

Annotated Bibliography on Christian Political Thought

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What follows is an annotated guide to Christian political thought. It is a hazardous undertaking, for the field is voluminous and has porous boundaries. It is a subset of Christian social ethics, but is also influenced by moral philosophy, and both of these areas are situated in the larger fields of philosophy, theology, political philosophy, and religious studies. There is no good way to bound it, organize it, or describe it. Yet, on the premise that it could be useful for students in the field, an attempt is made here. Suggestions for additions and improvements are invited. It is an ongoing project. Works are referenced briefly in the text of the bibliography, often with their year of publication, while full citations can be found at the end. Where available, I include the birth and/or death dates of persons.

An **overview** of the field is found in several anthologies that have appeared in recent years, each involving an effort to define and organize the field's vast knowledge. There are at least four of these, all of which describe the relevant field as "political theology," published respectively by Eerdmans (2012), Cambridge (2015), Blackwell (2008), and Fordham University Press (2006). An outstanding collection of primary sources in the history of Christian political thought is Oliver O'Donovan and Joan Lockwood O'Donovan, eds., *From Irenaeus to Grotius: A Sourcebook in Christian Political Thought* (1999).

To begin at the beginning, **the Bible** is *the* primary source for Christian political thought. Given how pervasively the Bible shapes the tradition, it might seem pointless to point out specific works that are associated with the Bible. Yet, there are some that focus so squarely on the Bible that they are worth mentioning here. Contemporary Christian theologian Richard Bauckham's (1946-) *The Bible in Politics* (1989) is an excellent guide for drawing upon the Bible for insights into contemporary politics. Enrique Nardoni's *Rise Up, O Judge: A Study of Justice in the Biblical World* (2004), is a close study of the concept of justice in the Bible.

The Old Testament and its account of God's creation of the world and God's relationship to the people of Israel is important both as a source of political ethics and as a reflection on political authority through its narrative of kingship. Walter Brueggeman's (1933-) *The Prophetic Imagination*, written in 1978 by one of the leading Christian scholars of the Old Testament of the past generation, is an enduring statement on power and political authority in the Old Testament. Many Jewish scholars have written works of political thought based on the Bible. *The Prophets*, written by the famous American Rabbi, Abraham Joshua Heschel, originally published in 1962, is a classic statement on kingship, justice, and the place of the prophets in proclaiming God's message to the political order. Contemporary Jewish political philosopher David Novak has written some of the most influential works of the past generation that root political philosophy in the Old Testament and has been in close conversation with Christian political thinkers. See his *Covenant Rights* (2009) and *The Jewish Social Contract* (2009) among others. Other Jewish scholars have penned important political

thought based on the Bible, too. Joshua Berman's *Created Equal* (2008) is an argument for the Biblical sources of key modern political concepts, especially equality. Daniel Elazar's work on the Biblical covenant tradition in politics links the Bible to contemporary politics through biblical covenants. See, for instance, his *Covenant and Polity in Biblical Israel* (1995). Moshe Halbertal and Stephen Holmes, *The Beginning of Politics* (2017), is a reflection on politics in the Book of Samuel. Moshe Weinfeld, *Social Justice in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East*, is an thorough study of the meaning of justice in the Hebrew Bible. Michael Walzer's *In God's Shadow: Politics in the Hebrew Bible* (2012) culminates a lifetime of thinking about the politics of the Hebrew Bible on the part of one of the past generation's most important political philosophers (1935-).

Reflection on the political meaning of the **New Testament** centers on the life and teachings of Jesus and his conflicts with Jewish and Roman authorities; the writings of the Apostle Paul on the political order; and the life of the early Christian Church in the context of the Roman Empire as portrayed in the Book of Acts and other New Testament books. Here again it is worth mentioning a couple of works that center on scriptural interpretation. *The Moral Vision of the New Testament* (1996) by Richard Hays (1948-), one of the leading New Testament scholars of the past generation, is an approach to Christian ethics (including political questions) whose overwhelming source is the New Testament and has become one of the leading texts on Christian ethics in Protestant seminaries today. Contemporary theologian Kavin Rowe's (1974-) rigorous interpretation of the Book of Acts, *World Upside Down: Reading Acts in the Graeco-Roman Age* (2009), depicts the incipient Christian Church as a community formed distinctly in contrast to the Roman Empire.

The **Early Church**, defined as the period from the resurrection of Jesus through the conversion of the Emperor Constantine in 312 CE (a somewhat arbitrary periodization), contains important political thought and is the source of contemporary political reflection. O'Donovan and O'Donovan's sourcebook contains an excellent collection of primary sources from this period. One school of contemporary thought, which sometimes refers to itself as "the peace Church," looks upon the period as a Golden Era and sees the conversion of Constantine as ushering in a period in which the Church became destructively compromised by association with political power and from which it has not recovered. John Howard Yoder and the school of political theology that was influenced by him (see more below), are of this view. The work of Roland Bainton (1894-1984), a prominent historian of Protestantism who wrote in the mid-20th century, exemplifies, and is probably a major source, of this view; see his *Christian Attitudes Towards War & Peace: A Historical Survey and Critical Re-evaluation* (1960). Challenging this view, arguing against the claim that the Early Church was pacifist, is political theorist J. Daryl Charles's (1950-) essay of 2010, "Pacifists, Patriots, or Both? Second Thoughts on Pre-Constantinian Early Christian Attitudes toward Soldiering and War." Hugo Rahner's (1900-1968) *Church and State in Early Christianity* (1951) is an excellent analysis of Christian political theology and Church-state relations during the first eight centuries of the Christian church.

The most important Christian political thinker of the first millennium of the Christian Church is **St. Augustine**. He wrote after the conversion of Constantine and confronted the central problem of Christian thinkers thereafter, which is how Christians ought to participate in and wield authority in the temporal realm. His most important work is the *City of God*, the masterpiece that he wrote in the wake of the sack of Rome by Visigoths in 410 against charges that Christians were responsible for Rome's defeat. Of the work's 22 books, the most important for politics is Book 19. See also portions of Book 5, Book 14, and Book 15. Gerard O'Daly's *Augustine's City of God: A Reader's Guide* (1999) is a valuable tool to assist the task. O'Donovan and O'Donovan's reader contains an excellent selection of other writings by Augustine on politics, covering topics such as war and religious coercion. In the period from the mid-twentieth century to the present, commentary on Augustine's political has flourished and has contained diverse views. See works by Reinhold Niebuhr, Hannah Arendt, Herbert Deane, Robert Markus, Robert Dodaro, Eric Gregory, Charles Mathewes, Jean Bethke Elshtain, Chad Pecknold, John von Heyking, and Veronica Roberts Ogle (recent Notre Dame political science Ph.D.). James Wetzel's *Augustine's City of God: A Critical Guide* (2012) contains a strong selection of essays by contemporary scholars.

Christian political thought in the **medieval period** (broadly 4th century to mid-15th century) is, again, excerpted masterfully by O'Donovan and O'Donovan. A range of thinkers in the 20th century have composed important works on political thought and on Church-state relations during the Middle Ages. For introductory overviews, see Anthony Black, *Political Thought in Europe, 1250-1450* (1992) and Joseph Canning, *A History of Medieval Political Thought, 300-1450* (1996). Sourcebooks, in addition to O'Donovan and O'Donovan mentioned above, include A.S. McGrade et. al., *Cambridge Translations of Medieval Philosophical Texts* (2001) and M.S. Kempshall, *The Common Good in Late Medieval Political Thought* (1999) For monographs, see the indispensable writings of the late twentieth century historian, Brian Tierney (1922-2019). His work, *The Idea of Natural Rights* (1997), places the origins of rights in medieval canon law and challenges interpretations that placed this origin in early modern thought (the "revolution" of Hobbes and Locke). His writings on church and state are an excellent place to begin understanding these issues, for example, *Crisis of Church and State* (1964). The trilogy on medieval Christian political thought of historian Francis Oakley, published in the last twenty years, is a major source. Legal historian Harold Berman's (1918-2007) two volumes on *Law and Revolution* (1983, 2003) are seminal for tracing the evolution of the rule of law, the first volume of which focuses on the Middle Ages. Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies* (1957) is an enduring book that explores the evolution of the body politic from the Body of Christ to the body politic envisioned by Hobbes. See below for its influence on criticism of contemporary liberalism. A recent book by Andrew Willard Jones (1980-), *Before Church and State: A Study of Social Order in the Sacramental Kingdom of St. Louis IX* (2017) depicts the Middle Ages as a period in which the state was not conceived as separate from the Church and is now lauded by contemporary integralist thinkers and critics of the modern state (see below). See also Michael Wilks, *The Problem of Sovereignty in the Middle Ages* (1964); Susan Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe, 900-1300* (1984); Walter Ullman, *Principles of Government and Politics in the Middle Ages* (1966); and J.N. Figgis, *Studies of Political Thought From Gerson to Grotius* (1916).

Thomas Aquinas is the most important Christian thinker of the Middle Ages and perhaps of all ages. It is hard to think of anyone whose writings have informed subsequent Christian thought more than his have. His writings on politics are easy to pinpoint and collected in several anthologies. The “Treatise on Law” in the *Summa Theologica*, found in the *Prima Secunda*, or the first half of Part Two (of the *Summa*’s three parts), may be the best place to begin. Questions 90-97 contain the most classic portions on law and authority but consider also Questions 98-108, which focus on law in the Old Testament and the New Testament. On the treatment of heresy and other forms of unbelief in the political orders, see Part II-II, Questions 10 through 12. In Part II-II, see also Question 40 on war and Question 42 on sedition and overthrowing tyrants. The “Treatise on Justice,” found in Part II-II, Questions 57 through 122, covers this virtue, which is the most important one for the political order. Questions 57 and 58 address the core meaning of justice. Killing is the subject of Article 64. On private property and theft, see Question 69. On obedience to authority, see Question 104. Outside of the *Summa*, Aquinas’s short reflection, *On Kingship*, is critical for his views of political authority and the fundamental purposes of the political order.

It would be folly to try to enumerate all of the subsequent political thought that Thomas Aquinas influenced. Thousands of doctoral dissertations have been written on Aquinas as well as hundreds of books, many of them at least touching on his political thought. Some important movements in Christian political thought that Thomas Aquinas inspired in subsequent centuries are mentioned below. It is worth mentioning some excellent contemporary works, though, that offer direct interpretations of Aquinas’s political writings and are invaluable for students. One is *Aquinas: Moral, Political, and Legal Theory* (1998) by John Finnis, a contender for the leading Thomist political thinker of the past generation. Focus on Chapters Seven and Eight. See also Mary M. Keys, *Aquinas, Aristotle, and the Promise of the Common Good* (2006). Recently published also is a new book on *On Kingship* by William McCormick, S.J.

For **early modern European** Christian political thought (mid 15th century through about 1800), see again O’Donovan and O’Donovan for a selection of primary sources. Among the clusters of important thinkers are first, Spanish scholastics of the sixteenth century, an episode of flowering theological and political thought, inspired greatly by the writings of Aquinas. Francisco de Vitoria (1483-1546), a Dominican priest of the noted Salamanca school, wrote on the justice of war and international law and is widely considered a father of modern international law. Another Salamanca scholar, Francisco Suarez (1548-1617), a Jesuit priest, may be the most important Thomistic scholar since Thomas Aquinas and composed important works on law and politics. Bartolome de las Casas (1484-1566), also a Spanish Dominican priest, spent most of his career living in Mexico, where he became Bishop of Chiapas and defended the rights of native peoples vis-à-vis Spanish conquistadors. His writings are important for human rights, religious freedom, and the just use of force and have been an inspiration for Gustavo Gutierrez, the main founder of liberation theology. A sizable literature on the scholastics has emerged in recent decades. Leading scholars are Anthony Pagden and Annabel Brett. See also Notre Dame theologian David Lantigua’s *Infidels and Empires in a New World Order: Early Modern Spanish Contributions to International Legal Thought* (2020).

Certain Protestant thinkers in early modern Europe are still read for their political thought, the most important being Martin Luther (1483-1546), John Calvin (1509-1564), and Hugo Grotius (1583-1645). Significant for this period are also Thomas More (1478-1535), whose *Utopia* (1516) is a satirical reflection on social and political life; Robert Bellarmine (1543-1621), a Jesuit priest and a Cardinal of the Catholic Church, whose writings address the basis of political authority and are sometimes referred to as an early source of democratic theory, and who engaged in important polemics with Thomas Hobbes. See the collection of his writings by Stefania Tutino (2012) as well as Tutino's monograph, *Empire of Souls* (2010). Richard Hooker (1554-1600), the Anglican theologian, penned political writings that are considered a "via media." Bishop Bossuet (1627-1704) of France, a court theologian, defended the divine right of kings. Let us not forget that Hobbes and John Locke are also Christian thinkers, although they are often not portrayed as such and depart from the tradition in important respects. The 18th and 19th centuries were generally not a fecund period for enduring Christian political thought, though there are writers and trends worth noting. Notre Dame historian Ulrich Lehner challenges the conventional wisdom that Catholicism ran counter to the Enlightenment in his *The Catholic Enlightenment: The Forgotten History of a Global Movement* (2018). Political theorist Emile Perreau-Saussine (who died an untimely death in 2010), has written about the emergence of sympathy for liberal institutions in French Catholic thought during the 19th century in his book, *Catholicism and Democracy: An Essay in the History of Political Thought* (2012). Fitting the more common view of Catholic political thought during this period were "counter Enlightenment" thinkers such as the Savoyard philosopher Joseph De Maistre (1753-1821), French philosopher Louis de Bonald (1754-1840), and Spanish political theorist Juan Donoso Cortés (1809-1853).

In Catholic political thought, dynamism resumed with the **modern papal encyclicals**, which continue through this day to draw political wisdom for contemporary affairs from the basic sources of Christian thought in the Bible and natural law as well as the subsequent tradition, especially the thought of Aquinas. A good overview of this thought, still worth reading, is Jean Yves Calvez and Jacques Perrin, *The Church and Social Justice* (1961). Three collections of essays on Catholic political thought are John Witte and Frank, Alexander, eds., *The Teachings of Modern Roman Catholicism on Law, Politics and Human Nature* (2007); Gerard Bradley and Christian Brugger, *Catholic Social Teaching: A Volume of Scholarly Essays* (2019); and Himes, Kenneth R., Lisa Sowle Cahill, Charles E. Curran, David Hollenbach, and Thomas A. Shannon, *Modern Catholic Social Teaching* (2018). A monograph that covers the wide breadth of Catholic social teaching is Brian Benestad's *Church, State, and Society* (2011).

During most of the nineteenth century, papal thought on political matters condemned the French Revolution and its legatees in European politics, whose thought and action were inimical to the truth that the Church taught in fundamental respects. In condemning liberalism, though, the popes also condemned certain civil and political rights, including religious freedom, that it would later come to endorse. See Pope Gregory XVI's (1765-1846) *Mirari Vos* of 1832, Pope Pius IX's (1792-1878) *Quanta Cura*

of 1864, and the famous appendix to that encyclical, “The Syllabus of Errors,” which was widely ridiculed in the liberal press of the day as a reaction against progress. The launch of the modern tradition came with Pope Leo XIII’s (1810-1903) encyclical, *Rerum Novarum* (1891), which sought to offer guiding principles for the political and economic struggles of the day and is most widely known for defending worker’s rights and for proposing a third way between socialism and normless capitalism. Important for political thought are also Leo XIII’s *Immortale Dei* (1885), which discusses Church-state relations, and his *Libertas* (1888), which opens the door to political liberties even while continuing to condemn the freedom of license. The next major encyclical, issued by Pope Pius XI (1857-1939), commemorated *Rerum Novarum* forty years later, as reflected in its title, *Quadragesimo Anno* (1931), and also steered a “third way” in economics, this time between communism and capitalism, and introduced the important concept of subsidiarity, or respect for the autonomy of the local. Pius XI’s encyclical *Divini Redemptoris* (1937) sharply condemns communism through political and economic principles that had made their way firmly into the Church’s tradition of social thought. Pius XII’s *Summi Pontificatus* of 1939 contains important insights on politics. The most important systematic statement on politics of Pope Pius XII (1939-1958) was likely his Christmas Address of 1944, in which, during World War II, he defended democracy to an extent that no previous pope had done. Pius XII’s successor, Pope St. John XXIII (1881-1963), was not expected to be a consequential pope when he took office in 1958 but defied expectations by calling the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965). He issued at least two consequential encyclicals for Catholic political thought. The first of these, *Mater et Magistra* (1961), dealt with human development, particularly in the economic and social sphere, and addressed the context of impoverished states that were gaining independence from colonial rulers during this period. The second, *Pacem in Terris* (1963), dealt with war and peace and also set forth the magisterium’s fullest and most explicit endorsement of human rights to date. After John XXIII died in 1963, he was succeeded by Pope Paul VI (1897-1978), who presided over the remainder of the Council, at the close of which two highly significant documents on political doctrine were issued. The first of these, *Gaudium et Spes*, promulgated on December 7, 1965, is the Pastoral Constitution of the Church in the Modern World, and stands as the modern Magna Carta of subsequent Catholic social and political thought. The second of these, *Dignitatis Humanae*, The Declaration on Religious Freedom, was issued the same day, and is the most important development in Catholic political thought in many centuries, proclaiming the human right of religious freedom and breaking from centuries of endorsement of state coercion in religious matters.

Following the Second Vatican Council, Paul VI issued *Humanae Vitae* (1968), his famous encyclical on birth control, which he argued had important and pernicious social consequences, and *Populorum Progressio* (1967), which proposed “integral human development” as a paradigm for social and economic development. Pope St. John Paul II’s pontificate, spanning 26 years, yielded a remarkable crop of political and social teaching. His first encyclical, *Redemptor Hominis* (1979), contains a strong affirmation of human rights and religious freedom, ideas freshly empowered by John XXIII and the Council, which proved integral to John Paul II’s challenge to the Communist regime in his native Poland. His second encyclical, *Dives in Misericordia*

(1980), was on the subject of mercy, a theme inspired by his reflection on the 20th century and that proved to be a – I would argue *the* – major theme of his pontificate. The final sections of the encyclical apply mercy to political and social life and commend the practice of reconciliation and forgiveness in the political realm. The pope would elaborate on forgiveness in public life in two subsequent New Year’s Day messages for the World Day of Peace, in 1997 and 2002, the latter of these issued shortly after the attacks of September 11, 2001. The most comprehensive of his encyclicals on political and social life was *Centesimus Annus* (1991), marking the 100th anniversary of *Rerum Novarum*. The most influential of his encyclicals was arguably *Evangelium Vitae* (1995), which diagnosed the ills of the modern west as a “culture of death,” manifested most prominently in abortion but also – surprisingly to many – in the death penalty, for whose abolition he called. Two others of his important encyclicals were *Laborem Exercens* (1981), on the meaning of work and carrying implications for labor rights, and *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis* (1987), on economic development, with an important stress on solidarity.

John Paul II’s successor, Pope Benedict XVI (1927-), is a formidable theologian and has written important works in Christian political thought. Prior to becoming pope in April 2005, as Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger, he wrote on the importance of truth in the political order and on the relationship between faith and reason. See his essays in *Truth and Tolerance* (2003) and his remarkable dialogue with one of Europe’s leading philosophers, Jürgen Habermas, *The Dialectics of Secularization* (2004). Just prior to the death of John Paul II and to his becoming pope, on April 1, 2005, he delivered his widely noted “Subiaco Address” in which he warned of the social and political damage caused by relativism and the loss of God in Western societies. Early in his pontificate, on September 12, 2006, he delivered the Regensburg Address, in which he sparked a global controversy with Muslims over Islam’s propensity for violence, but whose major theme was the decline of the symbiotic relationship between faith and reason in the West. His 2009 encyclical, *Caritatis in Veritate*, offered a teaching on the just economy in the aftermath of a major financial crisis and made an innovative case for the virtue of gratuitousness. He delivered at least two major addresses on politics, one at Westminster Hall in London in 2010 and one at the Bundestag in Berlin in 2011. After Benedict XVI’s resignation from the papacy in 2013, he was succeeded by Pope Francis (1936-), who has stressed environmental justice, migration, opposition to the death penalty, and peace, including a strong stance against nuclear weapons. His encyclical *Laudato Si* (2015) is a profound reflection on environmental justice whose critique of modernity is worth reading, while his *Fratelli Tutti* (2020) explores the social implications of brotherhood, stressing the poor, peace, and forgiveness.

As papal teaching was unfolding, **Catholic lay thinkers** joined in the revival of political thought in the twentieth century. A valuable catalog of the progression of Catholic political thought during this period can be found in the pages of the journal, *The Review of Politics*, which Catholic European émigrés founded at the University of Notre Dame in 1939. Daniel Philpott and Ryan T. Anderson’s edited volume, *A Liberalism Safe for Catholicism?* (2017), brings together articles from the *Review of Politics* with a Catholic theme over the course of the journal’s history and offers a narrative of the unfolding of Catholic political thought during this period.

Somewhat anomalous in this tradition was the thought of Carl Schmitt (1888-1985), a conservative and Catholic German political and legal theorist whose work has garnered interest among political philosophers in recent years. His book of 1922, *Political Theology: Four Chapters on the Concept of Sovereignty*, made the case for political theology at a time when European philosophy, including political philosophy, was overwhelmingly secular. Schmitt also argued for the “state of exception,” an emergency suspension of the rule of law. Schmitt broke with the Catholic Church in the 1920s and joined the Nazi Party in 1933. He is anomalous in that he did not draw heavily on the thought of Thomas Aquinas or other major parts of the Catholic tradition. Opposing Schmitt from a far more deeply Catholic perspective was the political theology of German theologian and anthropologist, Erik Peterson (1890-1960), which is also worth reading, especially his essay, “Monotheism as a Political Problem,” (1935) collected with his other theological essays in *Theological Tractates*.

The mid-twentieth century also saw the remarkable flourishing of **neo-Thomist political thought**, which embraced constitutional liberal democracy and human rights and sought to give them a foundation in the natural law thought of Thomas Aquinas. The most famous member of this school is Jacques Maritain (1882-1973), a French philosopher who had supported the French resistance in World War II and was a key intellectual defender of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. Around 1940, he settled in North America, where he taught at Columbia University and Princeton University up until his retirement in 1952 (he gave lectures at Notre Dame and the University of Chicago). The best representation of his political thought can be found in *Man and the State*, his Walgreen Lectures, published in 1951, with important reflections on sovereignty and on human rights. The essays collected in *Christianity and Democracy* (1944) are important and convey his argument that Christianity would be crucial for undergirding democracy in an age when Christianity would no longer be an established religion as it was in the Middle Ages (and contains reflections on human rights and natural law). In Maritain’s book of 1936, *Integral Humanism*, and in his book of 1947, *The Person and the Common Good*, he sets forth his “personalist” philosophy, stressing the irreducible dignity of the human person and advocating for a society that respects this dignity, in contrast to fascism and communism, the reigning alternatives of his time.

Not as well-known as Maritain but perhaps even more rigorous and thorough in his scholarship on politics was Heinrich Rommen (1897-1967), a German Thomist natural law theorist who also favored liberal democracy and also emigrated from Europe to flee the Nazi government, which he did in 1938. See his *The Natural Law: A Study in Legal and Social History and Philosophy* (1947) and his *The State in Catholic Thought: A Treatise in Political Philosophy* (1945). The American Jesuit priest, John Courtney Murray (1904-1967), was also a political thinker writing in the Thomist tradition whose writings still receive wide attention and debate. He defended the American founding, a secular state, and the right of religious freedom on broadly Thomist natural law grounds and was one of the pioneers of the Church’s declaration, *Dignitatis Humanae*, in 1965 (though in important ways the document diverged from his arguments). Another major figure in this neo-Thomist revival was Yves Simon (1903-1961), also an émigré from

France who had studied under Maritain. He taught at Notre Dame from 1938 to 1948 and then at the University of Chicago until retiring in 1958 due to illness. He published on authority, the common good, democracy, human action, and the virtues. See *A General Theory of Authority* (1962); and *Philosophy of Democratic Government* (1951).

In the years following this neo-Thomist revival, other Catholics have written on political philosophy under the broad ambit of **Thomistic natural law**. The Swiss priest of the Opus Dei prelature, Martin Rhonheimer (1950-), has compiled a large body of rigorous thought in moral and political philosophy and defends liberal democratic constitutionalism, engaging the thought of John Rawls among others. A representative collection of his essays and apposite introduction to his political thought is his 2013 book, *The Common Good of Constitutional Democracy*. Notre Dame theologian Jean Porter (1955-) is another prolific writer of contemporary Christian political thought rooted in Aquinas with books and articles on natural law, political authority, and justice. See her *Ministers of the Law* (2010) and *Justice As A Virtue: A Thomistic Perspective* (2016). Fitting this description is also Russell Hittinger (1949-), whose writings on natural law, constitutional law, and Catholic thought find a valuable introduction in *The First Grace: Rediscovering the Natural Law in a Post-Christian World* (2003). John Hittinger (1952-), philosopher at the University of Houston and brother of Russell Hittinger, has written solid essays on Thomist political philosophy, collected in *Liberty, Wisdom, and Grace: Thomism and Democratic Political Theory* (2002).

A separate group of Catholic scholars writing in the Thomist tradition has formed a new school of thought, oriented around a common set of commitments and has exercised influence in the academy and in public life. They are known as the “**new natural law**” school, though this moniker may not be entirely fair and is probably the handiwork of Russell Hittinger, who wrote a book-length critique of their thought, *A Critique of the New Natural Law Theory* (1987). The founding father of the school is theologian and philosopher Germain Grisez (1929-2018), whose approach to moral theology and ethics is stated most systematically in his three-volume work, *The Way of the Lord Jesus*. More can be learned about Grisez, his thought, his writings, and his collaborators, on his very useful [website](#). The most prominent exposition of the political and legal implications of Grisez’s thought can be found in the writings of John Finnis (1940-), the Biolchini Family Emeritus Professor of Law at the University of Notre Dame, an Australian scholar, trained originally in jurisprudence, who held a chair at University College, Oxford until 2010, while also holding a chair at Notre Dame Law School up until retiring in 2019. His classic work on political and legal thought is *Natural Law and Natural Rights* (1980). His 1998 book, *Aquinas*, mentioned above, is also essential. His articles are collected in a five-volume series published by Oxford University Press in 2011. In 1987, Finnis joined with fellow new natural law scholars Joseph Boyle and Grisez in coauthoring *Nuclear Deterrence, Morality, and Realism* (1987), arguing for the intrinsic immorality of nuclear deterrence as practiced during the Cold War and calling for unilateral nuclear disarmament. Robert P. George (1955-), a student of Finnis at Oxford and a follower of New Natural Law thought, has written numerous books and articles on ethics and politics, including on topics such as natural law theory, constitutional law, morals legislation, religious freedom, conscience, freedom of expression (including in the academy), the beginning of life, and marriage.

Perhaps the most synthetic statement of his thought can be found in his book, *The Clash of Orthodoxies* (2001). Other new natural law scholars who have published important works on political topics include Boyle, Gerard V. Bradley, Patrick Lee, R.J. Snell, Christopher Tollefsen, Adam Macleod, Melissa Moschella, Sherif Girgis, and Ryan T. Anderson.

Beyond Thomist circles, other schools of Catholic lay political thought also have contributed to the conversation in the past century (though sometimes intersecting with Thomism). Crucial is **personalist** thought, best thought of as a movement of Catholic philosophers who place central stress on the dignity of the human person, a being created in the image and likeness of God who finds fulfillment in relationship to others. Personalists resist the reduction of individuals to subpersonal factors or the swallowing up of the individual into collectivities such as in fascism and communism. Early twentieth century philosophers such as Edmund Husserl (1859-1938), Dietrich von Hildebrand (1889-1977), and Max Scheler (1874-1928) are seminal. Karl Wojtyla, the Polish philosopher who later became Pope John Paul II, was squarely situated in personalist thought. See his *The Acting Person* (1969) and *Love and Responsibility* (1981). For a succinct introduction, see the website of [The Personalist Project](#). Personalism is far wider and broader than politics, but a few personalist thinkers have contributed extensive political thought in this domain. Jacques Maritain, discussed above, pursued strongly personalist themes. His contemporary French Catholic, Emmanuel Mounier (1905-1950), was a philosopher and journalist who wrote about social and political affairs in the personalist vein, as in his book, *Personalism* (1946), but his thought is not as enduringly influential as that of Maritain. Today, political theorist David Walsh (1950-) has composed compelling and rigorous works that are explicitly rooted in Christian personalism. See his *Politics of the Person as Politics of Being* (2016) and *The Priority of the Person* (2020).

Another large and internally coherent school of thought, populated mostly by Catholics, is **liberation theology**. It first flourished in the 1960s in Latin America in conditions of widespread impoverishment and vast inequality, undergirded by a wave of military dictatorships in the 1960s. Key concepts are structural sin, the preferential option for the poor, and orthopraxis, connoting the imperative for action to overturn structures of oppression. The breakout moment for liberation theology was the 1968 meeting of the Latin American Bishops Conference in Medellin, Colombia. More than anyone else, the founder of the movement is Gustavo Gutierrez, a Peruvian priest and theologian whose views were formed in the slums of Peru's capital city, Lima. His book of 1971, *A Theology of Liberation*, is the foundational text of the movement. Crucial, too, was the German theologian Johann Baptiste Metz (1928-2019), who is also associated with the term, political theology. The movement has since involved numerous theologians sounding variations on the theme and differing levels of radicality. Major names are Leonard Boff (1938-), a Brazilian theologian; Jon Sobrino, S.J. (1938-), a Spanish-born Jesuit priest who spent his career living in El Salvador; Juan Luis Segundo, S.J. (1925-1996), also a Jesuit priest and from Uruguay; and Ignacio Ellacuria, S.J. (1930-1989), an El Salvadoran priest who was one of six Jesuit priests who, along with their two housekeepers, were murdered by the Salvadoran army in 1989. The Congregation of the Doctrine of the Faith, led by Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger, issued two

notifications on liberation theology, one in 1984, the other in 1986, that raised critical points but should not be read as rejecting liberation theology altogether or, still less, the cause of the poor. Liberation theology has been appropriated outside the context of Latin American, for instance, through black theology and feminist theology in North America, and through variations on liberation in other parts of the world. The African American theologian James H. Cone (1938-2018) was a leading articulator of black theology. One of his most well-known books is *The Cross and the Lynching Tree* (2011). Ada Maria Isasi-Diaz (1943-2012), a Cuban-American theologian, has developed Hispanic theology and Mujerista theology. A contemporary scholar who has written strong work in this tradition is Willie James Jennings (1961-), a Protestant scholar. See his beautifully written book, *The Christian Imagination* (2010). The *Eerdmans Reader in Contemporary Political Theology* contains an excellent selection of race, gender, and postcolonial theology that is broadly consistent with liberation theology.

Neo-Conservative thought, whose key thinkers have been Catholic, has made a large impact on American public life. Affirming of the “American experiment” in ordered liberty, especially religious freedom, they stress an assertive, unilateral foreign policy based on liberal democratic values, free market economics, and traditional teachings on marriage and sexuality. The Big Three have been, first, Richard John Neuhaus (1936-2009), whose *The Naked Public Square* (1986) was a seminal statement and who founded the popular monthly journal, *First Things*, which brings together Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish conservative religious thinkers. The second, George Weigel (1951-), known most widely for his authorized biography of Pope John Paul II, *Witness to Hope*, has produced a lengthy stream of books and articles beginning in 1987 with his book, *Tranquillitas Ordinis* on the justice of war. His recent book, *The Irony of Modern Catholic History: How the Church Rediscovered Itself and Challenged the Modern World to Reform* (New York: Basic Books, 2019), treats Catholic political thought extensively. Michael Novak (1933-2017) was likewise prolific and most widely known for his defense of free market capitalism, his most prominent book being *The Spirit of Democratic Capitalism* (1982). For Catholic free market thought, see the work of the Acton Institute and its current Director, Samuel Gregg (1969-).

Liberal Catholic thought has also been a player in the Catholic conversation in the U.S. context. Like neo-conservatives, liberal Catholics are also enthusiastic about U.S. constitutional liberal democracy. The difference is that they favor political positions associated with the mainstream political left, the Democratic Party, including a multilateral foreign policy, a strong state commitment to economic assistance and welfare, and liberal social values. Peter Steinfels (1941-), long a columnist for the *New York Times* and still a journalist, summarizes the thinking in a 1999 piece appearing in *Commonweal*, “Reinventing Liberal Catholicism.” *Commonweal* is the primary forum for liberal Catholic political thought.

Radical Catholic critics are skeptical of the liberal tradition of political thought, to which both neo-conservatives and liberal Catholics belong. Two forerunners are especially important, first, French theologian Henri de Lubac (1896-1991), one of the fathers of the Second Vatican Council, who argued that Catholic theology, including political thought, had become hemmed in by neo-scholastic natural law and had lost the

dynamism of the supernatural. See his essays on politics in his collection, *Theological Fragments* (1989). For a book on De Lubac's political thought, see Bryan C. Hollon, *Everything is Sacred: Spiritual Exegesis in the Political Theology of Henri de Lubac* (2014). See also pieces on De Lubac by Joseph Wagner, O.S.B. and Patrick Cruitt in the bibliography. Second is Dorothy Day (1897-1980), the American laywoman who founded the Catholic Worker movement and frequently protested and criticized the American state. In more recent years, David L. Schindler (1943-) has penned rigorous political thought in this vein, especially in *Heart of the World, Center of the Church* (1996), where he articulates his "Communio theology," and in his collection of essays, *Ordering Love: Liberal Societies and the Memory of God* (2011). Schindler consistently criticizes modern liberalism, arguing that it replaces and marginalizes the Church's mission and message, and often adopts John Courtney Murray as his foil. Recently, Schindler collaborated with theologian Nicholas J. Healy (1953-) on a volume on *Dignitatis Humanae* that criticizes and downplays the role of John Courtney Murray and his "juridical" conception of religious freedom on the document and lifts up the role of Karol Wojtyla and his stress on religious freedom's orientation towards the truth. Another major scholar who has advanced a political theology in sharp critique of the modern liberal state through numerous books and articles is William T. Cavanaugh (1962-). Cavanaugh was a graduate student of the Protestant theologian Stanley Hauerwas (see below), who advocates a radical Christianity in the tradition of John Howard Yoder (see above and below), and was influenced by the Catholic Worker movement and the thought of Dorothy Day. Following de Lubac, Cavanaugh looks back to early modern Europe to discover a "migration of the holy" through which legitimacy and authority was transferred from the Church to the modern state, which in turn marginalized the Church and its theology from public life. The modern liberal state continues to foment this marginalization and in doing so manifests violence and domination through its colossal, impersonal institutions. A good snapshot of his thought is his *The Theopolitical Imagination* (2003). Close in spirit to both Schindler and Cavanaugh is Eugene McCarraher, who focuses on the political economy of free-market capitalism. See his recent book, *The Enchantments of Mammon* (2019).

Another influential theological critic of the modern enlightenment liberal state is Anglican theologian, John Milbank (1952-). Milbank is a strong proponent of the classic tradition and looks back to Augustine and Aquinas as major sources. His first major book, *Theology and Social Theory: Beyond Secular Reason* (1990), received widespread attention and covered a large terrain of Western theory to argue against Christianity being coopted by secular western categories. See also his book with Adrian Pabst (1976-), *Politics and Virtue: Post-Liberalism and the Human Future* (2016). Milbank is associated with and reflects the thinking of the Radical Orthodoxy movement in theology, in which he is the premier thinker on political and social issues. American theologian James K.A. Smith (1970-), also a Protestant, draws heavily from radical orthodoxy in his book of political theology, *Awaiting the King: Reforming Public Theology* (2017).

In very recent times, a new critique of liberalism in political thought and practice has arisen, mostly among Catholics, known as **integralism**. Exactly what integralism claims varies from thinker to thinker, but themes include a harsh criticism of liberalism,

both in theory and in practice, advocacy for a far more central role for the Church in the political and social order, and a rethinking of the separation of church and state and even religious freedom. A guide to integralism and a collection of statements can be found at the website of [The Josias](#), run by Fr. Edmund Waldstein, O.Cist. Major contemporary integralists include Adrian Vermeule (1968-), a professor at Harvard Law School (several of whose statements can be found on the Josias site); Thomas Pink, a professor of philosophy at King's College, London; and Alan Fimister and Thomas Crean, who have just published a book, *Integralism: A Manual of Political Philosophy* (2020), intended as a major statement of the position. Lively debates between these integralists and their critics can be found at [Public Discourse](#), while integralist statements can be found at the [Church Life Journal](#). Critics, ranging from mild to harsh, include Robert T. Miller, Ryan T. Anderson and Robert P. George, Joseph G. Trabbic, Julian Waller, James Patterson, Gerard Bradley, Michael Hanby, and Timothy Troutner. (See pieces by these authors in the bibliography). Philosopher Kevin Vallier is working on a book-length critique of integralism.

The work of French Catholic anthropologist, literary critic and theological writer, René Girard (1923-2015), has spawned a huge literature and a following all of its own. His concepts such as mimetic desire and the scapegoat mechanism, and his theology of atonement, have received extensive discussion and application to violence and politics. Conferences, societies, books, and articles have arisen from his work.

Pierre Manent (1949-) is, in his own right, one of the most important political theorists of the past generation, and much of his thought reflects his Catholic standpoint. His books, *Beyond Radical Secularism* (2016), and *Natural Law and Human Rights: Toward a Recovery of Practical Reason* (2020) are especially strong in their Catholic emphases.

Several other contemporary Catholic political thinkers are worth mentioning:

Remi Brague (1947-), a French historian of philosophy, is a major figure in theology and recipient of the 2012 Ratzinger Prize, an equivalent of the Nobel Prize for Catholic theology. His writings on law Western religious thought, and on Christianity, Judaism, and Islam, have important upshots for politics.

James V. Schall, S.J. (1928-2019), a professor in the Government Department at Georgetown University, wrote numerous books and essays on political thought, exploring the relationship between faith and reason and the limits of politics.

Timothy Samuel Shah (1970-), a political scientist based in India and on the faculty at the University Dallas, has led a scholarly project in partnership with Allen D. Hertzke (1950) of the University of Oklahoma, showing the Christian foundations of freedom, both in the western tradition and in contemporary global politics, marshalled in two volumes, *Christianity and Freedom* (2016). He has also pioneered a remarkable discovery of human rights and in particular the human right of religious freedom in the work of early Church fathers such as Lactantius and Tertullian.

Joseph Capizzi, a moral theologian at Catholic University of America, has written a compelling book on the justice of war, *Politics, Justice, and War* (2015).

Lisa Sowle Cahill (1948-), a moral theologian at Boston College, is known for her work on war, peacebuilding, global justice, marriage, sexuality, and feminism.

Anna Floerke Scheid, a moral theologian at Duquesne University, has written an innovative book on the justice of revolution, *Just Revolution* (2015).

Bradley V. Lewis, a political theorist at Catholic University, has written strong scholarly essays on the common good, religious freedom, and American exceptionalism.

Robert Kraynak (1949-), a political philosopher at Colgate University, has strong books and essays on Christianity, democracy, and human dignity, including a provocative book arguing *against* the compatibility of Christianity and liberal democracy, *Christian Faith and Modern Democracy* (2001).

Robert Louis Wilken (1936-), a classicist and leading scholar of the Early Church, has recently written *Liberty in the Things of God* (2019), an innovative account of the origins of religious freedom.

Charles Camosy (1975-), a moral theologian at Fordham university. has written widely in bioethics but also developed an innovative stance political life that promises to cut across liberal/conservative, blue state/red state divisions, for instance, *Resisting Throwaway Culture: How a Consistent Life Ethic Can Unite A Fractured People* (2019).

Chad C. Pecknold, a theologian and scholar of Augustine at Catholic University of America, has written *Christianity and Politics: A Brief Guide to the History* (2010), an excellent introduction, both short and sweeping, to the history of Christian political thought.

Protestant political thought also flowered in the twentieth century and continues to be dynamic up through this present day.

Abraham Kuyper (1837-1920) was a neo-Calvinist theologian in the Netherlands who also became involved in politics, founding the Anti-Revolutionary Party in 1876 and serving as prime minister of the Netherlands from 1901 to 1905. His writings on political theology are capacious and are collected into a 12-volume series. He strongly supported democracy rooted in God and is known for his concept of sphere sovereignty, which holds that different spheres of society, state, family, church, and civil society organizations, ought to enjoy their proper autonomy. Kuyper's thought is akin to Christian Democracy and contains strong parallels with Catholic magisterial teaching. It remains highly influential in Reformed Christianity, which has a strong intellectual tradition, and more widely as well.

During the 1930s and 1940s in Europe, German theologian Dietrich Bonhoeffer (1906-1945), famous for his resistance to and martyrdom at the hands of the Nazi Government, is known for his *Ethics*, which contains implications for politics. Karl Barth (1886-1968), perhaps the most influential Protestant theologian of the 20th century and lead author of the Barmen Declaration of 1934 in which the “Confessing Church” protested the regime of Adolf Hitler, wrote essays about politics collected in *Community, State, and Church* (2004).

In the United States, the Protestant who dominated the scene of political theology from the 1930s through the 1950s was Reinhold Niebuhr (1892-1971), a Christian ethicist known for his view of Christian realism. Through several books and hundreds of articles he developed a Christian ethics for political and social life and, as a public intellectual, applied it to the issues of his day, especially regarding foreign policy. *Moral Man and Immoral Society* (1932), *The Children of Light and the Children of Darkness* (1944), and *The Irony of American History* (1952) are especially important for politics, as are many of his essays, which are collected in volumes such as *Christian Realism and Political Problems* (1953). Niebuhr left a strong legacy, influencing numerous intellectuals and political figures. Other major realist thinkers looked to him, including Hans Morgenthau, who called him “the father of us all,” and George Kennan and Kenneth Waltz. Still others include Martin Luther King, Jr., Kenneth Waltz, Jimmy Carter, Samuel Huntington, John McCain, Andrew Bacevich, Jean Bethke Elshtain, and Barack Obama, whose 2009 acceptance speech of the Nobel Prize contained strong Niebuhrian themes. The recently founded *Providence Magazine*, dedicated to Christian political thought, especially on foreign policy, cites Niebuhr as a major influence.

In the past generation, few Christian political theologians have surpassed the depth and volume of writings of Oliver O’Donovan (1945-), an Anglican priest and Christian ethicist who was the Regius Professor of Moral and Pastoral Theology at the University of Oxford from 1982 to 2006 and Professor of Christian Ethics and Practical Theology at the University of Edinburgh from 2006 to 2013. His political thought is marked by its strong reliance on the Bible, salvation history, and the Christian tradition (as evidenced by the sourcebook, mentioned above, that he published with his wife, Joan Lockwood O’Donovan, also an important Christian ethicist). His first major book on Christian ethics, *Resurrection and Moral Order* (1986), placed him on the map. Succeeding books, *The Desire of Nations* (1996), and *The Ways of Judgment*, are also major contributions to Christian political thought. Numerous other books and articles cover issues of the day, including war, marriage, sexuality, abortion, and the death penalty.

More recently, Nicholas Wolterstorff (1932-), one of the leading Christian philosophers of the past generation, known primarily for his work on epistemology, has written what are already proving to be enduring works on Christian political thought, including *Justice: Rights and Wrongs* (2008), and a sequel, *Justice in Love* (2015). Earlier in his career, he had written *Until Justice and Peace Embrace* (1983), an important book for advancing political thought in evangelical Protestant circles. Worth reading, too are his *The Mighty and the Almighty: An Essay in Political Theology* (2012), along with other books and articles. He comes from the Dutch Reformed Tradition (that of Kuyper) and

held positions at Calvin College and at Yale University, where he was the Noah Porter Professor in the Department of Philosophy.

Theologian Stanley Hauerwas (1940-) is probably the most famous Protestant ethicist, named America's best theologian by *Time Magazine* in 2001. Writing in the vein of narrative and postliberal theology, influenced by Notre Dame philosopher Alasdair MacIntyre and Notre Dame theologian John Howard Yoder (see above in New Testament), Hauerwas became well known for criticizing the American church for identifying too closely with the liberal political order and thus losing the transforming power of its theology. Hauerwas is also known for his pacifism. One of his first books, co-written with William H. Willimon, *Resident Aliens: Life in the Christian Colony* (1989), sets forth the view that the Christian Church should reclaim its radical identity as the Body of Christ and live the social implications of that life as a witness to the larger community. He held a position in the theology department of Notre Dame from 1970 up until 1983, when he took up a position at Duke University. He has influenced numerous graduate students, including Michael Baxter, a Catholic associated with the Catholic Worker movement, who is now at Regis University in Colorado, and William T. Cavanaugh, who is discussed above.

A community of Mennonite scholars has composed an impressive literature on peace and restorative justice that is grounded in the Bible and applied to the political order. John Howard Yoder's (1927-1997) book of 1972, *The Politics of Jesus*, is a widely cited and argued book, one that is also written out of the Mennonite (or Anabaptist) tradition and that draws directly from Scripture in defending pacifism and a putting forth a highly skeptical view of political authority. Yoder taught at the Anabaptist Mennonite Biblical Seminary in Goshen, Indiana and spent the latter portion of his career as a professor of theology at the University of Notre Dame up until his death in December 1997. (After his death, his extensive sexual abuse of women students became widely known.) *Beyond Retribution: A New Testament Vision for Crime and Punishment* (2001), by Christopher D. Marshall, a contemporary theologian in New Zealand who writes out of the Mennonite tradition, is a scripturally based view of the purposes of punishment and a defense of the concept of restorative justice. *Covenant of Peace: The Missing Peace in the New Testament*, by Willard Swartley (1936-2019) is a massive study that draws out social implications of the scripture's teaching on peace. Darrin Snyder Belousek's (1969-) *Atonement, Justice, and Peace: The Message of the Cross and the Mission of the Church* (2011) is an interpretation of Jesus's cross and resurrection in terms of restorative justice and peace, taking issue with the penal substitution view of the atonement common among evangelical Protestants. John Paul Lederach (1955-) is a Mennonite who has pioneered an approach to peacebuilding known as conflict transformation that draws from the Bible along with the insights of the field of peace studies and his experience on the ground as a peacebuilder. He is one of the intellectual inspirations behind the Kroc Institute at Notre Dame. Start with his *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies* (1997).

In addition to these Mennonites, also writing on peace is Baptist theologian Glenn Stassen (1936-2014). Begin with his collaborative book, *Just Peacemaking: Ten Practices for Abolishing War* (1998). He also authored a general book on Christian

social ethics with David P. Gushee (1962-), *Kingdom Ethics: Following Jesus in Contemporary Context* (2003). Eli Sasaran, a Catholic, has written *Becoming Non-Violent Peacemakers: A Virtue Ethic for Catholic Social Teaching and U.S. Policy* (2012), a book whose many innovations are implied by its title. Daniel Philpott (1967-), a Catholic political scientist, has written *Just and Unjust Peace: An Ethic of Reconciliation* (2012), which roots an ethic of political reconciliation in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam.

Theologian Walter Wink (1935-2012) wrote a series of five books on “the powers” that view politics in light of the Bible and its conception of power, strongly emphasizing non-violence and peace.

Jürgen Moltmann (1926-) is one of the most famous German theologians in the post-World War II period and has had an international influence. He developed a version of liberation theology stressing God’s suffering with humanity. See his trilogy, *The Theology of Hope* (1967), *The Crucified God* (1974), and the *Church in the Power of the Spirit* (1975).

Theologian Miroslav Volf (1956-), Henry B. Wright Professor of Theology at Yale University, is well known for his work on reconciliation and forgiveness in public life and has written numerous essays and books more generally on political theology. A Croat, Volf was inspired to write about reconciliation by the experience of the war in Yugoslavia of 1991-1995. His first book, *Exclusion and Embrace: A Theological Exploration of Identity, Otherness, and Reconciliation* (2019), received wide attention and did much to put reconciliation on the map as a topic for Christian political ethics.

John Witte, a professor of law at Emory University, is extraordinarily prolific, with his website showing him having published 280 articles, 17 journal symposia, and 37 books. He has written on Christianity and democracy, human rights, religious liberty, and law, and on the development of rights in early modern Europe. His monograph, *The Reformation of Rights: Law, Religion, and Human Rights in Early Modern Calvinism* (2007), exemplifies his work, combining religion, law, and historical analysis.

Timothy P. Jackson (1954), a theologian at Emory University, has written widely in social ethics, including a trilogy of monographs looking at politics through *agape*, or Christian love. These include *Love Disconsoled: Meditations on Christian Charity* (1999), *The Priority of Love: Christian Charity and Social Justice* (2002), and *Political Agape: Prophetic Christianity and Liberal Democracy* (2015).

Several **other Protestant political thinkers** merit mention:

Martin Luther King, Jr. (1929-1968) should not be overlooked as a political theologian. Begin with his writings collected in *A Testament of Hope* (1991).

Jean Bethke Elshtain (1941-2013) was a Christian ethicist of the past generation who wrote on feminism, just war theory, sovereignty, democracy, Jane Addams, and

Augustine. Her career culminated in holding the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Chair at the University of Chicago Divinity School, which she took up in 1995. Her book, *Sovereignty: God, State, and Self* (2008) is a synthesis of her political thought and a good introduction to her work.

Nigel Biggar (1955-) succeeded Oliver O'Donovan as Regius Professor of Moral and Pastoral Theology at the University of Oxford. He has written on war, transitional justice, the ethics of colonialism, the thought of Karl Barth, and other topics. His book, *In Defence of War* (2014), challenges much thinking about the justice of war – its stress on a “presumption against war” and its yen towards pacifism – in the past generation.

Robert Jenson (1930-2017), an American Lutheran theologian, known most of all for his systematic theology, has written several essays on political theology.

Eric Gregory, Professor of Religion at Princeton University, is a Christian theologian who has written a major book proposing an Augustinian interpretation of contemporary democracy, *Politics and the Order of Love: An Augustinian Ethic of Democratic Citizenship* (2008).

David Koyzis (1955-), a Canadian political theorist (with a Ph.D. in political science from Notre Dame), writes in the Dutch Reformed tradition and is author of *Political Visions & Illusions: A Survey & Christian Critique of Contemporary Ideologies* (2003) among other books and essays.

David VanDrunen (1971-), a theologian writing in the Reformed tradition, has written widely on political theology, especially on natural law, public law, justice and mercy, and the doctrine of the two kingdoms. He is part of a group of Protestant scholars who have sought to incorporate natural law into political theology. His *Politics After Christendom: Political Theology in a Fractured World* (2020) is one of the major contemporary books presenting a thorough and systematic political theology, his being rooted in the Noahic Law. See also his previous *Natural Law and the Two Kingdoms* (2010) and *Divine Covenants and Moral Order: A Biblical Theology of Natural Law* (2014).

The contributions of political thinkers in the **Orthodox Christian tradition** are too often overlooked but ought not to be. Alexander Schmemmann (1921-1983), an Orthodox priest, teacher and writer who lived most of his life in the United States, is an eminence grise in this tradition, whose book, *For the Life of the World* (1970), set forth a theology of engagement in social and political life rooted in the liturgy. John Meyendorff (1926-1992), also an Orthodox theologian in the United States, has written widely in theology with some of his works bearing on social ethics. A prolific Orthodox ethicist in the U.S. is Vigen Guroian, whose writings bear implications for politics. See also the work of Francis Dvornik, *Early Christian and Byzantine Political Philosophy: Origins and Background* (1966). The current Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople, Bartholomew I (1940-), is known for his advocacy of ecology, human rights, and religious freedom. See also the more recent book, Aristotle Papanikolaou, *The Mystical as Political*

Democracy and Non-Radical Orthodoxy, an Orthodox defense of liberal democracy and of the contributions that Orthodoxy can make to it.

Certain Christian thinkers have contributed to international relations thought. Catholics who have thought about the international order including Jacques Maritain and John Finnis, are mentioned above. Martin Wight (1913-1972), an Anglican, was one of the leading British international relations theorists of the early 20th century and also a Christian who defended pacifism on Christian grounds (see article on the role of his faith in his thought by Scott Thomas in bibliography). Herbert Butterfield (1900-1979) was a Cambridge University historian who drew from his Christian commitments in his thought and wrote about statecraft and international relations. Theologian Max Stackhouse (1935-2016) was an American Protestant theologian who wrote about public theology in general and, in the latter part of his career, on globalization. David Little (1933-), an American scholar of religion, has written about nationalism, human rights, and religious freedom, informed by his Christian faith. A recent book by William Bain (1967-), *Political Theology of International Order* (2020), traces Christian thought about international society from medieval through early modern times, offering an original argument about the bases of international order.

Christian political thinkers, Catholic and Protestants alike, have also given thought to the general question of **Christian engagement in public life**. Richard Mouw (1940-), a Protestant theologian and President of Fuller Seminary from 1993 to 2013, hails from the Dutch Reformed Tradition, was influenced by Kuyper, and wrote widely on subjects intersecting with politics, including pluralism, as in *Pluralisms and Horizons: An Essay in Christian Public Philosophy*, a book he published with Sander Griffioen in 1993. Catholic theologian Thomas Bushlack has written *Politics for a Pilgrim Church: A Thomistic Theory of Civic Virtue* (2015), one of whose themes is an exploration of the relationship between nature and grace and its implications for public life. David Thunder's excellent *Citizenship and the Pursuit of the Worthy Life* (2014) criticizes both Rawlsian liberalism and Niebuhrian realism for sidelining the pursuit of virtue in the life of the citizen. Charles Mathewes's *Theology of Public Life* (2007) defends Christian participation in public life on the terms of the believer's Christian faith. Luke Bretherton is a theologian at Duke University who has written influential books on Christianity and democracy, stressing community organizing and reform movements. See his *Christ and the Common Life: A Guide to Political Theology* (2019). Cathleen Kaveny's writings include *Law's Virtues: Fostering Autonomy and Solidarity in American Society* (Georgetown University Press, 2012); *A Culture of Engagement: Law, Religion, and Morality* (Georgetown University Press, 2016); *Prophecy without Contempt: Religious Discourse in the Public Square* (Harvard University Press, 2016); and *Ethics at the Edges of Law: Christian Moralists and American Legal Thought* (Oxford University Press, 2018). Consonant with this strand are evangelical Protestant thinkers who are reviving the place of natural law in evangelical political thought, which was present in protestant thought but was muffled in the twentieth century due to the influence of Karl Barth as well as thinkers in the school of John Howard Yoder (see above). An excellent collection of essays with representative pieces by leading authors is edited by Bryan T. McGraw, Jesse David Covington, and Micah Joel Watson (in addition to pieces by the editors, see those by David VanDrunen and Daryl Charles).

The vast majority of thinkers in this essay have been westerners and U.S. figures at that. For more **global perspectives**, see again the *Eerdmans Reader in Contemporary Political Theology*, which has an excellent selection of Christian political thought across several continents. Several African Christian political thinkers are worth noting Archbishop Desmond Tutu's (1931-) book, *No Future Without Forgiveness* (1999), innovatively explores forgiveness in the setting of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission and draws from Ubuntu theology. Emmanuel Katongole (1960-), a Ugandan priest and theologian at Notre Dame, has written several books and articles on political theology in a comparative African context. See his *Sacrifice of Africa* (2010) and his *Born From Lament* (2017). Agbonkhianmeghe Orobator, S.J. is a Jesuit priest from Nigeria and theologian who has written about peacebuilding, justice, the care for creation, and economic development in the context of African political settings. Cecelia Lynch, a political scientist at the University of California, Irvine, has recently written, *Wrestling with God: Ethical Precarity in Christianity and International Relations* (2020), an impressive study of how Christians involved in international politics wrestle with ethical dilemmas.

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