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Assessing the Applicability of Christian Just War Theory to the U.S. Use of Drones in North Waziristan, Pakistan

Seneca H. Forch

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Is it a Sin to Use a Drone?

Assessing the Applicability of Christian Just War Theory to the U.S. Use of Drones in

North Waziristan, Pakistan

Seneca H. Forch

Political Science, Peace and Justice Studies

Dr. Matthew Bolton

Political Science

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Abstract

Just War Theory offers a three-tiered framework of criterion to determine whether or not conduct in various stages of war is rightly observed by state and non-state actors. These criterion are defined under *Jus ad Bellum* (pre-war), *Jus in Bello* (during war) and *Jus Post Bellum* (after the war). Various cultural and religious traditions have outlined its own views on just war theory, and have applied it to the use and development and of advanced war technologies. Using the Christian lens of Just War Theory, this paper seeks to find out whether or not it is a sin to use an armed drone. To answer the question, this paper analyzes the principles, ideas and doctrines that define Christian Just War Theory, pointing out key points and arguments as it applies to the use of armed drones. A case study follows the literature review, looking at the U.S. use of armed drones in the North Waziristan agency of Pakistan. It analyzes the methods in which they are used, as well as the overall impact it has had on the Waziri population. The analysis is put into conversation with the principles, ideas and doctrines that define Christian Just War Theory, determining whether or not are they observe its ideals. In the end, this paper finds the use of armed drones to be a sin on two charges: actual mode of operation, and methods of use by government operatives. The conclusion seeks additional conversation on the thesis question not just in the Christian community, but in other religious communities as well.

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Introduction

Christian Just War Theory (JWT) incorporates the use and interpretation of Biblical doctrine to outline how war should be viewed and conducted. Early mid-2nd Century Bishop St. Augustine of Hippo, and 11th Century Dominican priest St. Thomas Aquinas are both considered to be its pioneers. As it pertains to Christian JWT, contemporary theorists have all consistently drawn back on their work and references to Biblical doctrine. With this in mind, the development of armed drones (also termed as Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (UAVs)) bring the translation of foundational Christian Just War principles into question. These foundational principles were established long before current technological development, begging the question of how such principles apply presently. However, by looking at how the Catholic Church addressed the use of crossbows under Pope Innocent II in the 10th Century (one of the early forms of projecting violence through space)¹, and how just war theorists have contributed since then, such principles of Christian JWT are still relevant. Rooted in the works of St. Augustine and St. Aquinas, JWT is still able to play a key role in addressing whether armed drones are 1.) more *Just*, 2.) inherently unjust, *or* 3.) have the ability or potential to be just when used appropriately.

UAVs in the context of government use are technology systems that “provide near real time reconnaissance, surveillance and target acquisition.”² In short, UAVs survey an area, providing real time data back to base. This is carried out through the installation of advanced Artificial Intelligence technologies. As it pertains to larger predator drones, (what has been used

¹ Pope Innocent II, "Second Lateran Council 1139 A.D," Papal Encyclicals, last modified December 12, 2017

² Department of the Army, Federation Of American Scientists – Science for a Safer, More Informed World, accessed May 14, 2019, <https://fas.org/irp/doddir/army/fmi3-04-155.pdf>.

by the U.S.), the release missile strikes on the command of the pilot controlling it (remotely). When the command is released, the attack cannot be overridden.³

U.S. use of armed drones in North Waziristan began in 2005, as part of military operations in the War on Terror. To date, Northern Waziristan has endured the greatest amount of UAV assaults by the U.S.⁴ North Waziristan is located in what was previously known as Pakistan's Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) (See Appendix A, Figure 1 and 2). During the onset of the War on Terror, FATA states (agencies henceforth) were high-functioning headquarters for insurgent groups.⁵

Until 2018, the FATA maintained semi-autonomous status, maintaining traditional systems of justice without subjection to the rulings and laws of Pakistani high courts.⁶ At the time, however, the FATA still remained subject to the authority of the President of Pakistan. The lack of previous government involvement in FATA was a major reason why terrorist groups like the Taliban and Al Qaeda used Waziristan as headquarters for training and recruitment. In 2018, the FATA was merged with Pakistan's Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) region (see Appendix 1, Figure 3) by President Mamnoon Hussain through the 25th Constitutional Amendment Bill, an agreement between the Pakistani Government and FATA tribal leaders.⁷ Because the former FATA regions came under government jurisdiction, the Pakistani government now has the ability to intervene in its regional affairs when necessary.

³ Department of the Army, Federation Of American Scientists – Science for a Safer, More Informed World

⁴ The Bureau, "Pakistan: Reported US Strikes 2018," The Bureau of Investigative Journalism, accessed May 9, 2019, <https://www.thebureauinvestigates.com/drone-war/data/pakistan-reported-us-strikes-2018>.

⁵ Shuja Nawaz, "FATA—A Most Dangerous Place: Meeting the Challenge of Militancy and Terror in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas of Pakistan," Center For Strategic & International Studies, accessed May 14, 2019, <https://csis-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs->

⁶ Farid Alam, "Dismantling Pakistan's Tribal Areas," The Asia Foundation, last modified December 12, 2018, <https://asiafoundation.org/2018/10/24/dismantling-pakistans-tribal-areas/>.

⁷ Amir Wasim, "President Signs KP-Fata Merger Bill into Law," DAWN.COM, last modified May 31, 2018, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1411156>.

By the end of my research, I found the use of armed drones to be a sin. In hand with findings on how armed drones work, and how the U.S. uses, I found the use of drones to be in violation of the precepts and principles set forth under Christian JWT.

Methodology

For the sake of this paper, when asking the question “Is it a sin to use an armed drone?”, sin will be defined as a violation of principles under the auspices of morality and Christian JWT. The paper outlines the standards of Christian JWT under each respective category: *Jus ad Bellum*, *Jus in Bello*, and *Jus Post Bellum*. The case study follows the same format, analyzing the conduct of the U.S. carried out under each category. Drawing from the ideals and conduct outlined, the paper provides an assessment that outlines the reasoning as to why it is a sin to use a drone.

The United States was chosen for the case study because it stands as the world’s leader in drone technology.⁸ By osmosis, pointed out by Adriana Edmeades, U.S. methods of drone use influences use by other countries.⁹ North Waziristan has sustained the largest concentration of drone attacks by the U.S. in the Middle East.¹⁰ It is for this reason that North Waziristan was chosen as the case study’s geographic focus. Due to the inability to work directly in the field of the case study, this paper draws from diverse sources in its inquiry method. Under the *Jus ad bellum* frame, governmental documents are analyzed and discussed to understand the cause of what initiated the use of drones in North Waziristan. In the *Jus in bello* frame, this paper

⁸ Robert Farley, "The Five Most Deadly Drone Powers in the World," *The National Interest*, last modified February 15, 2015, <https://nationalinterest.org/feature/the-five-most-deadly-drone-powers-the-world-12255>.

⁹ Adriana Edmeades, "'International Law Perspectives'; The Humanitarian Impact of Drones," *ReliefWeb - Informing Humanitarians Worldwide*, accessed May 14, 2019, <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/humanitarian-impact-of-drones.pdf>.

¹⁰ The Bureau of Investigative Journalism, "The Bush Years: Pakistan Strikes 2004 ? 2009," *The Bureau of Investigative Journalism*, accessed April 22, 2019, <https://www.thebureauinvestigates.com/drone-war/data/the-bush-years-pakistan-strikes-2004-2009>.

analyzes legislation and reports on drones pertaining to their use in North Waziristan. Finally, this paper analyzes whether or not actions being taken by the U.S. in North Waziristan observe necessary steps towards just peace, codified under *Jus Post Bellum*. The information gathered will in hope, encourage the Christian Community, and even other religious communities to look deeper into the topic of armed drone use.

Literature Review

Christian JWT is the understanding of how just war theory has been conceived and applied in Christian thought and ethics.¹¹ Christian Just War theorists have used the works of St. Augustine and St. Aquinas as a basis to build upon, deriving from Biblical principles to address evolving issues and ideas. When applied to the U.S. use of armed drones, and overall military conduct, there has been much debate around whether or not these operations meet the standard of just war ideals. This literature review will analyze the requisites necessary for the just prescription and conduct of war. It will outline the standards of Christian JWT, and then apply it to the arguments and general use of armed drones.

Jus Ad Bellum

“We do not seek peace in order to be at war, but we go to war that we may have peace.”

- St. Augustine¹²

In legal terms, *Jus ad Bellum* deals with the interactions of states and non-state actors before the initiation of war or armed conflict. It addresses the consideration of whether or not force is

¹¹ Joseph Carter, “A Brief Introduction to the Just War Tradition: Jus Ad Bellum.” Ethics and Religious Liberty Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention, last modified August 17, 2017
<https://erlc.com/resource-library/articles/a-brief-introduction-to-the-just-war-tradition-jus-ad-bellum>

¹² St. Thomas Aquinas, St. Augustine *Summa Theologica, Volume 3 (Part II, Second Section)* (New York: Cosimo, 2013)

Marjorie Cohn and Harry Van Der Linden, *Drones and Targeted Killing: Legal, Moral, and Geopolitical Issues* (New York: Interlink Publishing, 2014)

justified, and analyzes the extent to which it can be used. Jus ad Bellum is held to a common universal standard, stating that for war to be just, it must observe the following framework criteria:

Table 3
The Just War Tradition as a Source of Criteria for Ethical Judgment¹³

<i>The jus ad bellum: Criteria defining the right to resort to force</i>
<i>Just Cause:</i> The protection and preservation of value
<i>Right Authority:</i> The person or body authorizing the use of force must be the duly authorized representative of a sovereign political entity
<i>Right Intention:</i> The intent must be in accord with the just cause and not territorial aggrandizement, intimidation, or coercion
<i>Proportionality of Ends:</i> The overall good achieved by the use of force must be greater than the harm done
<i>Last Resort:</i> Determination at the time of the decision to employ force that no other means will achieve the justified ends sought.
<i>Reasonable Hope of Success:</i> Prudential calculation of the likelihood that the means used will bring the justified ends sought.
<i>The Aim of Peace:</i> Establishment of international stability, security, and peaceful interaction

As pointed out, just cause for war requires a necessity to physically protect the state as a result of sustained threats or attacks. In discussing Just Cause in the Christian lens, it is important to note the Biblical imagery of *the body*. The Bible outlines a figurative body of people from all nations, working together as a unit under a bond of peace.¹⁴ In the case of nations, a nation is one

¹³ James T. Johnson, *Morality and Contemporary Warfare* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), p. 29

¹⁴ Hendrickson Publishers, "1 Corinthians 12:12-13; Ephesians 4:1-4" in *The Holy Bible: New International Version* (Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 2004), "*Just as a body, though one, has many parts, but all its many parts form one body, so it is with Christ. 13 For we were all baptized by one Spirit so as to form one body—whether Jews or Gentiles, slave or free—and we were all given the one Spirit to drink. 14 Even so the body is not made up of one part but of many.*" (1 Corinthians 12:12-13)

"As a prisoner in the Lord, then, I urge you to walk in a manner worthy of the calling you have received: 2 with all humility and gentleness, with patience, bearing with one another in love, 3 and with diligence to preserve the unity of the Spirit through the bond of peace. 4 There is one body and one Spirit, just as you were called to one hope when you were called." (The Apostle Paul, Ephesians 4:1-4)

body, and united with others, creates one that is large, and all-encompassing. They all play a role in the proper functioning of an international body as “organs”. Dr. Brian Orend argues that “Metaphorically, a war, justly prosecuted, is something like radical surgery: an extreme yet necessary measure to be taken in defense of fundamental values, such as human rights, against severe threats to them, such as violent aggression.”¹⁵ Drawing from this analogy, when one nation (an organ) comes in conflict with the norms of the body (as outlined by Orend), or the function of another nation, there is a rupture to the whole body. If not properly addressed, irreparable damage occurs. War, in the Christian tradition, is a figurative prescription to the ailment of “the body”, addressing vitals that are under attack, or requiring a better existing environment to survive. It is necessary at times, but if incorrectly prescribed, more damage is done than good (thus the bond of peace is destroyed).

The demand of the Christian faith is to live at peace with everyone as far as one can control.¹⁶ Before just cause for war can be viable, all means of diplomacy to maintain peace must have either been tried and/ or rendered ineffective.¹⁷ In light of considering retribution for offense, Aquinas stated, “Those who are assailed (violently attacked) should deserve to be assailed for some fault they have committed.”¹⁸ Consideration for war must be proportionate with the ill-intentioned attack sustained. Just war is the retribution of an unapologetic violation of a greater good- a just chastisement. When weighing the option of war, Harry Van Der Linden stated that “What is required for “just cause” is that the threat has a magnitude large enough so

¹⁵ Annalisa Koeman and Brian Orend, "A Realistic and Effective Constraint on the Resort to Force? Pre-commitment to Jus in Bello and Jus Post Bellum as Part of the Criterion of Right Intention," *Journal of Military Ethics* 6, no. 3 (2007): xx, doi:10.1080/15027570701585373.

¹⁶Hendrickson Publishers, "Romans 12:18" in *The Holy Bible: New International Version* (Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 2004), "If it is possible, as far as it depends on you, live at peace with everyone."

¹⁷ Hendrickson Publishers, "Matthew 18:15-17." "Moreover, if thy brother shall trespass against thee..."

¹⁸ St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica, Volume 3 (Part II, Second Section)* (New York: Cosimo, 2013)

that war becomes a reasonable option.”¹⁹ Even in the face of ill-intended aggression, war is not always a justified option. The goal of the war must be to preserve or restore the peace and security of the state. Thus, consideration requires keen discernment, which requires the judgment of the nation’s rulers.

Right authority under Jus ad Bellum outlines two criteria: Who decides to go to war, and how war is to be legally declared. It is the governing head that must decide whether or not to go to war, and it is thus their responsibility to properly declare and initiate war. The state, though sovereign, is still accountable and subject to the rules and regulations of international law.²⁰ In addressing who can declare war, the Christian tradition places emphasis on systems of authority as a sacred precept. In the consideration of just war, St. Aquinas and St. Augustine both point to Romans 13:1-7:

For rulers are not a terror to good conduct, but to bad. Do you want to be unafraid of the authority? Do what is good, and you will have its approval. For it is God’s servant for your good. But if you do wrong, be afraid, because it does not carry the sword for no reason. For it is God’s servant, an avenger that brings wrath on the one who does wrong.²¹

Because rulers have the divine obligation to maintain the peace and security of the state, protocol for the retribution of a violation must rest solely upon their judgment. The usurping of such authority by internal organizations or corporations sets grounds for discord and the confusion of justice, disqualifying the notion of just war. Divine order must fall from the head down, as

¹⁹ Marjorie Cohn and Harry Van Der Linden, *Drones and Targeted Killing: Legal, Moral, and Geopolitical Issues* (New York: Interlink Publishing, 2014),

²⁰ James T. Johnson

²¹ Hendrickson Publishers, "Romans 13:1-7" in *The Holy Bible: New International Version* (Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 2004); Wilfrid Parsons, "The Influence of Romans XIII on Christian Political Thought II. Augustine ton Hinemar," Catholic University, Washington D.C, accessed May 14, 2019, <http://cdn.theologicalstudies.net/2/2.3/2.3.2.pdf>.

pointed out by David in the book of Psalms.²² In this same manner, the intentions of the ruler must be upright when initiating war.

When considering morality, the right intention of waging war is to arrest factors that collide with the livelihood of just peace, and to maintain the cause to restore peace throughout the course of the war. In the Christian tradition, right intention is regarded as one of the most important factors to take into account in the cause for just war. Christian JWT demands deep consideration and meditation of such matters, demanding an unwavering element of love and charity. In accordance to Biblical doctrine, Paul Ramsey points out the Christian virtue of loving one's neighbor, believing that the concept of love should never be divorced from the concept of justice, especially in war.²³ The inclusion of this ideal challenges rulers to truly consider their motives before going to war. Under the conviction of love demanded in the Bible, it becomes a requirement for rulers to search themselves and consider why war is necessary.²⁴ Revenge, in this case, should have no place in the consideration of war. After all, Jus ad Bellum's final criteria is "Reasonable Hope of Success"—a reasonable chance of restoring peace and prosperity in a way that outweighs the overall cost of the war.

Under Jus ad Bellum, the use of armed drones is inherently unjust, as it violates the proportionality of just war. Alejandro Chehtman pointed out the reasoning for this, stating that "their perceived advantages in terms of greater discrimination would be counteracted by the

²² Hendrickson Publishers, "Psalm 133:1-3" in *The Holy Bible: New International Version* (Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 2004)

²³ Paul Ramsey, *The Just War: Force and Political Responsibility* (Lanham: University Press of Amer, 1968); Hendrickson Publishers, "Mark 12:31," in *The Holy Bible: New International Version* (Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 2004), "Love your neighbor as yourself. There is no command greater than these."

²⁴ Ibid

lesser chance of success in achieving the just cause for war.”²⁵ If drones were to be used under Jus ad Bellum as a reactionary measure, moral principles of just war and international law would be violated just as bad as the initial act of aggression sustained. Biblical doctrine upholds this ideal, instructing that “if anyone slaps you on the right cheek, turn to them the other cheek also.”

²⁶ An initial attack should not result in an immediate counter or reactive attack. There has to be rational consideration to determine whether not counterattack (let alone war) is 1.) worth it and 2.) justifiable. This makes way for a lucrative transition to war (if declared) that adheres to ideals of Just War Theory and International Law.

There is much debate about the proper observation of Jus ad Bellum, revolving specifically around right authority and the onset of drone use. The United States stands at the center of this debate, given its declaration of the War on Terror in 2001. Following the 9/11 attacks by Al Qaeda, the Bush Administration, with the backing of Congress, passed S.J. Res. 23 Bill- the Authorization for the Use of Military Force (AUMF). Its operative clause states-

The President is authorized to use all necessary and appropriate force against those nations, organizations, or persons he determines planned, authorized, committed, or aided the terrorist attacks that occurred on September 11, 2001, or harbored such organizations or persons, in order to prevent any future acts of international terrorism against the United States by such nations, organizations or persons.²⁷

Given the large scale attack carried out by Al Qaeda on 9/11, the United States did have just cause to go to war. However, when analyzing the document’s observation of Jus ad Bellum,

²⁵ Alejandro Chehtman, "The ad bellum Challenge of Drones: Recalibrating Permissible Use of Force," *European Journal of International Law* 28, no. 1 (2017): xx, doi:10.1093/ejil/chx001.

²⁶ Hendrickson Publishers, "Matthew 5:38-40" in *The Holy Bible: New International Version* (Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 2004)

²⁷ The United States Government, *Authorization for Use of Military Force in Response to the 9/11 Attacks (P.L. 107-40): Legislative History*, (2006).

there is an issue to be addressed. Jon Todd outlined violations of the Hague Conventions, which outlines components of lawful combatancy.²⁸ Under the Hague Conventions set forth in 1907 by the United States, and other foreign countries, articles were set that outlined the proper declaration of war:

Article 1 The Contracting Powers recognize that hostilities between themselves must not commence without previous and explicit warning, in the form either of a reasoned declaration of war or of an ultimatum with conditional declaration of war.

Article 2 The existence of a state of war must be notified to the neutral Powers without delay, and shall not take effect in regard to them until after the receipt of a notification, which may, however, be given by telegraph. Neutral Powers, nevertheless, cannot rely on the absence of notification if it is clearly established that they were in fact aware of the existence of a state of war.²⁹

Taking these articles into consideration, the AUMF does not qualify as a proper declaration of war. It does not outline the extent of force to be utilized, nor does it outline the countries in which it would intervene. In looking at the AUMF's operative clause, warnings are preemptively lacking, and neutral and accused countries are not outlined whatsoever. Al Qaeda and its affiliates are neither a state nor city, but a network. The nations in which they forcibly maintain residence did not commit the act of aggression that resulted in the War on Terror. In many ways, the AUMF is a blank check to "best serve the needs of America's 'War on Terror,' as Thomas McDonnell states.³⁰ The outlined use of force falls outside the scope of international law, especially if the countries in which they intervened were not first consulted.³¹ Previous protocol

²⁸ Jon Todd, "Rewriting the AUMF – Bringing Guidance to Executive Decisions on Combatancy and Returning the U.S. to the Path of the War Convention," University of Pennsylvania Law School • Penn Law, accessed May 14, 2019, <https://www.law.upenn.edu/live/files/3110-todd-rewriting-aumf>.

²⁹ "The Laws of War : Opening of Hostilities (Hague III); October 18, 1907," Avalon Project - Documents in Law, History and Diplomacy, accessed May 14, 2019, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/hague03.asp#art2.

³⁰ Thomas McDonnell, "Rule of Law in the Age of the Drone: Requiring Transparency and Disqualifying Clandestine Actors—the CIA and the Joint Special Operations Command," University of Miami Law Review, accessed May 14, 2019, https://lawreview.law.miami.edu/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/McDonnell__p34.pdf.

³¹ Center For Ethics and Rule of Law, "Considerations for a New Authorization for the Use of Military Force," University of Pennsylvania Law School, accessed May 9, 2019, <https://www.law.upenn.edu/live/files/7911-aumf-policy-note-final20-april-2018pdf>.

and declarations for war in World War II and the Vietnam War reveal the United States' awareness of proper protocol for declaring war. If the bill is what is to be considered the United States' declaration of war, then it is in the wrong. The concept of right intention under the AUMF is violated on paper, as motives for revenge are more apparent than motives to restore just peace.

Overall, in the consideration of diagnosing “surgery,” as Dr. Orend puts it, it is vital to pursue all possible avenues of mitigating threats and promoting peace before considering war. If such efforts fail, there has to be a lucrative transition from these efforts to the use of force. By principle, the immediate use of force, especially where incorporating the use of Lethal Autonomous Weapons (LAWS), is inherently unjust. Such use could classify as motives for violence that stand apart from justified use defined under Just War Theory.

Jus in Bello

Jus in Bello, as outlined by the Bouvier Law Dictionary, is “the body of legal norms governing battle and occupation - the "conduct of individuals and units toward combatants, non-combatants, property, and the environment.”³² Jus in Bello upholds the criteria of discrimination (noncombatant protection/ immunity), right intention, proportionality of means (use of force) and military necessity/ responsibility.³³ As a universal standard, unarmed civilians and noncombatants are off limits in the onslaught of war; they should never be targets of war violence. Right of intention entails that the cause of war is maintained from start to finish- to restore peace. Proportionality brings into question whether or not the resources and force applied in war are proportionate with the intended goal to restore peace. Finally, military necessity and

³² Steve Sheppard, *The Wolters Kluwer Bouvier Law Dictionary* (New York: Wolters Kluwer Law & Business, 2012), , accessed March 5, 2019, <http://www.constitution.org/bouv/bouvierw.txt>.

³³Lester R. Kurtz and Jennifer Turpin, *Encyclopedia of Violence, Peace, and Conflict* (Cambridge: Academic Press, 1999)

responsibility require that the use of military force is proportionate to the threat being targeted and that the army maintains the discipline to cease or abstain from violent operations when necessary. In the consideration of combating terrorism, best possible adherence to the outlined criteria is still required. These assessments are made in lieu of the fact that in principle “Violations are punishable under customary international law and international legal instruments.”³⁴

Aquinas’ and Augustine’s criteria for Just War do not come without caution and chastisement. Aquinas, using the basis of Matthew 26:52³⁵ stressed the importance of understanding and taking an effective war strategy that best avoided unnecessary bloodshed. St. Augustine stated “Eagerness to hurt, bloodthirsty desire of revenge, an untamed and unforgiving temper, ferocity in renewing the struggle, dust of empire,—these and the like excesses are justly blamed in war.” War should never be prolonged beyond the intent of restoring peace. To prolong war is to uphold the risk of, more innocent blood on one’s hands than required.

Terrorism is not excluded under Christian JWT Reverting back to the imagery of the body, Christian Just War Theorists classifies terrorism as a sort of cancer. It compromises the status of innocence among unarmed civilians and noncombatants, attacking the criteria of discrimination.³⁶ In such a case, best moral judgment is required in accordance to the Just War criteria outlined. This is done with the knowledge that that even though it may look like threats have been eradicated, the “cancers” can still return.

³⁴ Jennifer Allison, "Program on International Law and Armed Conflict: Home," Research Guides, , accessed March 26, 2019, <https://guides.library.harvard.edu/PILAC>.

³⁵ Hendrickson Publishers, "Matthew 26:52" in *The Holy Bible: New International Version* (Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 2004) “...all that take the sword shall perish with the sword.”

³⁶ Paul Ramsey, *The Just War: Force and Political Responsibility* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1968)

At present, it appears that the Christian Community is conflicted in its view on armed drones. On one side, armed drones are deemed permissible under strict regulations, but on the other, drones are viewed as a violation of Christian principles and international law human rights. At the 2013 United Nations Annual Meeting of the High Contracting Parties to the Convention Which May Be Deemed to Be Excessively Injurious or to Have Indiscriminate Effects (CCW), the Holy See pointed out the lack of drones to make moral judgments (i.e. concerning life and death, human rights observance, etc.), a complexity requiring the human mind. In this way, it criticized the lack of transparency in government drone use, given their failure to show how they train operatives and judge whether or not an armed drone should be used. This lack of transparency is a contributing factor to the lack of moral and legal accountability of countries that use drones.³⁷ To combat this matter, the Holy See stated that “Armed drone- like any other weapon- are and should always be subject to the rules and moral principles these judicial instruments propose.”³⁸ The World Council of Churches takes a similar position on the matter of drones, displayed through its signing of the Joint Civil Society Statement on Drones. It pointed to the countries’ methods of drone use as the major issue to be addressed when discussing just conduct in war.³⁹

Though the opposing Christian school of thought (regarding drones) believe in the regulation of weapons in accordance to rules and moral principles, it believes that use of armed

³⁷ The Holy See, "Remarks on the Holy See's Statement on Weaponized Drones," Just Security, last modified May 8, 2015, <https://www.justsecurity.org/3987/statement-holy-see-weaponized-drones/>.

³⁸ *ibid*

³⁹UN General Assembly First Committee on Disarmament and International Security, "Joint civil society statement on armed drones," Drone Warfare: a Pressing Moral and Spiritual Issue - Interfaith Network on Drone Warfare, accessed May 15, 2019, https://www.interfaithdronenetwork.org/images/1C_drones_statement_FINAL_002.pdf.

drones are sinful in itself.⁴⁰ Due to the fact that it lacks the ability to make moral decisions, especially in the case of life and death, it is believed that armed drones violate the essence of human rights. On the topic of drones, the Methodist Church claims that such weapons “fracture the fragility of peace.”⁴¹ They claim that the use of armed drones are inherently unjust in two ways: their mode of operation, and their autonomy. Caritas in Veritate also pointed out that with the use of drones, there is a violation of discrimination. It stated that “People can feel a threat above them and also a sense of being under permanent surveillance.”⁴² That in itself is an invasion, if not an attack on noncombatant. Even if a weapon does not directly deliver lethal force, it may have a harmful effect on the communities in which they are used. Let us consider the situation with the use of drones (autonomous or not).

In his argument on drone warfare, Dr. Harry Van der Linden stated that drone warfare “seems to be thus far the best enabler of war as ‘alienated war,’ that is, war as a collective activity that no longer requires public sacrifice and moral commitment.”⁴³ If what Harry Van der Linden says is indeed fact concerning the lack of contact, and its correlation to prolonging war, there is a violation of Just War Theory to be addressed. Prolonged war entails prolonged violence, which gets in the way of the war’s supposed cause to reconcile peace. Given the issue of face-to-face versus remote-controlled combat, this calls to question, the observance of the ICRC *Customary International Humanitarian Law (IHL)* as it pertains to potential cases of

⁴⁰ United Methodist Communications, "Book of Resolutions: The United Methodist Church and Peace – The United Methodist Church," The United Methodist Church, last modified December 19, 2008, <http://www.umc.org/what-we-believe/the-united-methodist-church-and-peace>.

⁴¹Ibid.

⁴² Dominique Lambert, “The Humanization of Robots: Lethal Autonomous Weapons Systems and Ethics” Caritas in Veritate Foundation, accessed May 7, 2019, <http://www.fciv.org/downloads/WP9-Book.pdf>.

⁴³Marjorie Cohn and Harry Van Der Linden, *Drones and Targeted Killing: Legal, Moral, and Geopolitical Issues* (New York: Interlink Publishing, 2014),

unnecessary suffering.⁴⁴ This, in itself, also brings into question whether or not the war being fought is still being fought to promote good and avoid evil. In any case, under the precepts of Christian Just War Theory, any sort of justification for the use of armed drones in war, must be that it used as a last resort- all other strategic contact-based combat had to have been tried.

The humanitarian impact of armed drones has brought the question of proportionality to the forefront. In a study on the psychological effects of drone warfare, it was found that the U.S. use of drones impacts not just civilians in targeted areas, but all parties involved. A greater incidence of PTSD was found among U.S. soldiers assigned to release drone strikes, due to ““existential conflict,” guilt and remorse over... witnessing collateral damage following their strikes.⁴⁵ Increase in psychological impact is not something that should be disregarded when considering proportionality of means in the context of Just War. If the mind is warped by conflict, it becomes an even greater challenge to restore peace.

Jus Post Bellum

Jus Post Bellum is best described as a transition from war to a fully realized just peace. It deals primarily with post-war justice and peacebuilding- addressing accountability to rebuild, stabilize, and move forward on all parts.⁴⁶ Applied to the Christian metaphor of the body, it is the post - operation healing and rehabilitation phase. Despite its importance, however, Jus Post Bellum stands as one of the least developed frames of Just War Theory.

⁴⁴ Nathalie Weizmann, "Remotely Piloted Aircraft and International Law," International Committee of the Red Cross, accessed May 7, 2019, <https://www.icrc.org/en/doc/assets/files/2013/remotely-piloted-aircraft-ihl-weizmann.pdf>.

⁴⁵ Alaa Hijazi et al., "Psychological Dimensions of Drone Warfare," Christopher J Ferguson, accessed May 7, 2019,

⁴⁶ Louis Iasiello, "Jus Post Bellum: The Moral Responsibilities of Victors in War," *Naval War College Review*, Volume 62, Number 1, Winter 2009 57 (2004): , accessed March 5, 2019, https://www.jstor.org/stable/26394128?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents.

St. Aquinas and St. Augustine outlined the moral responsibility of the victors of war to rebuild, reconcile, and restore positive peace.⁴⁷ When addressing Jus Post Bellum in Christian Just War Theory, political theorists often refer to the concept of “love your neighbor as yourself,” as a necessary basis.⁴⁸ This means that whatever resources a nation would use to heal, rebuild and advance, those same resources and care should be applied when working with other nations it impacts Brian Orend outlined that if war is to observe all just war components, healing, reconciliation and rehabilitation requires just as strong of an effort.⁴⁹

Jus Post Bellum must be a matter that is discussed before the onset of war, as a component of “Hope for Success” and “right intention”. Deriving from Aquinas, Just War theorists have argued that nation-states desiring to declare war should establish a pre-commitment to Jus Post Bellum in consideration of Jus ad Bellum.⁵⁰ Carsten Stahn points out the importance of pursuing and establishing a fair and Just Peace- a task that requires the equal contributions on both sides of the former armed conflict. This entails transparency and accountability on both sides, a factor that victors of the conflict are often less obliged to.⁵¹ To this matter, Stahn stated “the concept of a fair and just peace must be decoupled from the historical understanding which associated fairness with the idea of justice in favour of the party which had fought a

⁴⁷Stanford University, "Aquinas' Moral, Political, and Legal Philosophy (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy)," Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, accessed May 15, 2019, <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/aquinas-moral-political/>.

⁴⁸ Hendrickson Publishers, "Mark 12:31" in *The Holy Bible: New International Version* (Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 2004) “*Love your neighbor as yourself. There is no command greater than these.*”

⁴⁹ Annalisa Koeman and Brian Orend, "A Realistic and Effective Constraint on the Resort to Force? Pre-commitment to Jus in Bello and Jus Post Bellum as Part of the Criterion of Right Intention," *Journal of Military Ethics* 6, no. 3 (2007): xx, doi:10.1080/15027570701585373.

⁵⁰ Annalisa Koeman and Brian Orend, "A Realistic and Effective Constraint on the Resort to Force? Pre-commitment to Jus in Bello and Jus Post Bellum as Part of the Criterion of Right Intention," *Journal of Military Ethics* 6, no. 3 (2007): xx, doi:10.1080/15027570701585373.

⁵¹ Carsten Stahn, "Jus Ad Bellum, Jus in Bello . . . Jus Post Bellum? -Rethinking the Conception of the Law of Armed Force," *European Journal of International Law* 17, no. 5 (2006): , doi:10.1093/ejil/chl037.

just and lawful war (being a war which was waged for the right reasons).”⁵² Just war entails that victors no longer “take all the spoils,” and leave the defeated nation to rebuild itself, but rather, the victors help to rebuild the nation in the spirit of reestablishing positive peace. Johann Galtung, in an attempt to address this, proposed the Basic Needs Approach (BNA). He outlined needs as “a concept of necessity” that defines what is required to be “human”.⁵³ He proposed BNA as a concept of post-conflict peacebuilding, which translates into efforts Jus Post Bellum.

Unfortunately, the humanitarian perspective of reconstruction is often not well or fully observed. Some scholars translate Jus Post Bellum as measures that pertain to demilitarization, war trials and government reform.⁵⁴ While this is a part of Jus Post Bellum measures, it is not its entire definition. Andrew Rigby outlined that Just Post Bellum operations should maintain a criteria of inclusiveness, security, strengthening of state, economic reconstruction, and socio-cultural repair.⁵⁵ The full observance of these criteria are a challenge, but Priscilla Hayner has revealed its plausibility through studies and observances of truth commissions outlined in *Unspeakable Truths*.⁵⁶ Given that the use of armed drones in conflict-ridden areas is a more recent warfare tactic, the conflicts in which these war technologies are used have been on going. Jus Post Bellum in this case, remains more theoretical, on the basis of former conflicts. The data outlined in the literature review however, argue that drones are not tools of war that lead to Jus Post Bellum. Armed drones only prolongs conflict.

⁵² Carsten Stahn

⁵³ Johann Galtung, "The Basic Needs Approach," TRANSCEND International, accessed May 7, 2019,

⁵⁴ Carsten Stahn, "Jus Ad Bellum, Jus in Bello . . . Jus Post Bellum? -Rethinking the Conception of the Law of Armed Force," *European Journal of International Law* 17, no. 5 (2006): , doi:10.1093/ejil/chl037.

⁵⁵ Andrew Rigby, "Forgiveness and Reconciliation in Jus Post Bellum : Just War Theory," Oxford Index Home - Oi, accessed May 7, 2019, <https://oxfordindex.oup.com/view/10.3366/edinburgh/9780748620746.003.0009>.

⁵⁶Priscilla B. Hayner, *Unspeakable Truths: Transitional Justice and the Challenge of Truth Commissions* (2011),

In the overall summation of Christian Just War theory, idealized just use of drones remains complex. In questioning when and how to use drones, each Just War frame has its own set of criteria that complicate whether or not it is a “sin” to use a drone. The following case study hopes to contribute to the conversation, and hopefully bring an element of clarity. In showing the U.S. methods of drone use in hand with the bare minimal operations required to use a drone (outlined in the literature review), I find the use of a drone to be a sin.

Case Study: Use of U.S. Armed Drones in Northern Waziristan, Pakistan

U.S. use of armed UAVs in the North Waziristan region began under the George W. Bush Administration, four years into the War on Terror. Under the auspices of the Authorization for the Use of Military Force (AUMF), the Bush Administration initiated the use of armed drones to target alleged Al Qaeda and Taliban insurgents. When discussing the impact of U.S. drones, a Pashtun civilian of Northern Waziristan reported that altogether, they are caught between "the Taliban on one side, the army on the other, and drones above".⁵⁷ Violence and fear has essentially defined the contemporary history and affairs of the Waziristan agencies.⁵⁸

Jus ad Bellum

Following the 9/11 attacks, but prior to the passing of the AUMF, the United States pushed and successfully passed UN Security Council Resolution 1368. The resolution called for member states to unite against terrorism, working to bring justice to perpetrators.⁵⁹ Pakistan and other Middle Eastern countries were not able to offer input to the resolution, given that they were

⁵⁷ Tom Hussain, "FATA: Terrorists or Victims of a Covert War?," Breaking News, World News and Video from Al Jazeera, last modified September 12, 2016, <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2016/09/fata-terrorists-victims-covert-war-160912084500746.html>.

⁵⁸ Karin Zissis and Jayshree Bajoria, "Pakistan's Tribal Areas," Council on Foreign Relations, accessed April 22, 2019, <https://www.cfr.org/background/pakistans-tribal-areas>.

⁵⁹ UN Security Council, "Security Council Resolution 1368," UNSCR - Search Engine for the UN Security Council Resolutions, accessed May 14, 2019, <http://unscr.com/en/resolutions/1368>.

not involved with of the security council at the time. While this met standards of consulting the International community about combating terrorism, the United States was crafty in its intentions to deliver retribution for the 9/11 attacks. After successfully passing UNSCR 1368, The United States passed the AUMF two days later, which was used to initiate the War on Terror. When the AUMF was passed, Pakistan's FATA regions (North Waziristan especially included) were considered an area of interest for intervention in the War on Terror.⁶⁰ Given North Waziristan's high rate of poverty and semi-autonomy from Pakistani authority, it was a highly concentrated area of insurgent activity.⁶¹ In its pursuit of retribution, the United States appears to have made a misstep in its observance of Jus ad Bellum criterion. Though an ally, the United States did not consult with Pakistan on an armed intervention. Pakistan also received no warning of United States' intended operations in their country.⁶² In the onset of the war, U.S. troops invaded South Waziristan by way of its shared border with Afghanistan. Over time, U.S. operations spread to North Waziristan.⁶³ This conduct in itself is a violation of international law, given the U.S.'s violation of Pakistan's and Afghanistan's sovereignty, par Article 2(1)-(5) of the UN Charter.⁶⁴ Nonetheless, given the broad permissions on the use of force under the AUMF, U.S. use of armed drones in North Waziristan began five years into the War on Terror. As stated in the literature review, Al Qaeda and its affiliates are not a state, but a network that stretches across state and national borders. The targeting of these insurgent groups premeditatively entailed

⁶⁰ Bureau of Investigative Journalism

⁶¹ Frédéric Grare, "Pakistan-Afghanistan Relations in the Post-9/11 Era," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, accessed May 14, 2019, https://carnegieendowment.org/files/cp72_grare_final.pdf.

⁶² Lakki Marwat, "A Wild Frontier," *The Economist*, last modified September 18, 2008, <https://www.economist.com/asia/2008/09/18/a-wild-frontier>.

⁶³ <https://ir.lawnet.fordham.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=2275&context=ilj>

⁶⁴ United Nations, "Chapter I: Article 2(1)–(5) — Charter of the United Nations — Repertory of Practice of United Nations Organs — Codification Division Publications," United Nations - Office of Legal Affairs, accessed May 14, 2019, <http://legal.un.org/repertory/art2.shtml>.

negative impact on Waziri communities, where noncombatants would be either physically or psychologically caught in the crossfires.

Jus in Bello

Under the Bush Administration, a total of 51 drones strikes were launched in Pakistan, with the majority targeting areas in the North Waziristan.⁶⁵ Despite the large numbers of personnel killed, only a small percentage were classified as civilians.⁶⁶ During the Obama Administration, a total of 403 drone strikes were launched in Pakistan, maintaining the majority of its strikes in the Northern Waziristan agencies.⁶⁷ Taking the number of years in office into consideration (compared to Bush), the number of strikes undeniably reveal a greater dependency on them in combat. In 2017, the Council on Foreign Relations released a comparative report on the use of drones in Pakistan under the Bush and Obama Administrations. Compared to Bush, Obama's Administration witnessed an exponential rise in drone fatalities, with its record being 849 personnel in 2010 (approximately 12 being reported as civilians).⁶⁸ Overall, the comparative proportions of the use of armed UAVs between both administrations are staggering.

Throughout the course of U.S. drone use, the CIA has been the major operative branch in initiating strikes in Waziristan. Unfortunately, due to lack of transparency, little can be reported on these operations.⁶⁹ It is known, however, that the U.S. has used signature and double strike tactics in efforts to eradicate perceived threats. Double strike tactics involve consecutive missile

⁶⁵ The Bureau of Investigative Journalism, "The Bush Years: Pakistan Strikes 2004 ? 2009," The Bureau of Investigative Journalism, accessed April 22, 2019,

<https://www.thebureauinvestigates.com/drone-war/data/the-bush-years-pakistan-strikes-2004-2009>.

⁶⁶ *ibid*

⁶⁷ Micah Zenko, "Obama's Final Drone Strike Data," Council on Foreign Relations, accessed April 22, 2019,

<https://www.cfr.org/blog/obamas-final-drone-strike-data>. The Bureau of Investigative Journalism, "Drone Wars: the Full Data,"

⁶⁸ The Bureau of Investigative Journalism, last modified January 1, 2017,

<https://www.thebureauinvestigates.com/stories/2017-01-01/drone-wars-the-full-data>.

⁶⁹ Milena Sterio, "The United States' Use of Drones in the War on Terror: The (il)legality of targeted killing under international law," *Case Western Reserve Journal of International Law* 45, no. 1 (Fall 2012): xx,

<https://heinonline.org/HOL/Page?handle=hein.journals/cwrint45&id=5&collection=journals&index=>

strikes at one targeted area. Signature strikes are a mode of operation that uses artificial intelligence to target perceived terrorists that fit certain criteria. With this in mind, even though casualty numbers rose under Obama, the number of classified civilians killed remained relatively within the same average range as under Bush.⁷⁰ Despite U.S. emphasis on precision, humanitarian organizations believe the count of civilian fatalities in Pakistan (as a result of UAVs) to be severely misrepresented, estimating the number to be much larger, and calling into question the proportionality in the U.S. use of drones.⁷¹ Unfortunately, a report on the U.S. use of drones finds that the government not only fails to observe transparency in its drone program, but also attempts to stifle the work of nonprofit and media organizations reporting on the issue and its justification.⁷² Media outlets and nonprofit reports have thus at times, been condemned as unreliable. However, nonprofit organizations have remained persistent in establishing databases that bring the actual number of non-combatant casualties by U.S. to light.⁷³

The U.S. use of armed drones in Pakistan has gravely warped the social, cultural and economic livelihood of its citizens. Northern Waziristan's population is predominantly made up of traditional ethnic Pashtun communities. As such, the community maintains a family-based patriarchal system. This means that men are the predominant sources income and that families either share a home or unit for living.⁷⁴ Men have predominantly been the target of signature

⁷⁰ The Bureau of Investigative Journalism

⁷¹ Columbia Law School Human Rights Clinic, "Counting Drone Strike Deaths," Columbia Law School, accessed April 22, 2019, <https://www.law.columbia.edu/sites/default/files/microsites/human-rights-institute/files/COLUMBIACountingDroneStrikeFinal.pdf>.

⁷² Anna Diakun, "'Harm to Governmental Transparency': The Humanitarian Impact of Drones," ReliefWeb - Informing Humanitarians Worldwide, accessed April 22, 2019,

⁷³ Jessica Purkiss and Jack Serle "Humanitarian Impact of Drones"; The Humanitarian Impact of Drones," ReliefWeb - Informing Humanitarians Worldwide, accessed April 22, 2019,

⁷⁴ Alaa Hijazi et al., "Psychological Dimensions of Drone Warfare," Christopher J Ferguson, accessed May 7, 2019, Louis Iasiello, "Jus Post Bellum: The Moral Responsibilities of Victors in War," *Naval War College Review*, Volume 62, Number 1, Winter 2009 57 (2004): , accessed March 5, 2019,

strikes, meaning that social and economic livelihoods of entire families and communities have been compromised as a result of death or severe injury. In 2012, New York University Law School's Global Justice Clinic in collaboration with Stanford Law School's International Human Rights and Conflict Resolution Clinic released a report on the impact of U.S. armed UAV operations on Pakistani citizens living in North Waziristan. In its opening, it stated that the civilian impact of drones in Waziristan is "similar in numerous respects to those reported in conflict zones, or during periods of considerable violence, around the world."⁷⁵

In analyzing the impact of U.S. drone strikes in Northern Waziristan, health rates have endured steep decline. Doctors and psychologists in Pakistan have noted the high volume of trauma, PTSD, paranoia, and the issue of living in fear as a result of the unpredictability of drone strikes.⁷⁶ In analyzing the mental health impact of these drones on the community, it was pointed out that "the constant presence of US drones has led to high levels of fear and stress in civilian communities".⁷⁷ Amnesty International provided an account of a mental health professional in Waziristan who, in reference to the issue of living in fear, stated "Waziris who suffer from anticipatory anxiety are constantly worrying, 'when is the next drone attack going to happen?' When they hear drone sounds, they run around looking for shelter."⁷⁸ Proper provision and accessibility to mental health and coping resources for healing and reconciliation are little to none. For example, from a cultural perspective, funerals are of great cultural significance to Pashtun communities (the dominant population of North Waziristan); They are a means of

⁷⁵ Stanford Law School and NYU School of Law, "Living Under Drones: Death, Injury and Trauma to Civilians from U.S. Drones," Stanford Law School, accessed April 22, 2019, <https://www-cdn.law.stanford.edu/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/Stanford-NYU-Living-Under-Drones.pdf>.

⁷⁶ Hijazi et. al.

⁷⁷ Stanford Law School et. al

⁷⁸ Amnesty International, "'Will I Be Next?' US Drone Strikes in Pakistan," Amnesty International USA - Human Rights Organization, accessed April 22, 2019, <https://www.amnestyusa.org/files/asa330132013en.pdf>.

closure for the bereaved. However, due to fear of drone attacks, such traditions are not fully carried out. This forced lifestyle of fear and trauma has made the Waziri community socially, culturally, and psychologically desolate. Unfortunately, as use of drones strikes have continued, access to already underdeveloped health amenities and resources continue to deteriorate. Cases have been reported when first responders to drones strikes have also been the victims of attack, given U.S. double strike tactics.⁷⁹ As a result, first-responders have either delayed their response to drone strikes or not shown up at all. The resulting physical and psychological impact undoubtedly has an impact on Waziri mortality rates.

It is unclear the true effectiveness of U.S. drones in remotely eradicating insurgents and their operations in Waziristan. The *Los Angeles Times* reported the deaths of five Islamic State leaders in Waziristan. However, insurgent group leaders are easily replaced.⁸⁰ In delving deeper into the matter, the RAND Corporation in hand with the University of Minnesota released research on the effectiveness of drone strikes in Northwest Pakistan (Waziristan's geographic location). They concluded that the impact of U.S. drones effectively mitigated militant insurgency, stating that "new technologies... are able to disrupt and degrade militants in ways that ... consequently limit both the frequency and the lethality of militant attacks."⁸¹ However, this conclusion does not take into account the humanitarian costs inflicted upon the Waziri civilian population.

⁷⁹ Stanford Law School et. al.

⁸⁰ Razzan Nakhlawi, "The Kill List: Islamic State Leaders Taken off the Battlefield," *Latimes.com*, last modified November 5, 2016, <https://www.latimes.com/world/middleeast/la-fg-targeted-killings-drone-snap-htmlstory.html>.

⁸¹ Patrick Johnston and Anoop Sarbahi, "The Impact of U.S. Drone Strikes on Terrorism in Pakistan," RAND Corporation, accessed April 22, 2019, <https://patrickjohnston.info/materials/drones.pdf>.

In 2012, Pakistan's President with the support of its Parliament called for an end to the U.S. drone campaign.⁸² The National Assembly of Pakistan classified the use of U.S. armed drones as a violation of the UN Charter. Unfortunately, there has been little enforcement of this prohibition. In an effort to provide lucrative efforts to halt the use of drones while still targeting terrorist organizations, the Pakistani government initiated Operation Zarb-e-Azb.⁸³ While this effort may have mitigated the frequency of drone attacks (see graph, appendix B), such attacks still remain prevalent.⁸⁴ Continued U.S. use of drones could then transition into a violation of sovereignty— a cause for additional conflict.

While it is plausible that the U.S. is effectively eradicating terrorism by use of drones, its particular tactics of use have created an entirely new issue of instability altogether. It has turned a large number of cultural norms upside down. This in no way encourages the future goal of peace, nor the Christian principles of love and restraint. More harm has been done to the Waziri community as a result of drone strikes than good. In addition, because the Pakistani government has initiated military initiatives to eradicate terrorist insurgency through the deployment of boots on the ground, the use of drones are all them more classified as a disproportionate use of force.

⁸²Richard Leiby, "Pakistan calls for end of U.S. drone strikes," The Washington Post, accessed 22, 2019, https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/pakistan-calls-for-end-to-us-drone-attacks/2012/04/12/gIQAN1ZFDT_story.html?utm_term=.55b6b5b12be0.

⁸³Shahid Burki, "Pakistan's Anti-Terror Offensive: The Zarb-e-Azb Operation," Startseite - CSS – Center for Security Studies | ETH Zürich, accessed May 14, 2019, <http://www.css.ethz.ch/en/services/digital-library/publications/publication.html/181253>. Shahid Burki, "Pakistan's Anti-Terror Offensive: The Zarb-e-Azb Operation," National University of Singapore: Institute of South Asian Studies, accessed May 7, 2019, https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/181253/ISAS_Insights_No_255_-_Pakistan's_Anti-Terror_Offensive_20062014155739.pdf.

⁸⁴The Bureau of Investigative Journalism, last modified January 1, 2017, <https://www.thebureauinvestigates.com/stories/2017-01-01/drone-wars-the-full-data>.

In this same hand, military responsibility is lacking, given a lack of transparency and retribution to Waziri communities impacted by U.S. armed drones.

Jus Post Bellum

Jus Post Bellum is not entirely applicable to the case study, given that the conflict has not come to an end. However, in the consideration of taking steps necessary to facilitate the oncoming of Jus Post Bellum, little action has been taken. Looking at the trajectory of Jus Post Bellum in this case study, there stands to be a definite violation.

Over the course of my research, I found little to no efforts on the part of the U.S. to take actions that will eventually lead to the observation of Christian ideals of Jus Post Bellum. There were a few instances where the U.S. took responsibility for misguided attacks,⁸⁵ but efforts beyond verbal remorse (if that) for Waziri communities have not been present. This issue stems from government lack of transparency, which in turn causes a severe lack of accountability. Because the CIA has carried out the large majority of U.S. drone strikes, the U.S. has denied the roles it has played in its violent impact.⁸⁶ As a result, no action has been taken to satisfy the criteria of Jus Post Bellum. The U.S. has made no effort to provide necessary resources and protections of humanitarian entitlements to mental health, and life amenities.⁸⁷ Continuing, the current state of Waziristan's citizens reveals that the right intentions for war were not fully considered, especially from the Christian tradition. Gathering from the case study, the goal for the advancement and the reestablishment of positive peace is not evident in the present actions.

⁸⁵ The Bureau of Investigative Journalism

⁸⁶ Anna Diakun, "'Harm to Governmental Transparency': The Humanitarian Impact of Drones," ReliefWeb - Informing Humanitarians Worldwide, accessed April 22, 2019, <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/humanitarian-impact-of-drones.pdf>

⁸⁷ Jessica Purkiss and Jack Serle

Conclusion

Overall, I found the use of drones to classify as a sin in two ways: its system of operation, the spirit of use by the United States. Looking strictly at the function of a drone, it violates all criteria of Jus in Bello. Being that it invades the airspace and lives of noncombatants, discrimination is not taken into consideration. As it pertains to proportionality, the use of drones was found to prolong the war, rather than shorten it. This means that while the use of drones may yield some intended results to eradicate insurgency threats, the overall use of drones do not observe intentions to restore just peace. With this in mind, criteria for Jus in Bellum is also violated. These judgments only address the basic functions of an armed drone. U.S. methods of drone use were sinful from the very conception of the AUMF.

The U.S. was in violation of Christian principles of Just War from the beginning of the War on Terror- before its use of drones. Christian criteria of jus ad bellum were not met because the war's first point of order involved the violation of a country's sovereignty and disregard for international law. Violation of Christian principles of just war was committed before the use of drones, therefore it only makes sense that violation carried over when the use of armed drones was initiated. Provided this issue, I find the U.S. use of armed drones in violation of the Christian principles of Jus in Bello. Rather than serve as a means of eradicating mal-factors to restore just peace, their use has caused the social, cultural and economic instability of Waziri communities. Given the lack of efforts to reconcile the impact of these drones on these communities, it is clear that any observance of obligatory love and restraint in war is nonexistent. Lack of transparency in hand with the reports of drone impacts reveal a violation of both proportionality and discrimination. Finally, I found little to no efforts on the part of the U.S. to take actions that will eventually lead to the observation of Christian ideals of Jus Post Bellum. Hence the U.S. use of

drones preemptively condemns it to a violation of Christian principles of Jus Post Bellum. There were a few instances where the U.S. took responsibility for misguided attacks,⁸⁸ but efforts beyond words for Waziri communities have not been present. This issue stems from government lack of transparency, which in turn causes severe lack of accountability. Because the CIA has carried out the large majority of U.S. drone strikes, the U.S. has denied the roles it has played in its violent impact.⁸⁹ The U.S. refuses to take responsibility.

Given the conclusion, the discussion on the use of drones as a sin should be a conversation more widely addressed in the Christian community. In doing so, the community should also address how the use of armed drones should be dealt with in accordance to Biblical doctrine. I would also encourage other religious groups to delve into the matter of drone use as it pertains to their religious doctrines. In bringing armed drones awareness to the forefront in this light, convictions may force governments to reconsider their use.

⁸⁸ The Bureau of Investigative Journalism, last modified January 1, 2017, <https://www.thebureauinvestigates.com/stories/2017-01-01/drone-wars-the-full-data>.

⁸⁹ Anna Diakun, "'Harm to Governmental Transparency': The Humanitarian Impact of Drones," ReliefWeb - Informing Humanitarians Worldwide, accessed April 22, 2019, <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/humanitarian-impact-of-drones.pdf>

Appendix A: Maps

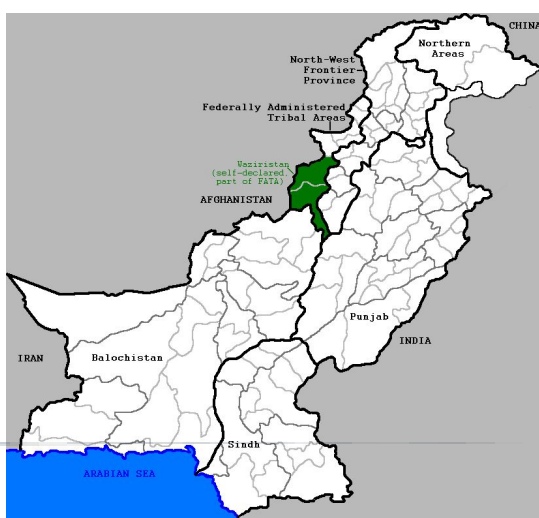


Figure 1
Geographic location of the Waziristan agencies.



Figure 3
FATA agencies merged with the KP Region (highlighted in yellow)

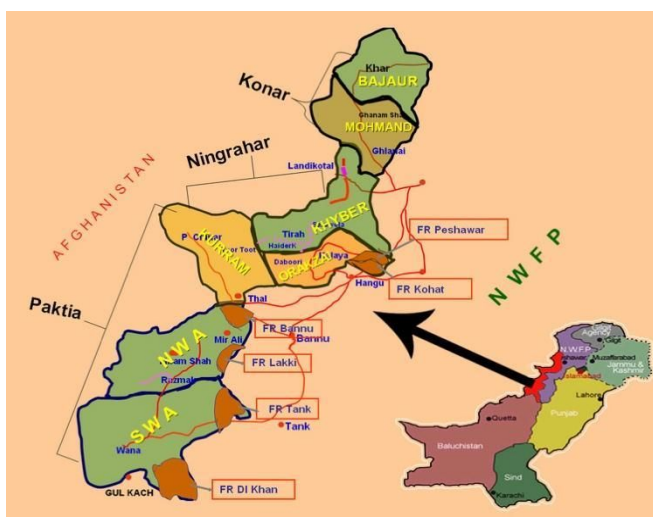
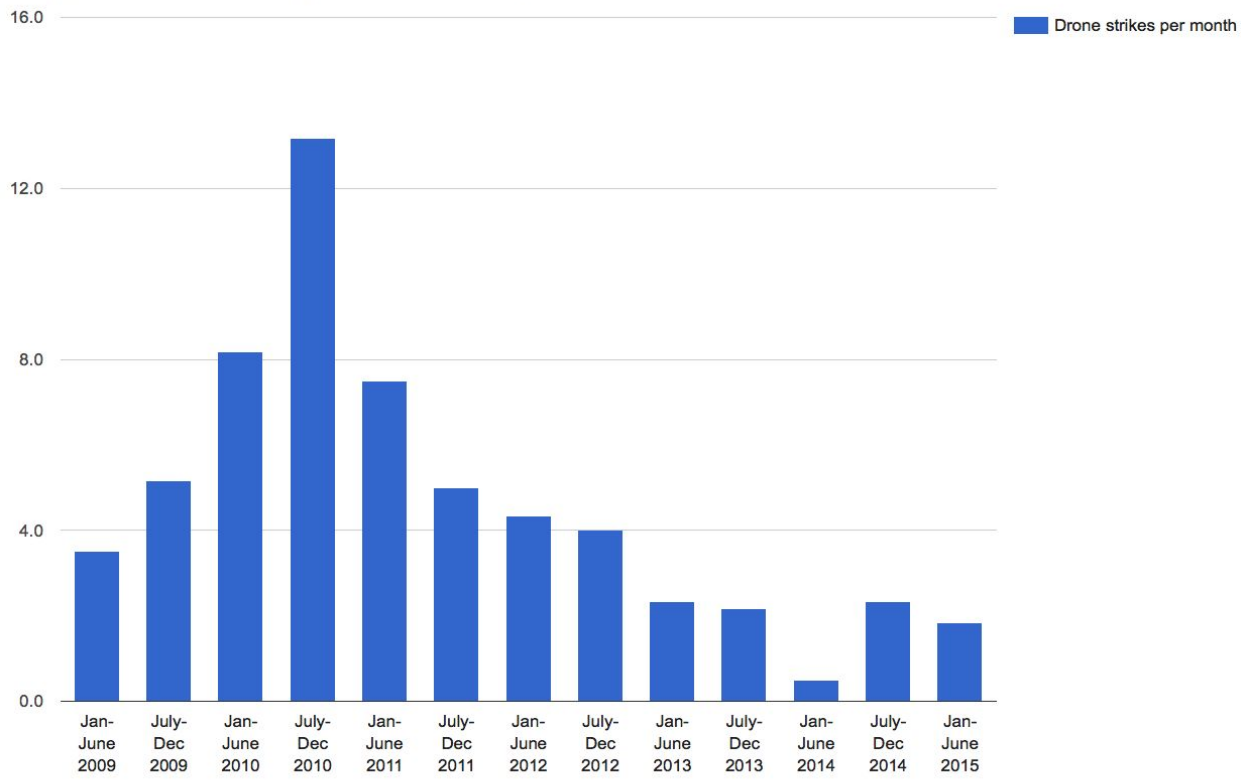


Figure 2
Geographic classification of the FATA

Appendix B Graph

CIA drone strikes per month in Pakistan, the Obama years: January 20 2009 to present



Source: the Bureau of Investigative Journalism (TBIJ.com)

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