

Wars Waged by the USA and by Canada: Just, Unjust and Everything Inbetween



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Hagar the Horrible



The Force Spectrum

Pacifism

Anarchism



Just War:
wide range of application



President Obama on Just War

Over time, as codes of law sought to control violence within groups, so did philosophers, clerics, and statesmen seek to regulate the destructive power of war. The concept of a “**just war**” emerged, suggesting that war is justified only when it meets certain **preconditions**: if it is waged as a **last resort** or in **self-defense**; if the force used is **proportional**, and if, whenever possible, **civilians** are spared from violence.

I do not bring with me today a definitive solution to the problems of war. ... it will require us to **think in new ways** about the notions of **just war** and the imperatives of a **just peace**.

— US President Barack Obama,
Nobel Peace Prize Ceremony,
Oslo, 10 December 2009
(emphasis added)



Just War tradition

“Presumption of peace” →

- ◆ No war except under certain preconditions
- ◆ 4 to 8 preconditions

Basic questions about armed force

- ✦ **Why?**
- ✦ **Who?**
- ✦ **When?**
- ✦ **What?**
- ✦ **Where?**
- ✦ **How?**

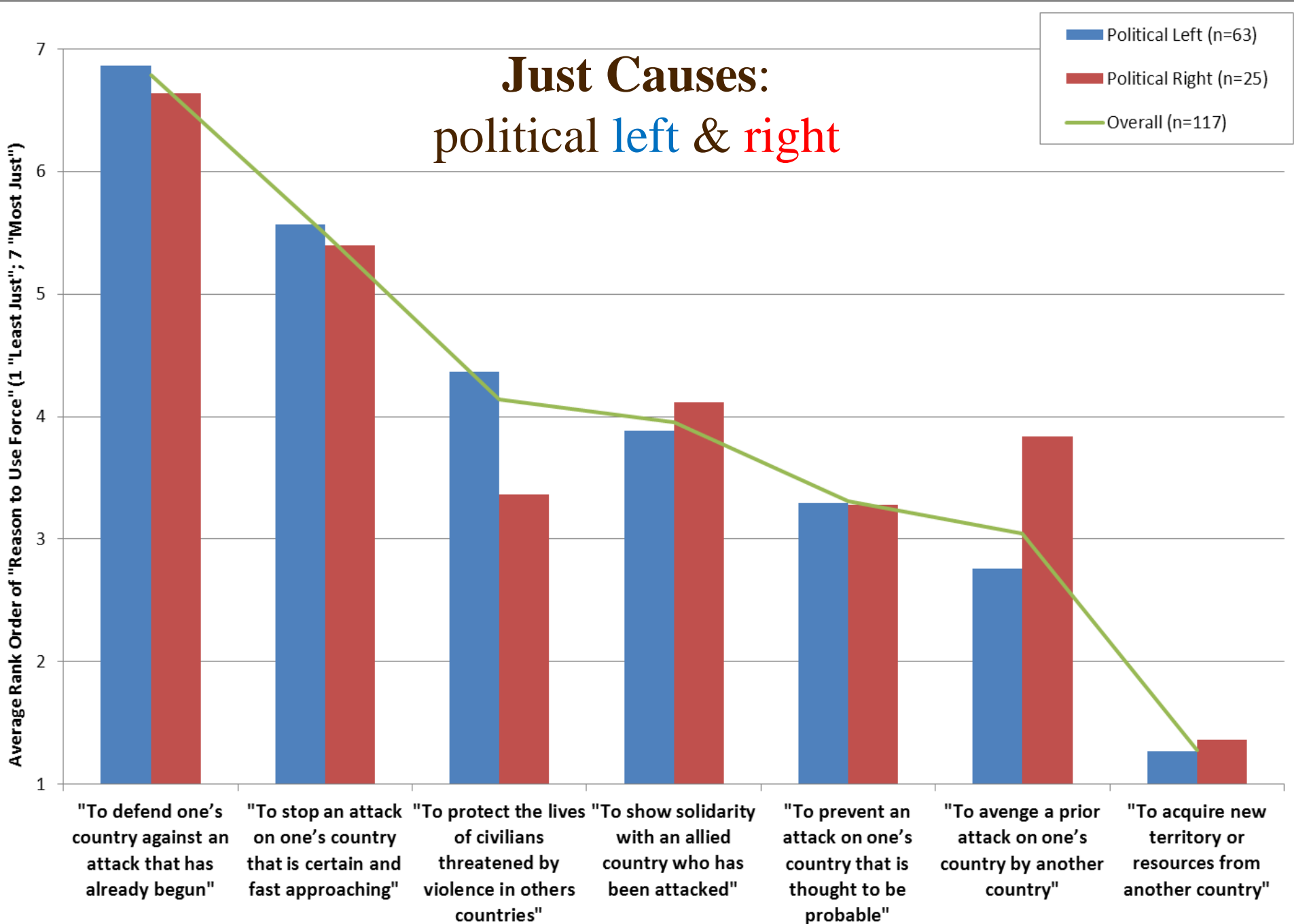
Answering the questions

- ✦ Why? Just cause, Right intent,
Net benefit
- ✦ Who? Legitimate authority
- ✦ What? Proportionate means
- ✦ When? Last resort
- ✦ Where? Military not civilian targets
- ✦ How? Right conduct (*in bello*)

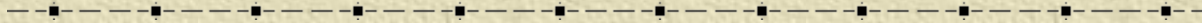
Just War criteria and definitions used in the study

Criterion	Meaning
Just Cause	a right, fair, ethical, honourable, righteous, moral, etc., purpose or reason to apply armed force
Right Intent	the degree to which the actual motivation behind the use of force is the same as the declared motivation
Net Benefit	the benefit to the intervening country, the conflict region and the local population outweighs the costs and negative effects
Legitimate Authority	one which is legally and socially recognized under national and international law as able to authorize the use of armed force
Last Resort	armed force is used only after all peaceful means have been exhausted
Proportionality of Means	the level of armed force is necessary and appropriate to achieve the aim and is not excessive
Right Conduct	armed force is applied humanely in accordance with the laws of armed conflict, including the exercise of non-combatant distinction

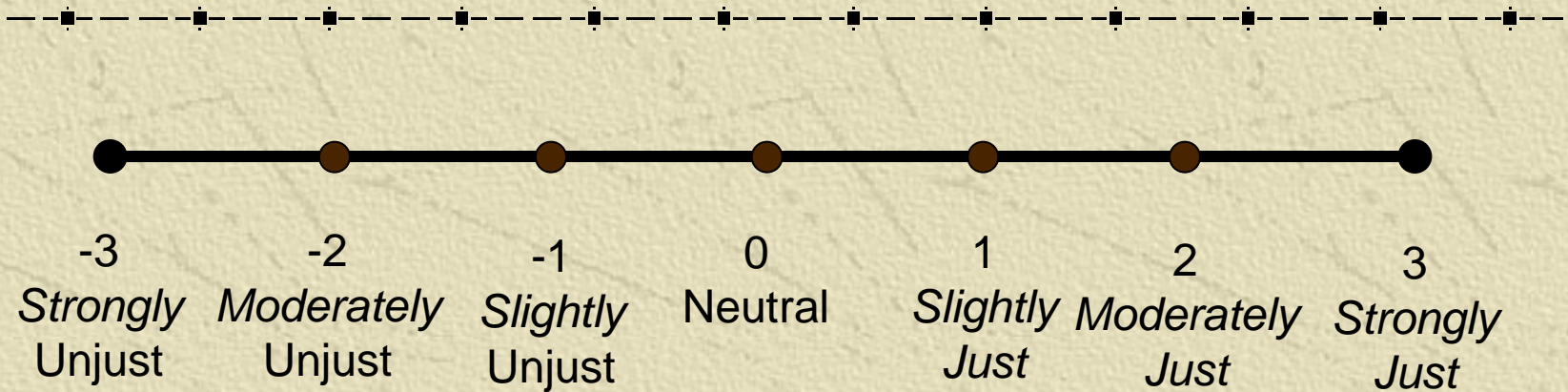
Just Causes: political left & right



Applying JW Criteria to Specific Wars (since 1900)



Degree of justification



Seven point spread: -3 to +3


Seven Criteria:

Just Cause, Right Intent, Legitimate Authority, Net Benefit, Last Resort, Proportionality of means, Right Conduct


Just War Index: Average over all criteria

Comparing Gulf War I and II

Walter Dorn's evaluation (2008)



	Gulf War I (1991)	Gulf War II (2003)
Just Cause	+2	-1
Right Intent	+2	0
Net Benefit	+2	-2
Legitimate Authority	+3	-2
Last Resort	+2	-2
Proportionality of Means	+2	-2
Right Conduct	+1	+1
<i>Average (Just War Index or JWI)</i>	+2.0	-1.1



Just War Survey
100 Experts
(Wars since 1900)

American armed conflicts (18)
&
Canadian armed conflicts (12)

Expert Survey: Questionnaire

To what extent do you agree or disagree that the U.S. had *Just cause* [or other criterion] to use armed force in the following conflicts?

Circle one per conflict:

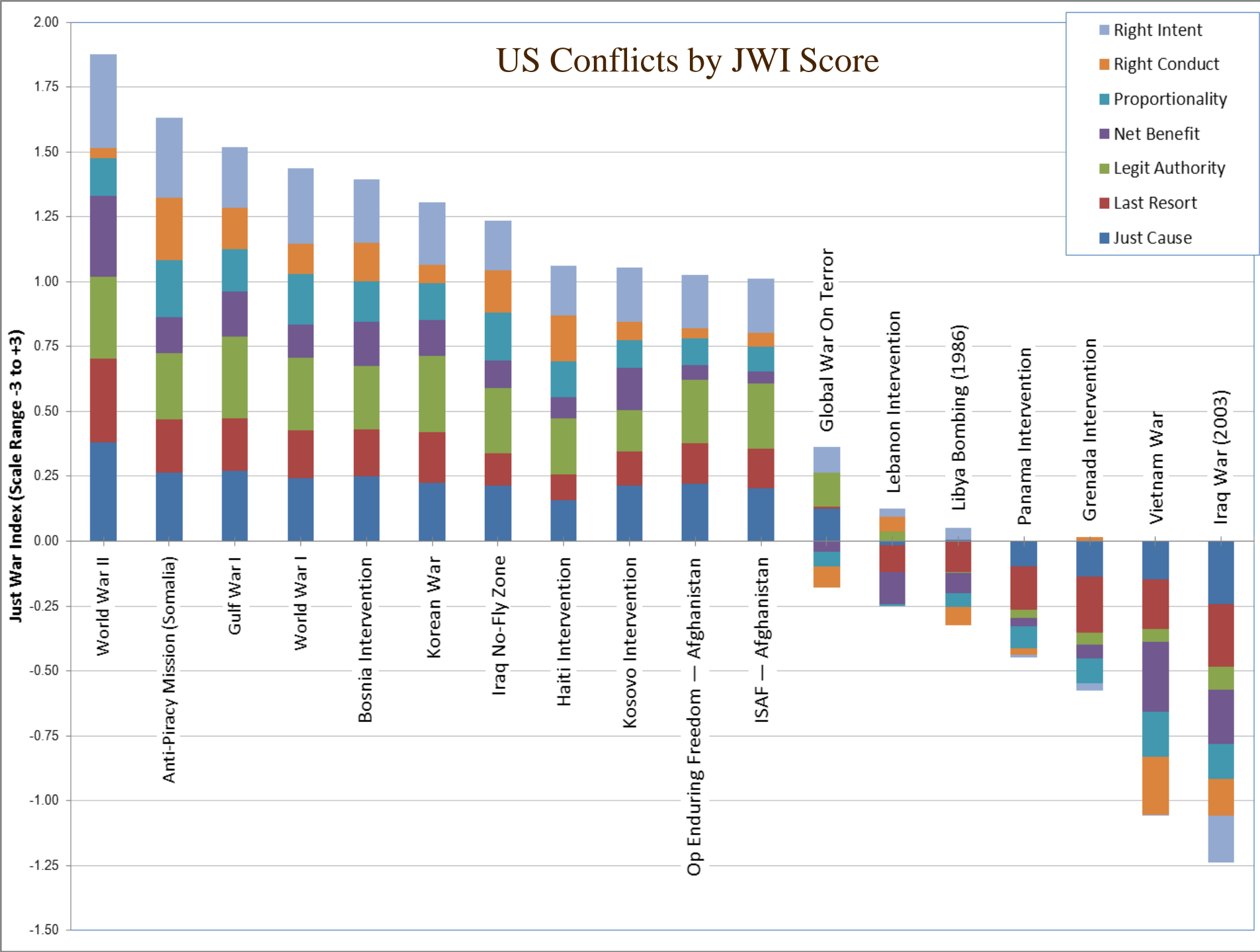
U.S. Conflicts	Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Neutral	Slightly Agree	Moderately Agree	Strongly Agree	Unfamiliar with Conflict
World War One (1914-1918)	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	?
World War Two (1941-1945)	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	?
Korean War (1950-1953)	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	?
First Gulf War (1991)	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	?
.....	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	?

Gulf War I and II

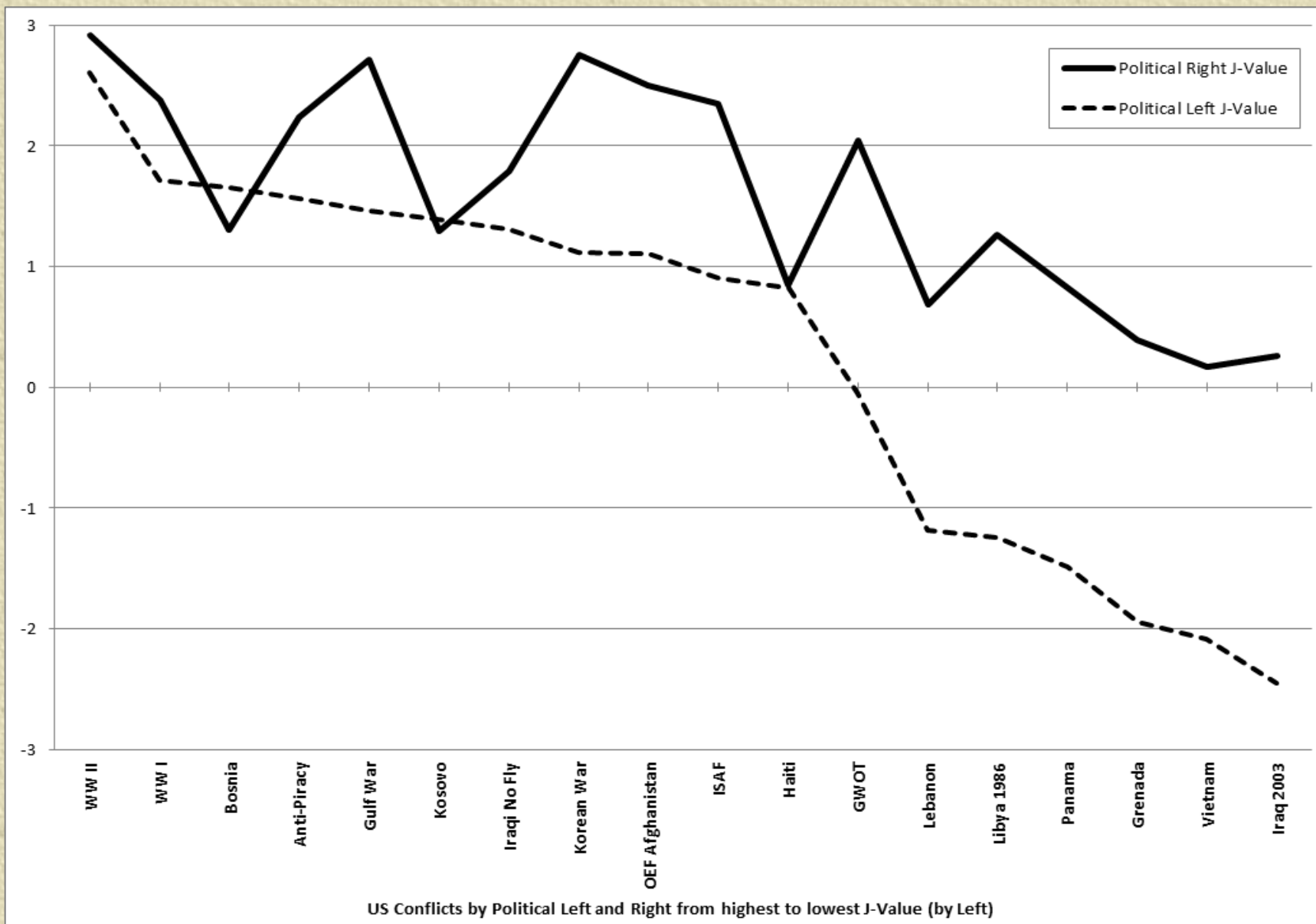
Results of a survey of 106 “experts” (Ph.D.s working on international affairs)

	Gulf War I (1991)	Gulf War II (2003)
Just Cause	+1.9	-1.7
Right Intent	+1.6	-1.3
Net Benefit	+2	-2
Legitimate Authority	+2.2	-0.6
Last Resort	+1.2	-1.5
Proportionality of Means	+1.1	-0.9
Right Conduct	+1.1	-1.0
<i>Average (Just War Index)</i>	+1.5	-1.2
<i>(Percentage, 6 point scale)</i>	<i>(75%)</i>	<i>(30%)</i>

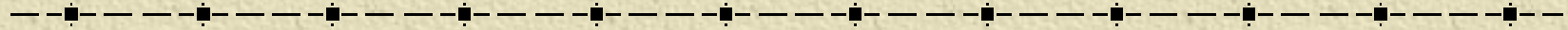
US Conflicts by JWI Score



Political: Left vs Right (US Conflicts)



Legitimate Authority: International vs US National



Conflict	Legitimate Authority Score	UN Security Council?	US Congress?
WWII	2.21	Not applicable (pre-UN)	Yes: declarations of war
Gulf War	2.18	Yes	Yes: joint resolution
Korean War	2.07	Yes	None: de facto support
WWI	1.93	Not applicable (pre-UN)	Yes: declarations of war
Iraqi No-fly	1.77	Possibly (US, UK, France claim yes)	De facto authorization
ISAF	1.74	Yes	Yes: joint resolution
Anti-Piracy	1.74	Yes	De facto authorization
Bosnia	1.69	Yes	Strongly implied
OEF–Afghanistan	1.68	Dubious (US claims yes)	Yes: joint resolution
Haiti	1.54	Yes	Strongly implied
Kosovo	1.09	No (Russia & China threatened veto)	Implied but contentious
GWOT	0.94	Dubious (see OEF above)	Yes: joint resolution
Lebanon	0.27	No	Yes: joint resolution
Libya 1986	-0.06	No	De facto authorization
Panama	-0.20	No	Implied post-hoc support
Grenada	-0.31	No	Yes: by vote
Vietnam	-0.33	No	Yes: joint resolution
Iraq 2003	-0.64	No (US & UK claim authority from 1991)	Yes: joint resolution

Debatable issues: Criteria

- ✦ Equal weighting
 - ◆ $JWI = \text{average of criteria}$
 - ◆ Unjust wars if any criterion is negative?

- ✦ Any inappropriate criteria

- ✦ Any missing criteria

Conclusions on Just War

- ✦ Criteria form good analytical framework
 - ◆ Consider basic questions
- ✦ Criteria can be quantified
 - ◆ Consistent with overall evaluations
- ✦ Political left and right (US Wars)
 - ◆ Dissimilar scores (right: all +ve; left: 6 -ve)
 - ◆ Similar ranking

US Conflicts

✦ The “most just” wars

- ✦ World War 2, Anti-Piracy Mission, Gulf War I, World War I ...

✦ The “least just” wars

- ✦ Iraq, Vietnam, Grenada, Panama ...

Canadian conflicts

✦ The “most just” wars

- ✦ World War 2, Anti-Piracy Mission, Gulf War I, Bosnia, ...

✦ The “least just” wars

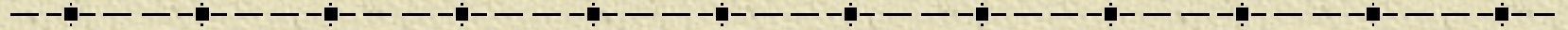
- ✦ Boer war (-0.75), ISAF (+1.1)

Conclusions

- ✦ A framework for analysis; not “the answer”
 - ✦ Subjective
 - ✦ Apply opinions and argument *with* evidence and facts

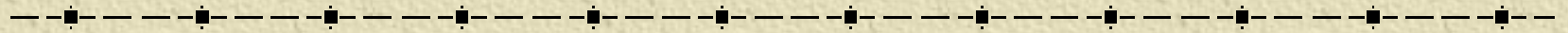
- ✦ Elements of JW theory needed to convince and lead population, soldiers and partners

Your opinion



Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Neutral	Slightly Agree	Moderately Agree	Strongly Agree
-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3

Your opinion



Iran bombing? Libya campaign? Syria intervention?

Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Neutral	Slightly Agree	Moderately Agree	Strongly Agree
-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3

Just Cause
Right Intent
Legitimate Authority
Net Benefit
Last Resort
Proportionality of Means
Right Conduct

"The moral is to the physical
as
three is to one."

— Napoleon Bonaparte

Hagar the Horrible



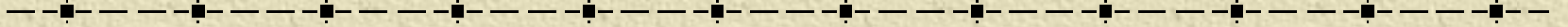
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Weighing the scales of justness





LET THE DISCUSSION

BEGIN!