

# **Realism or Idealism:**

## The Regulation of Lethal Autonomous Weapon Systems through Meaningful **Human Control**

This article was reviewed by Johannes Hollunder



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### I. Introduction

the 21st century and is called Lethal Autonomous Weapon Systems (LAWS) (International weapons of war are con- Committee of the Red Cross, 2022). This pastantly advancing at a per will analyse the current debate surroundrapid pace and some, like ing LAWS to shed light on the conflicts at the chemical weapons, are deemed so danger- heart of the topic to ascertain the likelihood of ous that their use is banned in armed conflicts their regulation and to assess possibilities for around the world (ICRC Database, n.d.a). the characteristics that such regulation might But the decision to ban certain weapons is contain. To achieve this, after defining Lethal not made easily. It requires substantial ne- Autonomous Weapon Systems, it is first necesgotiation and deliberation by international sary to build a concrete understanding of the actors. The tool of warfare that has recently actors involved in this process. This will be done come under such scrutiny originates from the through the perspectives of Realist and Liberaltechnological advancements of the 21 st cen- ist International Relations theory to establish the tury and is called Lethal Autonomous Weap- main arguments of those in favour and against on Systems (LAWS) (International Committee a ban on these instruments of war. of the Red Cross, 2022). This paper will anal-From these positions, it is then vital to elabyse the current debate surrounding LAWS orate on the issue of Meaningful Human Conto shed light on the conflicts at the heart of trol, the central point of argument in the reguthe topic to ascertain the likelihood of their lation of LAWS. This will be realized through regulation and to assess possibilities for the a consideration of the practical, ethical, and characteristics that such regulation might legal issues at the heart of this debate. Furcontain. To achieve this, after defining Lethal thermore, by employing positivism and legal Autonomous Weapon Systems, it is first necprocess theory, this paper will establish two essary to build a concrete understanding of possible approaches to the reception and imthe actors involved in this process. This will be portance of international legislation aiding in done through the perspectives of Realist and the assessment of this process. Last, through Liberalist International Relations theory to esthe combination of the International Relations tablish the main arguments of those in favour and the International Law perspective, a conand against a ban on these instruments of clusion will be formed, giving insight into two war. possible ways that the debate surrounding the The weapons of war are constantly advanc- regulation of LAWS might develop in the future,

ing at a rapid pace and some, like chemical clearing a path toward a clear understanding weapons, are deemed so dangerous that their and resolution of the issue. Before commencuse is banned in armed conflicts around the ing the analysis of the actors involved in this world (ICRC Database, n.d.a). But the decision debate, it is necessary to define the contested to ban certain weapons is not made easily. It term of Lethal Autonomous Weapon Systems. requires substantial negotiation and delibera-One definition of LAWS attaches "the cation by international actors. The tool of warfare pability to independently compose and sethat has recently come under such scrutiny origlect among different courses of action to acinates from the technological advancements of complish goals based on its knowledge and situation" to these autonomous systems while ing against their regulation (Human Rights also integrating clear boundaries in which Watch, 2020). But why are some states these actions have to take place (David and against regulation while others are in favor Nielsen 2016, p. 4). While this definition pro- and what role do IOs and their non-governvides an idea of the characteristics of LAWS, mental counterparts play? it does not perfectly encompass and define Lethal Autonomous Weapon Systems, which is the first issue in this debate since different ing their regulation.

Lethal Autonomous Weapon Systems: Advanced weapon systems that incorporate artificial intelligence to make decisions with no or limited human input. This autonomy raises ethical and practical concerns regarding their effectiveness and safety, making their development and use contested on the international stage.

### **II.** Actors Explained

Commencing with the analysis of the actors involved, it is vital to do so from two different perspectives, since this enables a dive into the multitude of actors and their motivations. Therefore, both realist and liberalist theory will be utilized to ascertain the different actors involved and the conclusions that can be drawn from their stances and arguments. While the question of weapon development and regulation naturally falls into the domain of the nation-state, the issue of Lethal Autonomous Weapon Systems is highly complex and further involves international (IO) and non-governmental (NGO) organizations. Furthermore, although most nations are in favour of regulating or even banning LAWS, some, like the United States, are

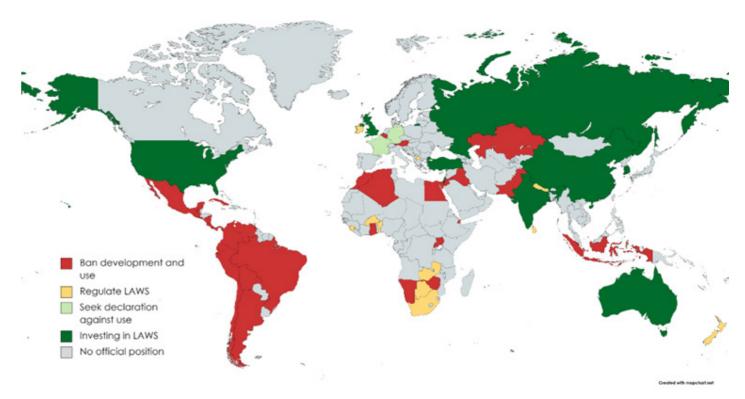
understanding of the world, itself, and the actively developing them while also work-

### 1. Realism

Before analysing the actors from a realist actors utilize different definitions, therefore point of view, it is necessary to establish its key causing part of the ongoing debate surround- considerations and assumptions. The realist perspective focuses on nation-states as the primary actors on the international stage and assumes that the lack of a supranational authority results in an anarchical society dominated by hard, military power, and an environment of self-help (Bull, Hurrell, and Hoffman, 2012). This selfishness furthermore creates a lack of trust (Jervis, 1978) which makes long term international cooperation unfeasible since states will always seek to strive for hegemony by maximizing their power, thus creating IOs that only serve as tools for powerful states to further their interests (Mearsheimer, 1994, 12-14). Through these assumptions about the international system, international organizations and NGOs can be disregarded in this analysis, since their actions only reflect the will of the powerful nation-states behind them. Instead, this section will focus on the reasons of those nations developing these weapons to establish their political motivations, while also ascertaining the efforts made by those states that work toward the regulation of LAWS.

> Looking at those nations that are in possession of LAWS and those that are actively developing them, commonalities emerge. The Human Rights Watch report "Stopping Killer Robots" ascertained the stance of 97 countries and found that Australia, China, Israel, Russia, South Korea, Turkey, the United Kingdom, and the United States are investing

in the development of LAWS (2020). While ficially limit their capabilities in comparison to these nations seem to have little in common other nations without the resources to do so as at first glance, through the realist perspective well. Therefore, while acknowledging the need they can be divided into two categories. The for clear definitions and caution, these nations first category encompasses those states that oppose any concrete legislation beyond the are striving for the position of global hege- existing framework of international humanitarmon. In this conflict between China, Russia, ian law (IHL), even though they emphasize the and the United States realist theory empha- need for sufficient human control over these sizes the primacy of military power, and it is weapon systems (Government of China, 2018; thus no surprise that these actors are against Government of Russia, 2017; Government of the regulation of LAWS since this would arti- the United States, 2018).



Source: Human Rights Watch (2020)

The second category on the other hand is Systems, which also focus on definitions and not in pursuit of global hegemony but rather, existing IHL without arguing in favour of adtheir stance in favour of LAWS stems from a ditional legislation (Government of Australia, drive for regional hegemony or, in the case 2013; Government of Israel, 2014; Governof Israel and South Korea, a conflict situation ment of the Republic of Korea, 2018; Government of Turkey 2016; Government of the Unitthat necessitates the use of all available technologies. Once again, realist theory offers ed Kingdom, 2013). Furthermore, while these explanations that are grounded in the prinations argue against any regulation of LAWS macy of state security and the projection of beyond existing IHL, other states strongly fapower in their areas of influence. Therefore, vour the development of legislation that either these states present similar arguments when ensures Meaningful Human Control (Governdiscussing Lethal Autonomous Weapon ments of Austria, Brazil, and Chile 2018), or bans LAWS outright (Campaign to Stop Kill- between states at forums like the Convener Robots. 2018). These stances are taken by tion on Certain Conventional Weapons, their nations with less military power and develop- statements and arguments are supplemented mental capabilities or by those without direct by a range of NGOs that lobby for a ban of threats to their security. From a realist perspec- these weapon systems (Stopping Killer Rotive, it is thus in their interest to prevent other bots, 2018). This involvement of other actors nations from developing a significant military highlights the importance of discussion that is advantage, which explains the stance of those present in liberalist theory. This is further supplein favour and against the regulation of LAWS mented by the extensive debate on this issue from a viewpoint of military power and inter- that has taken place at the Human Rights Counnational anarchy. This points to the conclusion cil since 2013 (Human Rights Watch, 2020) that the states seeking regulation will require and has also prompted calls for regulation from sufficient hard power to achieve their objec- the UN Secretary General (Guterres, 2018). tive.

### 2. Liberalism

same actors can be assessed differently, General Guterres also shows the agency of therefore creating a different outlook on the non-state actors and the impact that they have. LAWS debate. While liberalism also views Therefore, the liberalist perspective frames this states as the primary actors in the international debate through as cooperative where states as system, it focuses on ways that they coopera- the main actors discuss their positions on LAWS tively interact with one another through their through diplomacy to reach a conclusion since dependence on other states (Keohane and they are constrained by international legisla-Nye, 1973). Additionally, instead of the focus tion that prevents the use of military power to on the hard power of realism, liberalism fo- solve disputes. cuses on laws and norms as tools to mitigate the effects of anarchy, an approach that leads III. Meaningful Human Control to the democratic peace theory, which argues that liberal, democratic states will not fight one sue and their motivations, it is now necessary another due to their shared values (Doyle, to elaborate on one of the main issues in the 1997). Therefore, liberalism also considers the debate surrounding the regulation of Lethal importance of international institutions in this Autonomous Weapon Systems, which is the cooperative environment since they provide a concept of Meaningful Human Control. While stage for discussion while also acknowledg- there is little consensus on whether regulation ing that international politics is influenced by of these weapons systems is required or not, the 2001).

tors beyond the nation-state, as well as different motivations of the governmental ones. While the issue of LAWS is primarily discussed

Through this the liberalist notion of values and norms is made clear, as is the importance of international institutions as platforms for medi-Moving into the realm of liberalism, the ation. Additionally, the statement by Secretary

After establishing the key actors in this isdomestic discussions (Smith and Ikenberry, need for sufficient human control over them is broadly accepted, which resulted in a guiding The liberalist viewpoint thus considers ac- principle on human-machine interaction that ensures the use of LAWS in accordance with IHL (Human Rights Council, 2019). On the other hand, although this represents progress

in the regulation of LAWS, it is not of binding cause of these challenges that most actors character, and thus this requires an analysis either argue in favour of Meaningful Human of the core dispute at the heart of this debate Control or a complete ban of LAWS to preand how this integrates into the existing legal vent scenarios in which these weapons are framework to then gain insights into the future implementing measures unintended by huof this regulatory process. mans.

### 1. Legal Framework

A fruther aspect that requires consider-These challenges and concerns regardation is the existing legal framework con- ing the development and use of Lethal Aucerning the limitation and restriction of cer- tonomous Weapon Systems are addressed tain weapons and how it could be used to through the retention and implementation find a solution in the debate surrounding Le- of Meaningful Human Control. This concept thal Autonomous Weapon Systems. This le- aims to negate the issues faced by LAWS gal framework can be divided into two sep- in the context of International Humanitararate categories; those laws that govern the ian Law by integrating procedures through use of weapons, and those that ban them which humans retain sufficient control over outright. Looking at the laws that govern the these weapons in the realms of target selecweapons and methods used in war, there tion, the context of their use, and the ability to are several key principles that have to be intervene to comply with IHL while still utilizconsidered. Several of these can be found ing the benefits that this new technology proin Protocol 1 to the Geneva Conventions, vides (Boulanin et al., 2010, pp. 8-9). While first, the principle of Distinction which only this is partly due to the practical concerns allows the use of military force against mili- regarding the effectiveness of these weaptary targets, this is then followed by a ban of ons, it also reflects the moral concerns that indiscriminate attacks against civilians and machines killing human beings raises. This a duty to take precautions in attacks that consideration creates an argument where efprevent civilian casualties (OHCHR, n.d.). fectiveness and ethics stand at odds. Many NGOs raise the concern that this progression These principles of international law are in military technology will lead to the dehuat the core of the controversy surrounding LAWS and provide severe challenges for manization of warfare and that the agency of warfare should remain with humans and their use. Since these weapons act based not be delegated to machines (International on numerical programming, the definition Committee of the Red Cross, 2022; Human of complex, human focused, terms would Rights Watch, 2021). These ethical concerns have to occur in numerical form while also stand in contrast to the argument that LAWS, requiring the ability to reliably differentiate through their superior capabilities, are able between combatants and civilians. Furtherto more effectively adhere to IHL standards more, these systems would also be required and regulations (Government of the United to predict the consequences of the use of States, 2019). This difference in regard to different weapons and variables to gauge the extent of its actions to avoid indiscrimi- the use of Lethal Autonomous Weapon Sys-

tems once again highlights the differences nate attacks (Boulanin et al., 2010). It is be-

### 2. Effectiveness or Ethics

between actors and their motivations that were shown earlier, while also providing the foundation for the analysis through theories of international law.

### IV. Legal consequences

Having established the political dynamics that surround the regulation of Lethal Autonomous Weapon Systems, the next consideration to be made revolves around the nature of international law and the implication that this carries for the regulatory process that is currently underway. This paper will discuss two

different approaches to international law in the form of positivism and legal process theory to highlight two paths toward the regulation of LAWS that coincide with the international relations approaches of realism and liberalism, which will serve to create a complete picture of the interaction of international relations and international law.

1. Positivism

Commencing with the positivist perspective, it is first required to establish its position regarding the nature and effectiveness of international law. At the core of this approach to law is the separation of laws and morals, while also emphasizing the hierarchical nature of law (Hart, 1958). Therefore, international law cannot be considered true law from a positivist perspective, since it is a product of self-imposed limita-

tions that can be reversed and not of a coercive nature due to the absence of a higher authority (Jellinek, 1919). This view of international law can explain several issues that can be observed in the process to regulate LAWS. One key issue is the decision-making structure at CCW meetings. There, all decisions have to be made by consensus (Human Rights Watch, 2020) which reflects the absence of a supranational authority that can coerce actors while the focus on the efficiency of LAWS and the seeming disregard for moral considerations by some actors further shows the positivist division of laws and morals.

NGOs raise the concern that this progression in military technology will lead to the dehumanization of warfare and that the agency of warfare should remain with humans and not be delegated to machines.

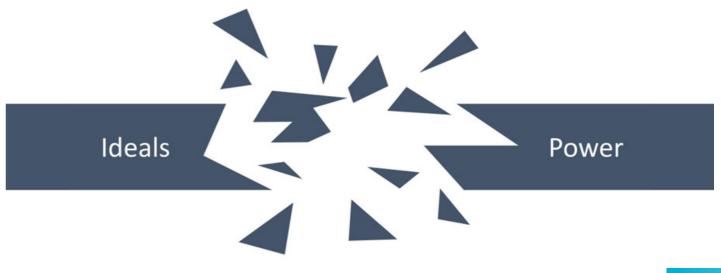
Through these observations, the positivist perspective highlights the challenges faced by international law in the process of regulating LAWS since there is little incentive for states to comply with existing, and to negotiate new legislation, due to the absence of binding legislation and serious repercussions.

### 2. Legal Process Theory

While a positivist approach to international law helps analyse the weaknesses of international law in this debate, it also leaves other facets unanswered. Thus, a look at the legal challenges faced in the regulation of LAWS from the perspective of legal process theory will aid by providing another perspective with different consequences. At the core of this approach challenges the positivist separation of laws and morals, instead viewing them as a combined decision-making process beyond the mere ap-

peaceful resolution to this debate that incorporates moral considerations instead of pure military needs into a solution. Additionally, the In conclusion, the debate surrounding the progress toward Meaningful Human Control

plication of rules (Higgins, 1995). Furthermore, Systems is characterized by a conflict between legal process theory takes on a prescriptive ap- ethical concerns and the effectiveness of artiproach based upon liberal values, chief among ficial intelligence in war and therefore be anwhich human dignity, to argue that this reflects alysed from different perspectives. Realist and the struggle of different value systems on the in- positivist theory highlight the anarchical naternational stage (McDougal, 1959). This is then ture of the international system and the imporsupplemented by a view that international law tance that hard power plays in the security of has a large impact on international relations due states, while also incorporating the absence to its regulatory powers which states adhere to of coercive measures of the international legal (Henkin, 1968). Looking at the LAWS debate system. Thus, looking at the future evolution of from this perspective, the continuous discussion LAWS from this perspective, it is clear that the can be interpreted positively as the continued development of these weapons is not depenexchange of values that build toward a shared dent on moral considerations but rather purely norm that can then be implemented as interna- on the security of states which will likely result tional law. Furthermore, the focus on Meaning- in the development of LAWS by those that eiful Human Control as a core point of agreement ther strive for hegemony or those that perceive highlights the liberal values of the international their security as threatened. Furthermore, any system, therefore framing the current debate as additional legislation on this issue would have a starting point in the process of regulating Lethal little power since it will be the result of a min-Autonomous Weapon Systems, rather than the imal consensus that further relies on enforceminimal possible compromise on this issue. This ment by the very states that are currently deis supported by a glance at past efforts to ban veloping these weapons. On the other hand, weapons of war, namely the 1997 landmine through liberalist and legal process theory, the ban treaty (ICRC Database, n.d.b) which can be same situation can be assessed differently. The viewed as a precursor to this debate due to the ongoing negotiations on this issue reflect the autonomous characteristics of landmines, thus willingness of all international actors, state or setting a precedent for successful cooperation in non-state, to engage in dialogue to achieve a efforts to limit the use of autonomous weapons. V. Conclusion regulation of Lethal Autonomous Weapon as a central element of future LAWS can be



rather as a starting point in the legal process veals the duality of the international arena, that enables future legislation on this topic.

Combining both of these theoretical frameworks yields an outlook that combines conflict and cooperation. While the large number of their actions as legitimate. Under this view, the international treaties and legal interactions between states support the liberalist perspec- grounded in a power struggle of competing tive and its cooperative approach, the recent invasion in Ukraine and other conflicts around the world highlight the anarchical and conflictive nature of the current international system, where security of the state will always be of

seen as more than a minimal consensus and the highest priority. Therefore, this analysis rewhere conflict is intertwined with cooperation and that international legislation is at the core of this process since states always frame question regarding the regulation of LAWS is views and legislation where Lethal Autonomous Weapon Systems will only be regulated once their capabilities and limitations are clearly established, and public opinion is in favour or against their existence.

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