

US Army War College Fellowship

Cyber Defense/Offense

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Some Sources

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- Richard A. Clarke and Robert K. Knake, *Cyber War: The Next Threat to National Security and What To Do About It*, Harper Collis, 2010.
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- McAfee, Inc., "2009 Virtual Criminology Report, Virtually Here: The Age of Cyber Warfare," December, 2009.
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- Richard Stiennon, *Surviving Cyber War*, Government Institutes, 2010.
- staff.washington.edu/dittrich/cyberwarfare.html

What I'd Like to Cover

- The scope of the problem
- Why cyber security is challenging
- Why it matters
- What constitutes cyber warfare
- What responses are legal and feasible

House Intel Chair Mike Rogers Calls Chinese Cyber Attacks Unprecedented, ABC News, 2/24/13

House Intelligence Committee Chair Mike Rogers, R-Mich., said it was “beyond a shadow of a doubt” that the Chinese government and military is behind growing cyber attacks against the United States, saying “we are losing” the war to prevent the attacks.

“It is unprecedented,” Rogers added. “This has never happened in the history of the world, where one nation steals the intellectual property to re-purpose it—to illegally compete against the country ... and I’ll tell you, It is as bad as I’ve ever seen it and exponentially getting worse. Why? There’s no consequence for it.”

White House warns of cyber threat from 'aggressive' China and Russia, The Guardian, 2/21/13

The Obama administration has singled out China and Russia as “aggressive” players in the world of cyber-espionage and warned that they will continue to try and steal US industrial and technological secrets.

In a report outlining plans to deal with the theft of American trade secrets that comes in the wake of revelations about Chinese hacking in the US, the White House warned that both countries would remain active in trying to illegally obtain sensitive information

Hackers in China Attacked The Times for Last 4 Months, The New York Times, 1/31/13

For the last four months, Chinese hackers have persistently attacked The New York Times, infiltrating its computer systems and getting passwords for its reporters and other employees.

The timing of the attacks coincided with the reporting for a Times investigation, published online on Oct. 25, that found that the relatives of Wen Jiabao, China's prime minister, had accumulated a fortune worth several billion dollars through business dealings.

Cyber security in 2013: How vulnerable to attack is US now?, Christian Science Monitor, 1/9/13

The phalanx of cyberthreats aimed squarely at Americans' livelihood became startlingly clear in 2012 and appears poised to proliferate in 2013 and beyond as government officials, corporate leaders, security experts, and ordinary citizens scramble to devise protections from attackers in cyberspace.

U.S. Not Ready for Cyberwar Hostile Attackers Could Launch, The Daily Beast, 2/21/13

The Chinese reportedly have been hacking into U.S. infrastructure, and Leon Panetta says future attacks could plunge the U.S. into chaos—shutting down the power grid, as well as electric, oil, gas, water, chemical, and transit systems. Were not prepared.

If the nightmare scenario becomes suddenly real ... If hackers shut down much of the electrical grid and the rest of the critical infrastructure goes with it ... If we are plunged into chaos and suffer more physical destruction than 50 monster hurricanes and economic damage that dwarfs the Great Depression ... Then we will wonder why we failed to guard against what outgoing Defense Secretary Leon Panetta has termed a “cyber-Pearl Harbor.”

Are We at (Cyber) War?

Cyber warfare involves “actions by a nation-state to penetrate another nation’s computers or networks for the purpose of causing damage or disruption.” –Clarke and Knape, p. 6

Is this the right definition? What are the important components?
What questions does it raise?

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- Is “warfare” even a useful term in this context?
- Can a non-state entity engage in warfare?
- Which computers or networks matter?
- Which actions should qualify as acts of war?
- Why not just make our computers and networks impervious to such attacks?

Why Are We At Risk?

Arguably, the only way that another nation-state can “penetrate [our] computers or networks for the purpose of causing damage or disruption” is

- 1 if they have insider access; or
- 2 there are exploitable vulnerabilities that allow them to gain remote access.

Why not just “harden” our computers and networks to remove the vulnerabilities?

Is there anything wrong with that answer? Does it shift culpability if my security is weak and I’m attacked?

Target Rich Environment

From the U.S. Defense Department's 2010 *Quadrennial Defense Review*:

On any given day there are as many as 7 million DoD computers and telecommunication tools in use in 88 countries using war-fighting and support applications. The number of potential vulnerabilities, therefore, is staggering.

Moreover, the speed of cyber attacks and the anonymity of cyberspace greatly favors the offense. This advantage is growing as hacker tools become cheaper and easier to employ by adversaries whose skills are growing in sophistication.

Is Cyber Security Particularly Hard?

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Most technological problems are concerned with ensuring that something good happens. Security is all about ensuring that *bad things never happen*.

You have to defeat an *actively malicious adversary*. Ross Anderson characterizes this as *“Programming Satan’s Computer.”* The defender has to find and eliminate *all* exploitable vulnerabilities; the attacker only needs to find *one*!

Not only do you have to find “bugs” that make the system behave differently than expected, you have to identify any features of the system that are susceptible to misuse and abuse, *even if your programs behave exactly as you expect them to*.

Cyber Security is Tough

Perfect security is unachievable in any useful system. We trade-off security with other important goals: functionality, usability, efficiency, time-to-market, and simplicity.

“The three golden rules to ensure computer security are: do not own a computer; do not power it on; and do not use it.” –Robert H. Morris (mid 1980's), former chief scientist of the National Computer Security Center

“Unfortunately the only way to really protect [your computer] right now is to turn it off, disconnect it from the Internet, encase it in cement and bury it 100 feet below the ground.” –Prof. Fred Chang (2009), former director of research at NSA

Some Sobering Facts

- It is *undecidable* whether a given piece of software contains malicious functionality.
- “More than 5.5 billion attempted attacks were identified in 2011, an increase of 81 percent over 2010, with an unprecedented 403 million unique malware variants that year, a 41 percent leap.” (Symantec Internet Security Threat Report, 2012)
- Once PCs are infected they tend to stay infected. The median length of infection is 300 days.
(www.insecureaboutsecurity.com, 10/19/2009)

The Cost of Data Breaches

The Privacy Right's Clearinghouse's *Chronology of Data Breaches* (January, 2012) estimates that more than half a billion sensitive records have been breached since 2005. This is actually a very “conservative estimate.”

The Ponemon Institute estimates that the approximate current cost per record compromised is around \$318.

Security is About Managing Risk

In *Building Secure Software*, Viega and McGraw assert that software and system security is “all about managing risk.” This can be done through:

Risk acceptance: some risks are simply tolerated by the organization.

Risk avoidance: not performing an activity that would incur risk.

Risk mitigation: taking actions to reduce the losses due to a risk.

Risk transfer: shift the risk to someone else.

There is generally much more money in a bank than in a convenience store; but which is more likely to be robbed? Why?

Why Does it Matter?

Many experts believe that cyber attacks are a serious risk to U.S. national interests today.

America's failure to protect cyberspace is one of the most urgent national security problems facing the new administration that will take office in January 2009. ... It is a battle we are losing. Losing this struggle will wreak serious damage on the economic health and national security of the United States. –CSIS report on *Securing Cyberspace for the 44th Presidency*, Dec. 2008

Do you think this is a serious warning or just hysteria? Isn't this about crime? What does it have to do with war?

But is it War?

- How real is the threat?
- Is the warfare metaphor a help or a hinderance?
- Are cyberattacks best viewed as crimes, “armed attacks,” both, or something else entirely?
- Is this issue about semantics or substance?
- Does it matter?

Warfare: Cyber and Otherwise

In modern parlance, a shooting war is called *kinetic warfare*, where “kinetics” is concerned with the relationship between the motion of bodies and its causes.

Recall Clarke’s definition of cyber warfare: “actions by a nation-state to penetrate another nation’s computers or networks for the purposes of causing damage or disruption.”

Can activity in cyberspace have kinetic consequences such as property damage and loss of lives? Does it have to qualify as an act of war?

Some Notable Cyber Campaigns

First Persian Gulf War (1991): Iraq's command and control infrastructure is targeted. Radar and missile control network is fragmented and sections of radar coverage are taken offline without central control being aware of the outage.

Estonia (2007): Cyberattacks disabled the websites of government ministries, political parties, newspapers, banks, and companies. Russia was suspected of launching the attack in retaliation for the removal of the Bronze Soldier Soviet war memorial in central Tallinn.

Georgia (2008): Russia attacked the nation of Georgia in a dispute over the province of South Ossetia. In addition to the military attack, a concerted cyber DoS attack shut down much of Georgia's ability to communicate with the external world.

Is the U.S. at Risk?

There is a very low threshold for entry into the cyber attack arena:

- sophisticated attack tools are readily available to anyone on the Internet;
- the U.S. is probably more dependent on technology than any other society on earth;
- the openness of U.S. society means critical information and vulnerabilities are accessible;
- U.S. critical infrastructure is accessible on-line;
- other nation states have much more control over their national communication infrastructure;
- the defense establishment is drowning in data;
- technology advances rapidly but remains riddled with vulnerabilities.

These factors make for a very asymmetric cyber battlefield.

Example Threat: Stuxnet

Stuxnet is a Windows computer worm discovered in July 2010 that targets Siemens SCADA (Supervisory Control and Data Acquisition) systems.

- First discovered malware that subverts specific industrial systems.
- First to include a programmable logic controller (PLC) rootkit.
- Believed to have involved years of effort by skilled hackers to develop and deploy.
- Narrowly targeted, possibly at Iran's nuclear centrifuges.
- Widely believed to have been developed by Israel and the U.S.

In interviews over the past three months in the United States and Europe, experts who have picked apart the computer worm describe it as far more complex and ingenious than anything they had imagined when it began circulating around the world, unexplained, in mid-2009. –New York Times, 1/16/11

Kaspersky Lab Provides Its Insights on Stuxnet Worm, Kaspersky.com, 9/24/10

“I think that this is the turning point, this is the time when we got to a really new world, because in the past there were just cyber-criminals, now I am afraid it is the time of cyber-terrorism, cyber-weapons and cyber-wars,” said Eugene Kaspersky, co-founder and chief executive officer of Kaspersky Lab. “This malicious program was designed to sabotage plants, to damage industrial systems,” he said. “The 90s were a decade of cyber-vandals, 2000’s were a decade of cybercriminals, I am afraid now it is a new era of cyber-wars and cyber-terrorism,” Kaspersky added.

Vanity Fair (April, 2011) has an article on Stuxnet containing the following quotes:

Stuxnet is the new face of 21st-century warfare: invisible, anonymous, and devastating. ... Stuxnet was the first literal cyber-weapon.

Stuxnet appears to be the product of a more sophisticated and expensive development process than any other piece of malware that has become publicly known. A Symantec strategist estimated that as many as 30 different people helped write it.

America's own critical infrastructure is a sitting target for attacks like this.

What are the advantages of something like Stuxnet over conventional attacks?

The successors may be even more sophisticated:

- DuQu:** (Sept. 2011) looks for information that could be useful in attacking industrial control systems, exfiltrated data may be used to enable a future Stuxnet-like attack or might already have been used as basis for the Stuxnet attack.
- Flame:** (May 2012) designed for cyber-espionage, targeted government organizations and educational institutions in Iran and elsewhere. Called the “Swiss army knife” of malware.
- Gauss:** (Aug. 2012) complex cyber-espionage toolkit designed to steal sensitive data, with a specific focus on browser passwords, online banking account credentials, cookies, and specific configurations of infected machines.

Cyber Attacks on the U.S.

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Moonlight Maze: coordinated attacks on U.S. computer systems in 1999, traced to a computer in Moscow. Hackers had obtained large stores of data possibly including classified naval codes and information on missile guidance systems.

Titan Rain: series of coordinated attacks on U.S. computer systems since 2003. Probably Chinese in origin and probably gathering intelligence; an estimated 10-20 terabytes of data may have been downloaded.

Does it go Beyond Espionage

Credible security experts suggest that a successful widespread attack on U.S. computing infrastructure *could largely shut down the U.S. economy for up to 6 months.*

It is estimated that the destruction from a single wave of cyber attacks on U.S. critical infrastructures could exceed \$700 billion USD—the equivalent of 50 major hurricanes hitting U.S. soil at once. (Source: US Cyber Consequences Unit, July 2007)

CyberSecurity: An Existential Threat?

Cyberattacks an 'Existential Threat' TO U.S., FBI Says, Computerworld, 3/24/10

A top FBI official warned today that many cyber-adversaries of the U.S. have the ability to access virtually any computer system, posing a risk that's so great it could "challenge our country's very existence." According to Steven Chabinsky, deputy assistant director of the FBI's cyber division: "The cyber threat can be an existential threat—meaning it can challenge our country's very existence, or significantly alter our nation's potential," Chabinsky said. "How we rise to the cybersecurity challenge will determine whether our nation's best days are ahead of us or behind us."

Not Everyone Agrees

Some experts believe that “cyber warfare” is a seriously flawed concept?

Howard Schmidt, the new cybersecurity czar for the Obama administration, has a short answer for the drumbeat of rhetoric claiming the United States is caught up in a cyberwar that it is losing. “There is no cyberwar,” Schmidt told Wired.com in a sit-down interview Wednesday at the RSA Security Conference in San Francisco. “I think that is a terrible metaphor and I think that is a terrible concept,” Schmidt said. “There are no winners in that environment.” (Wired, 3/4/10)

Does this suggest that Mr. Schmidt does not think there is a problem? Or just that we’re calling it by the wrong name?

Not Everyone Agrees

The cyberwar rhetoric is dangerous. Its practitioners are artists of exaggeration, who seem to think spinning tall tales is the only way to make bureaucracies move in the right direction. ... Not only does it promote unnecessary fear, it feeds the forces of parochial nationalism and militarism undermining a communications system that has arguably done more to connect the world's citizens than the last 50 years of diplomacy. (Ryan Singel review of Clarke and Knape in Wired, 4/22/10)

What does “cyberwar rhetoric” accomplish?

Is a Cyber Attack an Act of War?

- How serious would a cyber attack have to be considered an “act of war” ?
- What if it were an act by *non-state* actors?
- Would it require *certainty* about who initiated it?
- What degree of control would the offending nation have to exert over such actors?
- Must the response be electronic or could it be a “kinetic” ?

An Act of War?

According to the McAfee 2009 Virtual Criminology Report:

“When determining whether a cyber attack is an act of cyber war, experts evaluate four key attack attributes:

- **Source:** Was the attack carried out or supported by a nation-state?
- **Consequence:** Did the attack cause harm?
- **Motivation:** Was the attack politically motivated?
- **Sophistication:** Did the attack require customized methods and/or complex planning?”

What do you think of these criteria? Are they precise enough to be useful?

Cyber Attacks as Armed Attacks

Various international conventions allow a self-defense or “anticipatory self-defense” response to an *armed attack*. But they don’t define “armed attack.”

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So when is a cyber attack “equivalent” to an armed attack?

At least three different analytic frameworks have been proposed:

Instrument-based: the damage is such that it previously could only have been caused by a kinetic attack.

Effects-based: what are the overall effects of the attack on the victim state.

Strict liability: attacks against critical infrastructure qualify because of the potential serious consequences.

Which of these analytic frameworks do you find most reasonable?

Selecting Targets

In traditional warfare, the targets tend to be *military*, or industrial sites with military value. Maybe it's too obvious, but why is that?

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In traditional warfare, the targets tend to be *military*, or industrial sites with military value. *Maybe it's too obvious, but why is that?*

- 1 Military and industrial targets allow the enemy to counterattack, so have high value.
- 2 Military assets are likely to be on the defensive perimeter.
- 3 Certain principles (are supposed to) regulate the conduct of states during warfare.

Selecting Targets

States are supposed to adhere to certain criteria in selecting targets:

Distinction: requires distinguishing combatants from non-combatants and directing actions against military objectives

Necessity: limits force to that “necessary to accomplish a valid military objective”

Humanity: prohibits weapons designed “to cause unnecessary suffering”

Proportionality: protects civilians and property against excessive uses of force

How do these apply to cyberattacks? To responses to cyberattacks?

Targets

Are there reasons to believe that the choice of targets might be different in cyber vs. kinetic warfare?

Are there reasons to believe that the choice of targets might be different in cyber vs. kinetic warfare?

- Non-state actors may not feel bound by the conventional laws of war.
- The actors may be in an asymmetric power relationship.
- Non-state actors may be looking for “soft” high-value targets.
- Cyber attacks offer the ability to “skip the battlefield.”

Systems that people rely upon, from banks to air defense radars, are accessible from cyberspace and can be quickly taken over or knocked out without first defeating a country's traditional defenses. –Clarke and Knape, 31

Targets

In a cyberattack, targets could be: *military, civil or private sector*.
Which do you think are the most susceptible to attack? Why?

Targets

In a cyberattack, targets could be: *military, civil or private sector*. Which do you think are the most susceptible to attack? Why?

If a major cyber conflict between nation-states were to erupt, it is very likely that the private sector would get caught in the crossfire. Most experts agree that critical infrastructure systems—such as the electrical grid, banking and finance, and oil and gas sectors—are vulnerable in many countries. Some nation-states are actively doing reconnaissance to identify specific vulnerabilities.

—McAfee report, 3

If adversaries intended to attack nations in cyber space, they would select targets which would cause the largest impacts and losses to their opponents with the least effort. It is therefore a very reasonable assumption that adversaries would attack critical infrastructure systems via the Internet. —McAfee report, 16

Protecting Critical Infrastructure

The government takes protection of infrastructure very seriously. Presidential Decision Directive (PDD-63) of 1998 states:

- Civilian systems are “essential to the minimum operations of the economy and government”
- Examples: telecommunications, energy, banking, transportation and emergency services

How vulnerable do you think such systems are to cyber attack?
Why would anyone make such critical functionality accessible remotely?

How Vulnerable is Infrastructure?

This is actually a rather controversial question.

“I have yet to meet anyone who thinks SCADA systems should be connected to the Internet. But the reality is that SCADA systems need regular updates from a central control, and it is cheaper to do this through an existing Internet connection than to manually move data or build a separate network.” –Greg Day, Principal Security Analyst at McAfee

The Obama administration has placed an emphasis on protection of critical infrastructure from cyber attack.

On 2/12/13, the administration released an executive order *Improving Critical Infrastructure Cybersecurity* and Presidential Policy Directive 21: *Critical Infrastructure Security and Resilience*

The Nation's critical infrastructure provides the essential services that underpin American society. Proactive and coordinated efforts are necessary to strengthen and maintain secure, functioning, and resilient critical infrastructure including assets, networks, and systems that are vital to public confidence and the Nation's safety, prosperity, and well-being.

Can a nation-state act against another nation-state in response to actions by a non-state actor?

Non-State Actors

Can a nation-state act against another nation-state in response to actions by a non-state actor?

The Taliban (Afghan government) did not attack the World Trade Center and Pentagon on September 11, 2001. And yet the U.S. invaded Afghanistan as a direct response to the 9/11 attacks.

Many experts believe that Russia actively organized, encouraged and facilitated private hackers participating in the cyber attacks on Georgia and Estonia.

Herb Lin, Senior Scientist of the National Academy of Sciences, said that cyberattacks against the U.S. *go up* during exam periods in China. *What do you think that's about?*

Active vs. Passive Defenses

Defenses against cyber attack can be:

Passive: taking steps to prevent an attack or to mitigate the damage should an attack occur (access control, secure system design, security administration).

Active: electronic measures designed to strike attacking computer systems and shut down an attack midstream (destructive viruses, packet flooding)

Most effective approach is a *layered* defense or “*defense in depth*” incorporating both approaches.

Victim states often worry that active defenses may violate the laws of war. *Why would that be?*

The Attribution Problem

Often it is difficult to determine the source of a cyber attack. Botnets (networks of slave machines) may be the proximate source of attack packets, but may be controlled from anywhere.

“States find themselves in a ‘response crisis’ during a cyber attack, forced to decide between effective but arguably illegal, active defenses, and the less effective, but legal, passive defenses and criminal laws.” –Carr, 47

How do the laws of war apply to cyber attacks?

How do the laws of war apply to cyber attacks?

Laws of war arose in a conventional context in which:

- it is easy to assess the damage following an attack, and
- it is typically easy to identify the attacker.

Current international law is not adequate for addressing cyber war. Analogies to environmental law, law of the sea and kinetic war all break down at some point. Answering the question of when to use force in response to a cyber attack needs its own framework.

–Eneken Tikk, legal advisor for the Cooperative Cyber Defence Centre of Excellence in Estonia

According to Sklerov (in Carr, 47):

“The prevailing view of states and legal scholars is that states must treat cyber attacks as a criminal matter

- ① *out of uncertainty over whether a cyberattack can even qualify as an armed attack, and*
- ② *because the law of war requires states to attribute an armed attack to a foreign government or its agents before responding with force.”*

The Crime-Based Approach

If you treat cyber attacks as a criminal matter, with deterrence from criminal laws and penalties, **how do you force states to comply with international criminal laws?**

- “Several major states, such as China and Russia, allow their attackers to operate with impunity when their attacks target rival states.” (Carr, 47)
- “International legal acts regulating relations arising in the process of combating cyber crimes and cyber terrorism must not contain norms violating such immutable principles of international law as non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, and the sovereignty of the latter.” (Moscow Military Thought, 3/31/97)

The U.N. Charter preserves the right of states to engage in “individual or collective self-defense” in response to an “armed attack.” (Article 51).

However, that begs the question of when a cyber attack should be considered an “armed attack.”

States have a long-standing duty to prevent non-state actors from using their territory to commit cross-border attacks, including the requirement for states to act against groups generally known to carry out illegal attacks.

Sklerov suggests that duty “should be interpreted to require states to enact and enforce criminal laws to deter cross-border cyber attacks.”

A state which fails to do so could be labeled a *sanctuary state* and sanctioned by the international community.

In the cases relating to war crimes in the former Yugoslavia, it was allowed:

to impute host-state responsibility for the actions of groups of non-state actors when a state exercised “overall control” of the group, even though the state may not have directed the particular act in question. (Prosecutor vs. Tadic)

Most directly relevant is the European Convention on Cybercrime, which recognizes the need of states to criminalize cyber attacks and the duty of states to prevent non-state actors on their territory from launching them.

- requires states to establish domestic criminal offenses for most types of cyber attacks
- recognizes the importance of prosecuting attackers
- requires extending jurisdiction to cover a state's territory and actions of citizens regardless of their location.

The Convention has been signed by 26 countries including the U.S.

Conclusions

- Cyber attacks are a serious threat to the U.S. and other states.
- Cyber warfare may not be a helpful metaphor.
- The nature of the Internet makes cyber attacks powerful, difficult to counter, and difficult to attribute.
- No technical solutions are on the horizon.
- Treaties and legal frameworks have not kept pace with the threat.
- Promising theories and approaches are developing to help the international community cope.