

INTERNATIONAL LAW AND WEAPONS REVIEW

International law requires that, before any new weapon is developed, purchased or modified, the legality of its use must be determined. This book offers the first comprehensive and systemic analysis of the law mandating such assessments – Article 36 of the 1977 Additional Protocol I to the Geneva Conventions. Underpinned by empirical research, the book explores the challenges the weapons review authorities are facing when examining emerging military technology, such as autonomous weapons systems and (autonomous) cyber capabilities. It argues that Article 36 is sufficiently broad to cover a wide range of military systems and offers States the necessary flexibility to adopt a process that best suits their organisational demands. While sending a clear signal that law should not simply follow technological developments, but rather steer them, the provision has its limits, however, which are shaped and defined by the interpretative decisions made by States.

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INTERNATIONAL LAW AND WEAPONS REVIEW

Emerging Military Technology under the Law of Armed Conflict

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To my family





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FOREWORD

It has been recognised since the latter part of the nineteenth century that the right of belligerents to adopt means of injuring the enemy is not unlimited. The modern law of armed conflict restates that maxim, the effect of which is that it is the law that specifies that there are limits, and that same body of law then goes on to prescribe the prohibitions and restrictions that apply to the employment by States of weapons in the conduct of armed hostilities.

It is, of course, one thing to negotiate and adopt treaty provisions concerning weaponry, or for State practice accepted as law to generate customary rules on the subject; it is quite another to secure the proper implementation of such rules by the States that are bound thereby. While some weapon treaties deal with compliance, such as the CCW Amended Mines Protocol and the arms control treaties addressing chemical and biological weapons, anti-personnel landmines and cluster munitions, for the most part it is left to States to determine whether the use of a weapon system, or the employment of a way of conducting hostilities, will be in accordance with the legal obligations that apply to the respective State.

Interestingly, States explicitly acknowledged in 1977 that they have a duty to make these determinations and reflected that duty in Article 36 of Additional Protocol I. The curious position has now arisen that 174 States have become party to that treaty and are therefore legally required to make these legal assessments of new weapons and methods of warfare, yet only roughly one-tenth of them are known to have systems in place for complying with the duty, and, ironically, the State that is arguably most experienced in conducting such reviews is not party to the treaty. This suggests that some States are simply ignoring the requirement, perhaps imagining that it does not apply to them or troubled that complying with the requirement is too difficult a task. Maybe other States sporadically conduct weapon reviews while having no systematic approach in place.

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XİV FOREWORD

Whatever the correct explanation of the current unsatisfactory situation may be, it is undoubtedly the case that the arrival of Dr Natalia Jevglevskaja's book is timely. This important volume will be of the utmost value to any State that is either setting up its own weapon review system or seeking to update its existing system to take account of modern requirements.

As is so often the case, the bland words of the treaty text beg more questions than they answer. When exactly is a weapon system to be regarded as 'new' and thus as requiring review? What do the notions 'study', 'development', 'acquisition' and 'adoption', as used in the treaty provision, involve? Exactly which bodies of international law should be considered when a weapon review is conducted and what, if anything, does customary law have to say on the matter? These are all features that this book addresses in significant depth, and the results of the study will be of considerable assistance to States in resolving doubts as to the scope and as to the interpretation of the activities that the treaty provision requires them to undertake.

Too often, international law provisions are considered in a 'stove pipe' way, examining the text in detail but failing to give adequate consideration to the broader context. It is therefore refreshing that in this book the legal review obligation is set against the highly relevant background of the Article 82 requirement to make legal advice available to commanders at appropriate levels of command. How these two stipulations interplay and the measures that must be taken in order to ensure they can be operated sensibly in the complex context of modern and emerging technologies is, of course, a matter of ongoing debate. Debate among academics is all very interesting, but commanders must act, and States must implement. The need is therefore for realistic, operable guidance.

Getting to grips with what a treaty rule requires will necessarily involve a detailed analysis of the language used, and the word-by-word deconstruction and examination of Article 36 in the following pages will provide invaluable understanding, particularly as an interpretive approach that goes beyond the confines of Articles 31 and 32 of the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties is employed. However, to achieve realism in international law, interpretation requires careful analysis of the approaches that are actually adopted by States, and if more States are to be persuaded to adopt a system for reviewing new weapons, the legal obligation has to be understood in a manner that makes realistic sense.



FOREWORD

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Having acknowledged that the spread of weapon-relevant technologies that are emerging is broad, readers will be interested to note that the two technologies that arguably pose the greatest challenge for weapon review systems are chosen for specific study. Indeed, the discussions of lethal autonomous weapon systems (LAWS) conducted by States party to the Conventional Weapons Convention in Geneva have drawn specific attention to the importance of actually undertaking weapon reviews. It is therefore crucial to consider what States have said on that matter when determining what a 'realistic' approach to weapon reviews looks like. It is, however, even more relevant to address the views of practitioners that are currently known to be involved in conducting weapon reviews. There can be no doubt that if the nature and extent of the legal obligation is to be properly understood, empirical study is of vital importance.

While LAWS certainly pose weapon review challenges, both as to what the review should contain and as to how it should be organised, the legal review of cyber warfare capabilities may require even more fundamental re-examination of established approaches. An analysis that grapples with the difficulties posed by these two cutting-edge technologies will also indicate how other emerging technologies might sensibly be reviewed.

Some will read these words and will ask themselves, 'but does any of this really matter'? Perhaps the answer is that it cannot be in the interests of the global community and of civilian populations for States to get into the habit of ignoring their international law obligations. If weapon review duties can be ignored with impunity, where does that habit end? At the extreme, it leads to an unsafe world. It must be in the global interest for States to fully understand and adhere to the legal requirements by which they have agreed to be bound. The objective of this book is to raise awareness of the Article 36 duty and to assist States in achieving compliance with it. That is a most worthy purpose which this text admirably achieves. This is destined to become the 'go-to' volume on this complex but most important provision. It should be on the desks, as opposed to on the shelves, of all those charged with reviewing new weapons or with establishing a system for such reviews and will be a valuable research source for those involved in the continuing academic discussion of these critical issues.

William Henry Boothby Honorary Professor Australian National University



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ABBREVIATIONS

ACC autonomous cyber capabilities
ADF Australian Defence Force
AI artificial intelligence

AP I 1977 Additional Protocol I to the Geneva Conventions AP II 1977 Additional Protocol II to the Geneva Conventions

AWS autonomous weapons systems BWC Biological Weapons Convention

CAF Canadian Armed Forces

CCW Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons

CIL customary international law
CIWS close-in weapons systems
DAP I Draft Additional Protocol I

DCDC Development Concepts and Doctrine Centre

DDoS distributed denial of service

DL deep learning
DoS denial of service

ECtHR European Court of Human Rights **ERW** Explosive Remnants of War GC I First Geneva Convention GC II Second Geneva Convention GC III Third Geneva Convention GC IV Fourth Geneva Convention **GGE** Group of Governmental Experts **GPS** Global Positioning System IAC international armed conflict ICC International Criminal Court ICI International Court of Justice ICL international criminal law

 ICRC
 International Committee of the Red Cross

 ICT
 information and communication technologies

 ICTR
 International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda

ICTY International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia

IHL international humanitarian law

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XXXII LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

IHRL international human rights law
 ILC International Law Commission
 JAIC Joint Artificial Intelligence Center
 JDAM Joint Direct Attack Munition
 LAWS lethal autonomous weapons systems

LOAC law of armed conflict ML machine learning MoD Ministry of Defence

N/LLW non- or less-lethal weapons
 NATO North Atlantic Treaty Organization
 NGO non-governmental organisation
 NIAC non-international armed conflict
 OEWG Open-Ended Working Group
 R&D Research and Development

RoE rules of engagement

SCADA supervisory control and data acquisitions
SI/US superfluous injury or unnecessary suffering
SIPRI Stockholm International Peace Research Institute

TTPs tactics, techniques and procedures

VCLT Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties

UAVs unmanned aerial vehicles

UN United Nations

UNESCO United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization