

# Thresholds in Cyberspace

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**Cyber Command Vision:** persistent engagement will "operate <sup>N</sup> continuously below the threshold of armed conflict to weaken our institutions and gain strategic advantage"

**Defense Cyberspace Strategy**: defend forward will "disrupt or halt malicious cyber activity at its source, including activity that falls below the level of armed conflict"

The creation and management of thresholds is vital to the success of U.S. cyber strategy—both at the low end of conflict to restrain escalation from U.S. cyber attacks and at at the high end to deter adversary strategic cyber attack.

Thresholds: What are They?

- Intimately tied to conceptions of escalation
  - Morgan et al: "an increase in the intensity or scope of conflict that crosses threshold(s) considered significant by one or more of the participants."
- Connable et al: "a negotiated, declared, or tacitly understood delimiter between measures short of war and high-order conflict (such as full-scale conventional or nuclear war)."
- Kahn, ladders, and thresholds
- Thresholds vs. red lines vs. firebreaks

FIGURE 3 AN ESCALATION LADDER				
A Generalized (or Abstract) Scenario				
Aftermaths				
Civilian Central Wars	44. Spasm or Insensate War         43. Some Other Kinds of Controlled General War         42. Civilian Devastation Attack         41. Augmented Disarming Attack         40. Countervalue Salvo         39. Slow-Motion Countercity War			
	(CITY TARGETING THRESHOLD)			
Military Central Wars	38.         Unmodified Counterforce Attack           37.         Counterforce-with-Avoidance Attack           36.         Constrained Disarming Attack           37.         Constrained Porce-Reduction Salvo           34.         Slow-Motion Counterforce War           33.         Slow-Motion Counterforce War           34.         Slow-Motion Counterforce War           37.         Formal Declaration of "General" War			
(CENTRAL WAR THRESHOLD)				
Exemplary Central Attacks	31. Reciprocal Reprisals           30. Complete Evacuation (Approximately 95 per cent)           29. Exemplary Attacks on Population           28. Exemplary Attacks on Population           28. Exemplary Attacks Against Property           27. Exemplary Attack on Military           26. Demonstration Attack on Zone of Interior			
	(CENTRAL SANCTUARY THRESHOLD)			
BIZARRE CRISES	25. Evacuation (Approximately 70 per cent)           24. Unusual, Provocative, and Significant Countermeasures           23. Local Nuclear War—Military           22. Declaration of Limited Nuclear War           21. Local Nuclear War—Exemplary			
	(NO NUCLEAR USE THRESHOLD)			
Intense Crises	<ul> <li>(20, "Peaceful" World-Wide Embargo or Blockade</li> <li>"Justifiable" Counterforce Attack</li> <li>Spectacular Show or Demonstration of Force</li> <li>Limited Evacuation (Approximately 20 per cent)</li> <li>Nuclear "Ultimatums"</li> <li>Barely Nuclear War</li> <li>Large Compound Escalation</li> <li>Large Conventional War (or Actions)</li> <li>Super-Ready Status</li> <li>Proventive Enaking Off of Diplomatic Relations</li> </ul>			
	(NUCLEAR WAR IS UNTHINKABLE THRESHOLD)			
TRADITIONAL CRISES	9. Dramatic Military Confrontations         8. Harassing Acts of Violence         7. "Legal" Harassment—Retortions         6. Significant Mobilization         5. Show of Force         4. Hardening of Positions—Confrontation of Wills			
	(DON'T ROCK THE BOAT THRESHOLD)			
SUBCRISIS MANEUVER- ING	<ul> <li>Solemn and Formal Declarations</li> <li>Political, Economic, and Diplomatic Gestures</li> <li>Ostensible Crisis</li> </ul>			

DISAGREEMENT-COLD WAR

#### What Creates Thresholds?

iStics Characteristics that Create Strong

Thresholds

Treaties with punishment mechanisms

Agreed upon definitions of threshold

Precedent of a threshold over time (e.g. nuclear non-use)

Costly declaratory statements (i.e. red lines)

Domestic punishment mechanisms

First order effects vs. cascading effects

**Overt** actions

Characteristics that Move Thresholds Up Ladder

Significant and measurable physical effects

Gross violent effects

Civilian effects vs. military effects

Physical scope of effects

High-saliency means

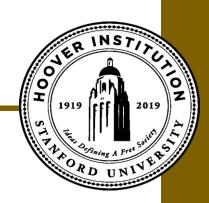
High-order economic effects

Thresholds defined by two characteristics

- Strength of the threshold
- Location of threshold on escalation ladder
- Thresholds constructed by perceptions of cost
  - Potential retaliation cost
  - Domestic cost
  - Normative cost
- Agreed upon thresholds
  - Provide definitions
  - Create consequences
  - Verifiable
- Effects-based vs. means thresholds

#### Where Do Thresholds Exist?

- Means-based:
  - Nuclear Threshold
  - Chemical/biological weapons taboo
  - Unmanned vs. manned
- Effects-based:
  - Civilian targets
  - Spread of conflict to another country
  - Invasion of a country
- Legal/Treaty:
  - Declaration of war
  - Violation of an arms control treaty



#### Norms, IR Theory, and Thresholds

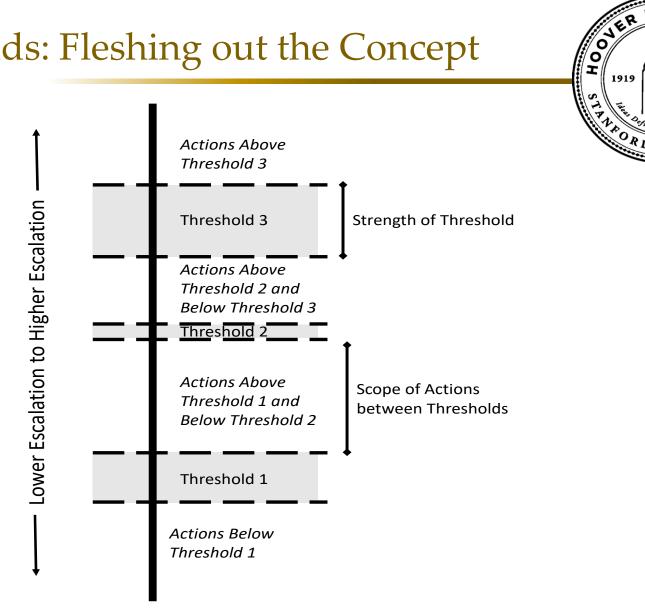
- Norms: "collective expectations for the proper behavior of actors with given identity." Ronald L. Jepperson, Alexander Wendt, and Peter Katzenstein, "Norms, Identity, and Culture in National Security"
- Norm life cycle
  - Emergence
  - Cascade
  - Internalization
- Norm success:
  - Specificity
  - Durability
  - Concordance
- Importance of norm entrepreneurs

	Stage 1 Norm emergence	Stage 2 Norm cascade	Stage 3 Internalization
Actors	Norm entrepreneurs with organizational platforms	States, international organizations, networks	Law, professions, bureaucracy
Motives	Altruism, empathy, ideational, commitment	Legitimacy, reputation, esteem	Conformity
Dominant mechanisms	Persuasion	Socialization, institutionalization, demonstration	Habit, institutionalization

Finnemore and Sikkink

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## Thresholds: Fleshing out the Concept



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# The Cyber Threshold: Empirical Evidence

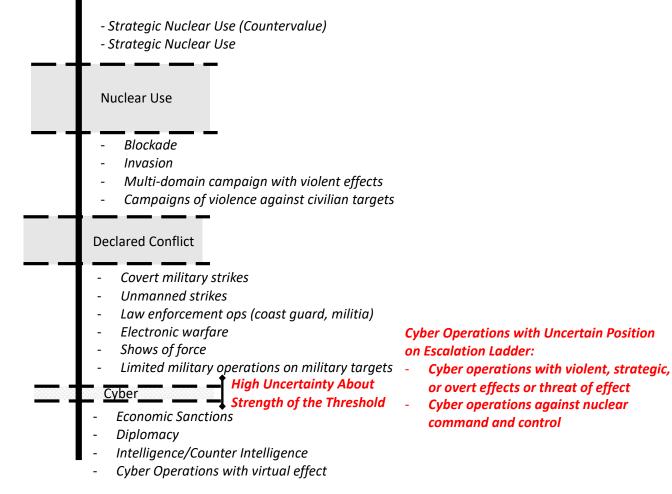
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- Effects-based vs. means-based debate
- Large-N Dataset analysis
  - Valeriano and Maness
  - Valeriano, Jensen, and Maness
- Analysis of existing campaigns
  - Ukraine data: Kostyuk and Zhukov
  - Stuxnet: Lindsay 2012
- Analysis of cyber op characteristics: Borghard and Lonergan
- Wargame and experimental data
  - Kreps and Schneider (2019)
  - Schneider (2017)
  - Valeriano and Jensen (2019)



## **Empirical Evidence of Cyber Escalation**



# The Cyber Threshold Problem

- Nuclear Use

- Invasion of U.S. or Allied Territory
- Violent Strategic Attacks Against U.S. Citizens
  - Strategy requires two thresholds

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Strategic Cyber Attack Threshold

- Actions with low to moderate violence
- "Gray zone" competition

- Lower threshold that restrains U.S. and other state cyber activity from violent retaliation
- Higher threshold that deters others from taking strategic cyber attacks against the U.S.
- How can these coexist?

Defend Forward Cyber Threshold

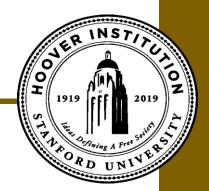
- Actions with low to no violence
- Status quo competition

#### Recommendations: Solving The Cyber Threshold Problem

- Determine the cyber thresholds the U.S. wants to create
  - Low level, defend forward threshold: counter-cyber operations

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- Strategic threshold: attacks with violent effects on U.S. citizens, infrastructure, or nuclear capabilities
- U.S. as a norm entrepreneur
  - Norm-building between militaries, economic organizations
  - Positive incentives: info-sharing, burden sharing
  - Negative incentives: punishments
  - Solve the hypocrisy problem
    - No First Use Policy
- Resiliency and cross-domain punishment



# Questions

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