Targeting: The Challenges of Modern Warfare

Paul A.L. Ducheine · Michael N. Schmitt Frans P.B. Osinga Editors

Targeting: The Challenges of Modern Warfare





Editors Paul A.L. Ducheine Faculty of Military Sciences Netherlands Defence Academy Breda The Netherlands

Michael N. Schmitt Stockton Center for the Study of International Law United States Naval War College Newport, RI USA Frans P.B. Osinga Faculty of Military Sciences Netherlands Defence Academy Breda The Netherlands

ISBN 978-94-6265-071-8 IS DOI 10.1007/978-94-6265-072-5

ISBN 978-94-6265-072-5 (eBook)

Library of Congress Control Number: 2015946061

Published by T.M.C. ASSER PRESS, The Hague, The Netherlands www.asserpress.nl Produced and distributed for T.M.C. ASSER PRESS by Springer-Verlag Berlin Heidelberg

© T.M.C. ASSER PRESS and the authors 2016

No part of this work may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, microfilming, recording or otherwise, without written permission from the Publisher, with the exception of any material supplied specifically for the purpose of being entered and executed on a computer system, for exclusive use by the purchaser of the work. The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use.

Printed on acid-free paper

Springer Science+Business Media B.V. Dordrecht is part of Springer Science+Business Media (www.springer.com)

Foreword

Targeting is not only the most vital, but also one of the most challenging processes during military operations. When targeting, our efforts should be focused on successfully engaging identified and prioritized targets on both the operational "joint" level and the tactical level. The targeting process has evolved from having a primarily kinetic/lethal emphasis, with hardly any consideration for collateral damage, to our current operational domain, characterized by operations among the people and heavily influenced by modern (social) media. In addition, targeting is no longer a process primarily focusing on air assets, but over the past two decades has come to incorporate a host of military engagement capabilities.

As Commander of Regional Command South in the ISAF-operation in Afghanistan, I experienced this change of the environment in which the targeting process had to be used. For example, rules of engagement became more restrictive and the availability of resources increased. In addition, armed unmanned assets entered into the inventory. Throughout, the watchful eyes of the social and regular media were constantly upon us, impacting on our military operations. As a primary reaction, our targeting process tended to shift from one that attached scarce resources to identified and prioritized targets to a process that primarily avoided collateral damage. This was not the solution. We found that the information domain had to be included as well.

These developments have implications. Incorporating the information domain into the targeting process broadens the definition of a "target". The availability of unmanned resources expands the inventory of assets. And what about the near future when capacity for cyber operations and perhaps even autonomous systems become available?

The changes create political, legal, and ethical issues. Some of these concerns are based on a misunderstanding of the targeting process, but others require more in-depth discussion, as well as guidance and decisions from politicians and military leaders. *Targeting: The Challenges of Modern Warfare* contributes to this dialogue and, in doing so, creates more clarity for our men and women on operations.

Mart de Kruif Lieutenant General Commander of the Royal Netherlands Army (Former Commander RC-South ISAF, 2008–2009)

Preface

Issues about targeting have always been central to warfighting, but in the twentyfirst century a variety of factors have conspired to make this basic task an extraordinarily complex endeavour. Of course, there has been the emergence of ever-more lethal technology that can create a much greater potential for unintended consequences, particularly with respect to the incidental death or injury of civilians and damage or destruction of their property. At the same time however, technology has permitted the emergence of weaponry capable of being used in an extraordinarily precise manner. Still, targeting issues continue to bedevil commanders, policymakers, and their lawyers.

The reason for this is in great part due to technological and organizational developments in the international media community which very often permit the almost instantaneous broadcast of battlefield events—to include the graphic results of targeting—around the globe. In addition, we are increasingly seeing soldiers and others equipped with either official or unofficial video recording devices that likewise allow the capture of combat in real time. These too have a propensity to find their way into the global information marketplace, often without official approval.

In short, publics around the world have a much greater opportunity to view the consequences of targeting in ongoing conflicts, and do so before governmental authorities have an opportunity to evaluate what is appearing on television screens and computer monitors around the world. It is not uncommon for such visual depictions to be accompanied by informed or—often—*uninformed* commentary as to the legitimacy of the attack. At the same time, there is a greater cognizance of international law, to some extent because of its utility in facilitating transnational business activities occasioned by the rise of globalized commerce. Collectively, these factors result in a world where strict adherence to the rule of law in armed conflict is expected and required.

It is this unique and, in many ways, unprecedented, environment that makes this volume so exceptionally valuable. Targeting is the *sine qua non* of the international law of armed conflict (or international humanitarian law, as some call it) because intrinsic to it are the central tenets of civilized combat: distinction, proportionality, military necessity, and humanity.

There was a time, perhaps, that adhering to these principles was a relatively simple thing. Belligerents wore uniforms and military objects were so unique that there was typically little dispute as to the propriety of their designation as lawful targets.

Today, however, much of that has changed. Contemporary conflicts frequently involve nonstate actors who wear civilian clothing and embed themselves in civilian areas. What is more is that many of the technologies essential to modern warfighting are "dual use," that is, as valuable and indispensable to civilians as they are to belligerent militaries. Paralleling this development is the fielding, as already noted, of weaponry capable of extraordinary precision.

As a result, force very often can be applied with an accuracy that could be only dreamed about in earlier eras. Yet, despite the seeming progress of the ability to scrupulously honor the demands of legal and moral targeting, controversy about targeting has, if anything, actually increased. In part, this may be the result of modern militaries being a victim of their own success, for widely advertised surveillance and precision strike capabilities have raised public expectations well beyond what the law requires, and perhaps even beyond what the chaos and friction of war would ever be able to satisfy.

What this volume does is to gather together in one place the very best of the current thinking about targeting. It is intellectually holistic and comprehensive in that it not only lays out the history and context of targeting, it details its application in specific circumstances.

Beyond the law itself, it grapples with the thorny ethical, technical, and political issues associated with targeting decisions, especially in a coalition environment where differing perspectives about particular operations can result in constraining policies, to include guidelines not necessarily mandated by the law of armed conflict. Furthermore, the book deals with not just the law, but with the procedures applicable to the law's actual operations in various armed conflict situations.

The end product is a volume that is not only a phenomenal work of legal and military scholarship, it is written and organized in a way that is readily accessible not just to lawyers, but also to nonlawyers, including commanders, policymakers, and others involved in the art of war. What is more is that it will be extremely useful to members of the media and other opinion makers because it clarifies the often misunderstood legal aspects of the law of targeting. Wherever one stands on the use of force in a particular circumstance, the value and legitimacy of whatever position is taken must be built on a clear understanding of the law as it is.

What differentiates this book from other efforts to address (the law of) targeting is that it is informed by authors who have real-world experience dealing with the complexity of targeting in actual combat situations. While there are certainly many distinguished scholars around the world whose erudition as to the law, *per* *se*, cannot be questioned, their assessments may be insufficiently grounded in a keen understanding of the technical capabilities of the weaponry and the methodologies of their use in armed conflict.

Importantly, this book is not just a retrospective as to the law of targeting, but one that looks ahead to grapple with what will surely be the next generation of targeting issues. These include questions arising from the development and fielding of autonomous weapons systems. While there is a movement afoot to develop an international consensus on barring the introduction of the weapons, it is this writer's view that not only will such efforts ultimately fail, their failure is actually desirable. Indeed, autonomous weapon systems have the potential, if properly used consonant with the law of armed conflict, to significantly increase the likelihood that force will be used in a way that minimizes not only the risk to civilians but also to combatants by decisively unhinging its warfighting capability without necessarily destroying every element of the same.

Of course, it is quite unlikely that every reader will agree with every position taken by every author in this book. Indeed, one should not expect that even within the book the authors will consistently agree with each other in every instance. That is the nature of a volume that aims to collect the very best thinking from the widest selection of experts. Yet, the book's organization makes it a ready reference for anyone confronted with these issues.

The killing of another human being even when permitted by international law can never be taken lightly. Of course, everyone—and particularly those in the armed forces—wishes that human nature might someday evolve to the point where conflicts can be resolved peaceably in a way that preserves human dignity and freedom. Regrettably, there is little to suggest that such a day is coming in time soon.

Until it does, we must live by the truism often attributed to Cicero that "only the dead have seen the end of war." That being the case, it is all the more important that at those times when force must be used in a just cause, it be applied in a way that comports to the law, serves the best interests of humanity, and honors the consciences of the men and women called upon to use it. To serve that noble end is the real purpose of this book.

> Charles J. Dunlap Jr. Major General, USAF (Ret.) Duke University School of Law Durham, North Carolina

Contents

1	Introduction	1
Pa	rt I Context	
2	Targeting in Context Christopher Coker	9
3	From Douhet to Drones, Air Warfare, and the Evolution of Targeting Frans P.B. Osinga and Mark P. Roorda	27
4	The Current Targeting Process Phillip R. Pratzner	77
Pa	rt II Constraints	
5	Some Considerations Concerning the Role of the <i>Ius ad Bellum</i> in Targeting Terry D. Gill	101
6	The Law of Targeting Michael N. Schmitt and Eric Widmar	121
7	Ethical Issues in Targeting Martin L. Cook	147
8	Rules of Engagement and Targeting	159

Part III Special Issues in Targeting

9	Means and Methods of the Future: Autonomous Systems Jeffrey S. Thurnher	177
10	Non-kinetic Capabilities: Complementing the Kinetic Prevalence to Targeting Paul A.L. Ducheine	201
11	Targeting in Coalition Operations Chris De Cock	231
12	Evaluating the Effectiveness of Leadership Decapitation Tactics Against Terrorist Groups Bryan Price	261
An	nex: Table of Operations	289
Ind	ex	293

Editors and Contributors

About the Editors

Brigadier-General Professor Paul A.L. Ducheine is a Professor for Cyber Operations and Cyber Security at the Netherlands Defence Academy and a Professor of the Law of Military Cyber Operations at the University of Amsterdam. Trained at the Netherlands Royal Military Academy, he joined the Engineer Corps in 1988 and changed to the Army Legal Service in 1998. He holds a Master of Science degree in Public Administration as well as a Master degree and a Ph.D. in Law.

Professor Michael N. Schmitt is the Charles H. Stockton Professor and Director at the Stockton Center for the Study of International Law at the United States Naval War College. He is also Professor of International Law at Exeter University in the United Kingdom, Senior Fellow at the NATO Cyber Defence Center of Excellence in Tallinn Estonia, and Fellow at the Harvard Law School Program on International Law and Armed Conflict. Professor Schmitt served in the United States Air Force for 20 years as a Targeting Officer and Judge Advocate specializing in operational law.

Air-Commodore Professor Frans P.B. Osinga is Professor of Military Operational Art and Sciences, Chair of the War Studies Department at the Netherlands Defence Academy (Faculty of Military Sciences), and member of the Faculty's Managing Board. Trained at the Royal Military Academy, he joined the Royal (NLD) Airforce in 1987 as a F-16 pilot. He defended his Ph.D. in 2005 on the relation between war, science and strategic thinking (of John Boyd).

Contributors

Hans Boddens Hosang is the Deputy Director of Legal Affairs for the Netherlands Minister of Defence, and Head of the International and Operational Law Department, Legal Affairs Division, NLD MoD. He is a Ph.D. Researcher at University of Amsterdam (topic: Rules of Engagement). **Professor Christopher Coker** is Professor of International Relations at the London School of Economics. He is a serving member of the Washington Strategy Seminar; the Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis (Cambridge, Mass); the Black Sea University Foundation; the Moscow School of Politics; and the IDEAS Advisory Board. He is a member of the Executive Council for the Belgrade University International Summer School for Democracy and also President of the Centre for Media and Communications of a Democratic Romania.

Professor Coker is a regular lecturer at the Royal College of Defence Studies (London); the NATO Defence College (Rome), the Centre for International Security (Geneva) and the National Institute for Defence Studies (Tokyo).

Professor Martin L. Cook is Admiral James B. Stockdale Professor of Professional Military Ethics at the College of Operational and Strategic Leadership at the US Naval War College. He is also co-editor of The Journal of Military Ethics and a board member of Parameters. Professor Cook was previously a professor of philosophy and deputy department head at the Philosophy Department at the US Air Force Academy from 2004 to 2009. He was also a professor of ethics at the US Army War College from 1998 to 2003 and the Elihu Root Chair of Military Studies in 2000.

Lieutenant-Colonel Chris De Cock (Royal Belgian Airforce) is a legal advisor and Head of the Operational Law Section, Armed Forces Legal Service of the Belgian Ministry of Defence. He is a member of the visiting teaching staff at the International Institute of Humanitarian Law in San Remo and senior lecturer at the Royal Military School in Brussels. He holds Master degrees in the fields of Aeronautical and Military Sciences, Law, Political Sciences, Public Management, Security, and Defense. Since 2004, Lieutenant-Colonel De Cock (GS) has participated in operations in Afghanistan, counter-piracy and counter-narcotics operations, and Operation Unified Protector.

Professor Terry D. Gill is Professor of Military Law at the University of Amsterdam and the Netherlands Defence Academy and was first Assistant and later Associate Professor of Public International Law at Utrecht University from 1985 until 2013. He is Director of the Research Program on the Law of Armed Conflict and Peace Operations at the Amsterdam Centre for International Law and of the Netherlands Research Forum on the Law of Armed Conflict and Peace Operations (LACPO). He is Editor in Chief of the Yearbook of International Humanitarian Law and is on the editorial board of the Journal of Conflict and Security Law and the Journal of International Peacekeeping. He was Fulbright Visiting Scholar at Columbia University and Visiting Fellow at Cambridge University, the International Institute of Humanitarian Law (San Remo), University of Coimbra and University of Granada. Professor Gill is the co-editor/author of The Handbook of the International Law of Military Operations (Oxford University Press 2010) and of numerous publications in the areas of the use of force, international humanitarian law, and related topics.

Phillip R. Pratzner Jr. retired as a Colonel in the United States Air Force in 2013. He spent 17 years in targeting duties, serving in four Air and Space Operations Centers, and in Europe, the Pacific, the Republic of Korea and the Middle East/ Central Asia. Pratzner was the first Commander of the Air Force Targeting Center from 2009 to 2011. His last duty was the Director of Intelligence for United States Air Forces Central Command. He wishes to thank the Air Force Targeting Center at Langley Air Force Base, under the command of Colonel Mike Flaherty, for its generous devotion of time, ideas and willingness to listen and critique his ideas for this chapter.

Lieutenant-Colonel Dr. Bryan Price (US Army) is the Director of the Combating Terrorism Center and an Assistant Professor in the Department of Social Sciences at the United States Military Academy at West Point. He is a former aviator and current FA59 strategist who has served in a variety of command and staff positions in operational assignments, including deployments to both Iraq and Afghanistan. He holds a Bachelor of Science degree in History from the United States Military Academy, a Master of Arts in International Relations from St. Mary's University, and a Master of Arts and Ph.D. in Political Science from Stanford University.

Captain Mark P. Roorda (Royal Netherlands Marine Corps) is a Ph.D. researcher, War Studies Department, Netherlands Defence Academy and Amsterdam Centre of International Law, University of Amsterdam. He holds a Bachelor's degree in War Studies (Netherlands Defence Academy) and a Master's degree in Law (University of Utrecht). He was trained and deployed as a JTAC in Afghanistan (ISAF, 2013).

Lieutenant-Colonel Jeffrey S. Thurnher joined the United States Army in March 1997. A Judge Advocate, Lieutenant Colonel Thurnher has deployed to Kosovo and Afghanistan as part of multi-national forces. He currently serves as a Legal Advisor for the NATO Rapid Deployable Corps in Münster, Germany. His previous assignment was as a Military Professor in the International Law Department at the US Naval War College. Lieutenant Colonel Thurnher holds degrees from the University of Virginia, the College of William and Mary, the US Army Judge Advocate General's Legal Center and School, and the US Naval War College. He has published numerous articles, including ones that earned the 2009 American Society of International Law's Lieber Society Military Prize, the US Naval War College's Vice Admiral James H. Doyle, Jr., Military Operations and International Law Prize in 2012, and the Lieber Society's Richard R. Baxter Military Prize Certificate of Merit for 2013.

Lieutenant-Colonel Eric Widmar (US Army) is a Judge Advocate in the United States Army. Lieutenant Colonel Widmar served four tours in Afghanistan as the senior legal advisor to a Joint Special Operations Task Force and one tour in Iraq as the legal advisor to a US Army Airborne Infantry Brigade. He currently serves as the Chief of Administrative and Military Law, US Army Pacific (Pacific Command). His previous assignment was as Military Professor of International Law and Associate Director for Law of Land Warfare, Stockton Center for the Study of

International Law, US Naval War College. Lieutenant Colonel Widmar holds degrees from the United States Military Academy at West Point, Brigham Young University, the US Army Judge Advocate General's School, and the US Naval War College, where he received the William S. Sims Award as the Distinguished Graduate and the US Naval War College's Vice Admiral James H. Doyle, Jr., Military Operations and International Law Prize in 2013.