# Deterrence of Cyber-Attacks in International Relations: denial, retaliation and signaling

#### Sico van der Meer Netherlands Institute of International Relations 'Clingendael'

#### Introduction<sup>1</sup>

Deterrence of cyber-attacks by states or state-sponsored actors is becoming an increasingly important issue in international relations. The number of cyber-attacks in the world has grown sharply in recent years; especially instances of large-scale cyber espionage and cybercrime all over the world.<sup>2</sup> These types of cyber aggression cause primarily economic damage. Yet, in addition to economic consequences, such as weakening the competitive economic position of a state, cyber espionage in particular is also a security issue: it can be used by enemies to learn a great deal about another nation's security situation and discover potential weaknesses. Stolen information about, for example, military capabilities or vital infrastructure, could be used to cause harm through digital or non-digital means.

Cyber-attacks aimed at sabotaging or disrupting societies are far less common so far. Nevertheless, continuing digitalization is increasing the risk of more large-scale cyber-attacks aimed at disrupting societies and creating unrest, disorder, or even causing physical damage and victims. The worldwide number of devices and appliances that are connected to each other and to the Internet will increase to approximately 25 billion in 2020. The greater the dependence on cyber technologies, the more vulnerable any society will be to cyber threats. A major cyber-attack remains a possible nightmare scenario. Much damage could be caused by cyber-attackers who succeed in sabotaging energy supply systems, chemical plants, nuclear installations, air and railway traffic control systems, hospitals, drinking water and sewerage facilities, payment systems, or a combination of these. In this sense, what applies to terrorist attacks also applies to cyber-attacks: although the probability of an attack may be relatively low in statistical terms, the impact of such an attack could be considerable. From that perspective, the trend of many states heavily investing in cyber forces is not reassuring.

For states, the increasing threat of large cyber-attacks is not an easy challenge. Ideally, enemies are deterred before they actually launch a cyber-attack, so no damage is done at all. To deter cyber-attackers, their cost-benefit calculation needs to be influenced, leading them to conclude that the costs of launching a cyber-attack may be higher than the benefits. This article concisely discusses the main policy options that are relevant for deterring major cyber-attacks by other states or state actors. The options are grouped into three main categories:

- 1) Deterrence by Denial;
- 2) Deterrence by Retaliation; and
- 3) Deterrence by Signaling.

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**Karin Nielsen-Saines** 

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