Globalization and Democratizing Drone War: Just Peace Ethics

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Drones Need Norms

- Globalization of drones without norms.
- Democratization of war, decentralization of violence by state and non state actors.
- Drones expand warfare.
- Just peace ethics are needed.
- Limiting war is not the same as building peace.
- Religious voices are needed to globalize solidarity, build peace.
Drones Need International Norms

- Build peace.
- Don’t use attack drones outside of warzones.
- To end the worst terrorism, end the worst wars.
- Invest in non-lethal and police means to combat terror.
- Develop rules for drones. Outlaw autonomous killers.
- “Whatsoever you do to the least of my brothers:” protect the most vulnerable. Do not shift risk from soldiers to civilians.
- In developing rules for drones, consider that drones will be used against the U.S.
- Look forward in developing rules for drones, not only at how UAVs have been used in past.
Globalization is the fast, interdependent, worldwide
- open society,
- open economy, and
- open technology infrastructures.

- Drones move fast across borders.
- Govt, rules move slow, stop at borders.
Globalization of Drones

- Globalization of markets, technology, violence without global ethics.
- We need a globalization of solidarity.
- Religious voices are needed.
- We must develop moral and legal codes for drones with the future, not only the last war (UAVs), in mind.
Drone Proliferation, No International Norms

- Drone warfare is less connected to geography.
- Spying and striking from a distance, anonymously.
- Drone strikes quadrupled under the Obama administration.
- Drone technologies commercially available.
- US precedents expanding drone use will come back to haunt us.
Drone Proliferation, No Rules

- “Cheap” drones: from $35 to $100 million
- Small: from 0-66 ft wingspan
- Backpack, cell operated
- Aerosonde UAV
  - Cheap ($25k)
  - Small (15 kg)
  - Rugged (hurricane monitoring)
  - High endurance (trans-Atlantic crossing)
  - Precise (GPS accuracy)
  - Easy to operate
  - Easy to manufacture
  - Commercially available—China markets 25 kinds
Globalization of Drones without Norms

- Drones arms race, with no rules.
- 87 countries have drones now; all will have in 10 years.
- Fully autonomous robots decide killing?
- Unmanned systems on land, air, sea, small and big.
- U.S. “went big” in drone development; small drones more difficult to manage.
Non State Actors Use Drones

Legal

Nonprofit

NGOs

Illegal

Profit

MNCs

Terrorist Groups

International Criminal Cartels

[IGOs (intergovernmental organizations)—organizations of states]
Pros: Humanitarian Drones

- NGOs: Search and rescue
- Agriculture, medicine, famine, humanitarian assistance
- Environmental uses
- Human rights, genocide, war crime surveillance
Commercial Drones: Big Business

- MNCs: Industry estimates: $13.5 billion within three years
- Over $80 billion between 2015 and 2025
- Creating more than 100,000 well-paying jobs
- National tax revenue of $482 million by 2025.
Commercial Drones Are Here

Delivering beer to ice fishermen in Minnesota
Cons: Criminal Drones

- Drug cartels are using drones for surveillance and delivery.
Cons: Drones Democratize War

- Unidentified drones over French nuclear power plants
- “Do a Fukushima “ with drones
Cons: Drones Democratize War

- ISIL stole 88 pounds of uranium from Mosul, Iraq

Radiation experts play out a frightening terrorist scenario — exploding a bomb laden with deadly radioactive materials.
Cons: Drones Democratize War

- Drones democratize the ability to fight war
- What happens to the social contract with the state’s Monopoly on the use of force?
- Terrorists have drones
- Few restrictions on public sale of drones, which are also easy to make, means that governments are not the only ones with drones.
- Criminal actors, terrorists use drones.
- Hezbollah, the Libyan opposition used drones.

- The precedents /rules of the road the U.S. makes for “us” will also be used for “them.”
US Created & Used Drones

- In warzones: Afghanistan, Iraq
- Outside warzones: Yemen, Pakistan, Somalia, Libya
- Israel first to use drones in combat.
- US first armed drone: 2001, spy planes armed with 100 pound Hellfire anti-tank missiles.
US Drone Strikes Increase

- In warzones: mostly Afghanistan, few Iraq – over 1500 total
- Outside warzones: Over 500 drone strikes
Cons: Drones Vulnerable

- Drones are used against enemies that have no air defenses. Drones are vulnerable to conventional attack, jamming, cyber hacking, and spoofing.

- Drones are used against militarily weak targets.

- This calls into question whether using drones is militarily necessary, or politically expedient, against weak targets.
Cons: Drones Are Accident Prone

- The accident rate of Predator and Reaper UAVs is more than triple the accident and failure rate of other aircraft. Problems stem from interruptions in satellite communications due to bad weather, cloud cover. People are killed when drones fall from the sky or crash into buildings.

- U2 spy planes perform better than Global Hawk
Drones Need International Norms

- China has developed a laser canon to shoot down drones.
US Drone Strikes

- In warzones: Afghanistan – over 1500
- Over 500 drone strikes Pakistan, Yemen, Somalia
- Over 100 drone strikes in Libya

[Graph showing missiles fired from drones in Afghanistan from 2008 to 2012, with UK and Other Coalition categories.]
Pros: Drones Limit Killing?

- Proponents argue that drone warfare is just, and meets all just war tradition criteria. They argue that using drones is more moral than sending in ground forces, "boots on the ground," or large scale aerial bombing campaigns, which would kill more people. The U.S. must kill all enemies to defend from imminent al Qaeda and insurgent attacks. Drones are the best means of killing those clear and present dangers, that best protects both U.S. soldiers and non combatants.
Pros: Decreased Civilian Deaths Afghanistan

- Increased drone attacks by US and coalition forces, 2008-2012
- Decreased civilian deaths caused by US and coalition forces, 2008-2012
- But there were other causes also, such as...
Cons: Drones Expand Killing

- **Drones are used where the U.S. would never send in ground troops** (Somalia, Yemen, Pakistan), where wars have not been declared and **where the U.S. would otherwise not intervene** conventionally.

- **Drones are extending, not limiting killing.**

- **Self defense, imminence, necessity, last resort and proportionality** are questionable.
Abrahamic Teaching on War and Peace

Thou shalt not kill

- God
JWT and nonviolence: Thou Shalt Not Kill
These limit war but do not build peace
JWT: Necessary, Not Sufficient

**Before** entering combat there must be

- just cause such as self defense,
- right authority making the determination
- intent on peace and protecting the common good,
- using force only as a last resort
- when success is possible
- and the harms of war will not be disproportionate to the reasons for going to war.

*During* hostilities,

- the means used must protect noncombatants and be proportionate
- and discriminate, not total.
Just Peace

- Participation
- Reconciliation
- Right Relationship
- Restoration
- Sustainability

Do Drone Bombings Build Peace?

- Building peace and protecting innocents?
- How do Hellfire missile bombings from drones build peace?
- Drone attacks have increased opposition to the U.S. and sympathy for militants, thus undermining anti-terrorism efforts.
- This calls into question whether using drones is militarily effective and has a probability of success.
“Every Civilian Death Undermines our Cause”

- You can’t argue against terrorism, that noncombatant life should be spared, while killing noncombatants.

- Military force, even carefully applied, kills noncombatants.

- This undercuts the effort to build consensus around not killing civilians.
“Every Civilian Death Makes Enemies”
Religious Voices Needed

- Big money interests want attack drones
- Who will speak for victims?
- How will drones build peace?
- Research shows people can lose their moral compass when group pressures prevail, and those in need are demonized.
- Being reminded of one's similarities or common humanity with a person in need can motivate us to come to their aid.
- Being made aware of moral concerns can help.
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