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## *Ius ad bellum* in Cyberspace – Some Thoughts on the "Schmitt-Criteria" for Use of Force

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Abstract: The term "cyber-attack" has become a synonym for any malicious cyber-activity. Given the martial semantics and the hype of "cyberwar" in the media and non-legal disciplines, as well as the political sabre-rattling partly perceivable in international relations, the present article endeavours to augment the academic discussion in regard to the criteria used for the legal assessment of malicious cyber-activities as "use of force" pursuant to Article 2(4) of the UN Charter and, at the same time, in regard to the closely related term of "armed attack" in the meaning of Article 51 of the UN-Charter and Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty. The importance of the discussion of such criteria lies in the fact that "use of force" in international relations enables the victim State to undertake a range of unfriendly (retorsions) and otherwise illegal actions (counter-measures), and that an "armed attack" triggers the right to self-defence of the victim State and justifies its resort to forceful self-defence measures - all situations with potentially severe consequences for international peace and security. First, the traditional meaning of the terms "use of force" and "armed attack" will be presented. Without replicating the relevant scholarly writings, it will be shown which categories of malicious cyber-activities can be considered "use of [armed] force" and – given a certain threshold of severity in scale and effects - as an "armed attack". In this context, the so-called "Schmitt-Criteria" for the classification of malicious cyber-activities as "use of force", established by Professor Michael N. Schmitt over a decade ago and hitherto not analysed in depth within scholarly writings, will be elaborated upon. These criteria contain a range of significant aspects and refer to complex matters; therefore, they deserve a substantial discussion. Due to the focus and the limited scope of the present paper, the discussion of the ius ad bellum aspects related to Chapter VI and VII of the UN Charter will be deliberately omitted.

**Keywords:** cyberspace, use of force, armed attack, Art. 2(4) UN Charter, Art. 51 UN Charter, Art. 5 North Atlantic Treaty, Schmitt-Criteria

### 1. INTRODUCTION

Since the term "cyber-attack" has become a synonym for any malevolent activity conducted by the means of the Internet or other information and communication technologies (in the following referred to as "malicious cyber-activity"), a martial connotation can be perceived in the respective semantics describing cyber-threats and malicious cyber-activities. Especially media and non-legal disciplines use the term "attack" without the necessary sensitivity, which would be desirable, given the cognitive association of the term in the context of international peace and security. Additionally, the different meanings of the legal term "attack" being a term of art for both, the *ius ad bellum* and in the *ius in bello*, are not always clearly distinguished<sup>1</sup>.

Given the confusion in terminology, and bearing in mind the aforementioned martial semantics, the media-hype of "cyberwar" and the political sabre-rattling partly perceivable in international relations<sup>2</sup> – clearly to be seen in the context of deterrence policy efforts –, the present article endeavours to augment the academic discussion in regard to the criteria used for the legal assessment of malicious cyber-activities as "use of force" pursuant to Article 2(4) of the UN Charter, enabling States to undertake a range of unfriendly (retorsions) and otherwise illegal actions (counter-measures), and in regard to the closely related term of an "armed attack", justifying a State's resort to self-defence measures in the meaning of Article 51 of the UN Charter and Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty. In particular, the so-called "Schmitt-Criteria" for the classification of malicious cyber-activities as "use of force", established by Professor Michael N. Schmitt over a decade ago and – pursuant to the knowledge of the author – hitherto not analysed in depth within scholarly writings, will be elaborated upon. The criteria contain a range of significant aspects and refer to complex matters; therefore, they deserve a substantial discussion. The assessment will, *inter alia*, show differences in the approach of the common law system and the civil law system in regard to lines of legal argumentation.

However, it shall be emphasised that the decision about undertaking retorsions or countermeasures, as well as about the existence of a self-defence situation and the resort to use of force in international relations will always be a political one, which will be taken at the highest levels of a State's governmental structure and which will always depend on the overall political context of the particular political crisis. The legal discipline can only support governmental decision-makers by providing in advance abstract criteria and – in the case of governmental legal advisors – concrete *ad hoc* legal counsel affecting the overall assessment and judgment.

It shall be only mentioned that, due to the focus and the limited scope of the present survey, the discussion of the *ius ad bellum* aspects related to Chapter VI and VII of the UN Charter is deliberately omitted.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See M. N. Schmitt, "Attack' as a Term of Art in International Law: The Cyber Operations Context" in this volume.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See e.g. S. Gorman & J. E. Barnes, "Cyber Combat: Act of War Pentagon Sets Stage for U.S. to Respond to Computer Sabotage With Military Force", in *The Wall Street Journal* online of 31 May 2011, *available at* http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424052702304563104576355623135782718.html (last visited 16 April 2012).

# 2. "USE OF FORCE" AND "ARMED ATTACK" IN PUBLIC INTERNATIONAL LAW

Currently, neither a legal definition nor a universally accepted definition of the terms "use of force" (Article 2(4) of the UN Charter) and "armed attack" (Article 51 of the UN Charter, Article 5 of the North Atlantis Treaty) exist. However, the meaning of the terms can be clarified to a certain degree by substantial interpretive work, an endeavour challenged by the fact that the core meanings of the treaty norms are recognised to constitute norms of international customary law at the same time.

As indicated by Articles 31-33 of the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties and the corresponding<sup>3</sup> international customary law, and by Article 38(1) of the Statute of the International Court of Justice (ICJ), the interpretation of a term should include, *inter alia*, the preparatory work of the treaty and the ordinary meaning of the term in its context of the treaty and in the light of its object and purpose. These aspects reflect the canon of legal interpretation, stated by the German lawyer Friedrich Carl von Savigny<sup>4</sup> in the early 19th century and still forming an elementary component of legal teaching in continental-Europe: the historic, the textual, the systematic and the teleological interpretation. Corresponding to the nature of public international law, the aforementioned norms designate further aspects to be taken into account when interpreting international norms. Those are, among others, subsequent State practice or international custom, judicial decisions and, according to Article 38(1)(d) of the ICJ-Statute, "the teachings of the most highly qualified publicists of the various nations". It shall be mentioned that in regard to *ius ad bellum* as applicable to cyberspace, it is the work of academia which currently importantly influences the development of a common understanding within the international community. Potential State practice is not perceivable in the public, declarations of *opinio iuris* by States are rare and general<sup>5</sup> in nature, and respective national or international jurisdiction does not yet exist on the matter.

In the following, first, the traditional meaning of the terms will be presented, before its application to acts conducted by means of the Internet or other information and communication technologies will be elaborated upon.

Although disputed in detail, it can be stated that – generally speaking – an "armed attack" is given in most severe cases of "use of force" in international relations (in the meaning of Article 2(4) of the UN-Charter) of significant scale and effects. This finding is supported by the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Despite being highly political documents, the UN Charter and the North Atlantic Treaty are subject to the rules of interpretation of international treaties. Although, according to its Article 4, the Convention of 1969 does not apply retroactively (to the UN Charter of 1945 and to the North Atlantic Treaty of 1949), the provisions on interpretation of treaties are a valuable reference as they reflect international customary law. *See*: G. Ress, "The Interpretation of the Charter", in B. Simma (ed.), *The Charter of the United Nations. A Commentary* (Oxford / New York, Oxford University Press, 2002, 2nd ed.), at para. 2 et seq.; ICJ, *Oil Platforms (Islamic Republic of Iran v. United States of America*), Merits, ICJ Rep. 1996, at p. 823 para. 41.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> For more information on von Savigny see "Friedrich Karl von Savigny", in *Encyclopedia Britannica Online, available at* http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/525746/Friedrich-Karl-von-Savigny (last visited 16 April 2012).

<sup>5</sup> See Gorman & Barnes, supra note 2.

jurisdiction of the ICJ<sup>6</sup> as well as by a vast amount of scholarly writings<sup>7</sup>, of which the mere repetition will be abstained from in this survey.

Thus, the two terms "use of force" and "armed attack" are closely related. In order to identify which situations would comprise an "armed attack" and trigger the right of the victim State to undertake self-defence measures it must first be established in which situations "force" in the meaning of Article 2(4) of the UN Charter is used in international relations. Thus, the term "use of force" can be deemed as the nucleus of all *ius ad bellum* deliberations.

Illustrating the different lines of arguments concerning a further specification of the term "force" within international jurisdiction and scholarly writings would certainly exceed the scope of this paper. In addition, there is no benefit in their mere replication. Therefore, without further explanation, in the following it will be assumed that "force" in the meaning of Article 2(4) of the UN Charter is to be understood as "armed force".<sup>8</sup> Hereby, two aspects are of importance for further deliberations: On the one hand, pursuant to the historical, systematic and teleological interpretation of the norm, "use of [armed] force" does not include measures of mere coercion, be it political or economic in nature.<sup>9</sup> On the other hand, however, the term "use of [armed] force" is not limited to the employment of military weaponry: The ICJ stated over 25 years ago the possibility of an "indirect" use of armed force<sup>10</sup> (e.g. by arming and training insurgents) and scholarly writings<sup>11</sup> describe e.g. spreading fire over the border or flooding another State's territory as violating the prohibition of "use of [armed] force".

In order to specify the meaning of "use of [armed] force" conducted by the means of the Internet or other information and communication technologies, an effects-based approach inherent to public international law is surely to be considered appropriate (ruling out other possible approaches, e.g. focusing the target of the malicious activities, the intent of the malevolent actor, or the designation of the means used). Hereby, the comparison of the effects indirectly caused or intended by malicious cyber-activities with the effects usually caused or intended by conventional, biological or chemical weapons (BC-weapons) plays a paramount role<sup>12</sup>.

Again, in order not to replicate the legal arguments presented in diverse scholarly writings, it

- <sup>6</sup> The ICJ held in the *Nicaragua Case* that only "the most grave forms" of use of force "[...] of significant scale [...]", which "[...] because of its scale and effects, would have been classified as an armed attack rather than a mere frontier incident [...]" could trigger the right to self-defence; see ICJ, *Military and Paramilitary Activities in and Against Nicaragua (Nicaragua v. United States of America)*, Merits, ICJ Rep. 1986, pp. 14–150, at pp. 101 and 103 paras. 191 and 195; *see* also ICJ, *Oil Platforms (Islamic Republic of Iran v. United States of America)*, ICJ Rep. 2003, at p. 161 para. 51.
- 7 See A. Randelzhofer, "Article 51", in B. Simma (ed.), supra note 3, at paras. 4 and 20; M. Bothe, "Völkerrechtliche Verhinderung von Gewalt (*ius contra bellum*)", in W. Graf Vitzthum, Völkerrecht (Berlin, De Gruyter, 2001), Section 8, at para. 10; R. Higgins, Problems and Process: International Law and How We Use It (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1994), at p. 250.
- <sup>8</sup> A good overview on the discussion is given by M. Roscini, "Word Wide Warfare Jus ad bellum and the Use of Cyber Force", Vol. 14 Max Planck Yearbook of United Nations Law 2010, pp. 85-130, at pp. 104-106; see also A. Randelzhofer, "Article 2(4)", in B. Simma (ed.), supra note 3; Th. Bruha, "Use of Force, Prohibition of", in R. Wolfrum & Ch. Philipp (eds.), United Nations: Law, Policies and Practice, (Vol. II., München, Springer, 1995), at pp. 1387 et seq.
- <sup>9</sup> Randelzhofer, supra note 8, at para. 21.
- <sup>10</sup> ICJ, Case Concerning Military and Paramilitary Activities in and against Nicaragua (Nicaragua v. United States of America), Merits, ICJ Rep. 1986, pp. 14–150, at p. 118 et seq. para. 228.
- 11 See e.g. Randelzhofer, supra note 8.
- 12 For detailed discussion see K. Ziolkowski, "Computer Network Operations and the Law of Armed Conflict", Vol. 49 *Military Law and the Law of War Review* 2010, pp. 47-94, at pp. 69-75.

can be assumed that malicious cyber activities can be considered "use of [armed] force" in the meaning of Article 2(4) of the UN Charter if they – indirectly – result in<sup>13</sup>:

- Deaths or physical injuries of living beings and/or the destruction of property.<sup>14</sup>
- Massive, medium to long-term disruption of critical infrastructure systems of a State (if in its effects equal to the physical destruction of the respective systems).<sup>15</sup>

Neither the destruction of data (even of substantial importance, e.g. classified data, or of significant economical value, e.g. symbolising assets)<sup>16</sup> nor the "theft"<sup>17</sup> (rather: illegal copying) of data (being nothing more than modern espionage<sup>18</sup> not generally forbidden under public international law) can be considered "use of [armed] force".<sup>19</sup> Such effects cannot be equated to the effects usually caused or intended by conventional or BC-weapons, especially not to the physical destruction of objects.<sup>20</sup> Furthermore, it is agreed by the vast majority of scholars, that malicious cyber-activities targeted at critical infrastructure systems of a State, which do not exceed the threshold of merely minimally affecting the population's quality of life or going beyond a mere inconvenience, are not showing effects of disruption of the public life

- 14 Y. Dinstein, "Computer Network Attack and Self-Defense", in M.N. Schmitt & B.T. O'Donnell (eds.), Computer Network Attack and International Law (Newport / Rhode Island, US Naval War College, 2002), pp. 59-71, at p. 103; D.B. Silver, "Computer Network Attack as a Use of Force under Article 2(4) of the United Nations Charter", in Schmitt & O'Donnell, at p. 85; J. Barkham, "Information Warfare and International Law on the Use of Force", Vol. 34 New York University Journal of International Law & Politics 2001, at p. 80; T. Morth, "Considering Our Position. Viewing Information Warfare as Use of Force Prohibited by Article 2(4) of the U.N. Charter", Vol. 30 Case Western Reserve Journal of International Law 1998, at p. 591; T. Stein & T. Marauhn, "Völkerrechtliche Aspekte von Informationsoperationen", Vol. 60 Zeitschrift für ausländisches öffentliches Recht und Völkerrecht 2000, pp. 1-60, at p. 7; C.C. Joyner & C. Lotrionte, "Information Warfare as International Coercion: Elements of a Legal Framework", Vol. 12 European Journal of International Law 2001, at pp. 846 and 850; M.N. Schmitt, "Computer Network Attack and the Use of Force in International Law: Thoughts on a Normative Framework", Vol. 37 No. 3 Columbia Journal of Transnational Law 1999, at pp. 914 et seq.; W.G. Sharp, Cyberspace and the Use of Force (Falls Church, Aegis Research Cooperation, 1999), at p. 102; and L.T. Greenberg, S.E. Goodman & K.J. Soo Hoo, Information Warfare and International Law (Washington, National Defence University, 1998), at pp. 19 and 32.
- <sup>15</sup> Ziołkowski, *supra* note 12, at pp. 69-75; J.P. Terry, "Responding to Attacks on Critical Computer Infrastructure. What Targets? What Rules of Engagement?", in Schmitt & O'Donnell (eds.), *supra* note 14, at pp. 428 *et seq.*; Morth, *supra* note 14, at p. 599; Sharp, *supra* note 14, at pp. 129 *et seq. Contra:* Dinstein, *supra* note 14, at p. 105; and Stein & Marauhn, *supra* note 14, at p. 8, who demand the occurrence of physical damage outside the targeted computer networks in order to qualify CNO as use of force.
- 16 See Barkham, supra note 14, at p. 88.; M.N. Schmitt, D.H.A. Harrison & Th.C. Wingfield, Computers and War: The Legal Battlespace (International Humanitarian Law Research Institute, Background Paper, 2004), at pp. 5 et seq.
- <sup>17</sup> Joyner & Lotrionte, *supra* note 14, at pp. 846, 855 *et seq.*; *contra:* Stein & Marauhn, *supra* note 14, at p. 10.
- 18 A. D'Amato, "International Law, Cybernetics, and Cyberspace", in M.N. Schmitt & B.T. O'Donnell (eds.), supra note 14, pp. 59–71, at p. 67; and Stein & Marauhn, supra note 14, at p. 32 with further references. In regard to cyber-activities as a modern form of espionage see W.H. von Heinegg, "Informationskrieg und Völkerrecht. Angriffe auf Computernetzwerke in der Grauzone zwischen nachweisbarem Recht und rechtspolitischer Forderung", in V. Epping, H. Fischer & W.H. von Heinegg (Hrsg.), Brücken bauen und begehen. Festschrift für Knut Ipsen zum 65. Geburtstag (München, C.H. Beck, 2000), at p. 134. Apart from the penalisation of espionage resulting from respective national law systems, spying is restrained by certain provisions of public international law, e.g. the taboos stated by the diplomatic and consular law protecting diplomatic and consular archives and correspondence, i.e. respective electronic databases and communication via the Internet.
- <sup>19</sup> Ziolkowski, *supra* note 12, at pp. 69-75.
- 20 For detailed discussion see ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

and *ordre public* similar to physical destruction by e.g. a bombardment and, therefore, do not amount to "use of [armed] force".

## 3. THE "SCHMITT-CRITERIA"

"Use of [armed] force" in the meaning of Article 2(4) of the UN Charter is to be distinguished especially from measures of mere (economic or political) coercion<sup>21</sup> in international relations, a task that can pose considerable challenges upon decision-makers in practice. For facilitating such a distinction, in 1999<sup>22</sup> Professor Schmitt developed and recently reinforced<sup>23</sup> a set of criteria for the determination of "use of [armed] force" (amending their descriptions over time). The factors shall serve as indicators which States are likely to take into consideration when assessing whether specific malicious cyber-activities qualify as "use of [armed] force".<sup>24</sup>

These criteria are:25

"1) Severity: Consequences involving physical harm to individuals or property will alone amount to a use of force. Those generating only minor inconvenience or irritation will never do so. Between the extremes, the more consequences impinge on critical national interests, the more they will contribute to the depiction of a cyber operation as a use of force. In this regard, the scale, scope, and duration of the consequences will have great bearing on the appraisal of their severity. Severity is self-evidently the most significant factor in the analysis.

2) *Immediacy:* The sooner consequences manifest, the less opportunity states have to seek peaceful accommodation of a dispute or to otherwise forestall their harmful effects. Therefore, states harbor a greater concern about immediate consequences than those that are delayed or build slowly over time.

3) *Directness:* The greater the attenuation between the initial act and the resulting consequences, the less likely states will be to deem the actor responsible for violating the prohibition on the use of force. Whereas the immediacy factor focused on the temporal aspect of the consequences in question, directness examines the chain of causation. For instance, the eventual consequences of economic coercion (economic downturn) are determined by market forces, access to markets, and so forth. The causal connection between the initial acts and their effects tends to be indirect. In armed actions, by contrast, cause and effect are closely related—an explosion, for example, directly harms people or objects.

4) *Invasiveness:* The more secure a targeted system, the greater the concern as to its penetration. By way of illustration, economic coercion may involve no intrusion at all

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> See representatively: Randelzhofer, *supra* note 8, at para. 21.

<sup>22</sup> Schmitt, *supra* note 14, at pp. 913 *et seq*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> M.N. Schmitt, "Cyber Operations and the Jus Ad Bellum Revised", Vol. 56 Villanova Law Review 2011, at pp. 576 et seq. The criterion of "responsibility" was mentioned already in the 1999 publication, although only in a footnote, see Schmitt, supra note 14, at p. 915, footnote 81.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> *Id.*, at p. 605.

<sup>25</sup> Id., at pp. 576 et seq.

(trade with the target state is simply cut off), whereas in combat the forces of one state cross into another in violation of its sovereignty. The former is undeniably not a use of force, whereas the latter always qualifies as such (absent legal justification, such as evacuation of nationals abroad during times of unrest). In the cyber context, this factor must be cautiously applied. In particular, cyber exploitation is a pervasive tool of modern espionage. Although highly invasive, espionage does not constitute a use of force (or armed attack) under international law absent a nonconsensual physical penetration of the target state's territory, as in the case of a warship or military aircraft which collects intelligence from within its territorial sea or airspace. Thus, actions such as disabling cyber security mechanisms to monitor keystrokes would, despite their invasiveness, be unlikely to be seen as a use of force.

5) *Measurability:* The more quantifiable and identifiable a set of consequences, the more a state's interest will be deemed to have been affected. On the one hand, international law does not view economic coercion as a use of force even though it may cause significant suffering. On the other, a military attack that causes only a limited degree of destruction clearly qualifies. It is difficult to identify or quantify the harm caused by the former (e.g., economic opportunity costs), while doing so is straightforward in the latter (X deaths, Y buildings destroyed, etc).

6) *Presumptive legitimacy:* At the risk of oversimplification, international law is generally prohibitory in nature. In other words, acts which are not forbidden are permitted; absent an express prohibition, an act is presumptively legitimate.[...] For instance, it is well accepted that the international law governing the use of force does not prohibit propaganda, psychological warfare, or espionage. To the extent such activities are conducted through cyber operations, they are presumptively legitimate.

7) *Responsibility:* The law of state responsibility [...] governs when a state will be responsible for cyber operations. But it must be understood that responsibility lies along a continuum from operations conducted by a state itself to those in which it is merely involved in some fashion. The closer the nexus between a state and the operations, the more likely other states will be inclined to characterize them as uses of force, for the greater the risk posed to international stability."

## 4. SOME THOUGHTS ON THE "SCHMITT-CRITERIA"

The criteria, which – pursuant to the knowledge of the author – hitherto have not been analysed in depth within academic writings, contain a range of significant aspects and refer to complex matters; therefore, they deserve a substantial discussion. The following considerations aim to initiate such a debate.

#### Severity

As Professor Schmitt states, the criterion of "severity" is the most significant in the analysis of malicious cyber-activities. Insofar as the criterion refers to "physical harm to individuals or property", it is congruent with the above presented view that malicious cyber activities indirectly

resulting in "deaths or physical injuries of living beings and/or the destruction of property" can be considered "use of [armed] force" in the meaning of Article 2(4) of the UN Charter. The author of the present survey would argue that the "massive, medium to long-term disruption of critical infrastructure systems of a State (if in its effects equal to the physical destruction of the respective systems)" would also be covered by the "Schmitt-Criterion" of "severity". Disabling critical infrastructure systems, massive in scope and duration, can be equated to "physical harm to property" in the sense of eliminating the functionality of the targeted systems. In either the case of kinetic destruction of the components of a critical infrastructure system or in the case of total disabling of the system, the system in question cannot serve its purpose and must be – in whatever way – repaired in order to function.

The author of the present survey subscribes to the criterion of "severity" and its importance, except for the aspect of the relevance of "critical national interests" ("Between the extremes, the more consequences impinge on critical national interests, the more they will contribute to the depiction of a cyber operation as a use of force"). The prohibition of the "use of [armed] force" in international relations in the meaning of Article 2(4) of the UN Charter (and the right to self-defence, given in most severe cases of "use of [armed] force") does not protect the national interests – which can be manifold, including e.g. economic interests – but rather the (physical) security of a State and its population. This threshold is high and, for the sake of international peace and security, should not be diluted.

As a final thought on the criterion of "severity" of the effects of malicious cyber-activities, the author of the present survey argues that in the future a debate on the so-called "accumulation of events" or "Nadelstichtaktik" doctrine will present a necessary part of the discussion in regard to cyberspace. The abovementioned approaches were elaborated in the legal literature in order to categorise the "hit and run" or guerrilla tactics within the *ius ad bellum* and where used in the political practice of the USA and Israel in the course of justifications of forceful measures conducted against "terrorists" in the past (partly condemned by the UN Security Council as "retaliation").<sup>26</sup> This thought is based on a certain tendency visible in cyberspace. Malevolent data-streams, accumulating to a malicious code at its destination, are being deliberately sent in an extremely slow manner and in small pieces in order to be classified by the security-sensors of the targeted computer systems as "background noise" and not as a danger. It is conceivable that in the future such a segmented course of action could also be conducted in regard to the (physical) effects caused by malicious cyber-activities. For example, the malfunctioning of a few critical infrastructure systems of a State could be caused by and by, each of which would rather be classified as a mere nuisance than "use of [armed] force" - a finding which could turn out differently if the malfunctioning of the different systems at different times were judged in terms of their "accumulation".

#### Immediacy

The explanatory text to the criterion suggests that "immediacy" of consequences of malicious cyber-activities is an aspect but not a requirement for their classification as "use of [armed] force".

<sup>26</sup> See examples of State practice, UN Security Council resolutions and a discussion in K. Ziołkowski, Gerechtigkeitspostulate als Rechtfertigung von Kriegen (Baden-Baden, Nomos, 2008), at pp. 229-231.

This is of importance because it is very likely that the consequences of malicious cyberactivities - even if immediately given - will mostly not be recognisable or not recognised as such for a certain period of time. This is based on the complexity of modern computer systems and the large number of possible errors, which can lead to the malfunctioning of the systems. In the case of malfunctioning of computer systems it will always be investigated first whether the problem is caused by a programming error of the software-producer, by a malfunction of outsourced computer services providers, by mal-configuration of the systems by the own system administrators, or by errors of the users of the system. Additionally, it is conceivable that in cases of malicious cyber-activities against critical infrastructure systems of a State, a vast majority of which is owned and operated by private industry, both intrusions into the computer systems and their perceptible effects would be covered in order to not lose confidence in the security of the respective services and to preserve the own reputation and the customers' trust. A long period of time can pass by before malicious data-streams will be discovered and analysed and finally brought into context with the negative effects on governmental levels dealing with questions of national security and foreign policy. For example, the worm Stuxnet was discovered in July 2010 in the computer systems of Iranian nuclear power installations, "but is confirmed to have existed at least one year prior and likely even before"27. By February 2010 the IT-security company Symantec - monitoring the command and control traffic of the worm - had gathered 3,280 unique samples representing three different variants of *Stuxnet*.<sup>28</sup> Media reports of the replacement<sup>29</sup> of a remarkable number of centrifuges in the nuclear enrichment facility at *Natanz* could – although hitherto not confirmed<sup>30</sup> by Iranian officials – indicate that the effects of the malicious codes were conceivable in the past but not brought into context with a possible computer system problem. However, as e.g. border intrusions by military forces of a neighbouring State in a (geographically) remote area of a victim State's territory would constitute a "use of [armed] force", although not recognisable to the victim State immediately, malicious cyber-activities, although their perceptible (physical) effects are not recognisable yet as such, can also theoretically be classified as "use of [armed] force".

Thus, given the complexity of cyberspace and the large number of possible reasons for malfunctioning of computer systems, the recognition of the connection between malicious cyber-activities and their perceivable (physical) effects cannot be expected to occur immediately. Therefore, the relevance of the criterion of "immediacy" – although perfectly logical as such – could be minimised in hacking-cases showing a scope of sophistication that raises the political concern of a State in terms of *ius ad bellum*.

#### Directness

The criterion of "directness" describes the direct casual connection between the initial act and the resulting consequences of malicious cyber-activities. The explanatory text contrasts

<sup>27</sup> N. Falliere, L.O. Murchu & E. Chien, W32.Stuxnet Dossier (Symantec Publication, Version 1.4, February 2011), at pp. 2 and 4, available at http://www.symantec.com/content/en/us/enterprise/media/security\_re-sponse/whitepapers/w32\_stuxnet\_dossier.pdf (last visited 18 April 2012).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> *Id.*, at p. 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> See D. Albright, P. Brannan & Ch. Walrond, Stuxnet Malware and Natanz: Update of ISIS December 22, 2010 Report (ISIS Report of 15 February 2011), at p. 3, available at http://isis-online.org/uploads/isisreports/documents/stuxnet\_update\_15Feb2011.pdf (last visited 16 April 2012); Y. Katz, "Stuxnet may have destroyed 1,000 centrifuges at Natanz", in *The Jerusalem Post* online of 24 December 2010, available at http://www.jpost.com/Defense/Article.aspx?id=200843 (last visited 16 April 2012).

A denial of any physical damage by Iranian officials was reported by Reuters, "After Stuxnet: Iran says it's discovered 2nd cyber attack", in *The Jerusalem Post* online of 25 April 2011, *available at* http://www. jpost.com/IranianThreat/News/Article.aspx?id=217795 (last visited 16 April 2012).

the "directness" of the consequences of armed actions with the indirectness of e.g. economic coercion. This assessment is certainly true. However, the directness of the consequences of military actions can only apply to conventional kinetic operations – it is conceivable that the employment of BC-weapons in international relations, which will very likely always be considered "use of [armed] force", can show already a much weaker "directness" between their employment and the effects caused. The picture can change dramatically, if the range of remote weapon systems at the disposal of highly developed military forces, and especially the development of offensive military cyber capabilities, is considered.

However, the criterion of "directness" between the initial act and the resulting consequences seems problematic. The criterion determines, as Professor Schmitt rightly states, the conditions of attribution of certain perceptible consequences to a certain action in terms of causation (and maybe also a direct nexus?) between an action and the effects of that action. According to the understanding of the author of the present survey, the causation and direct nexus between an action and the effects of an action cannot be part of the assessment of the legal nature of the action as such. Therefore, the criterion of "directness" cannot be used for the classification of the nature of a malevolent action as being or not being "use of [armed] force". This opinion is certainly based on the different, rather dogmatic approach to the line of argumentation inherent to the civil law system.

#### Invasiveness

Subject to further discussion, it could be beneficial to clarify how the criterion of "invasiveness" shows relevance beside the criterion of "severity", the latter one describing the requirements of perceivable physical effects of malicious cyber-activities (not on the affected data only) in order to be likely to be categorised as "use of [armed] force". Especially, espionage by the means of the Internet or other information and communication technologies, i.e. illegal copying of data, would clearly be excluded from such a categorisation by applying the criterion of "severity".

Further, the same arguments and examples as demonstrated at the discussion of the criterion of "immediacy" are likely to apply to the criterion of "invasiveness", i.e. "invasiveness" of malicious cyber-activities could be imperceptible for a long period of time – for different reasons – and thus the relevance of the criterion could be minimised in practice.

Finally, it shall be mentioned that the criterion of "invasiveness" could show a certain potential for misuse, if the invasiveness of malicious cyber-activities were applied in the context of "national interest" when assessing malicious cyber-activities in the context of *ius ad bellum*. The prohibition of the "use of [armed] force" in international relations in the meaning of Article 2(4) of the UN Charter (and the right to self-defence, given in most severe cases of "use of [armed] force") does not protect national interests (see above).

### Measurability

The criterion of "measurability" of effects of malicious cyber-activities, or rather their "appearance", is certainly an important one. It could be seen as complementing the criterion of "severity" of effects, although it might be beneficial for future discussions to further specify the relationship between these two criteria.

However, apparent effects of malicious cyber-activities will not always be measurable. For example, in the case of successful malicious cyber-activities against critical infrastructures of a State, apparent secondary, tertiary etc. effects, e.g. panic reactions within the population, disturbances of public order etc. (comparable to effects caused by e.g. a bombardment), will hardly be measurable. However, an aggressor who chooses a sophisticated way and modern means (i.e. malicious cyber-activities) for causing such effects of public disturbance, should not benefit from the fact that such effects are difficult to measure and, therefore, the classification of the actions as "use of [armed] force" could fail due to the requirement of the criterion of "measurability" of the effects. Therefore, indeed, the criterion should be used with caution.

Further, covering penetrations of computer systems and their negative effects by private companies, which own and operate the vast majority of critical infrastructure systems of a State (see above), could also minimise the relevance of the criterion in practice.

#### Presumptive legitimacy

Again, due to the rather dogmatic approach inherent to the civil law system, the criterion of "presumptive legitimacy" seems – from this perspective – problematic for several reasons:

First of all, "legitimacy" (describing an ethically justifiable act) is rather a term of political and ethical discourse; law deals with legality and illegality of actions. The judgement of (il) legality of actions inherently involves questions of (il)legitimate behaviour, but only in the understanding of the nature of law as reflecting commonly agreed norms of morality and ethics, and as far as the (international) law explicitly foresees an ethical assessment by an individual or a group of individuals (e.g. in regard to the determination of the term "excessive" or of the notion of "proportionality"). Further, assuming that legitimacy of an action indicates its legality, the criterion seems to contain a circular reasoning: The presumption of legitimacy cannot be part of the assessment of the legality. In other words, it cannot be decided whether a particular act is indeed legal under the *ius ad bellum* by the simultaneous assertion or indication of its legality at the same time. Moreover, it seems problematic to assume that legitimacy would have an impact on the assessment of the legality of an act (in our case: under the *ius ad bellum*). For example, in 1999 the military campaign in Kosovo, which was conducted without the consent of the State in question and without authorisation from the UN Security Council, and aimed to rescue a certain ethnic group likely to suffer ethnic cleansing, was determined by the "Independent International Commission on Kosovo" in its respective report as "illegal but legitimate".<sup>31</sup> This shows that (presumed or determined) legitimacy does not have an impact on the assessment of the legality. Last but not least, the "first sight" (or "jurisprudential intuition"?) of the legality of an action, indicated by the (subjective) perception of its legitimacy, cannot be part of a thorough legal assessment of a situation in question.

Even if the above considerations are ignored, the criterion shows potential for further discussion: The criterion of "presumptive legitimacy" shall help distinguish "use of [armed] force" from acts like propaganda, psychological warfare or espionage, which are not forbidden under the *ius ad bellum*. However, "psychological warfare", according to the understanding of the author of the present survey, can be conducted only as the first step of or in the course of an already ongoing military operation, i.e. after the threshold of *ius ad bellum* has been crossed. Therefore,

<sup>31</sup> Independent International Commission on Kosovo, Kosovo Report: Conflict, International Response, Lessons Learned (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2000), at p. 2.

the example of "psychological warfare" is not helpful in determining whether an activity would cross the abovementioned threshold. As for the examples of espionage and propaganda (the latter probably even if reaching the level of inciting insurgency against another State's government), the criterion of "severity" could already rule out those activities as constituting "use of [armed] force".

#### *Responsibility*

The criterion of [State] "responsibility" addresses an especially complex issue, which has already initiated many debates within the legal and political sciences and which will surely be of most importance in the future. A thorough discussion of the topic would certainly exceed the scope of this paper. Therefore, in the following, a few thoughts will be sketched, hopefully initiating future discussions in more depth.

Cyberspace enables (skill and knowledge-wise) super-empowered individuals and groups of individuals to cause the most severe physical effects through manipulations of computer systems that the functioning of highly developed post-industrial countries depends on. Due to the possibility to act anonymously in cyberspace and to masque and hide the data streams, it will probably always be a major challenge to attribute malicious cyber-activities to a State. The technical attribution as well as the legal attribution (in the meaning of obtaining tangible evidence in form of Internet protocols from all the servers, nodes and switches the data stream was passing on its way around the world) are very limited in cases of highly sophisticated cyber-activities. The political attribution has - in a way - more freedom of action, as it can work with factors like the assessment of the overall political situation and can apply e.g. the *cui bono* test. However, taking into account the supposed indirect and quiet use of "proxies", e.g. patriotic hackers (hacktivists), by certain States, invoking State responsibility for cyber-activities will very seldom meet the legal requirements as currently set by international jurisdiction and scholarly writings, i.e. the test of an "effective" or "overall" control of the State over the activities of the non-State actors.<sup>32</sup>

Considering the enormous difficulties in this context, it was proposed in diplomatic circles to introduce the principle of "due diligence" of States in regard to activities of non-State actors originating from the States' territories. Indeed, a principle of "due diligence" can be identified in public international law, as States do have the obligation not to let their own sovereign territory be used for activities causing damage to another State. Such a principle can be derived from the principles of sovereign equality of States and of good neighbourhood (see also Articles 2(1) and 1(2) of the UN Charter), and can be supported by several resolutions of the UN General Assembly (see e.g. Friendly Relations Resolution<sup>33</sup> and Definition of Aggression<sup>34</sup>). The obligations and rights deriving from such a "due diligence" principle are already expressed

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> The discussion of the control levels for actions of non-State actors in the context of State responsibility would certainly exceed the scope of the present paper. For further information *see* e.g. A. Cassese, "The Nicaragua and Tadic Tests Revisited in Light of the ICJ Judgment on Genocide in Bosnia", Vol. 18 *European Journal of International Law* 2007, pp. 649 *et seq.* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Declaration on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, A/RES/2625 (XXV) of 24 October 1970, Annex.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Definition of Aggression, A/RES/3314 (XXIX) of 14 December 1974, Annex.

in numerous international treaty provisions<sup>35</sup>, in various States' declarations<sup>36</sup>, and are endorsed by the jurisdiction of the ICJ<sup>37</sup> in regard to international environmental law. A "due diligence" in regard to cyberspace would surely involve the implementation of precautionary measures, including political, organisational, administrative, legal and technical measures in order to prevent the misuse of the possibilities that cyberspace offers for malicious activities by non-State actors harming other States. However, it is rather doubtful that violating the "due diligence" obligations would automatically lead to the responsibility of a State for all malicious cyber-activities originating in its territory without considering requirements that the current law of State responsibility sets.

It was also proposed during a conference to use the concept of "reverse of proof" as is known in many national legal systems. However, such a reverse of proof would establish a *prima facie* responsibility of a State for all malicious cyber-activities which seem to originate from the State's territory. This could lead to undesirable results. For example, despite the greatest efforts, the data stream between the worm *Stuxnet* and its creators could be traced the farthest to command and control servers located<sup>38</sup> in Denmark and Malaysia – States clearly not suspected to be responsible for the creation, implementation, control of and effects supposedly caused by *Stuxnet* in either legal or political terms.

The "safe haven" theory<sup>39</sup>, developed in the context of Article 51 of the UN Charter in regard to terrorists acting from the territory of so-called "failed States" or States unwilling or unable to impede activities of non-State actors harmful to other States, would be a valuable thought also in regard to the State responsibility for malicious cyber-activities of non-State actors otherwise qualifying as "use of [armed] force" and enabling the victim State to legally conduct a range of possible retorsions and counter-measures. However, this approach would also not conform to the current law of State responsibility, thus further discussions within the international community will be necessary.

The question of whether individuals can trigger the right to self defence<sup>40</sup> could be relevant – in parallel – also in regard to the question of whether non-State actors could undertake activities otherwise judged as "use of [armed] force" and triggering the right of States to undertake retorsions and counter-measures. There are considerable pros and cons – their demonstration would, unfortunately, clearly exceed the scope of this paper.<sup>41</sup> Considering the power the

<sup>38</sup> Falliere, Murchu & Chien, *supra* note 27, at p. 21.

40 *Id.*, at pp. 600-602.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> See an overview of treaties on international environment protection deposited with the UN at the UN Treaty Collection Website, available at http://treaties.un.org/Pages/Treaties.aspx?id=27&subid=A&lang=en (last visited 17 April 2012). It shall be mentioned that the overview does not contain (numerous) regional treaties, especially the ones on international regimes for the use of rivers, lakes and other territorial waters.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> L. Gründling, "Environment, International Protection", in R. Bernhardt (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Public International Law* (Vol. II., 1995), p. 96 et seq., at p. 101.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> See ICJ, Legality of the Threat or Use of Nuclear Weapons, Advisory Opinion, ICJ Rep. 1996, p. 226 et seq., at p. 241 et seq. para. 29; ICJ, Gab\_ikovo-Nagymaros Project (Hungary v. Slovakia), ICJ Rep. 1997, p. 7 et seq., at p. 41 para. 53. See also Trail Smelter Case (United States, Canada), 16 April 1938 and 11 March 1941, in United Nations, Reports of International Arbitral Awards, (Vol. III, United Nations Publication, 2006), pp. 1905-1982, available at http://untreaty.un.org/cod/riaa/cases/vol\_III/1905-1982.pdf (last visited 16 April 2012).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> For an overview on the major lines of argumentation see Schmitt, *supra* note 23, at p. 602 *et seq*.

<sup>41</sup> See e.g. Ziolkowski, supra note 26, at pp. 221-229, demonstrating the lines of interpretation of Article 51 of the UN Charter, of the respective international customary law, as well as of international jurisdiction, State practice and resolution practice of UN organs after the events of 9 September 2001.

Internet gives, especially to skilled and knowledgeable individuals, a respective discourse can very probably not be avoided in the future.

## 5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

"Use of [armed] force" is given in the case of malicious cyber-activities which (indirectly) cause (1) deaths or (2) physical injuries of living beings, (3) destruction of property or (4) medium to long-term disruption of critical infrastructure systems of a State, if the effects are equal to the physical destruction of the respective systems. When additionally showing a considerable scope and intensity of effects, such malevolent cyber-activities can be considered an "armed attack", triggering the right of a State to self-defence. The criteria thus stay – deliberately – vague.

Given the highly political nature of the question of whether "use of [armed] force" in international relations or an "armed attack" occurred and, subsequently, a State considers itself in the right to undertake either a range of unfriendly acts and counter-measures or self-defence measures, more meticulous criteria for such an assessment seem inappropriate. Even if States would develop internal guidance on such questions, it is likely that they would display a considerable grade of abstraction. Only such general criteria will leave enough room for political manoeuvring in a process of decision-making, which potentially can lead to political tensions, disturbance of international peace and security and – as *ultima ratio* – to the possible rigorous result of resorting to use of force.

Additionally, the effects-based approach to the question of whether particular malicious cyberactivities are to be considered "use of [armed] force" or an "armed attack" should lead to the conclusion that the criteria for a respective decision taken by a State will perfectly resemble those used to identify whether conventional military actions causing similar effects would be considered as comprising such situations. Therefore, there is no need for the development of special criteria for malicious cyber-activities going beyond those focusing on the effects (indirectly) caused.

The assessment of malicious or damaging activities, reaching the level of political concern, cannot make a difference according to the – rather conventional or rather modern – means used in order to cause the effects raising political concern. Therefore, only criteria referring to the effects caused should be considered appropriate.

The author of the present survey acknowledges that the proposed general criteria will not be useful in situations "[...] in which the necessity of self-defence is instant, overwhelming, leaving no choice of means, and no moment for deliberation."<sup>42</sup>, i.e. in the situation of an immediate "armed attack" triggering the so-called preventive self-defence. This is based on the fact that – despite additional intelligence – the intended effect of malevolent cyberactivities will not be visible beforehand. Very likely, cases of (legal) preventive self-defence will stay theoretical. Moreover, judged from today's perspective, even in the case of discovery of malicious codes in e.g. governmental computer networks there still would be a "choice

<sup>42</sup> Quoted in I. Brownlie, International Law and the Use of Force by States (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1963), at p. 43.

of means" and a "moment for deliberation". Malware can be isolated, penetrated networks disconnected and IT-security measures directed at the targeted networks – instead of more drastic, including forceful, measures directed against the malevolent aggressor. At the end of the day, the prohibition of the use of force in international relations and the right to self-defence do not protect the interest in modernity and comfort of life, economic returns or other national interests as such. The threshold of endangering the (physical) security of a State is a high one and should not be diluted.

Finally, it shall be mentioned that in regard to the academic discussions, whether a certain category of a malicious cyber-activity can be considered "use of [armed] force" or "armed attack", the – otherwise very commendable – distinction between *lex lata* and *lex ferenda*, as stated by many scholars, might be not always be appropriate. A line of argumentation can only be presented *de lege ferenda* if it differs from the already existing law. The discussions, however, mostly examine how the already existing law applies to cyberspace. Indeed, the development of a common understanding of the interpretation of the *ius ad bellum* in regard to cyberspace is very much needed, in terms of both the scientific research and the use for political practice; academia and Professor Schmitt, especially, is to be congratulated for pioneering with benefit for both areas.