

amount has increased from \$810 million to \$1.94 billion (Chinese Ministry of Commerce, 2014). Gong Xiaosheng, a former Chinese ambassador to Turkey, described the cooperation on economics, trade and investment between China and Turkey as “overwhelming”, meaning that the cooperation has covered many fields including manufacturing and launch of satellites, aviation, railways, highways, steel, power plants and mining. Besides, the number of tourists from China to Turkey has been exceeded 120,000. Generally speaking, although the present-day scale of the interaction between China and Turkey is not very big, it has already shown an upward momentum and become the important foundation of the development of the bilateral relationship between the two.

3. New Strategic Contents of Sino-Turkish Economic Relationship

Strategic economic relationship means that the economic relationship is strategic. Viewed from the scale of the bilateral relationships, the economic relationship between China and Turkey is far from strategic. However, Turkey is of more strategic importance in economic regard. It is on many levels including bilateral, Middle East, Eurasia and global level, and in many fields such as trade, investment, finance, regional economic cooperation and global economic governance, that both sides have strategic value and space for cooperation, which is promising.

3.1 Great potential for bilateral economic cooperation and growing strategic nature

In recent decades, Turkey has been among the most rapid developing countries. It has been the 17th biggest economy in the world and the biggest one in the Middle East, as well as the 6th biggest in Europe. The increasing speed of the development of Turkey’s foreign trade is even faster, the scale of which is 2.5 times of it was in the previous year. In 2012, it ranked 22 and 15 on export and import in the world. At the same time, the population was more than 76 million in Turkey and its per capital income was more than \$10,000. Urbanization and modernization in Turkey are quite advanced in regions more than the Middle East. Turkey also has rich human resources, and advantages in trade and investment. It is among the important global investment markets and emerging consuming markets. The outstanding performance of Turkish economics has drawn global attention, and has been described as the “Anatolian tiger” (Ding Gong, 2013). With its great developing potential, high-quality labors and managers teams, coupled with its entrepreneurial spirit, Turkey has been an important potential market for international business. It will be the most likely engine for the economic development of Balkans, the Caspian Sea, Central Asia and the Middle East (Yilmaz Argüden, 2007). Development of economic strength also promotes Turkey’s awareness as a power and its global ambition. Turkish government plans to become the global top 10 in 2023 when the 100th anniversary of the country is marked and become an influential power. Turkish leaders have also expressed that Turkey would be the second economy following Germany in Europe.

Although the trade and economic cooperation between China and Turkey has maintained the upward momentum, current trade volume has not fully reflected the potential between the two (Ding Gong, 2011). In 2012, Turkey listed China as a main exporting target. Given the economic scale, development momentum, economic complementarity and importance in the world, there is great potential of the economic cooperation between China and Turkey. At the same time, both China and Turkey have strong willingness of expanding economic and trade cooperation. Two countries have complementarity in many fields including finance, technology and markets. On bilateral and multilateral levels, cooperation is promising in trade, investment, finance, transportation infrastructure, energy and channel construction, overseas projects contracting and tourism.

3.2 Increasing cooperation on global economic governance and transitions

As the 17th biggest economy in the world and a member of G20, Turkey is an important representative of emerging powers. Turkey is the only Islamic country in the Middle East who has successfully carried out modernization and secularization. It is advanced on technology level and moderation. Its economic strength is also leading. The influence of the “Turkish Model”, represented by democratization and Islam, is expanding. Turkish has already been a shining “star” among emerging economies in the world with its improving comprehensive strength and regional influence. Outstanding performance of economic development makes Turkey a recognized emerging industrial country. It has been listed in MIST, CIVETS, Next-11, VISTA and MINT as well as one of top 10 emerging markets and a rising star after BRICS. With the increasing of its economic strength and expanding of its economic demands, Turkey has become an important player in global economic system. Turkey’s rise is taking place against the backdrop of the declining of the Western position and the rise of emerging countries. Turkey, whose strength has soared, asks to play a more important role in international affairs. Its leader publicly sought to redistribute current global orders (Tarik Oğuzlua & Emel Parlar Dal, 2013). As an emerging country and a member of G20, which is rare among OECD members, Turkey’s position has laid good foundation for playing a role as a bridge in regional and global economic development.

Definitely, groupment rise of emerging countries have more and more interactions with global economic governance. The highlight of the position of G20 has provided important chance and platform for emerging countries to participate in global governance, which is of great economic and strategic significance to China's rise and peaceful development. Both China and Turkey are emerging countries. Turkish "Looking east" policy transition also focus more and more on developing relationship with emerging countries such as China, India. Therefore, Turkey is a country that China could put more efforts in enlarging economic and strategic cooperation with it on global level. Cooperation between China and Turkey, two emerging countries, will definitely contribute to global economic development and transition of global economic governance.

3.3 Important strategic position in surrounding areas and Eurasia geo-economic landscape

Turkey has special economic relationship with Europe and has close economic interactions with surrounding areas including the Middle East, Central Asia and Africa. It is the bridgehead for the outside world to enter the Middle Eastern, Central Asian and African market. Turkey has also played a role as the engine of the stability in the Middle East, as well as the energy channel maintaining the economic independence of Central Asia, and the driving force of the future development of Europe (Yilmaz Argüden, 2007). Firstly, Turkey is a member of OECD countries and a quasi-member of European Union. It has close economic relationship with Europe and signed the agreement of customs union. The trade between Turkey and Europe is free; hence, Turkey has been an important springboard for outside countries to enter European market as well as an important platform attracting global investment and trade communication. Secondly, because of the special relationship between Turkey and Caspian region in Central Asia, Turkey has long viewed this region as the emphasis of its diplomacy. Apart from enhancing political connection and cultural infiltration in this region, Turkey also focuses on economic, trade and energy cooperation with it. The foundation of the economic cooperation between Turkey and this region is quite firm. Thirdly, the importance of Turkey as a corridor and hub in Eurasian energy transportation is increasingly outstanding. About 73 percent of global oil reserves and 72 percent of natural gas reserves are in Caspian region, the Middle East and Russia. Turkey locates exactly in the central area between supply and demand sides (Chinese Consulate General in Istanbul, 2013). Turkey is increasingly at the crossroads of the world energy trade (Tuncay Babali, 2009). Turkey has actively promoted plans of energy corridor. Many oil and gas pipelines, which go from Caspian region, the Middle East and Russia to Europe, pass through Turkey. Turkey has been the vital country in operation of Eurasian oil and gas resources and maintaining of regional energy security. Its position in regional and in global economic system has been improved a lot.

Eurasia, gathering important emerging and developed powers, is the center of globally geopolitical stage and geopolitical changes in the global economic landscape. Turkey is a Middle Eastern country, a member of NATO, a quasi-member of European Union as well as a Turkic-speaking country that has close relationship with Central Asia. The trinity of the Middle East, Europe and Central Asia is unique, and these three regions are all of practical significance to China (Xiao Xian, 2011). Currently, China starts to put efforts in Eurasia, trying to get ahead of others in future geo-political and economic competition. Turkey is a key node in concocting Eurasia. It plays an important role in changes of economic landscape of Eurasia, and a strategic cooperative partner through which China could promote the westward of its economic strength and communicating with Eurasia.

3.4 Turkey's position in building Silk Road Economic Belt

The Silk Road Economic Belt brings new development opportunities to economic cooperation between China and Turkey. It represents the new idea and new framework of China's strategic operation toward Eurasia including the Middle East and Europe, which is of great economic and strategic significance for China. The building of the Silk Road Economic Belt also meets the strategic and economic demands of Turkey. Due to limitation of its comprehensive national strength, Turkey's ambition as a power has been restricted. The increasing of China's national strength and the launching of the Silk Road Economic Belt strategy brings opportunities for Turkey to enhance its position with the help of China's power. Both central and local governments have great passion in building the new Silk Road, holding that Turkey's location advantage can be taken and Turkey's economic development can be promoted. As early as in 2011, China and Turkey have signed the Memorandum of Understanding on developing the New Silk Road. The Caspian region in Central Asia, in which building of the Silk Road Economic Belt should firstly focus on, is of significance to both China and Turkey. Building this region into a prosperous and peaceful place is the common interests shared by both. The building of the Silk Road Economic Belt is the important chance to promote stable development of the Caspian region in Central Asia, as well as an important chance for China and Turkey to cooperate with each other and play bigger roles on international stage.

With its advantages in many fields, Turkey has an important strategic position in China's promoting the building of the Silk Road Economic Belt. Firstly, Turkey's geo-political and geo-economic position is unique. Therefore it is natural to be China's cooperative partner and the key bridge in building Silk Road

Economic Belt in Eurasia. Secondly, Turkey's economic strength is relatively strong. It has close economic and cultural connection with Caspian region in Central Asia and the Middle Eastern countries. It has also quite powerful strength in regional investment and development, which makes it an unignorable participant in building Silk Road Economic Belt. Thirdly, with its close economic connection with the Europe, Turkey becomes the transit point between the Europe and the outside world and the important support of the realization of the long-term vision of Silk Road Economic Belt. Turkey is the key channels of the development of future Silk Road extending to the Europe. It is vital in bringing out the prospect of the Silk Road from the Pacific Ocean to the Baltic Sea.

4. Constructions of the Sino-Turkish strategic economic relationship

Comprehensively speaking, the strategic cooperative relationship between China and Turkey has more policy and practical foundation in economic regard. With China's rise and participation in the Middle East and Eurasian as well as the transition of global economic pattern, China should attach more importance to Turkey's economic position and put more efforts in building strategic economic relationship with it.

4.1 Reinforcing Sino-Turkish economic cooperation fields

First, transportation infrastructure is the most promising cooperation field for China and Turkey. As the traffic artery in Eurasia, Turkey has a grand vision of its domestic well-developed transportation network construction. It increases investment in highway and rail transport, the total investment is estimated as high as \$ 350 billion. It has also actively docked its infrastructure development with China's plan of building the Silk Road Economic Belt. Both sides share common interests on constructing a 4500 km-long land transport route from China to Turkey passing through the Central Asia, with the hope to set up a modern Silk Road connecting the Europe and Asia. Many domestic programs on railways, tunnels and cross-border rails in Turkey have been viewed as a part of the Silk Road Economic Belt to get through Central Asia and Europe. The east-west railway program in Turkey is regarded as one of the most mature and most promising projects along the Silk Road.

Second, mutual investment between China and Turkey and their investments on other countries are of great potential. China's expanding the investment on Turkey promotes Chinese enterprises' going outside, and also helps to ease the tension of unbalance in bilateral trade. Turkey can play a better role as the economic bridge connecting the Europe and Asia then. Turkey is an emerging power with shortage of funds, low domestic savings rate and high degree of external capital dependence. China's FDI was \$ 90.1 billion in 2013 while only about \$ 200 million of it is on Turkey, accounting for only 0.2 percent. After the promulgation of the Foreign Direct Investment Law, Turkey also introduced the new investment incentives scheme to improve investment environment in 2012. Turkey has been aspiring to strive for China's investment to balance and enhance bilateral economic relationship, trying to make itself China's base camp to do business in the Middle East and Europe. Coupled with its broad neighboring markets, there are good prospects of China's investments on Turkey and Turkey's neighboring markets.

Third, international energy development and project contracting are main fields for China and Turkey to expand economic cooperation. Turkey has committed to making itself the energy hub in Eurasia, which brings important opportunities to energy development cooperation in Turkey, Caspian region in Central Asia and the Middle East. Both China and Turkey have carried out energy cooperation and built oil and gas pipelines with Caspian countries. Many views hold that China and Turkey have competition in this regard (John C. K. Daly, 2007). In fact, however, there's no deep-rooted conflict. Both China and Turkey have expectation on getting through the Eurasia energy channel. Existing east-west energy pipelines have already laid foundation for the construction and connection of energy pipelines in wider range. Enterprises from two countries have also carried out energy development cooperation in some Middle East countries including Iraq; perhaps the cooperation will cover other countries in the Middle East and Africa in future. The economic growth of rising powers relies on its overseas market and resources to a large extent. For this reason, their economic contacts with developed countries are strongly increased (Mehmet Ozkan, 2013). Both China and Turkey are emerging powers that have growing close economic contacts with Asian and African countries, as well as the important contracting powers on global stage. If they can carry out effective cooperation on engineering contracting and form a new cooperative model, fierce competition between two countries will be eased largely.

Fourth, both sides should continuously expand the cooperative fields. Besides further taking advantage of complementarity and enhancing mutually beneficial cooperation on transportation and communication, they should also actively explore the feasibility of expanding cooperation in fields including finance, renewable energy, high technology and mining, and find new growth point of practical cooperation. Meanwhile, methods, such as establishing foreign trade, economic cooperation zones and science and technology industrial park, can also be taken into consideration. For instance, mutual establishment of branches of bank and financial institutions could promote the rapid development of the cooperation on currency swap, local currency settlement of bilateral trade, China's buying government bonds of Turkey and financial field, and provide strong financial

support to cooperation in infrastructure and investment and other fields.

4.2 Resolving economic conflicts and risks in Sino-Turkish economic relationship

First, pay attention and make every effort to resolve the trade unbalance and economic competition between China and Turkey. As two industrial emerging powers, China and Turkey has industrial structural overlap and international competition in manufacturing industries such as the textile sector. Furthermore, because of the freedom of trade between Turkey and European Union, Chinese enterprises' entering Europe through Turkey could bring about negative impacts on Turkish economy industry and even continuous trade deficit, which may worsen the unbalance in bilateral trade. The frictions and tensions in economic and trade relationship between China and Turkey have been intensified. Turkey is among the countries that have initiated most anti-dumping investigations toward China. The game, competition and coordination demands in economics and trade between the two countries have shown a structured and protracted trend, which will threat the strategic economic relationship between the two. Besides the existing import restrictions on quota or quantity of products such as china, textile and apparel, till the end of 2013, 63 anti-dumping investigations general safeguard investigations and 6 special safeguard investigations have been launched by Turkey toward China (Chinese Ministry of Commerce, 2014). In almost every meeting, trade deficit is the unavoidable topic to leaders from both sides. China should attach more importance to Turkish concerns, trying to resolve the problem.

Second, actively enhance strategic economic mutual trust between the two and try to reduce external interference. Because of the trade unbalance, competition in export market, fighting for influence in Caspian region in Central Asia and confounding factors including the Xinjiang affair, lack of strategic mutual trust also stand in the way of Sino-Turkish economic relationship. Besides their own problems, the U.S. and the Europe have also impacted mutual trust between China and Turkey. As a member of NATO and a quasi-member of the European Union, developing relationships with the U.S. and the Europe are two pillars of Turkish diplomacy. All the time joining the European Union is Turkish established strategy. Turkey has long been a member of the Western international community and the Westernization/Europeanization processes continue to shape Turkey's ongoing identity transformation (Tark Oguzlu, 2013). Against such backdrop, the strategic mutual trust between China and Turkey will unavoidably be impacted by the Sino-U.S. and Sino-European relationships. For instance, the U.S. and Europe has interfered China's investment, high-tech cooperation and arms sales on Turkey in various degrees. The question that how to reduce the interferences from the outside, especially the West, and how to strengthen the independence in diplomacy in future, is the important content of the strategic economic mutual trust between the two countries.

Third, prevent from the risks in Sino-Turkish economic relationship. First of all, the risks in Turkish macroeconomic performance, especially the turbulence in financial market, should be noticed. The structural problem in Turkey's own economics is quite prominent. It has high dependence on foreign funds, and is easily be impacted by fluctuations of the economic situation outside world. Because of the fragility of the strategy of high international borrowing and current-account deficit, the financial crisis emanated from the USA hit Turkey at a time when its growth model was based on exports and external financing (Zülküf Aydın, 2013). In recent two years, the economic growth of Turkey has declined, the outflows of funds have worsened, currency depreciation has been sharp significantly and economic risks have increased. Secondly, non-economic risks, like domestic political disputes and political instability, should not be ignored. Although the political situation in Turkey is quite stable, there are still disputes among different political parties and between secular and religious forces, as well as problems such as military interference in domestic affairs and secessionists. Finally, Turkey's disputes with its neighboring countries and the impact of the turbulence in the Middle East should also be paid more attention to. In recent years, with the great changes in the Middle East, Turkey's Middle East policy has made its surrounding environment get worse. Problems such as refugees, terrorism and separatism can be found within the territory of Turkey.

4.3 Improving the importance of Sino-Turkish strategic economic relationship

First, China should regard the economic relationship as the cornerstone of the bilateral strategic cooperative relationship, and make Turkey among the strategic pivot countries with global significance. There are three foundations of the strategic cooperative relationship between China and Turkey: political consensus of joint rise and roles as powers, security demands (especially that Turkey is important to China's neighboring security environment) and growing bilateral economic and trade relationship. Among them, economic cooperation is the most fundamental in bilateral strategic cooperative relationship. Provided the key position in Eurasian geopolitics and geo-economics, and its influential economic strength, as well as participating capability of Turkey and its "looking east" policy, the improvement of the Sino-Turkish economic relationship will be helpful to enhance the independence of Turkish politics, economics and diplomacy and further make Turkey China's strategic economic cooperative partner. By then, the competition between the two countries will be on the sound

development track and the establishment of “One Belt One Road” strategy as well as the China’s changes in Eurasia geo-economic landscape will gain more supports.

Second, enrich the multiple cooperative and communication mechanisms, including both government-to-government and people-to-people, between the two countries, establish strategic economic dialogue mechanism and safeguard the smooth development of the Sino-Turkish strategic economic relationship. Communications and contacts in many levels have been maintained between the two countries. They have established various cooperative mechanisms, such as the annual consultation mechanism of the economic and trade commission, China-Turkey Trade and Investment Cooperation Forum, China-Turkey Cooperation Forum and China-Turkey Business Forum. In future, they should further enhance the coordination and exchange mechanism in all long-range levels, especially in fields such as important trade sector in manufacturing, engineering construction investment projects, banking and finance institutions and trade friction-prone fields, so as to guarantee the development and improvement of Sino-Turkish economic relationship.

Third, Turkey is the important market for Chinese enterprises to “go outside”. Hence, more efforts should be put in deep analysis on Turkish market. Turkey has provided many chances of investment and development for Chinese enterprises in regards of infrastructure construction, resource development, project operation and technical cooperation. However, Chinese enterprises always lack the research on external market and targeted enterprises. Most of the times, the information from the related investment promoting agencies or research institutions has just introduced the country’s investment environment and general policies instead of detailed analysis. Therefore, Chinese government, universities and research institutions, especially the chambers of commerce, should learn from the foreign countries and carry out institutionalized, regular and systematic research on related industries, business and market environment of Turkey, so as to make targeted plan to improve the bilateral economic cooperation at a higher level.

5. Conclusion

This article has demonstrated that the development of Sino-Turkish economic cooperation and fruitful contents of bilateral strategic economic relationship, and tried to give some comprehensive suggestions to build this mutually beneficial relationship in the future. Despite the scale of the bilateral economic relationship between the two countries is far from strategic, Turkey is one country with multiple strategic significances in economic perspective for China. It is the sustainable bilateral economic cooperation that forms the foundation of the strategic relationship between China and Turkey in the 21st century.

Turkey’s economic scale and international position have dramatically increased in recent years, it is presumed to be one of the rising powers, and the dynamics of Turkey’s rising has attracted more and more attention in the world. In the context of global pattern changes and groupment rising of emerging powers, common interests of both countries are increasing and the demands for strategic and economic cooperation are growing. On the way of jointly rising, China and Turkey can found more meeting points of interests and opportunities for cooperation. It is the economic strength and rising trend of the two countries that make the further bilateral economic and trade cooperation with great potential. Hence, the establishing of the Sino-Turkish strategic economic relationship should be placed on the agenda for both. Both sides should joint together putting efforts in building the new type of Sino-Turkish strategic economic relationship that is inclusive, symbiotic and mutually beneficial. Which will bring beneficial enlightenment to studies on China’s emerging relations with the Middle East and “One Belt One Road” strategy in the future.

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The United Nations (UN), International Security and The Just War Doctrine

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Abstract

International relations is threatened by recourse to the use of force. The use of force in inter-state relations is based on just war (*jus ad bellum*) doctrines. The just war tradition provided a moral and legal basis for the causes and conduct of war. The paper depended on secondary data which involved the avalanche of scholarly works by international relations scholars. The study revealed that military interventions of the just war tradition has been used as a smokescreen to legalize wars. This is particularly true of United States and the former USSR (Russia). On the basis of this, the paper then recommended that the United Nations General Assembly should be the only organ vested with the power to declare just war, among others.

INTRODUCTION

The carnage of the First World War (1914-1918) compelled nation States to establish the League of Nations in 1919 as a mechanism for the prevention of recourse to the use force in State relations. However the League failed to eliminate war as evidenced by the outbreak of the Second World War of (1939-1945), neither was the 1928 General Treaty for the renunciation of war, popularly known as the “Kellogg - Briand Pact”. Consequently, the United Nations was established in 1945 and has been more successful than its precursors in attempts to eliminate war and the use of force in global relations.

There are different mechanisms that can be used to maintain international peace. The first is international law, the second is political means and third, military means. Based on the traditional perception that threats to international peace and security occur mainly from military angles, the institutional and legal approaches reflected the application of the armed force to maintain international order (Mbah, 2013:85).

States within the global system are prohibited from recourse to the use of force in their relations. It is however a paradox that States resort to coercion when their vital interest is threatened or jeopardized. Golden (2004:194), puts it succinctly “in one vein, governments extol the virtue of an international system ordered by law, in another, national use of force directs and protects national interest”.

It is obvious from Golden’s statement that States while abhorring the use of force and adulating the importance of international order, are always in constant and persistent preparation of national forces. This truism does not suggest that the use force is incompatible with international law. To be sure the use of force is only inevitable but essential for global peace and security. This has led to distinction between *Justus Bellum* (just war) and *Injustus Bellum* (unjust war) (Christiansen, 1999:1).

The just war tradition specifies some criteria to justify war. One of them is that, there must be a just cause, such as self-defense or the defense of others or massive violation of human rights. Another is the declaration of intent by a competent authority, like the UN Security Council (UNSC). But prudence requires that leaders must have exhausted all other possibilities, before resorting to war as the last option. There are other related issues that just war doctrines also address, relating to the conduct of war. For instance, it outlawed the use of landmines and wide range of dangerous weapons including prevention of human sufferings (Waltzer, 1977).

This paper analyzed international security and the UN in relation to the use of force in inter-state relations. Since the UN is empowered with the primary responsibility for global peace and security, the objective of this paper is to critically explore UN charter provision pertaining to global security and use of force. The paper proceeded to discuss the exception to the use of force or justifications for the use of force in State relations.

Clarification of Concepts

International Security: There is a nexus between national and international security. The realization of this factual connection has provided the foundation for a new idea referred to as ‘common security. According to Booth (1998), there is a close connection between international security and national security. Since States which are freed from excessive fear are likely maintaining their place in international society. In the past, international security is dominated by purely traditional military issues such as the armed forces, military alliances and development of military capabilities. But after the Cold War, international security became broad, focusing on ‘human security’ while also not undermining traditional military doctrines (Goldstein, 2004:5). Just like the views expressed above, International or global security refers to threats and traditional security concerns confronting the international system, capable of disrupting mankind if not promptly and adequately addressed.

Just War Doctrine: Just War (*Jus ad Bellum*) doctrine or tradition is a branch of international law that defines

when wars can be justly started and justly fought (Goldstein, 2004:5 50). The just war theory has two parts, the cause of war and the conduct of war. Just cause of war is predicated on criteria that recourse to war should be: (i) last resort; (ii) declared by legitimate authority and (iii) waged in self-defense and fought to bring about peace. While the conduct of war itself is based on the criteria of proportionality and discrimination - that is, non-combatants must not be intentional targets (Rourke and Boyer, 2002:230). The just war doctrine as used here is not different from the understanding above. It attempts to justify the use of force or warfare in a situation of threat to national or international security.

Veto Power: In the United Nations (UN) Security Council (UNSC) any of the five permanent members can veto a resolution to negate the decision of the other members. In other words, any one or more of the five permanent members of the Security Council can disagree with any proposal excluding procedural decisions and such resolutions remained vetoed. The veto power was copiously used during the Cold War because of the acrimonious relations between the super powers. But since then, its use has been less frequent but nonetheless it remains a veritable instrument of threat in contemporary times for the five permanent members of the Security Council.

Discourse on the Just War Doctrine

The just war doctrine (*Jus ad bellum*) has age long history. It is contained in the writings of great philosophers such as Plato, Grotius and Aquinas. It is also found in the Old Testament and it formed part of the teachings of the early church. As for Grotius, for a war to be just, there must exist a legal cause for it and recognized by a court of law as a cause of action. In effect, any war undertaken in the absence of justice is not a just war. Grotius further stated that the cause of just wars are limited to defence against an injury either actual or immediately threatening, to recovery of what is legally due and to inflicting punishment (Linn, 2005:632-634). Thomas Aquinas also offered his opinion on what he considered to be a just war: (i) that only a sovereign ruler can declare war (ii) that the cause of the war must be just to right a wrong situation and (iii) that there must be right intention and to advance public good. Other justifications for war from the earlier writings include: (i) prohibiting the targeting of noncombatants while allowing military targets that might result in unintentional collateral damage (ii) concern over the use of indiscriminate weapons and their impact on non-combatants, and (iii) concern for the treatment of prisoners (Linn, 2005 :627).

The Charter of the United Nations (UN Charter, art. 15) embodies the just war doctrine in its provisions vesting on the Security Council the power in Article 15:

Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken measure necessary to maintain international peace and security. Measure taken by members in the exercise of the right of self-defence shall be immediately reported to the Security Council and shall not in any way affect the authority and responsibility of the Security Council under the present Charter to take at any time such action as it deems necessary in order to maintain or restore international peace and security.

While Article 48 specifies:

The action required to carry out the decisions of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security shall be taken by all the Members of the United Nations or by some of them, as the Security Council may determine. Such decisions shall be carried out by the members of the United Nations directly and through their action in the appropriate agencies of which they are members.

- i. Article 48 establishes a positive obligation on the part of State members of the UN to enforce resolutions of the Security Council. Thus, this provides an alternative justification for action by members.
- ii. Generally, this article has been interpreted to provide that member nations must do so, not on their own volition, but at the behest of the Security Council. In other words, use of this article in justification must be authorized by the Security Council.

The principles of the just war doctrines are outlined in detail below:

Principles of the Just War

- A just war can only be waged as a last resort. All non-violent options must be exhausted before the use of force can be justified.
- A war is just only if it is waged by a legitimate authority. Even just causes cannot be served by actions taken by individuals or groups who do not constitute an authority sanctioned by whatever the society and outsiders to the society deem legitimate.
- A just war can only be fought to redress a wrong suffered. For example, self- defense against an armed

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