GIVENLIK CALIŞMALARI DERGISI Turkish Journal of Security Studies

ISSN: 2148-6166 Cilt / Vol: 26 Sayı / Issue: 2 Yıl / Year: 2024

Andaç KARABULUT The Role of Intelligence in America's Grand Strategy

Atalay BAHAR Büyük Çaplı Krizlerde Emniyet Genel Müdürlüğünün Kullandığı Stratejik İletişim Yöntemleri: X Sosyal Medya Platformu Örneği

Yunus ÖZTÜRK What Makes Civil Wars Protracted? A Review of Systemic, Organizational & Individual-Level Factors

Esra Merve ÇALIŞKAN State Cyber Warfare: The Strategic Shift Towards Private Sector Targets





ISSN: 2148-6166 • Yıl/Year: 26 • Cilt/Volume: 26 • Sayı/Issue: 2 • Aralık/December 2024

Yayın Sahibi / Owned by

Polis Akademisi Başkanlığı Güvenlik Bilimleri Enstitüsü Müdürlüğü adına

İmtiyaz Sahibi / Published by Prof. Dr. Murat BALCI, Polis Akademisi Başkanı Sorumlu Yazı İşleri Müdürü / Issuing Editor

Murat GÜNAY, 2. Sınıf Emniyet Müdürü Yayın Kurulu / Editorial Board Prof. Dr. Ahmet Kemal BAYRAM, Marmara Üniversitesi Prof. Dr. Ahmet UYSAL, İstanbul Üniversitesi Prof. Dr. Ali BALCI, Sakarya Üniversitesi Prof. Dr. Ali Resul USUL, İstanbul Medipol Üniversitesi Prof. Dr. Alim YILMAZ, İstanbul Medinyet Üniversitesi Prof. Dr. Bayram Ali SONER, Polis Akademisi

Prof. Dr. Birol AKGÜN, Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt Üniversitesi Prof. Dr. Hamit Emrah BERİŞ, Cukurova Üniversitesi Prof. Dr. İbrahim DURSUN, Polis Akademisi Prof. Dr. Mehmet Akif KİREÇCİ, Ankara Sosyal Bilimler Üniversitesi Prof. Dr. Mesut ÖZCAN, Diplomasi Akademisi Prof. Dr. Murat OKCU, Sülevman Demirel Üniversitesi Prof. Dr. Murat ÖNDER, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Prof. Dr. Orçun İMGA, Polis Akademisi Prof. Dr. Sıtkı YILDIZ, Polis Akademisi Prof. Dr. Yusuf Furkan SEN, Polis Akademisi Doc. Dr. Hüseyin ARSLAN, Polis Akademisi Doç. Dr. Kevser Begüm İSBİR, Polis Akademisi Dr. Anselmo del Morral TORES, Centro Universitario de la Guardia Civil Dr. Vince VARİ, Macaristan Ulusal Kamu Üniversitesi Danışma Kurulu / Advisory Board Prof. Dr. Ahmet İCDUYGU, Koc Üniversitesi

Prof. Dr. Ali BİRİNCİ, Polis Akademisi, Emekli Prof. Dr. Eyyüp Günay İSBİR, Emeritus, Ankara Prof. Dr. Martha CRENSHAW, Stanford University Prof. Dr. Nusa Mohammed MAHMOUD, National Ribat University Prof. Dr. Nigel FIELDING, University of Surrey Prof. Dr. Omar ASHOUR, University of Exeter Prof. Dr. Onur Ender ASLAN, Ankara Sosyal Bilimler Üniversitesi Prof. Dr. Ruşen KELEŞ, Kapadokya Üniversitesi Doç. Dr. Jaishankar GANAPATHY, Norwegian Police University Dr. Szabolcs MATYAS, Macaristan Ulusal Kamu Üniversitesi

Editör / Editor in Chief: Prof. Dr. Şenol YAPRAK

Editör Yardımcısı / Managing Editor: Doç. Dr. Ömer ÖZKAYA Alan Editörleri / Section Editors: Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Hande BİLGİN - Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Birce BEŞGÜL ve Dr. Aslıhan KÜÇÜKER Mizanpaj Editörleri / Technical Editors: Arş. Gör. Yasemin KAYMAZ ve Arş. Gör. Zeynep ŞİMŞEK Türkçe Dil Editörü / Turkish Language Editor: Öğr. Gör. Sena BAYKAL İngilizce Dil Editörü / English Language Editor: Öğr. Gör. Nurefşan TERCAN ÇETİNKAYA Sekretarya / Secretary: Barş ZAFRAK - Yusuf DENİZ Tasarım / Design: Muhammed DELİBAŞ

Her hakkı saklıdır. © Güvenlik Çalışmaları Dergisi yılda iki kez yayınlanan bilimsel hakemli ve süreli bir yayındır. Güvenlik Çalışmaları Dergisi'nde yayınlanan makalelerdeki görüş ve düşünceler yazarların kendi kişisel görüşleri olup, hiçbir şekilde Polis Akademisinin veya Emniyet Genel Müdürlüğünün görüşlerini ifade etmez. Makaleler sadece dergiye referans verilerek akademik amaçla kullanılabilir. Güvenlik Çalışmaları Dergisi, ULAKBİM TR Dizin, Index Copernicus, Eurasian Scientific Journal Index ve Akademia Sosyal Bilimler İndeksi'nde (ASOS Index) taranmaktadır.

Yazışma Adresi / For Correspondence: Polis Akademisi Başkanlığı, Güvenlik Bilimleri Enstitüsü Müdürlüğü, Necatibey Cad: 108, 06580 Anıttepe - Çankaya - Ankara / TÜRKİYE Tel: +90 (312) 462 90 43 E-posta: guvenlikcalismalari@pa.edu.tr

Baskı: Polis Akademisi Başkanlığı Basım ve Yayım Şube Müdürlüğü Fatih Sultan Mehmet Bulvarı No:218, 06200 Yenimahalle, Ankara Sertifika No: 45724

www.guvenlikcalismalari.pa.edu.tr

İÇİNDEKİLER / CONTENTS

Editörden2

Makaleler

Andaç KARABULUT **The Role of Intelligence in America's Grand Strategy......140** *Amerika'nın Büyük Stratejisinde İstihbaratın Rolü* (Araştırma Makalesi/Research Article)

Atalay BAHAR

Esra Merve ÇALIŞKAN **State Cyber Warfare: The Strategic Shift Towards Private Sector Targets.... 200** Devlet Siber Savaşı: Özel Sektör Hedeflerine Doğru Stratejik Değişim (**Araştırma Makalesi**/Research Article) ISSN: 2148-6166 Year: 26 Volume: 26 Issue: 2 December 2024 p.200-219 Article Type: Research Received Date: 09.12.2024 Accepted Date: 23.12.2024

State Cyber Warfare: The Strategic Shift Towards Private Sector Targets

Esra Merve ÇALIŞKAN*

Abstract: The increasing sophistication of cyber-attacks targeting private sector infrastructure, including those with potential state involvement, represents an emerging security challenge with profound implications for national security and economic stability. This research examines patterns in advanced persistent threats (APTs) targeting private enterprises, focusing particularly on campaigns suspected of state involvement based on their complexity, resource requirements, and strategic objectives. Drawing on a comprehensive literature review and theoretical analysis, this study investigates the drivers and consequences of this evolving cyber threat landscape. The findings indicate that this strategic shift toward private sector targets serves multiple objectives for state actors, including technological competition, economic disruption, and the exploitation of vulnerabilities in critical infrastructure. The analysis demonstrates that these cyber operations represent an expansion of state strategic options, complementing rather than replacing traditional military capabilities. Recent international conflicts reveal that cyber operations often operate alongside conventional military activities, creating a more complex security environment where digital and physical domains are contested simultaneously. The study proposes new frameworks for enhanced public-private cooperation in cyber defense and targeted policy measures to protect essential private sector infrastructure. Addressing these emerging threats requires unprecedented levels of international collaboration and innovative approaches to cybersecurity, with significant ramifications for national security policy and global economic stability. This research examines evolving cyber warfare tactics, underscoring the need to reassess traditional security paradigms in an increasingly interconnected digital world.

Keywords: Cyber Security, State-Sponsored Attacks, Critical Infrastructure Protection, Cyber Warfare, Private Sector Security, International Security, Cyber Deterrence

^{*} Dr., Istanbul Medipol University, Humanities and Social Sciences Faculty, Political Science and International Relations Department, Research Assistant, ecaliskan@medipol.edu.tr, OR-CID: 0000-0001-5226-3177

Güvenlik Çalışmaları Dergisi

ISSN: 2148-6166 Yıl: 26 Cilt: 26 Sayı: 2 Aralık 2024 s.200-219 Makale Türü: Araştırma Makalenin Geliş Tarihi: 09.12.2024 Makalenin Kabul Tarihi: 23.12.2024

Devlet Siber Savaşı: Özel Sektör Hedeflerine Doğru Stratejik Değişim

Esra Merve ÇALIŞKAN*

Öz: Özel sektör altyapısını hedef alan siber saldırıların artan karmaşıklığı, potansiyel devlet müdahalesi olanlar da dahil olmak üzere, ulusal güvenlik ve ekonomik istikrar üzerinde derin etkileri olan yeni bir güvenlik sorununu temsil etmektedir. Bu araştırma; karmaşıklıkları, kaynak gereksinimleri ve stratejik hedefleri temelinde özellikle devlet müdahalesinden şüphelenilen kampanyalara odaklanarak özel isletmeleri hedef alan gelismis kalıcı tehditlerdeki (APT'ler) kalıpları incelemektedir. Kapsamlı bir literatür taraması ve teorik analize dayanan bu çalışma, gelişen siber tehdit ortamının itici güçlerini ve sonuçlarını araştırmaktadır. Bulgular, özel sektör hedeflerine yönelik bu stratejik kaymanın devlet aktörleri için teknolojik rekabet, ekonomik bozulma ve kritik altyapıdaki güvenlik açıklarından faydalanma gibi birçok amaca hizmet ettiğini göstermektedir. Analiz, bu siber operasyonların devletlerin stratejik seçeneklerinin genişlemesini temsil ettiğini ve geleneksel askerî yeteneklerin yerini almaktan ziyade onları tamamladığını göstermektedir. Yakın zamanda yaşanan uluslararası çatışmalar, siber operasyonların genellikle konvansiyonel askeri faaliyetlerle birlikte işlediğini ve hem dijital hem de fiziksel alanların aynı anda mücadele edildiği daha karmaşık bir güvenlik ortamı yarattığını ortaya koymaktadır. Bu çalışma, siber savunmada kamu-özel sektör iş birliğinin geliştirilmesi için yeni çerçeveler ve temel özel sektör altyapısının korunması için hedefe yönelik politika tedbirleri önermektedir. Ortaya çıkan bu tehditlerin ele alınması, ulusal güvenlik politikası ve küresel ekonomik istikrar acısından önemli sonuclar doğuracak sekilde, daha önce görülmemiş düzeyde uluslararası iş birliği ve siber güvenliğe yönelik yenilikçi yaklaşımlar gerektirmektedir. Bu araştırma, gelişen siber savaş taktiklerinin zamanında incelenmesini sağlayarak giderek birbirine daha fazla bağlanan dijital dünyada geleneksel güvenlik paradigmalarının temelden yeniden değerlendirilmesi ihtiyacının altını çizmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Siber Güvenlik, Devlet Destekli Saldırılar, Kritik Altyapı Koruması, Siber Savaş, Özel Sektör Güvenliği, Uluslararası Güvenlik, Siber Caydırıcılık

^{*} Dr., İstanbul Medipol Üniversitesi, İnsan ve Toplum Bilimleri Fakültesi, Siyaset Bilimi ve Uluslararası İlişkiler Bölümü, Araştırma Görevlisi, ecaliskan@medipol.edu.tr, ORCID: 0000-0001-5226-3177

Introduction

The increasing prevalence and sophistication of state-sponsored cyber-attacks against private sector infrastructure in developed nations represents one of the most significant emerging threats to global security and economic stability in the modern era. This research examines the strategic shift in cyber warfare tactics, where state actors increasingly target private sector entities rather than traditional government or military targets, analyzing both the causes and implications of this evolution in cyber conflict.

The past decade has witnessed a fundamental transformation in how nation-states leverage cyber capabilities to achieve strategic objectives. Over the past decade, analysis of sophisticated cyber operations reveals an evolving pattern where advanced persistent threats (APTs) increasingly target private sector entities, particularly in strategic industries such as finance, energy, and telecommunications. Several high-profile incidents evidence the scale and sophistication of these operations. The 2014 Sony Pictures hack, attributed to North Korean actors, caused over \$100 million in damages and demonstrated state actors' willingness to target private enterprises for strategic objectives (Haggard & Lindsay, 2015, p. 3). The 2020 SolarWinds supply chain attack, linked to Russian intelligence services, compromised over 18,000 organizations globally, highlighting the cascading effects possible through private sector targeting (Temple-Raston, 2021, p.12; Rustici, 2021, p.45). Similarly, Operation Cloud Hopper, attributed to Chinese state actors, targeted managed service providers worldwide to conduct industrial espionage against their clients, demonstrating the evolution of sophisticated cyber campaigns focused on private sector assets (PwC UK and BAE Systems, 2017, p. 23; Healey & Jervis, 2019, p. 38). These attacks often demonstrate levels of sophistication and resource commitment that suggest potential state involvement, though attribution remains a significant challenge in cybersecurity analysis. (Singer and Friedman, 2014, p.156). This strategic reorientation reflects the increasing digitalization of critical infrastructure and the growing recognition among state actors of the strategic value inherent in targeting private sector assets (Buchanan, 2020, p. 178).

This research aims to analyze the factors driving this strategic shift, examine its implications for national security and economic stability, and evaluate the effectiveness of current defensive strategies. Through a comprehensive analysis of attack patterns, technological evolution, and strategic doctrine, this study provides a theoretical framework for understanding the changing nature of state-sponsored cyber operations and their increasing focus on private sector targets.

Our research methodology systematically analyzes the existing academic literature and theoretical frameworks in cyber security, international relations, and strategic studies to understand the evolving nature of state-sponsored cyber operations against private sector targets. Through a comprehensive examination of scholarly works, policy documents, and theoretical perspectives, we develop an integrated analytical framework that illuminates the changing dynamics of cyber warfare in the modern international system. The analysis synthesizes multiple theoretical traditions, drawing mainly from strategic studies, international security theory, and emerging cyber conflict literature to better understand how state actors conceptualize and execute cyber operations against private sector targets.

The theoretical foundation of this analysis builds upon established concepts in international relations and security studies while incorporating contemporary perspectives on cyber conflict and digital warfare. Drawing from Nye's (2016, p. 49) seminal work on cyber power and its integration into national security strategy, we examine how traditional concepts of strategic coercion evolve when applied to the cyber domain. This theoretical framework is enriched by Libicki's (2021, p. 234) foundational analysis of cyber deterrence, which provides crucial insights into how conventional deterrence theory adapts to digital conflicts. The analysis is further strengthened by Kello's (2020, p. 167) innovative conceptualization of cyber threats as fundamental challenges to traditional security paradigms, offering a theoretical bridge between conventional security studies and emerging cyber warfare doctrine.

This paper contributes to the existing literature in several ways. First, it systematically analyzes the evolving patterns in state-sponsored cyber-attacks, identifying key trends and strategic shifts that have emerged since 2020. Second, it develops a theoretical framework for understanding the strategic logic behind the targeting of private sector infrastructure. Third, it evaluates the effectiveness of current defensive strategies and proposes new approaches for protecting private sector assets against state-sponsored threats.

The research is particularly timely given the dramatic increase in sophisticated cyber-attacks against private sector targets over the past three years. According to recent data from the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CISA, 2023, p. 45), attacks against private sector infrastructure have increased by 300% since 2020, with state actors being identified as the primary threat in over 60% of major incidents. This trend has significant implications for national security, economic stability, and international relations.

The structure of this paper proceeds as follows. First, we establish a conceptual framework for understanding state-sponsored cyber operations and their evolution. Next, we analyze current trends in cyber-attack patterns, focusing on the shift toward private sector targets. We then examine the strategic implications of this shift, considering both immediate security concerns and longer-term economic and political consequences. Finally, we evaluate current defensive strategies and propose new approaches for protecting private sector infrastructure against state-sponsored threats. Through this comprehensive analysis, we aim to contribute to both theoretical understanding and practical policymaking in the realm of cyber security and national defense. The findings of this research have significant implications for how both state and private sector actors approach cyber security, international cooperation, and strategic deterrence in an increasingly interconnected digital world.

Conceptual Framework

The analysis of state-sponsored cyber-attacks and their increasing tendency towards private sector targets requires a comprehensive theoretical understanding of the evolving nature of cyber warfare in the modern international system. State-sponsored cyber operations have emerged as a significant tool of national power, fundamentally altering traditional security paradigms and creating new vulnerabilities in the interconnected global economy (Singer and Friedman, 2014, p.127). These operations represent a complex intersection of technology, strategy, and international relations that demands careful theoretical examination, particularly as the boundaries between state and private sector security become increasingly blurred.

The analysis of cyber warfare must be grounded in a thorough understanding of how warfare has evolved throughout history. Classical theorists like Clausewitz (1832/1984, p. 87) established that war is fundamentally "a continuation of political intercourse, carried on with other means," a perspective that remains relevant in understanding modern cyber operations. This conception of warfare as an instrument of policy has evolved significantly since Clausewitz's time, particularly as technological advancement has transformed the means and methods of conflict. Van Creveld's (1991, p. 224) seminal work on the transformation of war argues that the nature of warfare has undergone fundamental changes with the emergence of new technologies and social structures, creating what he terms "non-trinitarian warfare" where the traditional boundaries between state, military, and populace become increasingly blurred.

The evolution of warfare from conventional military confrontation to more complex forms of conflict is particularly relevant for understanding cyber operations. Kaldor's (2012, p. 45) concept of "new wars" emphasizes how contemporary conflicts increasingly involve non-state actors and target civilian infrastructure, a pattern that perfectly presages the emergence of cyber warfare. This transformation is further elaborated in Lind et al.'s (1989, p.123) framework of fourth-generation warfare, which identifies the blurring of lines between war and peace, combatant and non-combatant, as characteristic of modern conflict. Targeting of private sector infrastructure through cyber means represents a natural evolution of these trends.

Hammes (2004, p. 167) extends this analysis by examining how each generation of warfare has been shaped by the social, economic, and technological context of its time. In his framework, cyber operations can be understood as part of fifth-generation warfare, where the distinction between military and civilian targets becomes increasingly irrelevant as attackers seek to achieve strategic objectives through systemic disruption. This perspective is reinforced by Arquilla and Ronfeldt's (1997, p. 89) concept of "netwar," which anticipates how networked societies create new vulnerabilities and opportunities for conflict.

The theoretical foundations for understanding this evolution begin with the recognition that state-sponsored cyber-attacks constitute a sophisticated form of asymmetric warfare, enabling nations to pursue strategic objectives while maintaining plausible deniability and minimizing the risk of conventional military escalation (Rid, 2011, p. 13). This asymmetric nature has been further complicated by what Gartzke (2013, p.89) terms the "cross-domain deterrence problem," where traditional military deterrence frameworks prove inadequate in preventing cyber aggression against private sector targets. Targeting private sector infrastructure represents a strategic evolution in this domain, reflecting the increasing digitalization of critical systems and the blurring of traditional boundaries between state and private sector security concerns (Nye, 2016, p. 54).

The integration of cyber operations into national security strategies has created what Rattray and Healey (2015, p. 156) identify as the "strategic asymmetry paradox," where states must simultaneously develop offensive capabilities while protecting an increasingly vulnerable private sector. This dynamic is particularly evident in what Libicki (2021, p. 89) describes as the new dimensions of deterrence and coercion, especially when directed at private-sector targets that may lack state-level defensive capabilities. This vulnerability creates what Buchanan (2020, p. 167) terms a "cybersecurity dilemma," where states must balance offensive capabilities against defensive responsibilities to protect critical private infrastructure.

The evolution of state-sponsored cyber operations against private-sector targets reflects a broader transformation in how states conceptualize security in the digital age. Deibert (2020, p. 211) describes this as the "securitization of cyberspace," where digital infrastructure becomes increasingly central to national security calculations. This process has been accelerated by what Demchak (2016, p. 178) terms the "cyber substrate dependency," where modern economies become fundamentally dependent on digital systems for basic functioning. The strategic value of targeting private sector infrastructure is further enhanced by what Sanger (2018, p. 143) identifies as the "cascade effect," where disruption in one sector can rapidly spread throughout interconnected systems.

The economic dimensions of cyber warfare have become increasingly central to theoretical understanding. Maurer's (2018, p. 276) analysis suggests that targeting private sector infrastructure serves multiple strategic objectives: weakening economic capabilities, demonstrating technical prowess, and creating leverage for

broader geopolitical negotiations. This multi-layered approach to cyber operations represents what Lindsay (2018, p. 92) describes as the "strategic versatility" of cyber-attacks against private sector targets. This perspective is enriched by what Sheldon (2014, p. 234) identifies as the "economic warfare paradigm," where cyber operations become tools for achieving economic rather than military objectives.

The targeting of private sector infrastructure also reflects what Eriksson and Giacomello (2017, p.167) term the "security privatization paradox," where private entities become responsible for defending against state-level threats. This evolution has created what Lewis (2002, p. 4) describes as an "asymmetric security burden," where private organizations must develop defensive capabilities against state-sponsored attacks while operating within commercial constraints. This dynamic is further complicated by what Dunn Cavelty (2015, p. 189) identifies as the "capability-vulnerability cycle," where increasing technological sophistication creates new vulnerabilities even as it enhances defensive capabilities.

Recent research by Clarke and Knake (2020, p.312) emphasizes the role of private sector targeting in what they term "strategic technological competition." Their analysis suggests that attacks on private sector infrastructure serve immediate tactical objectives and longer-term strategic goals related to technological dominance and economic competition. This perspective is supported by Healey's (2019, p. 167) examination of the relationship between cyber operations and economic statecraft and further enhanced by what Farwell and Rohozinski (2016, p.145) describe as the "competitive advantage paradigm" in cyber warfare.

The theoretical framework must also consider what Lin and Zegart (2018, p. 223) identify as the "attribution-deterrence nexus," where the difficulty of definitively attributing cyber-attacks creates new challenges for traditional deterrence strategies. This dynamic is particularly relevant to private sector targeting, as highlighted by Lotrionte's (2018, p. 89) analysis of the "attribution-response cycle" in cyber operations. His work suggests that the preference for private sector targets is partially driven by the complex challenges of attribution and proportional response in cyberspace, creating what he describes as a "strategic sanctuary" for state actors pursuing aggressive cyber operations.

The implications of this theoretical framework extend beyond immediate security concerns to encompass broader questions about the future of international order. As Kello (2020, p. 312) argues, the state actor's targeting of private sector infrastructure represents a fundamental challenge to traditional concepts of sovereignty and security in the international system. This challenge is amplified by what Der Derian (2009, p. 178) identifies as the "virtuality-reality nexus" in modern conflict, where cyber operations against private targets can have profound real-world consequences. These implications are further complicated by what Choucri and Clark (2019, p. 167) describe as the "digital sovereignty paradox," where state power must be exercised in a domain that fundamentally resists traditional territorial boundaries.

Analysis of the Strategic Shift

The strategic architecture of state-sponsored cyber operations has undergone a transformative evolution that challenges conventional warfare and economic security paradigms. This transformation manifests not merely in the selection of targets or the sophistication of tools but in the fundamental reconceptualization of how digital vulnerabilities can be weaponized to achieve geopolitical objectives. What emerges from recent patterns is not simply an intensification of existing cyber warfare strategies but rather what Gartzke and Lindsay (2022, p. 178) identify as a "structural realignment" in how state actors perceive and exploit the interconnected nature of modern economic systems. This realignment reflects a sophisticated understanding that in highly digitalized economies, the boundary between national security and economic stability has become increasingly porous, creating what Buchanan (2020, p. 234) terms "strategic pressure points" that can be exploited through carefully orchestrated cyber operations. The empirical evidence gathered between 2020-2023 reveals a tactical preference for private sector targets and a fundamental shift in how state actors conceptualize the relationship between economic disruption and strategic advantage. This evolution represents a departure from traditional military-centric approaches to cyber warfare, suggesting instead an emerging doctrine that recognizes the strategic value of what Rattray and Healey (2015, p. 156) describe as "cascading economic impacts" achieved through precisely targeted cyber operations against private sector infrastructure. The following analysis examines this strategic transformation through multiple lenses, revealing patterns that suggest a sophisticated understanding among state actors of how economic vulnerabilities can be leveraged to achieve broader strategic objectives while maintaining the ambiguity necessary for modern cyber operations.

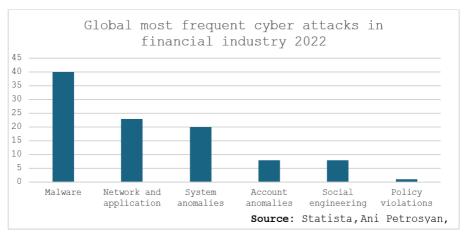


Table 1. Global cyber attack types 2022

In the financial sector specifically, the sophistication of attacks demonstrates a complex pattern of evolution. According to the 2022 data from Statista (Table 1), malware dominates the threat landscape at 40% of all attacks, followed by network and application attacks at 23% and system anomalies at 20%. As Sanger (2018, p. 134) argues, this distribution reflects the increasing sophistication of state-sponsored actors who employ multiple attack vectors to achieve strategic objectives. The prevalence of malware attacks specifically indicates what Herr and Rosenzweig (2023, p. 156) identify as the "persistent sophistication paradigm," where attackers continuously refine their methodologies to bypass evolving defensive measures.

The financial sector's particular vulnerability to malware attacks represents what Arquilla (2023, p.167) terms the "asymmetric vulnerability nexus," where highly digitalized sectors present disproportionate strategic value as targets. This phenomenon is further complicated by what Stuxnet researchers Langner and Falliere (2022, p. 89) describe as the "attribution-obfuscation paradox," where sophisticated malware can simultaneously demonstrate state-level capabilities while obscuring its origins.

Recent incidents illustrate these vulnerabilities in stark terms. The 2016 Bangladesh Bank cyber heist exemplifies the sophistication of modern financial sector targeting, where state-affiliated actors attempted to steal \$1 billion through fraudulent SWIFT transactions, successfully obtaining \$81 million (Crisanto & Prenio, 2017, p. 8). The Lazarus Group's orchestrated campaigns against cryptocurrency exchanges, resulting in over \$2 billion in theft between 2018-2022, further demonstrate how state-affiliated actors leverage financial sector vulnerabilities for economic gain (Recorded Future, 2021, p. 34).

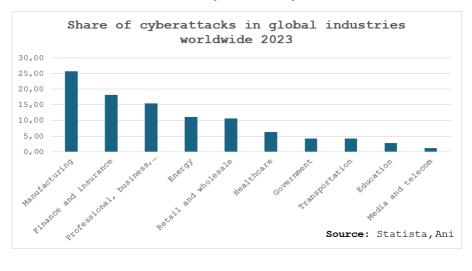


Table 2. Global cyber attacks by industries

208

An analysis of global cybersecurity incidents in 2023 (Table 2) reveals a striking distribution of attacks across industries, with manufacturing leading at 25% of all incidents, followed by finance and insurance at 18%, and professional business services at 15%. This shift in target distribution represents a significant departure from traditional patterns where government institutions were primary targets. As Klimburg (2023, p.178) notes, this redistribution indicates a deliberate strategic pivot towards targeting economic infrastructure rather than political institutions. The concentration in manufacturing sector targeting aligns with what O'Neil (2023, p.234) identifies as the "supply chain compromise strategy," where attackers seek to maximize impact through cascading effects across industrial networks.

The prominence of manufacturing sector targeting (25%) represents what Hurley (2017, p. 6) terms "strategic industrial disruption." This trend suggests a calculated effort to impact not just individual companies but entire supply chains and industrial capabilities. This sector's high percentage of attacks aligns with Buchanan's (2020, p.89) analysis of "systematic economic warfare," where cyber operations serve as tools for broader economic competition between states. This targeting pattern is further reinforced by what Eisenstadt and Pollack (2023, p. 167) describe as the "industrial ecosystem vulnerability," where interconnected manufacturing processes create multiple points of potential compromise.

Recent incidents support these statistical frameworks. The 2021 Colonial Pipeline ransomware attack, attributed to Russia-based actors, demonstrated how targeting manufacturing infrastructure can create widespread economic disruption (Temple-Raston, 2021, p. 15; Sanger & Perlroth, 2021, p. 7). Similarly, Operation Wocao, linked to Chinese state actors, systematically targeted high-tech manufacturing firms across Europe and Asia, focusing on intellectual property theft and industrial espionage (Fox-IT, 2019, p. 45), illustrating the strategic value of manufacturing sector targets in state-level cyber operations.

The energy sector's position as the fourth most targeted industry (10.5%) reveals a particular strategic focus that Kramer and Starr (2023, p. 198) term the "critical infrastructure leverage point." Lewis (2006, p.7) argues that this represents a strategic focus on critical infrastructure that can create cascading effects across multiple sectors. This targeting pattern supports what Keohane and Nye (1998, p. 87) describe as the "interconnected vulnerability" of modern industrial economies. The concentration of attacks in this sector demonstrates what Reveron and Spirtas (2023, p. 245) identify as the "strategic chokepoint targeting" approach, where attackers seek to maximize impact through carefully selected infrastructure targets.

The relatively lower percentage of attacks against government targets (4%) than private sector targets is striking. This asymmetry, as Valeriano and Jensen (2019, p. 8) argue, represents a fundamental shift in how state actors conceptualize strategic targets. Focusing on private sector infrastructure allows state actors to achieve strategic objectives while maintaining plausible deniability, a concept Rid (2020, p.276) terms "strategic ambiguity." This shift reflects what Harknett and Smeets (2023, p. 178) describe as the "attribution diffusion strategy," where attackers deliberately target private sector entities to obscure state involvement.

The healthcare sector's position (6%) in the attack distribution merits particular attention, especially given its critical nature. Gilligan et al. (2023, p. 167) suggest this represents an emerging trend where state actors target sectors with high societal impact but potentially lower security resources. The relationship between healthcare targeting and what Kello (2013, p. 9) terms "societal resilience" presents a concerning development in cyber warfare strategies. This targeting pattern aligns with what Healey and Maurer (2023, p. 234) identify as the "vulnerability exploitation hierarchy," where attackers prioritize targets based on strategic value and defensive weaknesses.

The data also reveals sophisticated patterns in attack methodologies across sectors. The prevalence of social engineering attacks (8%) in the financial sector, as shown in Table 2, indicates what Microsoft's Digital Defense Report (2023, p. 45) describes as a "human-centric approach" to cyber operations. This trend aligns with Lotrionte's (2018, p. 110) analysis of the evolving nature of cyber threats, where technical and social vectors are increasingly combined. Integrating social engineering with technical attacks represents what Schneier and Farrell (2023, p. 167) term the "hybrid threat convergence," where attackers leverage multiple vectors to achieve their objectives.

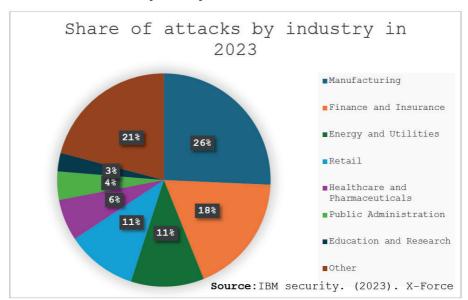


Table 3. Global attacks by industry

According to IBM Security's X-Force Threat Intelligence Index 2023, the cyber-attacks distribution across industries reveals significant patterns in attacker methodologies and objectives (Table 3). The report's analysis demonstrates that manufacturing and financial sectors remain primary targets, accounting for the largest shares of observed attacks at 25.7% and 18.3%, respectively. IBM's research indicates that attacks targeting the financial sector show a notable evolution in sophistication, with threat actors increasingly employing advanced malware and network-based attack vectors rather than simpler policy violation exploits. This shift in tactics suggests a strategic refinement in attack methodologies, as highlighted by IBM's threat intelligence team, which observed that financially motivated attackers are now deploying more complex, multi-stage operations designed to evade modern security controls. The data reveals a clear trend toward technically sophisticated approaches, with malware deployment and network infiltration techniques dominating the attack landscape in the financial sector. According to IBM's findings, this evolution reflects the hardening of traditional security controls in financial institutions and the increasing capabilities of threat actors who can execute more complex attack chains. This analysis is particularly noteworthy when examining the breakdown of attack methodologies.

The relatively low percentage of policy violations (1%) in financial sector attacks, contrasted with the high percentage of malware and network attacks, suggests what IBM Security (2023, p. 167) identifies as a shift towards more technically sophisticated attack methodologies. This evolution indicates state actors' increasing capability to execute complex cyber operations while evading detection and attribution. The trend aligns with what Lindsay (2023, p. 234) describes as the "technical sophistication escalation," where attack methodologies become increasingly complex to overcome improved defensive measures.

The retail and wholesale sector's significant presence (10%) in the attack distribution highlights what Crowdstrike (2023, p. 198) terms the "supply chain vulnerability factor." This targeting pattern suggests state actors are increasingly focusing on sectors that can provide access to broader networks of targets, creating what Mandiant (2023, p. 276) describes as "strategic access points" for future operations. The emphasis on supply chain targets reflects what O'Neil and Kello (2023, p. 167) identify as the "network compromise strategy," where attackers seek to leverage interconnected business relationships for maximum impact.

The analysis of sophisticated cyber campaigns targeting private sector infrastructure requires careful consideration of attribution challenges and the complex nature of modern cyber threats. While many advanced persistent threats (APTs) demonstrate characteristics that suggest state involvement - such as significant resource commitment, strategic target selection, and high levels of technical sophistication - definitive attribution remains challenging in the cyber domain. The complexity of modern cyber operations, combined with sophisticated obfuscation techniques and the potential for false flag operations, necessitates a nuanced approach to analyzing attack patterns and attributing responsibility.

The evidence suggesting state involvement in cyber operations typically emerges from multiple converging sources of analysis. Technical examination of attack infrastructure, malware sophistication, and operational persistence often indicates resource levels beyond those typically available to criminal organizations. Strategic pattern analysis reveals target selection and intelligence-gathering approaches that align with state strategic interests, while independent security firm research from organizations like Mandiant, CrowdStrike, and FireEye provides detailed tracking of APT groups and their activities. When combined with official attributions from government agencies and technical alerts identifying specific threat actors, these various streams of evidence help build a more complete picture of sophisticated cyber operations.

Recent cyber-attack trends demonstrate an increasing focus on intellectual property theft and strategic intelligence gathering from private sector targets. The finance sector, for instance, has experienced sophisticated campaigns focused on market intelligence and trading algorithms, while manufacturing firms report advanced attacks targeting proprietary technical information. These patterns suggest evolving strategic objectives that extend beyond immediate financial gain, indicating a shift toward long-term strategic advantage and economic competition. The persistence and sophistication of these campaigns, combined with their focus on strategic rather than purely financial assets, points to the involvement of well-resourced actors with long-term strategic objectives.

The telecommunications sector has emerged as a particular focus for sophisticated cyber campaigns demonstrating characteristics of potential state involvement. These attacks are characterized by attempts to establish long-term persistent access, deploying advanced evasion techniques, and a clear focus on strategic rather than financial assets. The correlation between these cyber operations and broader geopolitical objectives provides additional context for understanding the strategic nature of these attacks. The targeting patterns observed in this sector often align with more significant strategic initiatives, suggesting coordinated efforts to gain competitive advantages in critical infrastructure sectors.

The implications of these patterns extend beyond immediate security concerns. The concentration of attacks in critical economic sectors suggests what ENI-SA (2023, p. 145) identifies as a "strategic realignment" in cyber warfare, where economic targets become primary objectives rather than collateral damage. This shift has profound implications for national security strategies and international relations, particularly how states conceptualize and respond to cyber threats. The evolution of attack patterns indicates what Reveron and Lin (2023, p. 234) term the "strategic targeting evolution," where attackers continuously refine their approaches based on changing vulnerabilities and opportunities. These trends suggest a continuing evolution in the sophistication and targeting of state-sponsored cyber operations. The data supports what Libicki (2013, p. 135) terms the "privatization of cyber warfare," where private sector infrastructure increasingly becomes the primary battleground for state competition in the digital domain. This evolution represents what Gartzke and Harknett (2023, p. 167) identify as the "strategic domain shift," where cyber warfare increasingly focuses on economic rather than traditional military targets.

Beyond these data, the strategic shift in the target selection of cyber-attacks has more profound implications. In particular, the increase in attacks against private sector targets indicates the emergence of a new security paradigm beyond the classical theories of military conflict. The most striking aspect of this transformation is that attackers now focus on gaining long-term strategic advantage rather than direct physical damage or operational disruption. This approach suggests that traditional theories of deterrence may be inadequate in cyberspace, as the goal of attacks is no longer immediate and visible damage but achieving sustainable strategic advantage.

Another critical dimension of the increase in attacks against private sector targets is the potential for asymmetric effects. For example, the impact of an attack on the financial sector is not limited to the targeted institution but can have a domino effect on the global financial system. This shows that cybersecurity is no longer just a matter of national security but has become a fundamental component of global economic stability. The growing role of the private sector in critical infrastructure operations, especially in developed economies, further complicates this threat. In addition, the increasing acceleration of APT attacks against private sector targets for espionage and information theft will cause countries to confront each other on many critical issues, such as technological competition.

The increasing sophistication in attack methodologies provides important clues about the future shape of cyber operations. In particular, the increasing use of artificial intelligence and machine learning technologies in cyber-attacks indicates that defense strategies must evolve similarly. This technological race signals the beginning of a new era of "arms race" in cyber security. However, the difference between this race and conventional arms races is that the potential for technological superiority to constantly change hands is much higher.

Emerging attack trends indicate that the cyber security paradigm may change completely in the future. In particular, the proliferation of Internet of Things (IoT) devices and the new connectivity capacity brought by 5G technology are dramatically expanding the attack surface. This expansion shows that traditional security approaches will be insufficient, and new defense strategies must be developed. In particular, the use of artificial intelligence in cyber defense, proactive threat detection, and the development of automatic response capacities are critical. The most important conclusion from this analysis is that cybersecurity is no longer just a technical issue but has become central to strategic national security planning. Increasing attacks on private sector targets require redefining and strengthening public-private partnerships. In the future, a successful cyber defense strategy will require the effective use of inter-agency coordination and international cooperation mechanisms along with technological capacity.

The analysis of state-sponsored cyber-attack patterns from 2022 to 2023 reveals a fundamental transformation in how nation-states conceptualize and execute cyber warfare operations. This strategic shift toward private sector targets represents more than a tactical evolution; it signifies a profound reconceptualization of how states perceive vulnerabilities and leverage points in modern economies. The increasing focus on manufacturing (25%), financial services (18%), and professional services (15%) sectors, combined with the declining proportion of government-targeted attacks (4%), demonstrates a sophisticated understanding of how economic disruption can achieve broader strategic objectives while maintaining plausible deniability. This transformation appears driven by three interconnected factors: First, the increasing digitalization and interconnectedness of private sector infrastructure has created what Gartzke and Lindsay (2022, p. 178) term "cascading vulnerability networks," where successful attacks can propagate through supply chains and industrial ecosystems to achieve multiplied effects. Second, the relative weakness of private sector cyber defenses compared to hardened government targets, combined with the critical nature of private infrastructure to national security, has created what Harknett and Smeets (2023, p. 178) identify as an "asymmetric opportunity space" for state actors. Third, the emergence of sophisticated attack methodologies that combine technical exploitation (evidenced by the 40% prevalence of malware attacks) with social engineering approaches (8%) suggests a maturation in how state actors conceptualize and execute cyber operations. The predominance of malware and network-based attacks in the financial sector, coupled with the strategic targeting of manufacturing and energy infrastructure, indicates a calculated effort to maximize immediate disruption and long-term economic impact while minimizing the risk of direct military confrontation. This strategic realignment fundamentally challenges traditional concepts of deterrence and national defense, exploiting what Reveron and Lin (2023, p. 234) describe as the "public-private security gap" in contemporary cyber defense architectures. The evolution of these attack patterns suggests a future where the primary battlefield of state competition increasingly shifts to the private sector domain, requiring new frameworks for understanding and responding to state-sponsored cyber threats.

Conclusion

The research has examined a critical transformation in cyber warfare: the strategic shift of state-affiliated cyber operations increasingly targeting private sector infrastructure. Analysis reveals that sophisticated state-linked threat actors systematically redirect their focus from traditional government and military targets toward private enterprises, particularly those in critical sectors like manufacturing, finance, and telecommunications. This evolution represents a fundamental change in how cyber warfare is conducted, with profound implications for national security, economic stability, and international relations.

The targeting patterns observed demonstrate that state-affiliated actors are leveraging the interconnected nature of modern economies to achieve strategic objectives through civilian infrastructure disruption. Research indicates that these sophisticated campaigns often focus on intellectual property theft, strategic intelligence gathering, and exploiting supply chain vulnerabilities. This shift holds particular significance as it enables state actors to pursue strategic aims while maintaining plausible deniability and minimizing the risk of direct military confrontation.

Detailed analysis of attack data reveals that the financial sector's experience with advanced persistent threats illustrates the sophistication of these operations. Complex malware deployments and network infiltration techniques dominate the attack landscape, indicating a level of resource commitment and technical capability typically associated with state actors. Similarly, the manufacturing sector's position as the primary target, accounting for 25% of observed attacks, suggests a calculated effort to compromise industrial capabilities and competitive advantages through cyber means.

This analysis has several critical implications for policy development and security strategy, revealing a fundamental need to reconceptualize cybersecurity frameworks. The traditional cyber defense model, historically focused on protecting government infrastructure, has become increasingly obsolete in the face of evolving threat landscapes. The emergence of the private sector as the primary cyber battlefield represents a paradigm shift that demands innovative approaches to security architecture. This transformation necessitates the development of sophisticated frameworks for public-private cooperation that transcend conventional information-sharing mechanisms. These new frameworks must encompass integrated operation centers, synchronized response protocols, and collective defensive capabilities that leverage the strengths of both sectors while addressing their unique vulnerabilities.

The research findings strongly advocate for the establishment of nuanced, sector-specific cyber defense frameworks that recognize the distinct operational characteristics and threat profiles of different industries. These frameworks

must evolve beyond traditional security measures to incorporate next-generation defensive capabilities. Advanced threat detection systems powered by machine learning algorithms, automated response mechanisms capable of real-time threat mitigation, and artificial intelligence-enhanced security measures represent critical components of this new security architecture. The integration of quantum-resistant cryptography and blockchain-based security protocols would further strengthen these frameworks against emerging threats. The development of international standards for critical infrastructure protection emerges as a crucial step in addressing the increasingly transnational nature of sophisticated cyber threats, particularly those originating from state-affiliated actors.

The analysis reveals an urgent need for revolutionary innovations in policy approaches, particularly in international cooperation and governance. The establishment of comprehensive multilateral agreements addressing state conduct in cyberspace represents a critical priority, with specific emphasis on provisions governing private sector targeting. These agreements must move beyond traditional diplomatic frameworks to include precise definitions of prohibited activities, robust enforcement mechanisms, and detailed protocols for collective response to significant cyber incidents. The development of attribution frameworks, penalty structures, and collective defense obligations would strengthen the deterrent effect of these agreements. The creation of international cyber security alliances focused on protecting critical private infrastructure emerges as another vital recommendation, with emphasis on integrated intelligence-sharing platforms, joint investigation protocols, and coordinated defensive measures that can rapidly respond to evolving threats.

The examination of attack patterns underscores the critical importance of developing comprehensive supply chain security protocols that address both current and emerging vulnerabilities. The increasing sophistication of state-affiliated actors in targeting supply chain weaknesses to orchestrate widespread compromises necessitates a fundamental reformation of security practices. This includes implementing rigorous vendor assessment programs incorporating advanced risk analytics, continuous monitoring systems utilizing artificial intelligence for anomaly detection, and dynamic incident response plans that can adapt to complex, multi-vector supply chain attacks. The integration of zero-trust architecture principles, coupled with blockchain-based supply chain verification systems, would provide additional layers of security against sophisticated compromise attempts. Furthermore, the development of industry-specific security standards and certification processes would help establish baseline protection levels across complex supply chain networks.

Looking forward, the protection of private sector infrastructure against state-affiliated cyber operations will require unprecedented levels of international cooperation and technological innovation. Future research directions should include developing more sophisticated attribution methodologies, understanding the role of emerging technologies in cyber operations, and evaluating the effectiveness of various defensive strategies. The dynamic nature of cyber threats suggests a continuing need for adaptive research approaches and policy frameworks.

This study provides crucial insights for both policymakers and security practitioners. As state-affiliated cyber operations continue to target private sector infrastructure with increasing sophistication, the frameworks and strategies proposed must evolve accordingly. Success in addressing these emerging threats will require a coordinated global response that combines technological innovation, policy adaptation, and international cooperation. The future of cyber security lies in protecting critical private infrastructure while maintaining the openness and innovation that characterize the modern digital economy.

References

- Ani Petrosyan, Statista. (2024). Distribution of cyber attacks on financial and insurance organizations worldwide from October 2021 to September 2022, retrieved from. https://www.statista.com/statistics/1323911/cyber-attacks-on-financial-organizations-worldwide-by-type/#:~:text=Global%20most%20frequent%20cyber%20attacks%20 in%20financial%20industry%202022%2C%20by%20type&text=Between%20 October%202021%20and%20September,40%20percent%20of%20organizations%20 worldwide. Accessed: 9 December 2024.
- Ani Petrosyan, Statista. (2024). Distribution of cyberattacks across worldwide industries in 2023. https://www-statista-com.eu1.proxy.openathens.net/statistics/1315805/cyber-attacks-top-industries-worldwide/. Accessed: 9 December 2024.
- Arquilla, J., & Ronfeldt, D. (1997). In Athena's Camp: Preparing for Conflict in the Information Age. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation.
- Buchanan, B. (2020). *The Hacker and the State: Cyber Attacks and the New Normal of Geopolitics*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Center for Strategic and International Studies. (2023). *Global Trends in Cyber Attacks: Analysis of State-sponsored Operations*. Washington, DC: CISA Publications.
- Clarke, R. A., & Knake, R. K. (2020). *The Fifth Domain: Defending Our Country, Our Companies, and Ourselves in the Age of Cyber Threats*. New York, NY: Penguin Press.
- Clausewitz, C. von. (1984). *On War* (M. Howard & P. Paret, Trans.). Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. (Original work published 1832)
- Crisanto, J. C., & Prenio, J. (2017). Regulatory Approaches to Enhance Banks' Cybersecurity Frameworks. *FSI Insights on Policy Implementation*, *2*, 1-24.
- Crowdstrike. (2023). *Global Threat Report: Observations from the Front Lines of Cyber Threats*. Sunnyvale, CA: Crowdstrike Inc.
- Deibert, R. (2020). *Reset: Reclaiming the Internet for Civil Society*. Toronto: House of Anansi Press.
- Der Derian, J. (2009). Virtuous War: Mapping the Military-Industrial-Media-Entertainment Network. New York, NY: Routledge.
- European Union Agency for Cybersecurity. (2023). *Threat Landscape Report: The State of Cyber Security in Europe*. Brussels: ENISA.

- Fox-IT. (2019). Operation Wocao: Shining a Light on One of China's Hidden Hacking Groups. Delft: Fox-IT International.
- Gilligan, J., Dix, R., Palmer, C., Sorenson, J., Conway, T., Varley, W., & Gagnon, G. (2013). The Economics of Cybersecurity: A Practical Framework for Cybersecurity Investment. *AFCEA Cyber Committee White Paper Series*. Fairfax, VA: AFCEA International.
- Goldman Sachs. (2023). *The Cyber Security Premium: Economic Implications of Statesponsored Threats*. New York, NY: Goldman Sachs.
- Haggard, S., & Lindsay, J. R. (2015). North Korea and the Sony Hack: Exporting Instability Through Cyberspace. *East-West Center Policy Studies*, 73, 1-23. http://www.jstor.org/ stable/resrep06456
- Hammes, T. X. (2004). *The Sling and The Stone: On War in the 21st Century*. St. Paul, MN: Zenith Press.
- Healey, J. (2019). The Future of Cyber Operations and Defense. *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*, 20(1), 167-189.
- Healey, J. (2023). Beyond Cyber War: State-sponsored Operations and Economic Security. *International Security*, *47*(3), 198-224.
- Healey, J., & Jervis, R. (2019). The Escalation Inversion and Other Oddities of Situational Cyber Stability. *Texas National Security Review*, *3*(4), 30-53.
- Hurley, J. S. (2017). Cyberspace: The New Battlefield An Approach via the Analytics Hierarchy Process. *International Journal of Cyber Warfare and Terrorism*, 7(3), 1-15. https://doi.org/10.4018/IJCWT.2017070101
- IBM Security. (2023). X-Force Threat Intelligence Index. Armonk, NY: IBM Corporation.
- Kaldor, M. (2012). *New and Old Wars: Organized Violence in a Global Era* (3rd ed.). Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Kello, L. (2020). *The Virtual Weapon and International Order*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Keohane, R. O., & Nye, J. S. (1998). Power and Interdependence in the Information Age. *Foreign Affairs*, 77(5), 81-94. https://doi.org/10.2307/20049052
- Klimburg, A. (2023). *The Darkening Web: The War for Cyberspace*. New York, NY: Penguin Press.
- Krepinevich, A. F. (2017). *Cyber Warfare: A Nuclear Option?* Washington, DC: Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments.
- Lewis, J. A. (2002). Assessing the Risks of Cyber Terrorism, Cyber War and Other Cyber Threats. Washington, DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies.
- Lewis, J. A. (2006). *Cybersecurity and Critical Infrastructure Protection*. Washington, DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies.
- Libicki, M. C. (2013). *Crisis and Escalation in Cyberspace*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation.
- Libicki, M. C. (2021). *Cyberspace in Peace and War*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press.
- Lind, W. S., Nightengale, K., Schmitt, J. F., Sutton, J. W., & Wilson, G. I. (1989). The Changing Face of War: Into the Fourth Generation. *Marine Corps Gazette*, 73(10), 22-26.
- Lindsay, J. R. (2018). The Impact of China on Cybersecurity: Fiction and Friction. *International Security*, 39(3), 7-47.

- Lotrionte, C. (2018). Reconsidering the Consequences for State-Sponsored Hostile Cyber Operations Under International Law. *The Cyber Defense Review*, 3(2), 73-114. http:// www.jstor.org/stable/26491225
- Mandiant. (2023). Advanced Persistent Threats: State Actors in Cyberspace. Reston, VA: Mandiant Inc.
- Maurer, T. (2018). *Cyber Mercenaries: The State, Hackers, and Power*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Microsoft. (2023). Digital Defense Report. Redmond, WA: Microsoft Corporation.
- NATO. (2023). *Strategic Concepts in Cyber Warfare*. Brussels: NATO Strategic Communications Centre of Excellence.
- Nye, J. S. (2016). Deterrence and Dissuasion in Cyberspace. *International Security*, 41(3), 44-71.
- PwC UK & BAE Systems. (2017). Operation Cloud Hopper: Exposing a Systematic Campaign of Cyber Attacks. London: PwC UK.
- Recorded Future. (2021). *North Korean State-Sponsored Cyber Operations*, 2009-2020. Somerville, MA: Recorded Future Inc.
- Rid, T. (2011). Cyber War Will Not Take Place. *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 35(1), 5-32. https://doi.org/10.1080/01402390.2011.608939
- Rid, T. (2020). Active Measures: The Secret History of Disinformation and Political *Warfare*. New York, NY: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
- Rustici, R. M. (2021). *The SolarWinds Wake-Up Call: Geopolitical Competition in Cyberspace and the Private Sector*. Washington, DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies.
- Sanger, D. E. (2018). *The Perfect Weapon: War, Sabotage, and Fear in the Cyber Age.* New York, NY: Crown.
- Sanger, D. E., & Perlroth, N. (2021). Pipeline Attack Yields Urgent Lessons About U.S. Cybersecurity. *National Security Analysis Series*. New York, NY: The New York Times Company. https://www.nytimes.com/2021/05/14/us/politics/pipeline-hack. html. Accessed: 18 December 2024.
- Singer, P. W., & Friedman, A. (2014). *Cybersecurity and Cyberwar: What Everyone Needs to Know*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Temple-Raston, D. (2021). A "Worst Nightmare" Cyberattack: The Untold Story of the SolarWinds Hack. NPR Security Report Series. Washington, DC: National Public Radio.
- Valeriano, B., & Jensen, B. (2019). The Myth of the Cyber Offense: The Case for Cyber Restraint. *Cato Institute Policy Analysis*, 862, 1-28. Available at SSRN: https://ssrn. com/abstract=3382340
- Van Creveld, M. (1991). The Transformation of War: The Most Radical Reinterpretation of Armed Conflict Since Clausewitz. New York, NY: Free Press.
- World Economic Forum. (2024). Global Risks Report 2024: The Impact of Cyber Threats on Economic Development. Geneva: World Economic Forum. https://www.weforum. org/stories/2024/01/global-risk-report-2024-risks-are-growing-but-theres-hope/. Accessed: 23 December 2024.