

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-02556-1 - Drone Wars: Transforming Conflict , Law , and Policy

Edited by Peter L . Bergen and Daniel Rothenberg

Index

[More information](#)

Index

- AAIA. *See* Aden Abyan Islamic Army
- Al-Abab, Abu Zubayr Adel, 76
- Abdulmutallab, Umar Farouk, 25, 133, 272
- Abu Ghraib prison, 169
- Abu Sayyaf, 276
- Ackerman, Bruce, 201
- ACLU. *See* American Civil Liberties Union
- Active Denial System (ADS), 433
- Aden Abyan Islamic Army (AAIA), 77
- ADS. *See* Active Denial System
- Afghanistan
- civilian harm in, from drone strikes, 63–64
 - drone use in, 1, 209–214, 268
 - JSOC in, 209
 - laws of war in, 241
 - patterns of life operations in, 209
 - Predator drones in, 130
 - PRTs in, 212
 - TIC in, 209
 - US counterinsurgency strategies in, 170–171
- Agence France Presse*, 12
- Ahmed, Gul, 47
- Ahmed, Mohamed Ibrahim, 186–187
- Ahmed, Mohamed Nasser, 73
- Ahmed, Rashid (Sheikh), 265
- Ali, Abu. *See* al-Harethi, Qaed Salim Sinan
- Ali, Hadi Mohammad, 37
- al-Alimi, Rashad, 27
- Allen, Charles, 256
- Allenby, Brad, 5
- Alston, Philip, 142, 200, 233
- Amadullah, Qari, 261
- Amber drones, 377
- Ambinder, Marc, 165–166, 175
- al-Ameri, Saleh Mohammed, 38
- American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), 47, 197
- American exceptionalism, 247
- American Society for International Law (ASIL), 193
- Anderson, Kenneth, 201
- Anderson, Marian, 227
- ANP. *See* Awami National Party
- Ansar al-Shari'ah, 71–73
- AQAP and, 76–77
 - financial incentives by, 79–80
 - recruitment strategies for, 79
- Ansar Dine, 243
- Anvil drones, 359, 364–365
- AOR. *See* area of responsibility
- Aphrodite program, 359, 364–365
- applied ethics, military technology and, 219–221
- AQAP. *See* al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula
- al-Aqili, Sanad Abdulla, 37–38
- AQN EXORD. *See* al-Qaeda EXORD
- Aquila drone, 375–376
- Arab Spring, 26, 73
- area of responsibility (AOR), 114–115
- ARGUS-IS, 354
- Arkin, Ron, 219–220
- Army, US
- Aquila drone, 375–376
 - drone development by, 367–368
 - RP-71 drone, 367
- Article 51. *See* self-defense, under IHL
- Asian culture, robotics and, 221–222
- ASIL. *See* American Society for International Law
- Asimov, Isaac, 219
- assassination, targeted killings compared to, 136–137
- Associated Press*, 12, 20
- Association of Unmanned Vehicles and Systems International, 218
- Aswan, Aslam, 33–34
- Atef, Mohammed, 261, 300
- attritional warfare, in Yemen, 73–75
- AUMF. *See* Authorization for the Use of Military Force

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-02556-1 - Drone Wars: Transforming Conflict, Law, and Policy

Edited by Peter L. Bergen and Daniel Rothenberg

Index

[More information](#)

464

Index

- Ausaf*, 91
 Authorization for the Use of Military Force (AUMF), 132
 after 9/11 terrorist attacks, 259
 replacement of, 153–154
 self-defense under, 198
 targeted killing and, 137–138
 autonomous technology, 428–437
 Awami National Party (ANP), 93, 101
 al-Awlaki, Abdulrahman, 200, 290–291
 al-Awlaki, Anwar, 3, 23, 27, 37, 272
 in AQAP, 133
 and bin Laden, O., 133
 CIA and, 166, 393
 JSOC and, 166, 393
 Obama on killing of, 296
 Rahman and, 133
 targeted killing of, 78, 133–134, 139–140, 151, 165, 195–197, 273, 290–291
 Aziz, Tariq, 52–53
- B-17 bombers, 366
 Bahadur, Hafiz Gul, 15, 346
 Baldwin, Hans, 366
 al-Bana, Ibrahim, 37
 Banks, William, 3
 Barak, Aharon, 404
 Batis, Khaled, 37–38
 Bawazir, Abdullah, 38
 Bayh, Evan, 175
 BBC, 12
 Bellinger, John, 194
 Ben Salem, Murad, 37–38
 Benvenisti, Eyal, 396
 Bergen, Peter, 2, 4, 275, 409
 Bhutto, Benazir, 16
 Biden, Joe, 196
 BIJ. *See* Bureau of Investigative Journalism
 Bilder, Richard, 193
 Bin Jameel, Ismaeel Bin Saeed, 38
 bin Laden, Osama, 13–14, 131
 AQAP influenced by, 76
 and al-Awlaki, Anwar, 133
 Bush and, 138
 location surveillance of, 256
 Operation Afghan Eyes and, 256–257
 raid on, 99–100
 targeted killing of, 138, 268–269
 and al-Wuhayshi, N., 75
 bin Laden, Saad, 33
 Black, Cofer, 260
 Blackmun, Harry A., 188, 198
 Blanchard, Charles, 3
 Blom, John David, 369
 Blum, Gabriella, 412
 border security, 224
 Bosnian conflict, drone use during, 378–379
- Boyle, John, 51
 Bradley, Omar, 217
 Brandeis, Louis, 31
 Braun, Megan, 4
 Brennan, John, 17, 23, 49, 270–271, 291, 400, 403
 on drone strikes as surgical operations, 50
 on justification of lethal force, 402
 on precision of drone strikes, 59
 on recognition of civilian harm from drone strikes, 63–64
 on targeted killing strategies, 131
 undercounting of civilian casualties, 55
 Brooks, Rodney, 222
 Brooks, Rosa, 4
Bugs, 362
 Bureau of Investigative Journalism (BIJ), 19
 Bush, George W. *See also* War on Terror
 authority to invade Iraq, 153
 and bin Laden, O., 138
 civilian deaths and, from
 drone strikes, 18
 drone policy under, 12–13
 interrogation abuses under, 185
 Koh, H. K., criticism of, 189–190
 signature strikes under, 46–53
 strikes against Pakistan, 15
 targeted killing policy under, 131, 138
 use of Predator drones, against al-Qaeda, 266–267
- Call of Duty*, 223–224
 Camp Nama, 174
 Cartwright, James, 187, 195, 202–203
 casualties, from drone strikes, 17–23.
 See also civilians, drone strikes against;
 militant groups, drone strikes against
 Brennan on, 55
 for civilians, 18–20, 50–52, 231–232
 from covert programs, 55
 estimated total deaths, 19
 under HRL, 149
 just war theory and, 287–288
 Mohammad, N., 90–92
 in New America database, 17–18, 231–232
 in Pakistan, 10, 13, 18–20, 50
 with RPAs, 124–125
 from signature strikes, 55
 in Somalia, 50
 types of, 18
 undercounting of, by US intelligence, 54–56
 U.S. military response to, 171
 in Yemen, 26–27, 50, 78–79
 CCF. *See* continuous combat function
 CDM Assessment. *See* Collateral Damage Mitigation Assessment

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-02556-1 - Drone Wars: Transforming Conflict, Law, and Policy

Edited by Peter L. Bergen and Daniel Rothenberg

Index

[More information](#)

Index

465

- Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), 47–49
 accountability of, 163–167
 compliance with law, 48
 death of al-Awlaki, Anwar, 166, 393
 drone program under, 23, 30, 71–72
 expansion of powers of, 136
 Gnat-750, 255
 under IHL, 148–149
 under international law, 148–149
 JSOC drone operations with, 49, 160, 163–167, 260–261
 JSOC reviewed by, 172–173
 laws of war and, legal review of, 172
 under Obama, 267–271
 under Petraeus, 270
 Predator drone operations by, 255, 258–262
 prison camps and, in Iraq, 174
 in Somalia, 165–167
 targeted killings by, 132, 138, 148–149, 262–264
 Title 10/Title 50 debate, 149, 166
 transparency of operations for, 49, 166
 in Yemen, 71–72, 164–165
- Charyk, Joseph, 368
- Cheney, Dick, 32
- Chesney, Bobby, 175
- Chile, 239, 246
- China
 drone development in, 301–302
 RPA development in, 349
- Church, Frank, 190
- CIA. *See* Central Intelligence Agency
- civilians, drone strikes against, 49–54
 as anti-drone argument, 230–232
 under Bush, 18
 casualties from, 18–20, 50–52, 231–232
 distinguishing militant groups from, 64–65
 economic development and, 53–54
 under Foreign Murder of United States Nationals statute, 197
 injuries from, 50–52
 just war theory and, 287–288
 under Obama, 42–45
 in Pakistan, 18–20, 50–52, 231–232
 population displacement as result of, 53–54
 poverty and, 53–54
 property loss as result of, 53–54
 psychological impact of, 52–53
 with RPAs, 124–125
 with signature strikes, 53
 in Somalia, 50
 in Yemen, 50
- Clarke, Arthur C., 226
- Clarke, Richard, 256, 259
- Clinton, Bill, 423–424
- Clinton, Hillary Rodham, 193
- CNN, 12, 165
- COAC. *See* Combined Air Operations Center
- Code Pink, 101, 231
- COIN environment. *See* counterinsurgency environment
- Cold War
 drone development during, 366–368
 targeted killings during, 135
- Collateral Damage Mitigation (CDM)
 Assessment, 407
- Combined Air Operations Center (COAC), 120
- conflict, changing context of, 427–435
 autonomous technologies as influence on, 428–437
 in COIN environments, 122, 433
 among developed countries, 427
 RNC and, 432–433
- Constitution, U.S., 139
- continuous combat function (CCF), 147
- counterinsurgency (COIN) environment, 122, 433
- counterterrorism strategies
 drone strikes as short-term fix, 236–237
 under Obama, recalibration of, 275–276
 against terrorist credibility, 237
- covert actions
 criteria for, 141
 targeted killings as, 141
- covert drone programs, US, 28–29, 44
- civilian casualties from, 55
- critics of, 28–29
- military control of, 29
- under Obama, 28, 44
- signature strikes as part of, 46–53
- Cressey, Roger, 257
- Cronin, Audrey Kurth, 152
- “crucible of convergence,” 273
- cruise missiles
 drone development and, 365, 368–373
 USAF, 367
- Crompton, Hank, 260
- Cushman, John, 376
- D-21 Tagboard program, 370–371
- Dahm, Werner, 4
- The Daily Times*, 12
- Dale, John, 369
- Dark Star drone, 380
- data collection
 data-driven warfare and, 456–458
 drone development and, 444–445, 452–454
 ISR, 119, 348, 352
 for patterns of life operations, 454
 by RPAs, 119, 348, 352
- Davis, Raymond, 97–98, 268
- Dawn*, 12, 20, 94, 265
- WikiLeaks and, 97

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-02556-1 - Drone Wars: Transforming Conflict, Law, and Policy

Edited by Peter L. Bergen and Daniel Rothenberg

Index

[More information](#)

466

Index

- DeLong, Michael, 262–263
Denialism (Specter), 227
 Department of Defense (DoD), US
 drone policy under, 61–62, 160–161
 JSOC and, 171–172
 Derwish, Kamal, 25, 130, 263
 Developmental Sciences Incorporated (DSI), 375
 Al Dhahab, Qaid Ahmad Nasser, 38
 directly participating in hostilities (DPH)
 standards, 147
 displacement. *See* population displacement
 disposition matrix
 for drone strikes, 16
 for targeted killings, 271
 distance killing, drone strikes as, 232–233
 DoD. *See* Department of Defense
 Donilon, Thomas, 16, 196
 Donley, Michael, 56
 Donne, John, 219
 Doolittle, Jimmy, 359
 DPH standards. *See* directly participating in
 hostilities standards
 drone development
 Amber drones, 377
 Anvil drones, 359, 364–365
 Aphrodite program, 359, 364–365
 Aquila drone, 375–376
 B-17 bombers and, 366
 of *Bugs*, 362
 in China, 301–302
 during Cold War, 366–368
 constancy of data in, 444–445, 452–454
 contemporary assessment of, 379–382
 cruise missiles and, 365, 367–373
 D-21 Tagboard program, 370–371
 Dark Star drone, 380
 early history of, 359–361
 emerging technologies as influence on,
 421–427, 439–440
 in Europe, 301
 export licenses for, 301
 during First Gulf War, 376–379
 global expansion of, 236, 300–303
 Global Hawk drone, 379–380
 Gnat drones, 255, 377–378
 GPS in, 378
 HALE, 303, 371
 in India, 301
 innovation in, 442–446
 in Iran, 302
 in Israel, 301, 371–374
 legal war and, 441
 in Libya, 302
 Lightning Bug drones, 368–370
 MALE, 303
 by Marines, 368
 MTCR mandates, 303
 in Pakistan, 301
 patterns of life operations and, data
 collection for, 454
 PBX in, 367–378
 for Predator drones, 255–258, 378–379
 Q-2C drones, 368
 RP-71 drone, 367
 SALT as influence on, 370
 signature strikes and, 442
 Sky Eye program, 375–376
 in Soviet Union, 375–376
 in Taiwan, 302
 Teal Group and, 300–301
 TERCOM system in, 372
 tier classification system for, 303
 by US Army, 367–368
 by US military, 4
 V-1, 364–365
 V-2, 364–365
 during Vietnam War, 360–361
 during World War I, 361–363
 during World War II, 363–366
 XQ-2 drones, 368
 Yom Kippur War and, 373–374
 Zebra catapult system and, 366
 drone strikes. *See also* casualties, from drone
 strikes; civilians, drone strikes against; kill
 list, for drone strikes; militant groups,
 drone strikes against; signature strikes;
 targeted killings
 in Afghanistan, 1, 209–214, 268
 as America's war, 103
 anti-American sentiment as result of, 237
 assessment of, 46–47
 during Bosnian conflict, 378–379
 under Bush, 12–13, 15
 cognitive dissonance over, 248–249
 congressional oversight of, 269–270
 as counterterrorism strategy, 236–237
 data-driven warfare and, 456–458
 disposition matrix for, 16
 as distance killing, 232–233
 under DoD, 61–62, 160–161
 domestic reactions to, in Yemen, 83
 dynamic targeting with, 395, 406–407
 ethics of, 232–233, 285–287
 factual information about, as strategic
 need, 12
 financial costs of, 235
 in formal conflicts, 295
 as friendly fire, 99–100
 future assessments for, 60–65
 glorification of, 234–237
 against Haqqani network, 9, 210
 under HRL, 150
 under IHL, 150

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-02556-1 - Drone Wars: Transforming Conflict, Law, and Policy

Edited by Peter L. Bergen and Daniel Rothenberg

Index

[More information](#)

Index

467

- under international law, 150–151
- joint CIA-JSOC operations, 49, 160, 163–167
- kill list for, 16, 45, 291–292
- legalization of, 237–248
- location of targets, 16–17
- in Mali, 57–58, 242
- media outlets and, database of strikes, 12
- against Mehsud, 98–99, 195
- as military decision, 296
- moral and reputational costs of, 235
- morality of, 287–289, 297–298
- Musharraf approval of, 92–93
- myths about, 396–398
- NAF database of, 12–14, 195, 409
- in North Waziristan, Pakistan, 15–16, 98
- pacifist response to, 232
- in Pakistan, 1, 9, 13–14, 242
- persistent surveillance for, 231
- personality strikes, 45–46
- in the Philippines, 242, 276
- “Playstation mentality” with, 233–234
- policy revisions for, 151–155
- political costs of, 235
- political demonization of, 230–234
- political legitimization of, as US policy, 246–248
- precision of, 59–60, 210
- with Predator, 20, 57, 118–120
- principle of proportionality for, 59–60
- against al-Qaeda, 12, 15
- rapid rise in, 13–14
- with Reaper drone, 118–119, 122
- regional instability through, 237
- remote warfare through, 1
- respect for noncombatants with, 295
- in Somalia, 242
- as surgical operations, 50
- against Taliban, 10, 15, 35–36
- targeted killing with, 15–16, 130–132, 393–400
- Title 10/Title 50 debate over, 149, 166
- transaction costs and, reduction of, 74
- against US citizens, 147–148
- US monopoly on, 154–155
- in War on Terror, 72
- WikiLeaks and, 21, 95
- in Yemen, 1–2, 13–14, 25–28, 71–73, 242
- drones, US policy for. *See also* Central Intelligence Agency; Joint Special Operations Command
- in Afghanistan, 1, 209–214
- alternatives to lethal action and, 62–63
- as America’s war, 103
- assessment of, 29–31
- under Bush, 12–13
- CIA and, 23, 30
- cognitive dissonance over, 248–249
- common misunderstandings about, 3
- congressional oversight of, 21–22
- covert programs for, in US, 28–29
- as cowardly way to fight, 10–11
- under DoD, 61–62, 160–161
- domestic deployment of, in US, 1
- ethics of, 293–296
- global expansion of, 4
- global legitimization as result of, 246–248
- as global precedent, 30–31
- Gorgon Stare surveillance system, 56
- as iconic military technology, 1
- information limitations of, 57
- intelligence capabilities of, 56–57
- international law and, 81–84
- JSOC and, 3, 160–161
- Koh, H. K., on, 187, 194–200
- laws of war and, 6
- legalization of, 237–248
- morality of, 287–289, 297–298
- national context as influence on, 81–84
- under Nixon, 372
- under Obama, 12–14, 16, 42, 195, 198–203, 270–271, 285
- in Pakistan, political stability influenced by, 237
- Predator, 20, 57, 118
- principle of sovereignty and, 247
- privacy issues under, 292
- public opinion on, in US, 1, 54–60, 196
- al-Qaeda and, 12
- Reaper, 118
- recognition of civilian harm in, 63–64
- RPAs compared to, 120–121
- SALT as influence on, 370
- in Somalia, political stability influenced by, 237
- targeted killing as part of, 129–130
- technological capabilities of, 4
- technological limitations of, 57
- Title 10/Title 50 debate over, 149, 166
- transfer of responsibility for, 31
- transparency of, 61, 151
- UAVs and, 71
- during Vietnam War, 4–5
- under War Powers Resolution, 235
- during World War I, 4–5
- during World War II, 4–5
- in Yemen, political stability influenced by, 237
- DSI. *See* Developmental Sciences Incorporated
- Dunlap, Charles J. Jr., 199, 220–221
- dynamic targeting, 395, 406–407

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-02556-1 - Drone Wars: Transforming Conflict, Law, and Policy

Edited by Peter L. Bergen and Daniel Rothenberg

Index

[More information](#)

468

Index

- economic development, drone strikes as
influence on, 53–54
- Egypt, drones in, 301
- Ehrhard, Thomas, 369
- Eikenberry, Karl, 43
- Emanuel, Rahm, 196
- Emmerson, Ben, 20
- England, targeted killings by, 154–155
- ethics, military technology and, 216–218
applied, 219–221
for autonomous weapons systems, 222–223
cultural influences on, 221–222
designer hubris and, 223
divergent ideas as influence on, 221–224
in domestic issues, 224
of drone strikes, 232–233, 285–287
in legal issues, 224
necessity of, 224–226
over monopolies of new technologies, 223
“Playstation mentality” and, 233–234
self-interest as influence on, 225, 297
in U.S. drone policy, 293–296
- Ex Parte Quirin*, 148
- Exdrone, 377
- The Express Tribune*, 12
- extrajudicial killings, 195, 198, 202
- F2T2EA kill chain, 349–352. *See also* kill chains
- al-Fadhli, Tariq, 76–77
- Faisal (Shah), 35–36
- FATA. *See* Federally Administered Tribal Areas
- al-Fatahani, Abdel-Munem, 37
- al-Fateh (Sheikh), 33
- Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), 22
Predator drone flights over, 264
- Feinstein, Dianne, 22, 269
- Feldman, Noah, 200–201
- Firdous, Iftikhar, 91, 102
- First Gulf War, drone development during, 376–379
- Fogelman, Ronald, 349
- Ford, Gerald, 190
- Foreign Assistance Act (US), 135
- Foreign Murder of United States Nationals (US) statute, 197
- foundational technologies, 426–427
- Foust, Joshua, 95
- France, drone development in, 301
- freedom of conscience, in just war theory, 294
- friendly fire, 99–100
- Frye, Scott, 256
- Gadhafi, Moammar, 138, 302
- Garlasco, Marc, 46, 57
- Gates, Robert, 165
- GCS. *See* ground control station
- general law. *See* *lex generalis*
- Geo TV*, 12
- Gernsback, Hugo, 363
- Gilani, Yousaf Raza, 97, 104
- Global Hawk drone, 379–380
- global positioning system (GPS), 378
- Gnat drones
development of, 377–378
Gnat-750, 255, 378
- Gohar, Bushra, 101
- Goldsmith, Jack, 171, 403
- “Gorgon Stare” surveillance system, 56, 354
- GPS. *See* global positioning system
- Grady, D. B., 165–166
- Graham, Robert, 263
- Greece, drone development in, 301
- ground control station (GCS), 116
- Guantanamo Bay prison, 187
- Guardian*, 12, 233
- Gulf War. *See* First Gulf War, drone development during
- Habib, Khalid, 32
- Hadi, Abdu Rabbu Mansour, 27, 71, 274
- Hajizadeh, Amir Ali, 302
- al-Hakim, Mohammad Hasan Khalil, 32
- HALE drones, 303, 371
- Hampton, Steven, 379
- Haqqani, Badruddin, 10, 35–36
- Haqqani, Siraj, 10
- Haqqani, Umar, 35–36
- Haqqani network, 2, 9–11
drone strikes against, 9, 210
training for, 9
- al-Harbi, Mohamed Atiq Awayd, 75
- al-Harethi, Qaed Salim Sinan, 25, 37, 130
targeted killing of, 262–263
- Haris, Abu, 32
- al-Harithi, Fahd Saleh al-Anjaf, 37–38
- Harop drones, 301
- Hasan, Nidal Malik, 196–197
- Hasimoto, Shuji, 221–222
- Hassan, Nadal Malik, 133, 272
- Hayden, Michael, 267
- Hersh, Seymour, 190
- Hezbollah, RPA use by, 349
- Holder, Eric, 140–141, 143, 400
- Holewinski, Sarah, 2
- al-Homaiqani, Abdulwahhab, 37
- host-state responsibility, 146
- HRL. *See* Human Rights Law
- Human Genome Project, 218–219
- Human Rights Law (HRL), 142
drone strikes under, 150
foundational ideas for, 150

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-02556-1 - Drone Wars: Transforming Conflict, Law, and Policy

Edited by Peter L. Bergen and Daniel Rothenberg

Index

[More information](#)

Index

469

- international, 149–150
 - permitted casualties under, 149
 - US adherence to, 191
- Human Rights Watch, 174
- Huntington, Samuel, 433
- Huraydan, Saleh Hassan, 38
- al-Hussainan, Abdel Rehman, 33–34
- Al Hussami, Saddam Hussein, 33
- Hussein, Saddam, 71
- IAI. *See* Israeli Aerospace Industries
- ICRC. *See* International Committee of the Red Cross
- IHL. *See* international humanitarian law
- imminent threat
 - definition of, 244
 - under international law, 244–245
 - under laws of war, 243–244
 - al-Qaeda as, 244
 - Russian definition of, 247–248
 - US definition of, 244–245, 247
- Imtiaz, Saba, 2
- India, drone development in, 301
- individuation, identification of targets and
 - in changing concept of war, 389–393
 - legal justification of targeted killings and, 400–406
 - under LOAC, 123–124
 - in targeted killings, 393–395
 - terrorism and, 390–391
- Innocent II (Pope), 233
- innovation
 - in drone development, 442–446
 - in military technology, 215
- Institute for Peace Studies, 24
- intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance (ISR), in RPAs, 119, 348
- International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), 147, 232
- laws of war under, 448
- International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, 239
- international humanitarian law (IHL)
 - CIA under, 148–149
 - DPH standards for civilians, 147
 - drone operators under, 148–149
 - drone strikes under, 150
 - jus ad bellum* under, 143, 150–151
 - jus en bello* under, 143, 150–151
 - laws of war and, 137, 143–149
 - multilateral treaty on drone technologies
 - under, 154–155
 - after 9/11, 144
 - non-state actors under, 146
 - principles of war under, 142–143
 - self-defense under, 143–144
 - target identification under, 146–147
 - targeted killings under, 137, 143–149
 - in Yemen, 145–146
- international law
 - CIA under, 148–149
 - defensive use of force under, 144–145
 - drone operators under, 148–149
 - drone strikes under, analysis of, 150–151
 - imminent threat assessment under, 244–245
 - jus ad bellum* under, 150–151
 - jus en bello* under, 150–151
 - multilateral treaty on drone technologies
 - under, 154–155
 - rule-of-law and, 239
 - sovereignty and, 246–247
 - targeted killings under, 142–151, 239
 - transparency of US drones policy under, 151
 - US adherence to, 191
 - US military sensitivity to, 169
 - in Yemen, drone strikes and, 145–146
- International Security Assistance Force (ISAF)
 - JSOC and, 173
 - in Pakistan, 99–100
- Inter-Service Intelligence (ISI), 266
- Iran, drone development in, 302
- Iranian Quds Force, 154
- Iraq
 - Abu Ghraib prison in, 169
 - Camp Nama in, 174
 - civilian from drone strikes in, 63–64
 - invasion of, under Bush, 153
 - JSOC in, 173–174
- Iraq War, 232, 249
- al-Iraqi, Abu Akash, 33–34
- ISAF. *See* International Security Assistance Force
- al-Ishaqi, Hassan Ali, 37–38
- ISI. *See* Inter-Service Intelligence
- Islamic laws, in Pakistan, 98
- ISR assets. *See* intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance
- Israel
 - drone development in, 301, 371–374
 - Harop drones, 301
 - targeted killings in, 154–155, 403–404
 - Yom Kippur War and, 373–374
- Israeli Aerospace Industries (IAI), 301
- Issacharoff, Samuel, 5
- Italy, drone development in, 301
- Jaffer, Jameel, 197
- Jamaat-ud-Dawa party, 57
- Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam party, 57
- al-Jazairi, Abu Sulayman, 32–33
- al-Jazeri, Abu Saif, 33–34

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-02556-1 - Drone Wars: Transforming Conflict, Law, and Policy

Edited by Peter L. Bergen and Daniel Rothenberg

Index

[More information](#)

470

Index

- Jemaah Islamiyah, 276
 Johnsen, Gregory, 78, 275
 Johnson, Hank, 167
 Johnson, Kelly, 370
 Johnson, Lyndon B., 368
 Joint Special Operations Command (JSOC),
 3, 47–49
 abuses and complaints against, 174
 accountability of, 163–167
 adherence to military protocols, 48
 in Afghanistan, 209
 AQN EXORD and, 162–163, 232
 CIA operations with, 49, 160, 163–167,
 260–261
 congressional oversight of, 166–175
 death of al-Awlaki, Anwar, 166, 393
 under DoD rules, 171–172
 drone operations under, 3, 160–161
 expansion of, 161
 in Iraq, 173–174
 ISAF and, 173
 legal review of, by CIA, 172–173
 LOAC and, 160, 167–168, 173
 military rules and, 171–175
 in Pakistan, 3, 163–164
 as part of US military, 161–163
 Petraeus on, 161
 political support for, 161
 practices of, US military ethos compared to,
 167–171
 prison camps and, in Iraq, 174
 review of operations for, 166
 rules of engagement for, 173
 secrecy of, 48
 SOCOM and, 161–162, 171–172
 in Somalia, 165–167
 Title 10/Title 50 debate, 149, 166
 transparency of operations for, 49, 166,
 175
 in WikiLeaks, 164
 in Yemen, 3, 71–72, 133–134, 164–165,
 272–273
jus ad bellum (regulations on engagement in
 war), 143, 150–151, 435
jus en bello (regulations on war actions), 143,
 150–151, 287, 435
 just war theory, 4
 civilian casualties and, 287–288
 criticism of, 289–292
 development of, 286
 freedom of conscience in, 294
 jus en bello in, 287
 morality in, 297–298
 permissiveness of, 286–287
 principle of proportionality in, 288,
 293
 response to al-Qaeda and, 294

 Kahn, Samir, 134
 Kakaes, Konstantin, 4–5
 Kappes, Steve, 266
 Karem, Abraham, 377
 Kasmiri, Ilyas, 33
 Kayani, Ashfaq Parvez, 96, 99
 Kellerstrass, E. J., 371–372
 Kelley, Paul, 374
 Kennedy, Joseph, 359, 366–367
 Kerry, John, 98
 Kettering, Charles, 362
 Khan, Daud, 53
 Khan, Hakeem, 51–52
 Khan, Hayatullah, 91
 Khan, Imran, 95, 100–102
 Khan, Karim, 97
 Khan, Ratta, 35–36
 Khan, Samir, 37
 Khan, Shakeel, 53
 Khel, Amir Hamza Toji, 35–36
 Khobzi, Abbad Mossad Abbad, 38
 Khyber Agency, 22
 kill chains
 engagement and assessment phases in,
 350–351
 find phase in, 350
 fix phase in, 350
 RPAs in, 349–352
 tracked and targeting phases in, 350
 TSTs in, 350
 kill list, for drone strikes, 16
 construction of, 291–292
 for personality strikes, 45
*Kill or Capture: The War on Terror and the
 Soul of the Obama Presidency*
 (Klaidman), 194
 al-Kini, Osama, 33
 Klaidman, Daniel, 194, 233–234, 405–406
 Koh, Harold Kongju, 3, 142–143, 150, 400
 appointment under Obama, 186
 at ASIL, 193
 on business of secret killings, 185–187
 criticism of Bush, 189–190
 on extrajudicial killings, 195, 198, 202
 judicial influences on, 188–189
 as liberal icon, 187–192
 political criticism of, 198
 on US drone policy, 187, 194–200
 Koh, Kwang Lim, 188
 Kondratiev waves, 425
 Kugelman, Michael, 52

 Lashkar-e-Jhangvi, 104
*Law and the Long War: The Future of Justice in
 the Age of Terror* (Wittes), 199
 Law of Armed Conflict (LOAC)
 distinction of individuals under, 123–124

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-02556-1 - Drone Wars: Transforming Conflict , Law , and Policy

Edited by Peter L . Bergen and Daniel Rothenberg

Index

[More information](#)

Index

471

- under Geneva Convention, 123–124
- identification of uniforms under, 124
- JSOC and, 160, 167–168, 173
- laws of war and, 395–396
- My Lai massacre and, 167–168
- principle of necessity in, 122–123
- principle of proportionality in, 123
- targeted killings under, 137, 143–149
- US military and, 170
- use of lethal force and, 396–397
- violation of, by RPAs, 122–125
- Law of War Deskbook*, 169
- lawfare, 220–221
- lawful action, 171
- laws of war, 239–240, 435–437
 - in Afghanistan, 241
 - CIA legal review of, 172
 - contemporary revisions to, with drone use, 6, 457
 - defined, 435
 - development of, in global context, 243
 - HRL, 142
 - under ICRC, 448
 - identification of combatants under, 448
 - under IHL, 137, 143–149, 395–396
 - imminent threats and, assessment of, 243–244
 - international, U.S. drone policy and, 81–84
 - international treaties for, 446–447
 - jus ad bellum* in, 143, 150–151, 435
 - jus en bello* in, 143, 150–151, 287, 435
 - as *lex specialis*, 240
 - in Libya, 241
 - LOAC and, 395–396
 - for non-international conflicts, 448–449
 - post-Vietnam training, 168
 - principle of necessity and, 398
 - principle of proportionality and, 398
 - rule-of-law compared to, 239–240
 - self-defense arguments under, 243–246
 - targeted killings under, 241–243, 446–450
 - traditional understandings of, 5
 - U.S. military guidelines under, 168–170
 - use of lethal force as part of, 396–397
 - violations of, with RPAs, 122–125
- Lederman, Martin S., 190
- legal war, drone development and, 441
- Leiter, Michael, 266
- LeMay, Curtis, 368
- Letelier, Orlando, 239, 246
- lethal force, use of
 - laws of war and, 396–397
 - legal justifications of, 396–397
 - under LOAC, 396–397
 - procedural safeguards for, 406–410
- lex generalis* (general law), 240
- lex specialis* (special war), 240
 - rule-of-law and, 240
- al-Libi, Abu Yahya, 32, 270
- al Libi, Abu Faraj, 92
- Libya, 241, 302
- LIDAR modality, in RPAs, 355
- Lightning Bug drones, 368–370
- Lithwick, Dahlia, 192
- LOAC. *See* Law of Armed Conflict
- Long War Journal, 19–20, 78
- Los Angeles Times*, 12, 22
- Luban, David, 398, 405
- Mahmood, Ghayur, 20
- MALE drones, 303. *See also* Predator drones
- Mali
 - drone strikes in, 57–58, 242
 - al-Qaeda in, 58
- Malik, Rehman, 13
- Mansager, Tucker, 265
- Mansoor (Sheikh), 33
- Mansoor, Badar, 33–34, 270
- Marines, drone development by, 368
- Marjan, Ali, 35
- al-Masri, Abdullah Awad, 37–38
- al-Masri, Abu Jihad. *See* al-Hakim, Mohammad Hasan Khalil
- al-Masri, Abu Khabab, 32
- al-Masri, Abu Zubair, 32
- McCaffrey, Barry, 163
- McChrystal, Stanley, 60, 163, 174
- McConnell, Mike, 195–196
- McKelvey, Tara, 3
- McLaughlin, John, 264
- McNeal, Gregory, 407–408
- McRaven, William, 165
- media
 - database of drone strikes through, 12
 - in Pakistan, responses to drone strikes, 91–92, 102–106, 265
 - polarization of, in Pakistan, 103
- Mehsud, Biatullah, .9, 15–16, 35, 94
 - See also* Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan
- as target of drone strike, 98–99, 195
- Mehsud, Hakimullah, 35–36
- militant groups, drone strikes against, 18, 23–25
 - against bin Laden, O., 24
 - distinguishing civilians from, 64–65
 - Mehsud as target, 98–99, 195
 - in Pakistan, 32–36, 94
 - al-Qaeda, 23–24, 32–34
 - reinforcement of terrorism as result of, 24–25
 - Taliban, 35–36
 - in Yemen, 27, 36–38

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-02556-1 - Drone Wars: Transforming Conflict, Law, and Policy

Edited by Peter L. Bergen and Daniel Rothenberg

Index

[More information](#)

472

Index

- military, U.S. *See also* Joint Special Operations Command; United States Air Force
 AUMF and, 132, 137–138, 153–154
 battle damage assessments by, 170
 classroom teaching applications, 169–170
 collateral damage methodology for, 170
 counterinsurgency strategies, 170–171
 covert drone programs, 29
 drone development by, 4
 drones, as iconic technology, 1
 under international law, increased sensitivity to, 169
 JSOC as part of, 161–163
 JSOC practices distinct from, 167–171
Law of War Deskbook, 169
 lawful action and, 171
 LOAC and, 170
 military lawyers and, 169–170
 post-Vietnam transformation of, 169
 response to civilian casualties, 171
- military technology. *See also* drone development; drone strikes; drones, U.S. policy for; ethics; military technology and; kill chains; Predator drones; Reaper RPAs; remotely piloted aircrafts; unmanned aerial vehicles
 capabilities of, 4
 in contemporary wars, 220
 cruise missiles, 365
 disconnect within fields of, 217–219
 drones as iconic, 1
 fear of, 226–227
 under IHL, 154–155
 innovations in, 215
 under international law, 154–155
 killer applications for, 215–217
 lawfare and, 220–221
 limitations of, 57
 prototypes for, 215–216
 revolutionary, 253–254
 RMT, 431–432
 Rumsfeld on, 220
- Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR), 303
 Mohammad, Khalid Shaikh, 92
 Mohammad, Khan, 35
 Mohammad, Nek, 35, 103
 in Pakistani media, 91–92, 102–106, 265
 targeted killing of, 90–92, 264
- morality
 of drone strikes, 287–289, 297–298
 in just war theory, 297–298
 Niebuhr on, 293–294
- Morocco, drones in, 301
- Mothana, Ibrahim, 79
- MTCR. *See* Missile Technology Control Regime
- Munter, Cameron, 14, 98, 270
- Musharraf, Pervez, 21, 91, 266
 approval of US drone strikes, 92–93
 public resentment against government policy, 93
- al-Muslimi, Farea, 28
- Al Mutawakel, Yahya M., 264
- My Lai massacre, 167–168
- NAF. *See* New America Foundation
- Naseeb, Abdel-Raouf, 38
- National Command Authority, 408–409
- National Security Act of 1947 (US), 135
- NATO. *See* North Atlantic Treaty Organization
- Naw Kham, 302
- Nazir, Maulvi, 35–36
- New America Foundation (NAF)
 casualties from drone strikes, 17–18, 231–232
 database about drone strikes, 12–14, 195, 409
- New York Times*, 12, 262, 379
- The News*, 12, 266
- Niebuhr, Reinhold, 4, 286 *See also* just war theory
 on morality of war, 293–294
- 9/11 terrorist attacks
 AUMF after, 259
 CIA after, expansion of powers for, 136
 Predator drone use after, 258–262
 self-defense after, under IHL, 144
 US political context after, 258
 US response plan to, 258–259
- Nixon, Richard, 372
- North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), 99–100
- North Waziristan, Pakistan, 9
 drone strikes in, 15–16, 98
- Obama, Barack. *See also* Koh, Harold Kongju
 AQN EXORD under, 232
 AUMF under, 132
 business of secret killings under, 185–187
 cabinet appointments under, 192–193
 CIA drone strikes under, 267–271
 covert drone programs under, 28, 44
 drone strike policy under, 12–14, 16, 42, 195, 198–203, 270–271, 285
 drone strikes against civilians, 42–45
 extrajudicial killings under, 195, 198, 202
 Guantanamo Bay prison and, 187
 kill list for drone strikes, 291–292
 on killing of al-Awlaki, Anwar, 296
 Koh, H. K., appointment under, 186
 liberal promises of, upon election, 185–186
 liberal reform expectations of, 185–186
 national context during first inauguration, 195

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-02556-1 - Drone Wars: Transforming Conflict, Law, and Policy

Edited by Peter L. Bergen and Daniel Rothenberg

Index

[More information](#)

Index

473

- recalibration of counterterrorism strategy, 275–276
- review of drone policy by, 270–271
- signature strikes under, 15, 26, 46
- strikes against al-Qaeda, 12, 15
- strikes against Yemen, 14, 26
- Taliban's hatred towards, 10
- targeted killing policy under, 131, 138
- transparency of drone strike policy, 61–65
- Obama, Michelle, 10
- O'Connell, Mary Ellen, 269
- O'Hanlon, Michael, 253
- Omar, Haji, 35
- Omar, Hazrat, 35
- Omar, Mohammad, 35
- Operation Afghan Eyes, 256–257
- Operation Desert Storm. *See* First Gulf War, drone development during
- Operation Enduring Freedom, 259
- Operation Rah-e-Rast, 24
- opinion. *See* public opinion, of US drone policy
- pacifists, response to drone strikes by, 232
- Pakistan. *See also* casualties, from drone strikes; militant groups, drone strikes against; North Waziristan, Pakistan; South Waziristan, Pakistan
 - ANP in, 93, 101
 - civilian casualties in, 18–20, 50–52, 231–232
 - civilian harm from drone strikes, 63–64
 - collusion with U.S. government, 92–96
 - Davis episode in, 97–98
 - democratic government in, transition to, 93–94, 96
 - drone development in, 301
 - drone strikes in, 1, 9, 13–14, 242
 - FATA in, 22
 - Haqqani network in, 2
 - ISI in, 266
 - Islamic laws in, 98
 - Jamaat-ud-Dawa party in, 57
 - Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam party in, 57
 - JSOC drone strikes in, 3, 163–164
 - Khan, K., and, 97
 - Khyber Agency and, 22
 - Lashkar-e-Jhangvi in, 104
 - media response to drone strikes in, 91–92, 102–106, 265
 - NATO/ISAF forces in, 99–100
 - Peshawar Declaration in, 102–103
 - political sovereignty movement, 95–96
 - political stability of, US drone policy influence on, 237
 - population displacement in, 54
 - PPP in, 93–94
 - Predator drone strikes in, 264–266
 - PTI in, 100–102
 - public opinion on US drone policy, 2, 22, 89–90, 100–102, 289–290
 - raid on bin Laden, O., 99–100
 - Red Mosque siege in, 93
 - rise of militants in, 94
 - Sharif government in, 105
 - strikes against, during Bush presidency, 15
 - TTP in, 15, 94, 104–105
- Pakistan Muslim League (PML), 93
- Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N), 94
- Pakistan People's Party (PPP), 93–94
- Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) party, 100–102
- Panetta, Leon, 26, 29, 165, 196, 270
 - on targeted killings, 129
- Park, W. Hays, 168
- Pasha, Ahmad Shuja, 99, 103
- Patrick, Mason, 363
- patterns of life operations
 - in Afghanistan, 209
 - data collection for, 454
- Patterson, Anne, 96
- PBX. *See* plastic-bonded explosives
- PED. *See* processing, exploration and dissemination
- People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, 83
- permissive environments, 277
- Pershing, John, 135
- personality strikes, 45–46
 - kill list for, 45
 - signature strikes compared to, 450
- Peshawar Declaration, 102–103
- Petraeus, David, 27, 48, 170–171
- AQN EXORD under, 163
 - as CIA director, 270
 - on Iraq War, 249
 - on JSOC, 161
- Philippines, drone strikes in, 242, 276
- Pildes, Richard, 5
- plastic-bonded explosives (PBX), 367–378
- “Playstation mentality,” drone strikes and, 233–234
- PML. *See* Pakistan Muslim League
- PML-N. *See* Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz
- political process theory, 405
- population displacement
 - from drone strikes, 53–54
 - in Pakistan, 54
 - in Somalia, 53–54
 - in Yemen, 53–54
- poverty, drone strikes as influence on, 53–54
- PPP. *See* Pakistan People's Party
- Predator drones, 20, 253–255
 - in Afghanistan, 130
 - for border security, 224
 - during Bush presidency, 266–267

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-02556-1 - Drone Wars: Transforming Conflict, Law, and Policy

Edited by Peter L. Bergen and Daniel Rothenberg

Index

[More information](#)

474

Index

- Predator drones (cont.)
 in CIA operations, 255, 258–262
 deployment issues for, 257–258
 development history of, 255–258, 378–379
 future applications of, 277–278
 Gnat-750, 255
 GPS in, 378
 informational limitations of, 57
 military reliance on, 253
 9/11 terrorist attacks and, 258–262
 offensive capabilities of, 119–120, 254, 260–262
 Operation Afghan Eyes and, 256–257
 over FATA, 264
 in Pakistan, 264–266
 popularity of, among politicians, 260–262
 precision of, 261
 RPAs and, 118
 signature strikes with, 267
 targeted killings by, 262–264
 use against al-Qaeda, 266–267
- Predator: The Remote-Control Air War over Iraq and Afghanistan*, 57
- Preston, Stephen, 48
- principle of necessity, 122–123, 398
- principle of proportionality, 59–60
 in just war theory, 288, 293
 laws of war and, 398
 in LOAC, 123
 for targeted killings, 148
- prisoners of war, 390
- processing, exploration and dissemination (PED), of RPAs, 348
- property loss, from drone strikes, 53–54
- provincial reconstruction team (PRT), 212
- PTI. *See* Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf party
- public opinion, of US drone policy, 230
 contextual factors for, 290–291
 in Pakistan, 2, 22, 89–90, 100–102, 289–290
 for targeted killings, 129
 among US citizens, 1, 23, 54–60, 196
 in Yemen, 290
- push-button warfare, RPAs and, 118, 121–122
- Q-2C drones, 368
- al-Qadi, Adnan, 38
- al-Qaeda
 AQAP, 25–26
 drone policy and, 12, 15
 drones strikes against militant groups, 23–24, 32–34
 as imminent threat to US, 244
 just war theory and, 294
 in Mali, 58
 Predator drones used against, 266–267
 signature strikes against, 267
 targeted killing strategies against, 130–131, 262–264
- al-Qaeda EXORD (AQN EXORD), 162–163
 under Obama, 232
 under Petraeus, 163
- al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP), 25–26
 AAIA and, 77
 Ansar al-Shari'ah and, 76–77
 al-Awlaki, Anwar, as leader in, 133
 bin Laden, O., as influence on, 76
 engagement strategies of, 75–76
 establishment of territorial control by, 77
 exploitation of inter-tribal conflict, 77
 factionalism within, 76–77
 financial incentives through, 79–80
 founding of, 75
 indigenous sources of resistance against, 84
 indoctrination strategies for, 77–78
 mediation of tribal disputes and, as counteractive strategy, 83
 popular mobilization by, 77–78
 propaganda by, 78
 recruitment strategies by, 78–81
 self-defense justification against, 145
 Al-Shab'ab and, 76
 training camps for, 77
 in Yemen, 25–27, 71–78, 273
- Qatn, Salim Ali, 74
- Qiao Liang, 422
- Qureshi, Shah Mehmood, 98
- al-Quso, Fahd, 27, 37–38
- Rabia, Abu Hamza, 32, 91, 265
- al Radmi, Hamid, 38
- Rahman, Sheikh Omar, 133
- al-Rahman, Atiyah Abd, 33
- RCS. *See* revolutions in civilian systems
- Reagan, Ronald, 138
- Reaper RPAs, 118–119, 122
- Red Mosque, siege of, 93
- regulations on engagement in war. *See jus ad bellum*
- regulations on war actions. *See jus en bello*
- Rehman, Abdul, 35
- Rehman, Sherry, 92, 95
- Rehman, Waliur, 35–36
- Reisman, W. Michael, 199
- religion, robotics and, 222
- remote warfare, 1
- remotely piloted aircrafts (RPAs), 348–349
 AOR in, 114–115
 ARGUS-IS, 354
 autonomous aerial refueling of, 353
 benefits of, 119–120
 CAOC for, 120–121
 chain of communication with, 114, 120–121
 changing concept of war and, 117
 in China, 349

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-02556-1 - Drone Wars: Transforming Conflict , Law , and Policy

Edited by Peter L . Bergen and Daniel Rothenberg

Index

[More information](#)

Index

475

- civilian casualties from, 124–125
- in civilian sector, 356
- directed energy systems with, 353
- drones compared to, 120–121
- emerging technologies for, 355–356
- future applications for, 352–355
- GCS for, 116
- global development of, 349
- Gorgon Stare, 354
- Hezbollah's development of, 349
- human aspects of, 380–381
- increased flying times for, 354
- increased use of, 118–119
- ISR data, 119, 348, 352
- in kill chains, human role in, 349–352
- legal constraints against, 352
- LIDAR modality in, 355
- misconceptions about, 118–119
- navigation systems for, 114
- operations of, 113–114
- PED functions of, 348
- popularity of, 113
- Predator drones and, 118
- push-button warfare and, 118, 121–122
- Reapers and, 118–119, 122
- stress factors with, 116, 122
- ultra-long endurance, 354
- USAF use of, 118, 125
- violation of LOAC by, 122–125
- WAAS system, 355
- Reprieve, 101
- Reuters*, 12
- revolutions in civilian systems (RCS), 433–434
- revolutions in military operations and culture (RMOC), 434
- revolutions in military technology (RMT), 431–432
- revolutions in the nature of conflict (RNC), 432–433
- Rice, Condoleezza, 258
- RMOC. *See* revolutions in military operations and culture
- RMT. *See* revolutions in military technology
- RNC. *See* revolutions in the nature of conflict
- robotics
 - in Asian culture, 221–222
 - religious influences on, 222
- Roddenberry, Gene, 221
- RoE. *See* rules of engagement
- Rohde, David, 2, 9–11
- Roosevelt, Elliot, 359
- Roosevelt, Franklin, 270
- Rostow, Walt W., 188
- Rothenberg, Daniel, 5
- Rowland, Jennifer, 2, 4
- RP-71 drone, 367
- rule-of-law, 238–239
 - international law and, 239
 - laws of war compared to, 239–240
 - lex generalis* and, 240
 - lex specialis* and, 240
 - in US, 239
 - war against al-Qaeda under, 242–243
- rules of engagement (RoE), for USAF, 122
- Rumsfeld, Donald, 162, 220, 237
- Russia, imminent threats in, 247–248
- Saeed, Hafiz, 104
- Saleh, Ali Abdullah, 25, 27, 83, 164–165
- SALT. *See* Strategic Arms Limitations Talks
- Al Saudi, Abdullah Azzam, 32
- Al Saudi, Abu Wafa, 32
- Saudi Arabia, drones in, 301
- Schirch, Lisa, 54
- Schwartz, Michael, 3
- self-defense
 - AQAP and, 145
 - under AUMF, 198
 - host-state responsibility and, 146
 - under IHL, 143–144
 - under international law, 144–145
 - as justification for targeted killings, 144
 - under laws of war, 243–246
 - limits of, against non-state actors, 146
 - against non-state targets, 146
- self-interest, military technology and, 225, 297
- Al-Shab'ab, 76
- Al-Shadadi, Nader, 37–38
- al-Shadadi, Naser, 37
- Shah, Naureen, 3, 200
- Shah, Pir Zubair, 4
- al-Shahri, Abu Hafis, 33
- Shahzad, Faisal, 24
- Shakirullah, Maulana, 35–36
- Shamsi, Hina, 233
- Shamsulla, 35–36
- Sharif, Nawaz, 105
- al-Shihri, Said, 27, 37–38
- Al-Shiri, Said Ali, 75
- signature strikes, 5
 - under Bush, 46–53
 - civilian casualties from, 55
 - against civilians, 53
 - in covert drone programs, 46–53
 - drone development and, 442
 - legal implications of, 450–456
 - under Obama, 15, 26, 46
 - personality strikes compared to, 450
 - precision of, 59–60
 - with Predator drones, 267
 - against al-Qaeda, 267
 - target criteria for, 46
 - in Yemen, 46, 71–72

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-02556-1 - Drone Wars: Transforming Conflict, Law, and Policy

Edited by Peter L. Bergen and Daniel Rothenberg

Index

[More information](#)

476

Index

- Singer, P. W., 3–4
 Singer, Peter, 277
 Sky Eye program, 375–376
Small Wars Journal, 232
 SOCOM. *See* Special Operations Command
 Solis, Gary, 197
 al-Somali, Saleh, 33
 Somalia
 casualties from drone strikes in, 50
 CIA in, 165–167
 civilian harm in, from drone strikes, 63–64
 drone strikes in, 242
 JSOC in, 165–167
 political stability of, US drone policy
 influence on, 237
 population displacement in, 53–54
 South Waziristan, Pakistan, 9
 sovereignty
 international law and, 246–247
 in Pakistan, as political movement, 95–96
 US drone policy and, 247
 Soviet Union, drone development in, 375–376
 Spain, drone development in, 301
 Special Operations Command (SOCOM)
 JSOC and, 161–162, 171–172
 Rumsfeld on, 162
 Special Operations Forces, U.S., 62–63
 special war. *See* *lex specialis*
 Specter, Michael, 227
 Sperry, Elmer, 361–362
 Sperry, Lawrence, 361–362
 St. Petersburg Declaration, 396
 Starobin, Paul, 191
 Strategic Arms Limitations Talks (SALT), 370
 Sultan, Shaukat, 91, 265
The Sunday Times, 266
 Swedan, Ahmed Salim, 33
 Sweden, drone development in, 301
 Swift, Christopher, 2, 275
 Switzerland, drone development in, 301

 TADS. *See* Terrorist Attack Disruption Strikes
 Taft, William H., IV, 191–192, 194, 197, 202
 Tahir, Madiha, 94–95
 Taiwan, drone development in, 302
 Taliban
 drone strikes against, 10, 15, 35–36
 hatred toward Obama, 10
 Operation Rah-e-Rast and, 24
 TTP, 15
 targeted killings. *See also* drones, US policy for;
 kill list, for drone strikes
 assassination compared to, 136–137
 AUMF and, 137–138
 of al-Awlaki, Anwar, 78, 133–134, 139–140,
 151, 165, 195–197, 273, 290–291
 beginnings of, 262–264
 of bin Laden, O., 138, 268–269
 Brennan on, 131
 under Bush, 131, 138
 capture compared to, 403–404
 CCF guidelines for, 147
 by CIA, 132, 138, 148–149, 262–264
 during Cold War, 135
 constitutional protections against, 139
 as covert actions, 141
 disposition matrix for, 271
 distinction between citizens and non-
 citizens, 405–406
 under domestic law, policy adaptations for,
 153–154
 with drone strikes, 15–16, 130–132, 393–400
 by England, 154–155
 under executive orders, 136–137
 as extrajudicial killings, 195, 198, 202
 under Foreign Assistance Act, 135
 Gray Fox surveillance unit, 262
 of al-Harethi, 262–263
 of high-value targets, 236
 history of, in US, 130, 134–138
 Holder on, 143, 400
 under HRL, 142
 humanitarian critique of, 398–399
 ICRC and, 147
 under IHL, 137, 146–148
 individuated identification of targets, 393–395
 under international law, 142–151, 239
 in Israel, 154–155, 403–404
 under laws of war, 241–243, 446–450
 legal criticism of, 291–292
 legal justification of, 134, 400–406
 legal ramifications of, 129–130
 under LOAC, 137, 143–149
 of Mehsud, 98–99
 of Mohammad, N., 90–92, 264
 myths about, 396–398
 National Command Authority and, 408–409
 under National Security Act of 1947, 135
 under Obama, 131, 138
 outside traditional battlefields, 134–151
 Panetta on, 129
 personal discomfort over, 234
 by Predator drones, 262–264
 principle of proportionality for, 148
 public opinion on, 129
 of al-Qaeda members, 130–131, 262–264
 self-defense justification for, 144
 with signature strikes, 46
 of terrorists, 138
 of US citizens, 138–142
 US foreign policy and, 129–130
 in Yemen, 131–132, 262–263
 of al-Yemeni, 32, 265
 of al-Zarqawi, 175

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-02556-1 - Drone Wars: Transforming Conflict, Law, and Policy

Edited by Peter L. Bergen and Daniel Rothenberg

Index

[More information](#)

Index

477

- Teal Group, 300–301
- technology. *See also* military technology; robotics
- autonomous, national conflicts influenced by, 428–437
 - culture influenced by, 434–435
 - drone development influenced by, 421–427, 439–440
 - foundational, 426–427
 - Kondratiev waves for, 425
 - RMT, 431–432
 - transformative, 425–426
- Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP), 15, 94, 104–105
- The Telegraph*, 12
- Tenet, George, 257
- TERCOM system, in drone development, 372
- terrorism
- in changing concept of war, 390–391
 - identification of individuals and, 390–391
- Terrorist Attack Disruption Strikes (TADS), 26.
- See also* signature strikes
- al-Thahab, Abdulraouf Ahmad Nasser, 37–38
- TIC. *See* troops in contact
- time-sensitive targets (TSTs), 350
- Title 10/Title 50 debate, 149, 166
- Toofan, Wali Mohammad, 35–36
- Towers, John, 364
- troops in contact (TIC), 209
- True, David, 4
- Truman, Harry, 364
- Tsarnaev, Tamerlan, 24
- TSTs. *See* time-sensitive targets
- TTP. *See* Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan
- Tuaiman, Ali Saleh, 38
- Tuaiman, Qasem Naser, 38
- Turkey, drones in, 301
- al-Turki, Seleh, 33–34
- al-Turkistani, Abdul Haq, 33
- Turley, Jonathan, 201
- UAVs. *See* unmanned aerial vehicles
- ultra-long endurance RPAs, 354
- al-Umda, Mohammed, 37–38
- United Arab Emirates, drones in, 301
- United States (US). *See also* Bush, George W.;
- covert drone programs, US; drones, US policy for; military, US; 9/11 terrorist attacks; Obama, Barack
 - collusion with Pakistan, 92–96
 - domestic drones in, 1
 - Foreign Assistance Act in, 135
 - Foreign Murder of United States Nationals statute in, 197
 - HRL and, adherence to, 191
 - imminent threat and, Justice Department definition of, 244–245
 - international law and, adherence to, 191
 - monopoly on drone strikes, 154–155
 - National Security Act of 1947 in, 135
 - public opinion on drone policy in, 1, 23, 54–60
 - rule-of-law in, 239
 - targeted killing policy, history of, 130, 134–138
 - Title 10/Title 50 debate in, 149
 - undercounting of civilian casualties from drone strikes, 54–56
 - War Powers Resolution in, 235
- United States Air Force (USAF), 118, 122
- cruise missile programs, during Cold War, 367
 - Global Hawk drone, 379–380
 - Lightning Bug drones and, 368–370
 - RPAs and, 125
- Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 239
- unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs), 71.
- See also* remotely piloted aircraft
 - advantages of, 231
 - Dark Star drone, 380
 - Global Hawk drone, 379–380
 - HALE, 303, 371
- USAF. *See* United States Air Force
- use of lethal force. *See* lethal force, use of
- USS Cole, 130
- V-1 drones, 364–365
- V-2 drones, 364–365
- Verne, Jules, 216
- Vietnam War
- drone development during, 360–361, 368–371
 - drone use during, 4–5
- Villa, Francisco “Pancho,” 135
- WAAS system. *See* Wide-Area Airborne Surveillance system
- The Wall Street Journal*, 12
- Waltz, Michael, 209–214
- Wang Xiansui, 422
- war, changing concept of
- with drone use, 5
 - future evolution of, 410–412
 - individual responsibility in, 389–393
 - legal transformation of, 388–389
 - prisoners of war and, 390
 - push-button warfare, 118, 121–122
 - with RPAs, 117
 - terrorism as influence on, 390–391
- War on Terror, 72
- as intelligence-driven, 254
 - Predator drones in, transformational influence of, 277
 - US monopoly on drones during, 300

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-02556-1 - Drone Wars: Transforming Conflict , Law , and Policy

Edited by Peter L . Bergen and Daniel Rothenberg

Index

[More information](#)

478

Index

- War Powers Resolution, 235
- Washington Post*, 12, 20, 267, 274–275
- Wazir, Ashfaq, 35
- Wazir, Miraj, 35
- Wazir, Usman, 259
- Wells, H. G., 216–217
- Werrell, Kenneth, 362, 364
- Wide-Area Airborne Surveillance (WAAS)
 - system, 355
- WikiLeaks, 21
 - Dawn* and, 97
 - JSOC in, 164
 - Pakistani government influenced by, 95
- Willy, Wilford, 359–360
- Wired*, 165
- Wittes, Benjamin, 199
- Wolfowitz, Paul, 263
- Woolsey, James, 255
- World War I
 - drone development during, 361–363
 - drone use during, 4–5
- World War II
 - drone development during, 363–366
 - drone use during, 4–5
- Wright, Orville, 361–362, 380–381
- Wright, Wilbur, 361
- al-Wuhayshi, Abdulrahman, 37
- al-Wuhayshi, Nasir, 75
- XQ-2 drones, 368
- al-Yazid, Mustafa Abu, 33
- Yemen
 - Ansar al-Shari'ah in, 71–73
 - AQAP in, 25–27, 71–78, 273
 - during Arab Spring, 73
 - attritional warfare in, 73–75
 - casualties from drone strikes in, 26–27, 50, 78–79
 - CIA in, 71–72, 164–165
 - as crucible of convergence, 273
 - domestic reaction to US drone strikes, 83
 - drone strikes in, 1–2, 13–14, 25–28, 71–73, 242
 - under IHL, 145–146
 - institutional demographics, 74–75
 - under international law, 145–146
 - international law in, US drone policy and, 81–84
 - JSOC drone strikes in, 3, 71–72, 133–134, 164–165, 272–273
 - militant groups in, casualties from drone strikes, 27, 36–38
 - political stability of, US drone policy influence on, 237
 - political transition for, 81–82, 84
 - population displacement in, 53–54
 - public opinion on US drone strikes, 290
 - signature strikes in, 46, 71–72
 - targeted killings in, 131–132, 262–263
 - as terrorist threat, 272–275
- al-Yemeni, Haitham, 32, 265
- Yom Kippur War, 373–374
- Yoo, John, 189, 198
- Yusufzai, Rahimullah, 98
- Zafar, Mohammad Qari, 35
- al-Zafari, Nasser, 37–38
- al-Zahidi, Zuhair, 33
- Zalalov, Nazimuddin, 33
- Zardari, Asif Ali, 21, 97
- al-Zarqawi, Abu Musab, 175
- Zawahiri, Ayman, 267
- Al Zawbah, Moqbel Ebad, 38
- Zebra catapult system, 366
- Zeidan, Mahmud Mahdi, 35
- al-Ziadi, Ahmed, 38
- al-Zindani, Abdul Majeed, 75–76
- al-Zouba, Abd Rabbo Mokbal Mohammed Jarallah, 38