact early in his career, in 1945 he clearly asserted that though "Man is an animal longing for power, he is also a creature with a moral purpose, and while man cannot be governed by abstract moral principles alone, he cannot be governed by power alone either."<sup>48</sup>

In the last decade of his career in one of his Aristotle lectures given in 1970, Morgenthau went out of his way to stress the difference between Greek thought and the "post-ancient" Hebrew Christian tradition which stipulated a transcendent morality which is "alien to man" insofar as it is "a set of ethics artificially superimposed on man inhibiting his natural drives and tendencies." He connected the transcendent Hebrew Christian tradition to providing the right to revolt against a tyrannical government. He sees this tradition in natural law terms. "Since in this tradition the absolute monarch" who governs by the grace of God "must obey the higher moral law of God." He stressed that the "higher moral law is prepolitical and metapolitical. If the political state in any way hinders the prepolitical and metapolitical 'soul' then it should be destroyed."<sup>49</sup>

Perhaps most significantly, following a lecture given by him on the theme of "Human Rights and Foreign Policy," at a symposium held in the late 1970s, Morgenthau surprised his listeners by asserting that "it is impossible to postulate a plausible moral code without a theological foundation." He expressed his belief that you cannot postulate "the dignity of human life or the sacredness of human life without a theological foundation."<sup>50</sup> In a written statement to Kenneth W. Thompson, Morgenthau stipulated that while one can advocate the maintenance of human rights from either a pragmatic or philosophic point of view, at its core one must assume that human rights "attach to the human personality as such regardless of time and place." And on a philosophic level it emanates from either a "theological or anthropological basis."<sup>51</sup> In an address to students at the University of California, Santa Barbara in 1977, he suggested in the context of a discussion about human rights that "it's difficult to conceive of a valid moral universe without a theological foundation."<sup>52</sup>

Morgenthau had expressed a similar point of view to his students during a class discussion in his Aristotle course in 1970, in which he asserted that "the most profound source of opposition to slavery in the Western world" is "religious"; the "idea that all men are created in the image of God." The following statement had actually contrasted with a more qualified assessment of the relevance of religion to the struggle for human rights, made earlier in his career.

It is absolutely incompatible with slavery. If all men are the children of God, they are equal in the sight of God. Here is the real philosophic and theological source of modern egalitarianism. How does the Declaration of Independence start? — that men are created equal and the equality is not argued in terms of biology or psychology, but on the basis of the laws of nature and of nature's God."<sup>53</sup>

### **Morgenthau's Religiosity**

These religious motifs and themes, expressed by Morgenthau, apparently were not coincidental. According to researcher Chris Frei, Morgenthau wrote in his diary in Germany in 1929 that: "If I had lived in another time, I might have become a priest."<sup>54</sup>

As we saw earlier Morgenthau connected the essence of the mission of true scholarship to a religious quest. However, if Morgenthau was profoundly aware of the importance of religiosity to the human and political condition, he insisted that the essence of both the scholarly or religious, need not be tied to a particular institutional or denominational framework. In the case of scholarship, he differentiated between form and essence and wrote that:

The pedantry of documentation, the cleverness of argumentation, the novelty of terminology and methodology, the volume of production — the ingredients of academic reputation — are not always possible or necessary. Many triumphs of scientific thought have been accomplished outside institutions of higher learning."<sup>55</sup>

Referring to the basis of the religious experience, Morgenthau was equally forceful in emphasizing the importance of impulse as opposed to form:

When we speak here of religion we have in mind not only membership in a particular religious organization or observance of religious practices or professions of faith in a particular religious dogma. What we have in mind is primarily a religious attitude that recognizes the insufficiency of man as a finite being and seeks to orientate itself through some transcendent guidance, so that man can come to terms with himself, his fellowmen, and the universe. Religion is here conceived as a universal human attitude, with which believers, atheists and agnostics

alike approach themselves, their fellowmen, and the universe and of which the historic religions, religious organizations, and religious observances are but familiar manifestations.<sup>56</sup>

At a seminar given on the theme of student unrest in 1970 at the University of Southern California, Morgenthau lamented the fact that "man in a secularized and scientific world is no longer able to answer the fundamental questions upon which his meaningful existence as man depends."<sup>57</sup> He empathized with those youth who questioned as to whether the meaning of life ought to be "defined by and confined to the ever greater accumulation of material goods." And "is life of this kind really worth living and is there nothing beyond it?"<sup>58</sup>

At that seminar he pointed to the university's failure to pursue the truth, according to the "biblical phrase of 'speaking truth to power'," and claimed that the universities had become "the providers of ideologies, of ideological justifications and rationalizations."<sup>59</sup> In fact he recalled a comment by a German social scientist, whom he had met in Austria, who "pointed out that it is not Marxism which had become the opiate of the people, but the social sciences."<sup>60</sup>

### **The Impact of Morgenthau's Spirituality**

Emerging from the preceding analysis is a clear picture of the importance which Morgenthau ascribed to spirituality as a central force within man, which ultimately affects the political sphere. That impact is discerned in respect to the existence of transcendent spiritual strivings which motivate men and which Morgenthau insists cannot be ignored in respect to the dynamics of political action.

Perhaps most significantly this analysis of Morgenthau's view of spirituality as a significant force, highlights and explains further the similarity between Morgenthau and Niebuhr in their tracing the basis of man's political behavior to forces within himself, which have a connection to the spiritual realm. Furthermore, Morgenthau who had a clear sense of Jewish identity and commitment, might well have been drawn to Niebuhr, based on the latter's appreciation of the Jewish heritage and support of Jewish causes.<sup>61</sup>

## Notes

- \* This essay is being offered in memory of Dr. Ernest Schwarcz, professor of philosophy and Dean of General Studies at Queens College, New York. My mentor and a teacher of Jewish political philosophy, he influenced thousands of students throughout the world.
1. Two important books which relate to these issues are: Joel H. Rosenthal, *Righteous Realists: Political Realism, Responsible Power, and American Culture in the Nuclear Age* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1991); and Michael J. Smith, *Realist Thought from Weber to Kissinger* (Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State Press, 1986). Also see Robert C. Good, "The National Interest and Political Realism: Niebuhr's "Debate with Morgenthau and Kennan," *Journal of Politics*, vol. 22, no. 4 (November 1960).
  2. See Greg Russell, *Hans J. Morgenthau and the Ethics of American Statecraft* (Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1990).
  3. See Kenneth W. Thompson, *Masters of International Thought* (Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press: Baton Rouge and London, 1990), pp. 80-82.
  4. See M. Ben Mollov, *The Jewish Aspect of the Life of Hans J. Morgenthau* (Doctoral Dissertation, Ramat Gan, Israel: Bar-Ilan University, 1995).
  5. For a detailed corroboration of Morgenthau's Jewish involvements and interests, see *ibid.*, pp. 128-157.
  6. For an analysis of Morgenthau's understanding of the significance of the Soviet Jewry struggle from a philosophical and spiritual vantage point, see M. Ben Mollov, "Jewry's Prophetic Challenge to Soviet and Other Totalitarian Regimes According to Hans J. Morgenthau," *Journal of Church and State* (Summer 1997).
  7. Rabbi Max Ticktin who served as Hillel Director at the University of Chicago, from 1964-72 and whose tenure coincided with Morgenthau's final years in Chicago, recalls Morgenthau as being "clearly an affirmative Jew." Ticktin recalls the fact that Morgenthau's children "were given a Jewish education, which was not the case for many of the Jewish faculty at Chicago, who were 'closet Jews' while Morgenthau was not." [Interview with Rabbi Dr. Max Ticktin, Washington, D.C. July 1, 1992.]

At the University of Chicago, Morgenthau had a warm relationship with Hillel which included attendance at certain religious activities such as Passover Seders and had cordial relationships with Rabbis Max Pekarsky and Ralph Simon.

Interestingly, prior to coming to Chicago, Morgenthau taught in the after-school Judaic studies program of the Knesseth Israel Beth Shalom Synagogue concurrently with his first major teaching assignment at the University of Kansas City. After moving to Chicago, Morgenthau served for a five year period as a member of the Jewish

Board of Education, and as a member of the Board of Trustees of the College of Jewish Studies.

It is not completely clear how much Jewish knowledge Morgenthau actually had. His daughter, Susanna, recalled that to her "great surprise [he] had a very good knowledge of the Bible." [Personal correspondence to Ben Mollov from Susanna Morgenthau, December 21, 1990].

From about the late 1960s, Morgenthau developed a connection with the Lubavitch Hassidic community. Under their leadership he had on several occasions performed Jewish rituals such as the donning of prayer phylacteries and received home delivered Matzoh from them. [Interview with Rabbi Judah Krinsky, special aide to Rabbi Menachem Schneerson, in Brooklyn, New York, August 11, 1991].

Probably the most significant act of Jewish ritual and practice that Morgenthau made, concerned his decision to have a Jewish burial, as opposed to his mother's choice of cremation; with the Lubavitch Hassidim burying him in their cemetery. Indeed, Myron Kolatch, the editor of the *New Leader*, who had a close rapport with Morgenthau, believed that Morgenthau's decision to have a Jewish burial "was most significant" and was a "statement" about his identity. He recalled the great surprise experienced by many of the attendees at the funeral, who included the cream of the American political establishment, in seeing rabbis from the Lubavitch officiate at the funeral. [Interview with Myron Kolatch, New York City, July 16, 1991.]

8. There certainly appeared to be a mutuality in this relationship as evidenced by the following excerpt from a letter written by Morgenthau to Niebuhr in 1970, apparently in response to an earlier letter from Niebuhr: "You raise the question 'whether all my insights are not borrowed from Hans Morgenthau.' I have asked myself the same question with reference to you, and I am sure I have by far the better of the argument." TL dated November 13, 1970 (Morgenthau Papers, Box 44). Ursulla Niebuhr affirmed the close relationship between Niebuhr and Morgenthau in a letter to this author, written in February 1992.
9. TL dated June 8, 1971 (Hans J. Morgenthau papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., Box 44).
10. Interview and discussion with Kenneth W. Thompson, in Charlottesville, Virginia, in Summer 1991.
11. Morgenthau, "The Moral Dilemma of Political Action," *Politics in the Twentieth Century* (1962) 1:321.
12. TM-in file: Lectures/Texts 1970, Political Science U719, September 18, 1970, p. 24 (Morgenthau Papers, Box 173).
13. TM-in file: Philosophy of International Relations Lectures, August 4, 1952, p. 42 (Morgenthau Papers, Box 81).
14. *Ibid.*, p. 43.

15. Morgenthau, "Love and Power," *Politics in the Twentieth Century* (1962) 3:8; (originally appeared in *Commentary*, March 1962).
16. Morgenthau, "Justice and Power," *Social Research*, vol. 41, no.1 (Spring 1974):163.
17. Unpublished typed manuscript entitled "The Significance of Being Alone," undated, p. 1 (Morgenthau Papers, Box 110).
18. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
20. TM-in file: Philosophy of International Relations Lectures, August 4, 1952, p. 44 (Morgenthau Papers, Box 81).
21. *Ibid.*, p. 45.
22. TM-in file: Lectures/Texts 1952, "Marxism — From Political Philosophy to Political Religion," pp. 15-16 (Morgenthau Papers, Box 169).
23. Hans J. Morgenthau, *Science: Servant or Master?* (New York: The World Publishing Company, reprinted by arrangement with the New American Library, Inc., 1972), p. 64.
24. Morgenthau, *Science: Servant or Master?*, pp. 65-66.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 66; see also, his statement on p. 72: "In this period of history only the scholar fulfills mans's true mission....In the dialogue with the infinite, he is in this epoch the only one to realize in the mission of science also the mission of man."
26. Morgenthau, "The Intellectual and Moral Dilemmas of Politics," *Politics in the Twentieth Century* (1962) 1:7.
27. Mr. Eli Goldin, a former Soviet-Jewish refusenik currently living in Israel, who had an extremely close relationship with Morgenthau during a six-month period in 1979, described Morgenthau as "believing in God" and as a "man of science but to a point." (Interview in Ramat Gan, Israel, May 27, 1991).
28. Morgenthau, "The Rediscovery of Imagination and Religion: Arnold Toynbee," *Politics in the Twentieth Century* (1962) 3:60; (appeared originally in *Encounter*, March 1955).
29. Hans J. Morgenthau and David Hein, *Essays on Lincoln's Faith and Politics* (New York & London: Lantham, 1983), p. 9.
30. TM-in file: Philosophy of International Relations Lectures, 1952, p. 22 (Morgenthau Papers, Box 81).
31. TM-in file: University of Chicago Pol. Theory Exams (Morgenthau Papers, Box 81). Also of interest in the same file, is the TM — list of "Topics for Reports" for the same course, which included themes such as "The Problem of Peace in the Ancient World" and the "Political Philosophy of Reinhold Niebuhr."
32. Morgenthau, "The Rediscovery of Imagination and Religion: Arnold Toynbee," *Politics in the Twentieth Century* (1962) 3:54-62.
33. *Ibid.*, 54.

34. *Ibid.*, 61.
35. Morgenthau, *Science: Servant or Master?*, p. 71.
36. Robert J. Lifton, interview and conversation, in Cape Cod, Massachusetts, July 30, 1992.
37. Interview and discussion with Kenneth W. Thompson, in Charlottesville, Virginia, Summer 1991.
38. TM-in file: Philosophy of International Relations Lectures, July 23, 1952, p. 31 (Morgenthau Papers, Box 81).
39. TM-in file: Philosophy of International Relations Lectures, July 28, 1952, p. 36 (Morgenthau Papers, Box 81).
40. TM, entitled "The Transformation of Our Contemporary Culture into a Spiritual Culture as Seen by a Political Scientist," pp. 17-18, (Morgenthau Papers, Box 168).
41. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
42. TM-in file: Modern Political Theory Lectures 1955, University of Chicago, pp. 20-21, notes taken by Donald F. Dvorak (Morgenthau Papers, Box 80).
43. TL to Max Lerner, November 23, 1954 (Morgenthau Papers, Box 36).
44. Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations*, 4th ed., pp. 369-370; for a similar statement see also Morgenthau, "World Politics in the Mid-Twentieth Century," *The Review of Politics*, vol. 10, no. 2 (April 1948), p. 172.
45. Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations*, p. 325.
46. Marcus Raskin, "Morgenthau: The Idealism of a Realist," *Truth and Tragedy*, p. 86.
47. Morgenthau, "Justice and Power," *Social Research* (Spring 1974), pp. 174-175; for a passage reflecting similar ideas, see Morgenthau, "On Trying to be Just," *Truth and Power*, p. 61 (originally appeared in *Commentary*, May 1963).
48. Morgenthau, "Cynicism, Perfectionism, and Realism in International Affairs," *Politics in the Twentieth Century* (1962) 1:130; (article originally appeared in the *Critic*, November 30, 1945).
49. TM-in file: Lectures/Texts 1970, Aristotle Lectures, November 27, 1970, p. 4 (Morgenthau Papers, Box 173).
50. Hans J. Morgenthau, "Human Rights and Foreign Policy," First Distinguished CRIA Lecture on Morality and Foreign Policy (New York: Council on Religion and International Affairs, 1979), p. 10. Bob Myers, former President of the Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs, in a discussion with this author, in New York, during the summer of 1991, recalled Morgenthau as saying, "that ultimately one could not ground morality in anything but religion" and that there are "eternal values waiting to be discovered."
51. TM-in file: Texts 1977, June 8, 1977 (Morgenthau Papers, Box 176).

52. "Morgenthau Hits Rhetoric of Campaign for Human Rights," *The Daily Nexus*, May 19, 1977, by William Nexus, p. 2.
53. TM-in file: Lectures/Texts 1970, Aristotle Lectures, (Morgenthau Papers, Box 173). It is interesting to compare Morgenthau's forceful defense of the importance of a theological foundation in promoting moral values, with a perhaps somewhat less emphatic view of this issue, as presented in a political theory lecture in 1955. On the subject of democracy and religion, he told his students that: "Although many people are very ready to say that democracy could not have developed without religion and thus cannot exist without it, this does not necessarily hold true if we use history as our witness. It can be shown that democracy largely developed in contradiction to religion....The fact that democracy developed in contradiction to religion does not assert however, that democracy can flourish without a belief in a certain group of beliefs which transcend all political action. For instance, the acceptance of the principles of man's equality before the law is basic to democracy, and religion can help to propagate such beliefs. However religion is not alone in this ability to propagate such transcendent doctrine; a secular doctrine could provide the same propagative facts." TM-in file: Modern Political Theory Lectures, 1955, pp. 61-62 (Morgenthau Papers, Box 80).
54. Conversation with Chris Frei, June 6, 1991. Morgenthau's intellectual interest in the concerns of religion were not limited to his writings or lectures but were reflected as well in many of his public activities particularly in the latter portion of his life. He served for almost 20 years as a member of the Board of Trustees of the Council on Religion and International Affairs (CRIA) and was deeply supportive of and identified with that organizations's work. He also served as chairman of the Editorial Board of *Worldview* magazine (CRIA's respected intellectual journal) for close to a decade.

Of significance also, is the fact that Morgenthau chose to register some of his opposition to the War in Vietnam within the framework of an organization called "Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam" with his name appearing on the organization's letterhead as a member of its leadership committee. The group's chairmen included Jewish theologian Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel, Dr. John C. Bennet (President of the Union Theological Seminary), and the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King.
55. Morgenthau, *Science: Servant or Master?*, p. 71.
56. Morgenthau and Hein, *Lincoln's Faith*, p. 6.
57. TM-in file: Lectures/Texts 1970, "Seminar: Perspectives on Student Unrest," October 20, 1970, p. 4 (Morgenthau Papers, Box 173).
58. *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.
59. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
60. *Ibid.*

61. Kenneth W. Thompson expressed his belief to me that Morgenthau's attraction to Niebuhr also emanated in part from the latter's respect for and appreciation of the Jewish people. (These and other observations were conveyed to me during a series of discussions and interviews held with Kenneth W. Thompson during the summer of 1991, in Charlottesville, Virginia.)

Niebuhr's support for Jewish causes and his appreciation for the Jewish/Hebraic roots of Christianity are well documented in a variety of works. See, for instance, June Bingham, *Courage to Change: An Introduction to the Life and Thought of Reinhold Niebuhr* (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1961), pp. 147 and 363; Niebuhr expressed his own powerful testimony concerning the Jewish roots of Christianity in his book, *The Self and the Dramas of History* (New York: Scribner, 1955), on pp. 77-78.

A far more detailed and substantial argument concerning the influence of Niebuhr upon Morgenthau, from a Jewish standpoint is presented in Mollov, *The Jewish Aspect of the Life and Work of Hans J. Morgenthau*, *op. cit.*, pp. 156-157 and 189-192.