

From Weapons of the Weak to War by Different Means
Developments of Hybrid Warfare



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Acknowledgements

When writing about asymmetrical warfare, T.E. Lawrence remarked that it was like eating soup with a knife, messy and slow.

This master thesis is the outcome of the Human Geography Master from Radboud University Nijmegen, and its specialization in Conflicts, Territories and Identities. It is a product of an academic development combining Radboud University's master in Human Geography and three independent standing academic interactions with the Netherlands Defence Academy (Breda/Den Helder) and three summer schools at Utrecht University, King's College London and University of Cyprus respectively. Combined, they represent five years of studying and arguing about conflict and war.

It goes without saying that this product is not achieved independently, and to the extent that the writing of this thesis was not like eating soup with a knife, I am thankful to many, and wish to highlight a few, and thank for their contributions over the past years.

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Summary

In 2006 Retired Lieutenant Colonel Frank G. Hoffman added the term Hybrid Warfare to the literature and debate of international security studies. Originally to describe the perceived new tactics Hamas used against Israel. The term returned to the field of international security studies in 2014 when Russia invaded Ukraine and has ever since dominated the field of security studies. Hybrid Warfare has become a container term used to describe various ways of asymmetric and unconventional warfare. This has led to the term being blurred and stalling the (academic) debate on what Hybrid Warfare is and what it is not. It made these questions nearly impossible to answer and raises the question, if these other forms of warfare are not Hybrid Warfare, what are they then? Hybrid Warfare is the subject of this thesis. It examines the development of Hybrid Warfare, both as a term in the literature as well as the operational aspect of Hybrid Warfare and its various monikers on the tactical and strategic level.

The term has subsequently been used to describe warfare employed by four different actors: non-state actors, who traditionally have been associated with Hybrid Warfare (also before Hoffman used the term), as the weaker party using asymmetric means. However, also, as I came to conclude falsely, to describe the tactics employed by state actors. The invasion of Ukraine and subsequently annexation of Crimea brought it in the limelight, but Hybrid Warfare is not employed by the Russians – they prefer the term non-linear warfare, which focusses on (mass) deception. Similarly, Chinese do not use Hybrid Warfare – but build forward on the conceptual unrestricted warfare, with a focus on the use and abuse of law, or lawfare. Finally, I examined the western counter parts, who are not at all a stranger of asymmetric warfare. While this also is not Hybrid Warfare, it focusses largely on political warfare and counter-insurgency. Each of these includes hybrid elements, in the sense that hybrid means a combination of multiple assets, but it strays away from the Hoffman definition.

To understand how both the use of the term and the actually implemented warfare has developed is the central theme in this research. The fact that the terms differ that much, and are incorrectly used interchangeably, shaped the main question of this research: *What has been the development of Hybrid Warfare over the past century?*

The development of what is now called Hybrid Warfare is important for this research. I base the research on a historical process tracing starting at the inception of what Lind referred to as the 4th generation warfare. In my research I argue that for each of the four identified actors' various independent factors influenced the development of warfare, and at the same time, these factors also influenced one another. Hybrid Warfare, as we know it today, is the product of specific historical events that influenced military thinking and practice.

In order to detect these events, I spoke with several experts and study literature, news articles, and reports about the development of warfare and related concepts, using process tracing to identify and explain the events and their influence on thinking and praxis. I see that there is a shift to asymmetric warfare starting at the end of World War II. The start of this trend is the writings of Mao – while this is not to say that his preferred mode of warfare is

new, he, in fact, denies this, his decision to write his views down had been extremely influential.

After the cold war, and the U.S. obliteration of Iraq in the Gulf war using airpower was a game-changer. The U.S. preference for airpower in itself the result of its experience in Vietnam. For many adversaries of the U.S. the shock and awe approach triggered a renewed focus on asymmetric warfare and the various tactics that laymen eventually grouped under Hybrid Warfare.

I argue in my thesis that not all these forms should be named Hybrid Warfare, and suggest to use the terms coined by the ones who came up with their respective variations of asymmetrical warfare — calling things by their name: Hybrid Warfare by non-state actors, unrestricted warfare by the Chinese, non-linear warfare by the Russians, and counter-insurgency / political warfare by the west.

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List of Acronyms

A2AD	Anti-Access and Area Denial
3GW	Third Generation Warfare
4GW	Fourth Generation Warfare
CEFEO	(French Union, 1946-1958) “French Far East Expeditionary Corps” (French: <i>Expéditionnaire Français en Extrême-Orient</i>).
CIA	(United States) Central Intelligence Agency
CMC	(Chinese) Central Military Commission
COIN	Counter Insurgency
CW	Compound War(fare)
DIME(S)	Diplomacy, Information, Military, Economic, (Social-cultural)
DoD	(United States) Department of Defense
ERP	European Recovery Program
ETA	(Basque) “Euskadi Ta Askatasuna” (Basque: <i>Basque Homeland and Freedom</i>)
FARC	“Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia” (Spanish: <i>Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia</i>)
FNL	(Algerian) “National Liberation Front” (French: <i>Front de Libération Nationale</i>)
GPD/LD	(Chinese) General Political Department’s Liaison Department
GWOT	Global War on Terror
HUMINT	Human Intelligence
IED	Improvised Explosive Device
IDF	Israel Defence Force
IRA	Irish Republican Army
IW	Irregular War(fare)
JTJ	“Organization of Monotheism and Jihad” (Arab: Jama'at al-Tawhid wal-Jihad)
JOC	Joint Operations Concept
KGB	(Soviet Russian) “Committee for State Security” (Russian: <i>Komitet Gosudarstvennoy Bezopasnosti</i>)
KhAD	(Afghani) “State Intelligence Agency” (Pashto/Dari: <i>Khadamat-e Aetla'at-e Dawlati</i>)
KMT	(Chinese) “Kuomintang” (Chinese: <i>Nationalist Party of China</i>)
LIC	Low Intensity Conflict
LAF	Lebanese Armed Forces
LTTE	Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam
LOAC	Law of Armed Conflict
MOOTW	Military Operations Other Than War
MR	Military Revolutions
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Association

NGO	Non-governmental Organization
PLA	Chinese People’s Liberation Army
PLO	Palestinian Liberation Organization
PMESII(-PT)	Political, Military, Economic, Social, Infrastructure, (and) Information, (Physical environment, and Time) systems
QDR	(United States) Quadrennial Defense Review
RMA	Revolution in Military Affairs
SASO	Security and Stability Operations
SOF	Special Operation Forces
SOE	(British; World War II) Special Operations Executive
STRATCOM	Strategic Communications
UBL	Usama Bin Laden (Alternative spelling of Osama Bin Laden in U.S. military and intelligence reports)
UKSF	United Kingdom Special Forces
UN	United Nations
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
URW	Unrestricted Warfare
VNSA	Violent Non-State Actor
WAD	(Afghani) “Ministry of State Security” (Pashto/Dari: <i>Wizarat-i Amaniiyyat-i Dawlati</i>)
WHAM	Winning Hearts and Minds
WMD	Weapons of Mass Destruction

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And there went out a champion out of the camp of the Philistines, named Goliath . . .

And all the men of Israel, when they saw the man, fled from him, and were sore afraid . . .

And David said to Saul, Let no man's heart fail because of him; thy servant will go and fight with this Philistine . . .

And Saul armed David with his armour, and he put an helmet of brass upon his head; also he armed him with a coat of mail. And David girded his sword upon his armour... And David said unto Saul, I cannot go with these; for I have not proved them. And David put them off him. And he took his staff in his hand, and chose five smooth stones out of the brook, and put them in a shepherd's bag . . . and his sling was in his hand: and he drew near the Philistine.

And the Philistine said to David, Come to me, and I will give thy flesh unto the fowls of the air, and to the beasts of the field.

And David put his hand in his bag, and took thence a stone, and slang it, and smote the Philistine in his forehead . . . and he fell upon his face to the earth. So David prevailed over the Philistine with a sling and with a stone . . .

I. Samuel 17

1. Introduction

Understanding both change and continuity in the broad domain of international security studies is the objective of this thesis. More specifically I seek to create understanding in the developments of Hybrid Warfare, a term made popular in the past decade to study the development of the political, military, and social phenomenon that scars the XXIth century as much as it did the XXth, and will likely continue to do so. Today's war and conflict are vividly different from the wars that took place in the first half of the XXth century. I seek to understand the developments warfare has gone through in the past century from trench warfare in the 'Great War' and 'The Second World War' to a war that does not resemble a war in the today's day and age.

And yet, paradoxically I do not believe there is much new to Hybrid Warfare, most of it has always been there. Von Clausewitz, the Prussian general and military strategist, wrote, "War is more than a true chameleon that slightly adapts its characteristics to the given case"¹. Von Clausewitz explains that "war is a remarkable trinity"². The parts of the trinity (emotions, luck and strategy) form a play through the interaction of civilians (both at the receiving and supporting end), military forces on both sides, and governments, democratic or otherwise that direct the armies. Moreover, yet, war, as it was displayed in the XXIth century, has morphed into something seemingly unfamiliar. Contemporary war combines regular and irregular forces. It has become blurry and unrecognisable; some scholars and analysts have posited the emergence of a new type of war: Hybrid Warfare. While war has become increasingly complex, its essence has not changed. Again, citing Clausewitz: "war is still war, in whatever way it manifests itself"³. A question that clouds the discussion on Hybrid Warfare is the debate on whether it is a new concept or not.

Hybrid Warfare has become a broad container concept; it seems that in contemporary conflict, everything has become hybrid (and also outside of the realm of conflict hybrid appears to be a buzz word frequently used). Before the term Hybrid Warfare was introduced, these tactics were known under different monikers, such as irregular warfare, new wars, insurgent warfare, and so on. In this thesis, I have dedicated a chapter to understanding these various names and ideas and link to them other, relatable-concepts.

These concepts help us understand the blurred lines of modern warfare. "Hybrid [warfare]," writes Frank Hoffman, a senior U.S. scholar from the United States Marine Corps that I will draw from a lot in this thesis, "blend the lethality of state conflict with the fanatical and protracted fervor of irregular warfare"⁴. I follow the line of Peter R. Mansoor and Williamson Murray when they argue that hybrid war "does not change the nature of war; it merely changes the way forces engage in its conduct"⁵. To illustrate, if the label "combined arms" describes the tactical combination of troops, weaponry, firepower and support in battle then the label "Hybrid Warfare" is "useful to analyse conflicts involving regular forces and irregular forces and weapons engaged in asymmetric combat and symmetric combat".⁶

Why researching Hybrid Warfare?

This thesis seeks to illustrate the developments of Hybrid Warfare within the context of international security studies to help us better understand Hybrid Warfare. Through case examples, the developments span the previous century from the development of fourth-generation warfare (4GW) by Mao, to the contemporary conflicts that involve the western allies (NATO), Russia, China and various non-state actors. By shedding light on the developments of the past century, I believe that this study will help as well to illuminate the developments we can expect in the future.

The rationale is captured by one of the best-attended breakout sessions of the 2017 Future Force Conference organised by the Netherlands Ministry of Defence titled: “When Warfare changes, so must Defence”. The session, chaired by Steve Tatham, looked at the evolvement of Hybrid Warfare, with emphasis on the information domain and sought, like the overall conference, for solutions related to network theory and interlinked systems between the military and civilian institutions. Tatham believes that “Hybrid Warfare” is a term that became popular to describe a new kind of warfare, yet it appeared to be old goods in new packaging. It lacks a coherent and concise definition in official NATO documentation, and it seems military analysts in the West are struggling to explain what is going on, while around them actors start to show competence in hybrid tactics⁷. The discussion of whether Hybrid Warfare is new or old goods in new packaging is a recurring theme in the debates around Hybrid Warfare. I will reserve answering the question of whether Hybrid Warfare is new or not until the concluding chapter 8.

There are many definitions to be found in the literature of international security studies that describe the phenomena more or less in the same way, though with a different name: Hybrid Warfare, New Generation Warfare, 4GW and so on. To better position the development of Hybrid Warfare a better understanding of these terms is required, looking at who the spiritual fathers are of these terms and to what battles or events they refer. The failure of understanding current developments in Hybrid Warfare, at least by the West, is based on the Western way of looking at war and peace, argues Tatham. It is inherently binary – either we are at war, which is not peace, or we are at peace, which is not war⁸. Meanwhile, Hybrid Warfare requires us to look at it differently. Not war, not peace, but something that exists in between.

Why is it relevant?

Research only matters if it contributes to our academic thinking and if it is relevant for society. This study has academic as well as societal and practical relevance. First, it maps the academic debates on Hybrid Warfare under all its guises and different names (for example Hoffman’s Hybrid Warfare, Hammes’ 4th Generation Warfare, the more recent Gray Zone debate, the Dunlap-Kittrie Lawfare debate and so on. It is difficult to pin point specific debates or hard lines of opposition within Hybrid Warfare, with most scholars pondering about the question: What is it exactly? Mark Galeotti is one of the few scholars who firmly takes a position by looking at what it is not. This thesis and the research I aim to build upon it in the future helps

academics in the field of international security studies to better understand how hybrid war was, and is, and will be conducted.

Besides the academic relevance, the results from this study will also be directly relevant to military policy and practice. Defence policymakers and military personnel will be provided with an insight into the developments of warfare. They will also acquire knowledge of the various fields in which hybrid threats⁹ emerge, and how they can be engaged without military means. This knowledge is increasingly important as many operations have less and less kinetic elements involved.

Last, but not least, it is attractive to both military and civilian students of warfare, as it provides insight into the challenges of present-day military and non-military threats. Often Hybrid Warfare has been linked to guerrilla warriors and rebels, but only recently has it focused on war between states, in particular in the conflict on the Atlantic continents.

¹ Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, ed. and trans. Michael Howard and Peter Paret (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), 89 originally published as *Vom Kriege*, 1832.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid. as cited in Peter R. Mansoor, "Introduction: Hybrid Warfare in History," in *Hybrid Warfare: Fighting Complex Opponents from the Ancient World to the Present*, ed. Williamson Murray and Peter R. Mansoor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 1.

⁴ Frank G. Hoffman, "'Hybrid Threats': Neither Omnipotent nor Unbeatable," *Orbis* 54, no. 3 (2010): 5.

⁵ Mansoor, "Introduction: Hybrid Warfare in History," 3.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Steve Tatham, "When Warfare Changes, so Must Defence: Exploring Hybrid Threats & StratCom" (The Hague: Symposium conducted at the Future Force Conference organized by the Netherlands Ministry of Defense, 2017).

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Military institutions have adopted the term hybrid threats to avoid the connotation with war, in this thesis I use the term hybrid threat and hybrid war interchangeable.

Part I

2. The Method of Studying Developments in Hybrid Warfare

2.1 Research question

In this research, I argue that Hybrid Warfare has seen ongoing development and that as both a consequence and a prerequisite our thinking about Hybrid Warfare has also developed over time. The goal of this research is to show these developments with historical illustrations between 1924 and today. These illustrations consist of historical events; specific battles in which new tactics were used, the reaction to these battles, developments in technology, developments in international (humanitarian) law and policy. I assume there is a reciprocity between the development of Hybrid Warfare and these events, and seek to display this interaction. The examples used are not all-encompassing, and there may well be other explanations for the rise of Hybrid Warfare. Nevertheless, I aim to provide the most significant and illustrative developments.

The main question in this thesis is:

What has been the development of Hybrid Warfare over the past century?

For each of the four actors identified (Non-State Actors, China, Russia, U.S. and its allies) The following sub-questions operationalise the main question:

- *What have been the changes in military thinking over the past century?*
- *What have been the changes in military practice?*
- *How have military thinking and practice interacted with or influenced each other, and how have they interacted with or influenced the development of Hybrid Warfare?*
- *What have been the major determinants of the changes in Hybrid Warfare and why?*

To be able to answer the main and sub-questions and to test the hypothesis, I analyse academic literature and policy documents on Hybrid Warfare and related subjects of international security studies, seeking answers to questions such as: What developments do these show? Which actors/states are involved in furthering the development of Hybrid Warfare? Who are the '*auctores intellectualis*' of Hybrid Warfare furthering the (academic) debate? I do not exclude that a person is both the spiritual father of a contribution to the academic debate as well as a military practitioner – the so-called "warrior scholar". I will also seek to explain how Hybrid Warfare went from a guerrilla tactic mainly associated with rebels and insurgents to a tool employed by states and large non-state actors, in particular, those part of the global Jihad such as the Islamic State (IS), Hezbollah or al-Qaida. By doing so, I will create a narrative of the development of Hybrid Warfare, illustrating them with case examples of both theory and practice.

2.2 Methodology

The original inspiration for the methodology of this research was an earlier thesis by Lisa Jacobs (no relation), a former CICAM Student who used the work of Nina Tannenwald on a

change in thinking about Nuclear Weaponry to investigate a change in thinking on the Responsibility to Protect motive for intervention. For me, this was an eye-opening in the uses of process-tracing in studying social developments related to war and peace. In this paragraph, I explain how I use process-tracing as the basis of this research.

Nina Tannenwald sets out a clear argument on how the changing (public) opinion influenced a move from using nuclear weapons to a taboo. I am doing the reverse, with something that was considered a taboo in the past, that has become the new 'normal'. Consider for the example of guerrilla warfare – I will illustrate at a later point the various connections between guerrilla warfare and Hybrid Warfare – of which the element of surprise is the essential feature. Though guerrilla fighters were once repugnant to officers and 'gentlemen', guerrilla warfare has evolved and for long been regarded as a legitimate form of combat¹. Just as guerrilla warfare developed into the new normal, so do other hybrid tactics appear to become the new normal.

2.2.1 Systematic examination through Process-Tracing

Process-tracing is "the systematic examination of diagnostic evidence selected and analysed in light of research questions and hypotheses posed by the investigator"². I build forward on the work of David Collier, Derek Beach and Rasmus Bren Pedersen, Jackson, Peirce and Chekel³. Collier's explanation of process-tracing captures best what I seek to achieve with Process-Tracing: "[Process Tracing is an analytic tool for drawing descriptive and causal inferences from diagnostic pieces of evidence— often understood as part of a temporal sequence of events or phenomena]"⁴. In practice, it means that I have examined histories, historical accounts, transcripts, official and unofficial documents and other sources to see "whether the causal process a theory hypothesizes or implies in a case is, in fact, evident in the sequence and values of the intervening variables in that case."⁵

To understand the cognitive and practical development of Hybrid Warfare, and to create an understanding of the underlying interaction between military thinking and practice, defining and understanding the causal mechanisms becomes a necessity. For it is these mechanisms that have caused the developments in the narrative I am developing. Military thinking and military practice go hand in hand. New insights lead to new tactics, and new experiences lead to new thinking. I assume this also applies to the development of Hybrid Warfare. The causal relation between them is captured in figure 1. By studying causal mechanisms, I enable myself to argue for inferences in the process.

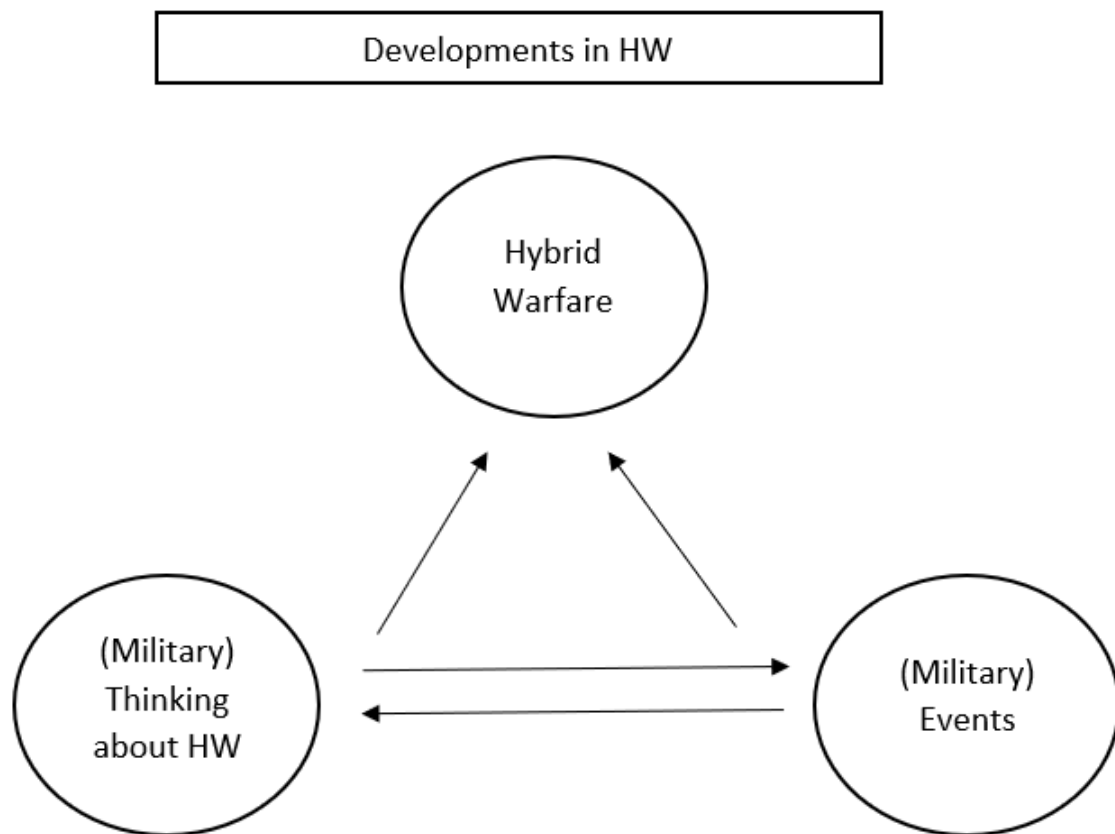


Figure 1: Assumed relation between the development of Hybrid Warfare, thinking about Hybrid Warfare and military events

The above images visualize the assumed relations between Theory and Practice, influencing each other, and both influenced the development of Hybrid Warfare. Beach and Pedersen argue that such mechanisms can be studied with process-tracing quite well. However, they also argue that a large part the literature on process-tracing is vague about the type of causal mechanisms being traced⁶. To compensate for the haziness, they propose three defined methods: (1) theory-testing; (2) theory-building; and (3) explaining outcome.

Beach and Brun Pedersen who argue that the “bifurcation into case- and theory-centric variants of process tracing, as depicted in figure 2, capture a core ontological and epistemological divide within the social sciences”⁷. On the left, the theory centric approaches capture an understanding of the social world that we can split up and study empirically⁸. Within theory-centric studies, the casual mechanisms, whether we test its functionality or build one anew between phenomena X and Y, are to be understood as systematic factors. As such, they can be generalised across cases⁹. The causal mechanisms are parsimonious and relatively straightforward pathways between X and Y.

On the right side of the figure below are the case-centric process tracing methods, which operates with a different ontological understanding. Jackson describes a monist ontology implying that rather than looking for a law-like generalisation in the first two methods, (if X, then Y), an instrumentalist form should be adopted which accounts for outcomes in particular cases. He argues that “the objects of scientific investigation are not inert and meaningless

entities that impress themselves on our (natural or augmented) senses or, on our theory-informed awareness”¹⁰.

While Jackson’s description is not the only path to the case-centric position, researchers using case-centric methods agree that the “social world is very complex, multi-factored, and extremely context-specific”¹¹. This complexity places explaining-outcome-process-tracing in juxtaposition with the theory centric variants, as it is difficult, if not impossible to live up to process-tracing’s ambition to produce knowledge applicable generally across multiple cases.

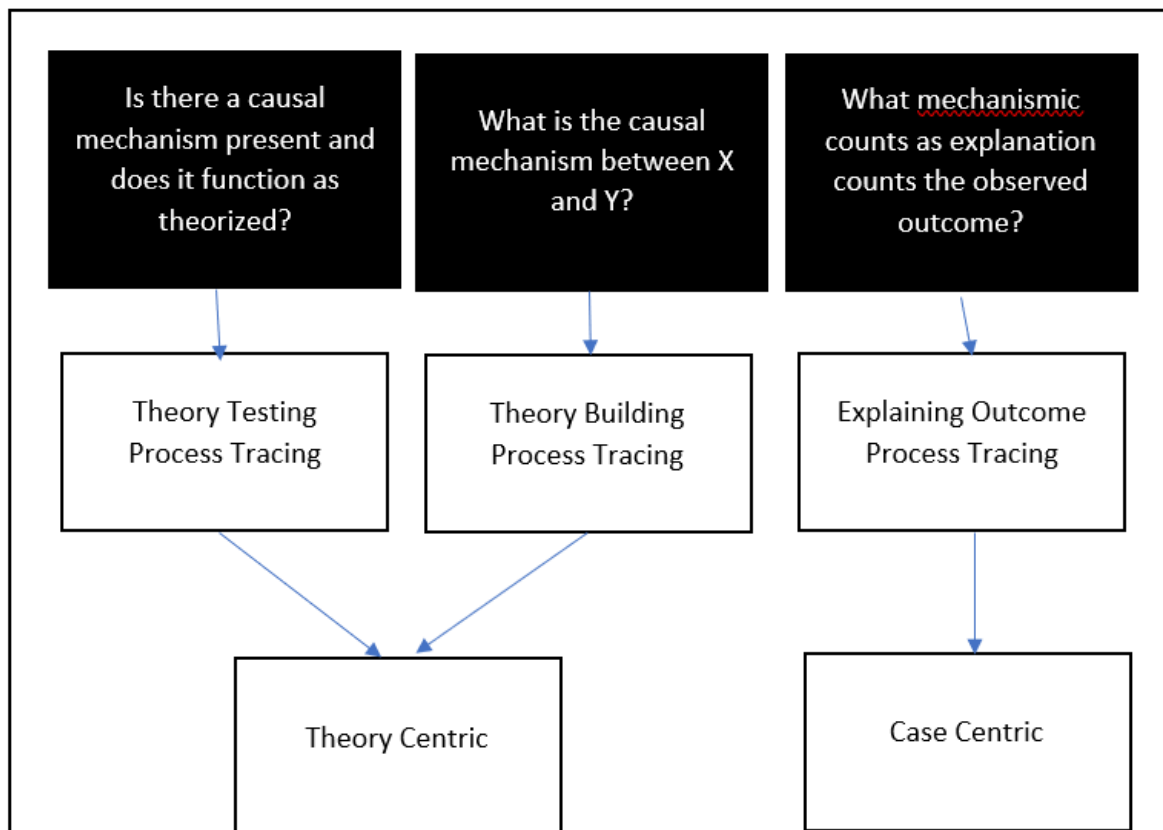


Figure 2: Three different uses of process-tracing methods¹²

In the core function, each of the three variants shares several commonalities. Each, for example, shares the goal of studying causal mechanisms.

Applying the differentiation to my research, it becomes clear that the Explaining Outcome process tracing variant applies best. The alternative two tracing methods are theory centric, which is not suitable as there is no theory of Hybrid Warfare present to test. Nor do I have the time and resources within the scope of this thesis to build a theory to explain Hybrid Warfare – it would be too complex and lengthy to fit within the scope of this thesis.

While existing prescriptions for process-tracing speak almost exclusively about what we understand as the theory-centric variants, what most scholars are using, consciously or unconsciously is explaining-outcome process-tracing. “[Explaining-outcome] process-tracing can be understood as a single-outcome study”. It seeks to define “causes of a specific outcome in a specific single case”¹³.

For this investigation in Hybrid Warfare, it seeks to use the explaining-outcome process-tracing method to find out the interaction between theory and practice, as well as the various actors involved (both theorists and practitioners or both). As such, I am looking for the mechanisms that help us understand and explain the developments of Hybrid Warfare.

Beach and Pedersen disaggregate two paths that can be used for process-tracing: a deductive path and an inductive path, as captured in figure 3. Rather than splitting the mechanism into parts, it shows the complexity of an overlapping, conglomerate mechanism. I follow Beach and Pedersen's suggestion to use the inductive path, which is best suited for little-studied outcomes¹⁴. The inductive path is bottom-up, using empirical material ('facts' of the case, or the empirical narrative) as the basis to come to an explanation of the outcome. In this thesis, most of the empirical material is gained from literature research.

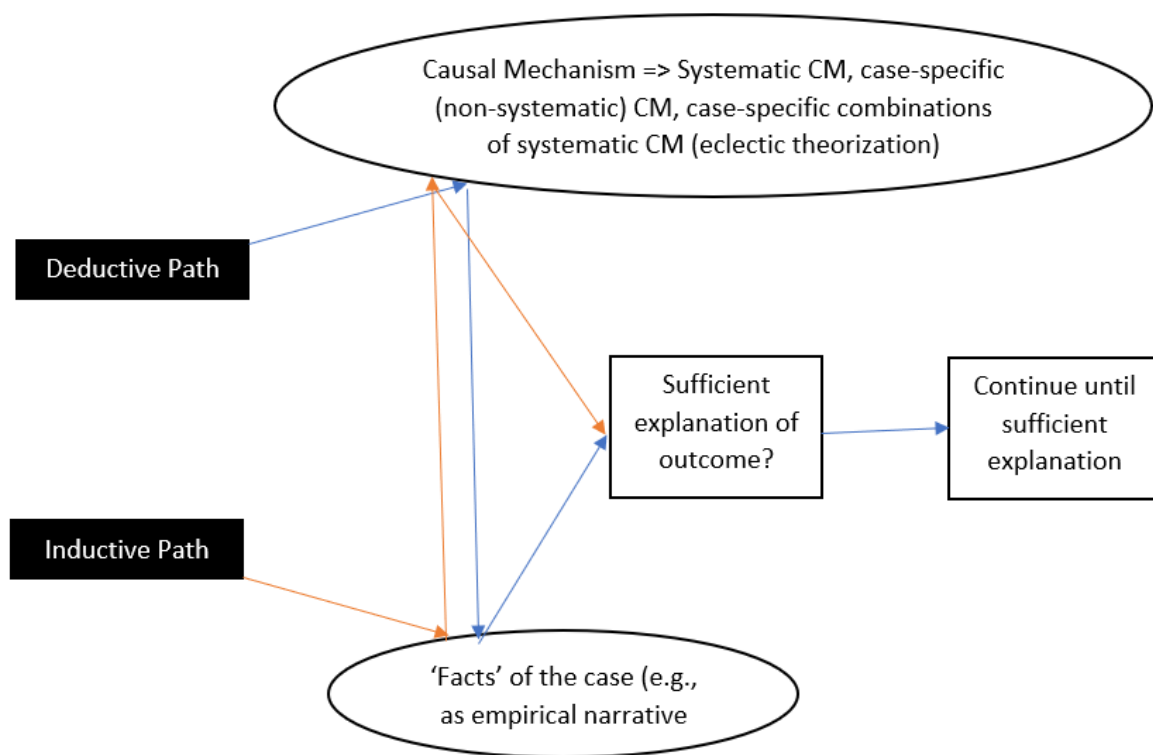


Figure 3: Explaining outcome-process tracing¹⁵

2.2.2 Explaining Outcome Process Tracing in this research

As defined above, process-tracing studies, and this also applies to this thesis, sometimes closely resemble historical scholarship. Even so, Beach and Pedersen still regard it as social science research as “the ultimate explanation usually involves more generalised theoretical claims than historians feel comfortable with”¹⁶.

To detect the changes in military theory and practice, I start with literature research to establish the historical narrative on military thinking related to Hybrid Warfare. I use the work of Williamson Murray and Peter R. Mansoor as a starting point, which presents a historical overview of Hybrid Warfare going back to Thucydides¹⁷. From there, I will fill in certain gaps

that still could be observed in their work. Filling the gaps constructs a more detailed timeline of the development. With a complete timeline, I then select which developments are relevant for this thesis, and which would have been nice to mention for specific case research but can be ignored in the painting of broader strokes.

Checkel gives practical advice to bring structure to my research. He argues for to use a 'branch and building strategy', which means that preliminary results (be it from literature, informal talks or lecture addresses) serve to restructure the questions for future research¹⁸. I started with a fairly extensive research guide, but as the study progressed, I was able to refocus knowing better where the focus had to be. Additionally, I also used Beach and Pedersen's practical advice based on their three-step method linked to deductive and inductive paths (see Figure 3). Using a simplified version of eclectic theorization (often termed problem-orientated research), I repeated the process of the inductive path until a given development was sufficiently explained. At times it did occur that a certain historic mechanism had to be revisited by new insight generated elsewhere – this occurred in particular in making sense of the Russian developments of Hybrid Warfare.

2.3 Data collection

In contrast to Tannenwald, I was limited in my access to "specific conversations among high-level decision-makers", though to my surprise, I managed to get close at times. I had interviews and informal talks with respondents who were either close to or even influenced military thinking either through their academic (theory) or field (practice) experience. Subsequently, their expertise and anecdotal stories brought forward new insights into my research. Additionally, several respondents also provided me with additional articles and reports regarding Hybrid Warfare or suggested places to visit or potential other respondents to speak with. This approach could be characterised as a type of purposive 'snowball sampling'¹⁹. For each new input, be it from literature, newspapers or the respondent's stories, I followed Checkel's advice on cross-checking²⁰. The triangulation of sources improved the validity of my research.

Combining snowball sampling with process tracing allowed for the creation of a bulk of data. The data used is largely literature combined with news articles to illustrate developments. Added to these are the inputs, often under the Chatham House rule²¹ is information gained at various related conferences, interviews and informal talks. The respondents of the interviews and informal talks can be found in appendix I. The starting point for this research was the 2006 text by Hoffman on Hezbollah²² and the book *Unrestricted Warfare* by Qiao and Wang²³. A round of inquiries at the Netherlands Defense Academy led to a copy of the proceedings of John Hopkin's *Unrestricted Warfare Symposium*²⁴ and the historical analysis by Murray and Mansoor²⁵. These four works laid the foundation of an overview of the developments of Hybrid Warfare. The second-degree sources from their works were used to slowly fill the gaps, while the interviews were mainly used to either verify the timeline or fill in gaps. This process is captured in the inductive path in figure 3.

2.4 Scope of this research

Hybrid Warfare is a complex and wide comprehensive subject. As a container notion, it has been used to describe a plethora of different phenomena (which I will dissect in chapter 3). To make a strong argument, I found it to be necessary to put limitations on my research, which result from my limitations in resources and time. These scope conditions have defined what I did research, and more importantly, what I did not.

This research deals with the development of Hybrid Warfare as part of the development of the field of international security studies. While the term of Hybrid Warfare is quite recent, it can be placed in a long line of development going back to the military classics of Thucydides and Sun Tzu. To keep the research manageable and relevant for its current policy and academic purposes and to answer my main question, I have limited the coverage of developments studied from the inception of the so-called fourth-generation-warfare (4GW) by Mao Tsu Tung onwards, which coincides more or less the past century. Within this period, most emphasis will be placed on the last three decades. As a selection was made of various historical examples, a decision had to be made which examples to highlight in favour of others. This selection was based on the triangulation, as suggested by Chekel. If a case or specific event was drawn up in multiple, unrelated sources, I included it – while events mentioned once or difficult to verify were not. At times in this thesis, I have suggested a possible connection, including a note that I was not able to verify this connection. I do not mean to say that other developments were minor or unimportant, but only that I could not cover all of them in the same level of detail.

I discuss the development of Winning Hearts and Minds (WHAM), a returning theme in Hybrid Warfare from Che Guevara's Guerrilla and Mao's 'Eight Points' (see chapter four and five), to information warfare (see chapter six) and counter-insurgency (see chapter 7). I also discuss the development of (Chinese) unrestricted warfare and their use of lawfare – which I cannot discuss without also touching upon Kosovo and the Israel-Palestine conflict. With regards to a historical narrative, I study one strand in the tapestry in particular, which in short goes as follows: Mao's influence on Giap, which in turn relates to the first and second Vietnam wars. Both wars left an impression on Western interventionists (France and the U.S. respectively) which is reflected in military engagements at the end of the XXth century. In turn, these influenced the development of unrestricted warfare (perceiving the West's air power as a superior military opponent), which led to the unconventional conflicts in the first decade of the XXIth century. Within this main strand, I will occasionally branch off to individual cases, which I believe in having influenced the larger narrative.

2.5 Structure of the thesis

Having explained the methodology of my study, I will now account for the structure of the thesis. In the third chapter, I will give an overview of the theoretical background of the research. In this chapter, I seek to explain the differences between the various monikers of Hybrid Warfare and prove that Lawrence's soup while eating with a knife is still messy, is not as blurry as it originally seemed. Within the soup, certain elements can be distinguished – meatballs, vermicelli, vegetables, and so on if you will. Additionally, I will zoom in on the various actors conducting Hybrid Warfare, who will make return appearances in the case

examples. Thirdly this chapter covers (theoretical) elements that are indirectly related to Hybrid Warfare and as such, deserve some attention for us to understand views on Hybrid Warfare. Chapters four, five, six and seven are covering the developments of Hybrid Warfare. I have split them up according to four major developments: Rebel insurgency and guerrilla, Unrestricted Warfare (UW), Information Warfare (IW) and Counter-Insurgency (COIN) and the response to Hybrid Warfare.

Each of these four corresponds to one of the four types of actors identified – but by no means do they possess a monopoly over a certain hybrid tactic. Despite this it were not the state actors who had the most influence on the development of insurgency and guerrilla tactics (chapter four). That the development of unrestricted warfare was strongly influenced by Chinese thinking (chapter five), and that the Russian Federation has mastered deception and misinformation (chapter six), and that the U.S. and her allies made the most ground on counter-insurgency. They played a more reactive role in Hybrid Warfare, whereas the other three actors took the initiative originally. Finally, in chapter eight, I return to the questions posed at the beginning of chapter two, using the conclusions of each of preceding five chapters to provide an answer to the main and sub-questions, as well as give recommendations for further research.

¹ See for a deeper discussion of Guerrilla War and Just War Michael Walzer, “Guerrilla War,” in *Just and Unjust Wars, a Moral Argument with Historical Illustrations*, 5th ed. (New York: Basic Books, 2015), 176–96.

² David Collier, “Understanding Process Tracing,” *Political Science and Politics* 44, no. 4 (2011): 832.

³ Collier, “Understanding Process Tracing”; Derek Beach and Rasmus Brun Pedersen, *Process-Tracing Methods: Foundations and Guidelines* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2013); Sherri L. Jackson, *Research Methods and Statistics: A Critical Thinking Approach* (Boston: Cengage Learning, 2011); Charles S. Peirce, *Philosophical Writings of Peirce*, ed. Buchler Justus (New York: Dover, 1955); Jeffrey T. Checkel, “Process Tracing,” in *Qualitative Methods in International Relations: A Pluralist Guide*, ed. A. Klotz and D. Prakash (Basingstok: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

⁴ Collier, “Understanding Process Tracing,” 833.

⁵ Alexander L. George and Andrew Bennett, *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), 6.

⁶ Beach and Pedersen, *Process-Tracing Methods: Foundations and Guidelines*.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁸ Jackson, *Research Methods and Statistics: A Critical Thinking Approach*.

⁹ Tulia G. Falletti and Julia F. Lynch, “Context and Causal Mechanisms in Political Analysis,” *Comparative Political Studies* 42, no. 9 (2009): 1143–66.

¹⁰ Jackson, *Research Methods and Statistics: A Critical Thinking Approach*, 114.

¹¹ Beach and Pedersen, *Process-Tracing Methods: Foundations and Guidelines*, 13.

¹² Beach and Pedersen, *Process-Tracing Methods: Foundations and Guidelines*, 13.

¹³ John Gerring, *Case Study Research: Principles and Practices* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 1.

¹⁴ Beach and Pedersen, *Process-Tracing Methods: Foundations and Guidelines*, 20.

¹⁵ Beach and Pedersen, *Process-Tracing Methods: Foundations and Guidelines*, 20.

¹⁶ Beach and Pedersen, *Process-Tracing Methods: Foundations and Guidelines*, 19.

¹⁷ Williamson Murray, “The American Revolution: Hybrid War in America’s Past,” in *Hybrid Warfare: Fighting Complex Opponents from the Ancient World to the Present*, ed. Williamson Murray and Peter R. Mansoor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 72–103.

¹⁸ Checkel, “Process Tracing.”

¹⁹ Patrick Biernacki and Dan Waldorf, “Snowball Sampling,” *Sociological Methods and Research* 10, no. 2 (1981): 141–63; B.H. Erickson, “Some Problems of Inference from Chain Data,” in *Sociological Methodology*, ed. Karl F. Schuessler (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publisher, 1979), 276–302.

²⁰ Checkel, “Process Tracing,” 119.

²¹ When a meeting, or part thereof, is held under the Chatham House Rule, participants are free to use the information received, but neither the identity nor the affiliation of the speaker(s), nor that of any other participant, may be revealed.

²² Frank G. Hoffman, "Lessons from Lebanon: Hezbollah and Hybrid Wars," *Foreign Policy Research Institute*, August 2, 2006.

²³ Laing Qiao and Xiangsui Wang, *Unrestricted Warfare*, trans. Foreign Broadcast Information Service (Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), 1999).

²⁴ Ronald R. Luman, ed., *Unrestricted Warfare Symposium 2006, Proceedings on Strategy, Analysis, and Technology* (Laurel: John Hopkins University Applied Physics Laboratory, 2006).

²⁵ Williamson Murray and Peter R. Mansoor, eds., *Hybrid Warfare: Fighting Complex Opponents from the Ancient World to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

3. A Conceptual Overview of Hybrid Warfare's Meaning, Variety and Power

Hybrid Warfare has become a popular label to describe contemporary warfare and its tactics have become a prevalent tool of statecraft and war. The reasons for this development include the increased number and reach of non-state actors, the development technology, the advance of globalisation and thus interdependence, and a different mindset towards war. At the same time, it is becoming increasingly popular as a buzzword and term – or in fact, it has done so in three separate surges. The following are four recent illustrative examples where the term “Hybrid Warfare” was used, though they do not necessarily describe the same phenomena.

- July 2006, On an early morning anti-Israel fighters from Hezbollah fired rockets at Zar'it, an Israeli border town. The installation used, a Katyusha rocket launcher is nicknamed Stalin's Organ. It causes a terrifying sound which makes for a psychological warfare aspect. The use of the Katyusha rocket launcher was not the main attack, but rather a diversion. Following the rocket barrage,, two armoured humvees were taken out with an anti-tank missile – a type of missile, as the name suggests, not designed to fire at humvees, but nevertheless just as effective.¹ Following the so-called *Zar'it-Shtula* incident, Israel and Hezbollah engaged in a war for one month known as the Second Lebanon War². Hezbollah applied guerrilla tactics to fight the Israeli Defence Forces. The Hezbollah fighters took position in easy to defend places (the original attack on the Humvee came from a fortified bunker just below the patrol rack), often within the city. From there they would strike with raiding groups. The insurgents were highly trained and had access to equipment one would expect from a regular army. Some had Israeli uniforms and equipment. Military personnel of the IDF observed: Hezbollah “fighters were nothing like Hamas or the Palestinians. They are trained and highly qualified. All of us were kind of surprised”.³
- In 1996 the president The People's Republic of China (PRC), Jiang Zemi, told a group of experts on international law, “we must [become] adept at using international law as a weapon”⁴. In the two decades following, the PRC has adopted law as a political strategy and systemically waged it against the United States and other potential adversaries, with the current pinnacle in the South Chinese Sea dispute. Dubbed lawfare by U.S.AF Maj. Gen. (ret.) Charles J. Dunlap, China has adopted this tool to complement its doctrine in maritime, aviation, space, cyber and other arenas⁵. “China has”, according to two U.S. Navy attorneys, “recently begun to engage in resourceful legal warfare, or ‘lawfare’ strategy to deny access to its coastal seas to warships and aircraft of the United States, Japan, and other countries in the region.”⁶ An innovative, and perhaps more effective type of anti-access/area denial (A2AD), as argued by Raul Pedrozo, U.S. Naval War College professor, called this part of “China's ongoing lawfare strategy to misstate or misapply international legal norms to accommodate its anti-access strategy”⁷.
- When in 2014, Russia invaded Donetsk and Crimea, Ukraine and its western allies were unsure how to react. What started out as protests as part of the Euromaidan movement, turned into a form of warfare that was considered new, or at least unknown to this part of the world. A senior monitoring journalist and specialist in the former Soviet Union by the name of Vitaliy Shevchenko wrote in March 2014 that there was no shortage of proof suggesting the armed men in Crimea were, in fact, Russian soldiers⁸. President Vladimir Putin kept on insisting these

were self-organized defence groups⁹. Until December 2015, when he admitted a form of compound warfare was used, admitting Russian military intelligence officers were operating in the country¹⁰.

- Herbert Raymond McMaster returned to Iraq slightly more than a decade after his near-legendary tank battle with the Republican Guard tank during the Gulf War, leaving the Republican Guard decimated while not sustaining casualties himself (a great feat in asymmetric warfare in itself). Quickly he realized that the war he waged against Saddam Hussein in 1991 were no longer the standard *modus operandi*. The Gulf War had been a different sort of war. Drawing on classic counterinsurgency (COIN) tactics McMaster sought to “clear, hold, build.” Clearing and holding went well enough. “Every time you treat an Iraqi disrespectfully, you are working for the enemy,” he instructed. “Trust yields intelligence, and intelligence saves lives. Building was another challenge entirely. McMaster worked to restore basic services, stood up a local security force and encouraged municipal workers to return by paying their wages”¹¹, he told the troops under his command. He shifted focus from protecting soldiers in armoured vehicles to protect civilians. Dismounted patrols and engaging with the local population in a friendly matter become the new norm. In addition, nightly raids were limited to the bare minimum, as to not unnecessarily agitate civilians, and similarly efforts were taken to avoid collateral damage.

In recognition of the increase in hybrid tactics, Hofmann, then a Lt-Colonel in the U.S.MC reserves, in the summer of 2006, following the *Zar’it-Shtula* incident described in the first example, introduced the term “Hybrid Warfare” into the mainstream military and international security studies literature¹². In these early years of hybrid warfare entering the academic debate, the U.S. had only shown rare appreciation of the concept, despite the term being popularised by a U.S. military official and a small group, later known as the COINdinistas, developing the thought further.

No such things exist as a Hybrid Warfare strategy or doctrine. Nor has there been interagency mechanisms that develop or coordinates U.S. offensive Hybrid Warfare or U.S defences against Hybrid Warfare systematically. The lack of such a mechanic is not to say there is no thought dedicated to Hybrid Warfare or ideas of hybrid defence or hybrid governance.

In contrast, the China has developed a major element in its doctrine, coined “Unrestricted Warfare” in 1998¹³. Also, the Russian Federation has used hybrid tactics as a preeminent weapon in its recent conflicts in Chechnya (1994 and 1999), Georgia (2008) and more recently, Ukraine (2014). Similarly, Hybrid Warfare and its tactics can be traced back primarily to non-state actors, of which contemporary Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan and Daesh in Syria have displayed an affinity with its tactics.

It is a misconception that Western states are not using Hybrid Warfare. Political and psychological warfare has strong roots within the western strategic mindset. However, in the West a dreadful missed opportunity that we now bear the brunt of. Hybrid Warfare is not going to entirely or even largely replace traditional, kinetic warfare (“shooting warfare”)¹⁴. There appears to be a shift. Where in earlier case studies I find hybrid tactics to involve three parts kinetic, and one part other tactics as a supplement, while more modern Hybrid Warfare has an increased non-kinetic element, slowly moving the division to one part kinetic and three parts other tactics, making the kinetic element the auxiliary element.

In this chapter, I seek to position the origins and various definitions of Hybrid Warfare and its many monikers. Consequently, this chapter also serves as a readers guide to the other chapters in which these concepts will be explained in more detail. Finally, the chapter covers concepts and elements closely related to Hybrid Warfare, but due to scope limitations are not given a chapter on their own, but deserve to be highlighted. These are the concepts “generations in warfare”, the revolution in military affairs (RMA), the concept of Winning Hearts and Minds (WHAM) and finally the apparent trend towards kinder weapons, all of which I will explain in this chapter.

3.1 The Origins of Hybrid Warfare

3.1.1 Contemporary Definitions

Contemporary Hybrid Warfare is most often used to describe Russian tactics in their so-called ‘near abroad’¹⁵. The current term “Hybrid Warfare” originates in the work of Hoffman, both the concept and the term pre-existed Hoffman’s work. The term itself originates from a 1998 thesis by Robert G. Walker who wrote on special operations conducted by the U.S. Marines.¹⁶

Colin Gray argues that modern warfare and future warfare, in essence, are more of the same¹⁷. While hybrid threats “blend the lethality of state conflict with the fanatical and protracted fervor of irregular warfare”¹⁸, the nature of war remains unchanged. Rather recent developments have altered how we conduct war. However, it is conducted, Gray argues, war remains simply that: war.

Hybrid Warfare or elements thereof have been part of war throughout the ages. Murray and Mansoor illustrate this in their 2012 book. They have gathered a plethora of historical cases involving elements of Hybrid Warfare *avant la lettre* ¹⁹, but there are many other historical cases to draw from to illustrate this point²⁰. These cases are examples of asymmetric and irregular warfare. More so than the Hybrid Warfare we experience today, in general, the concept of asymmetric or irregular warfare is not new. I purposely started this document with the bible verse describing how Goliath was defeated by the (apparent) much weaker David. Throughout history, there are many examples of the strong loosing from the weak, and we all like a good underdog story²¹. As strong as a large adversary may be, there is always a weakness. Hybrid Warfare, then, is all about exploiting that weakness – while at the same time this is one of the fundamental principles of “*The Art of War*”.

Nevertheless, the case of the Peninsular War (1807-1804), one of the examples Murray and Mansoor draw upon is the case of a weaker Spain being able to defeat the stronger France. For this research, it is an interesting case as the word ‘*Guerrilla*’ derives from this conflict²². The introduction of the word guerilla is perhaps the first time a new label was used to describe irregular warfare the term ‘*Asymmetric Warfare*’ in turn came to the fore in 1995²³. While technically both guerrilla warfare and asymmetrical warfare are part of the overarching irregular warfare I will, for simplicity’s sake, continue using both monikers interchangeably. While the creation of a new term to define an old concept may not prove very valuable, it may help us to gain insight into our thinking about war and in extension gain insight into our thinking about Hybrid Warfare.

It is useful to compare the contemporary definitions with historical examples to help us gain a better idea of the term we are discussing. Now retired. Lieutenant Colonel Frank G. Hoffman remains one of the main authors on the subject, having added much to the debate in the past decade. He originally defined hybrid wars in the modern usage as:

“Hybrid wars incorporate a range of different modes of warfare, including conventional capabilities, irregular tactics and formations, terrorist acts including indiscriminate violence and coercion, and criminal disorder.”²⁴

Hoffman reacted to the Second Lebanon War example mentioned at the start of this chapter. Noting that by

“[m]ixing an organized political movement with decentralized armed cells employing adaptive tactics in ungoverned zones, Hezbollah affirms an emerging trend. Highly disciplined, well trained, distributed cells can contest modern conventional forces with an admixture of guerrilla tactics and technology in densely packed urban centres. Hezbollah’s use of C802 anti-ship cruise missiles and volleys of rockets represents another advance into what some are calling ‘Hybrid Warfare’.”²⁵

The term Hybrid Warfare has much vagueness around it, despite the relative fresh sound of it. Analytically speaking, the term has limited utility. “Hybrid” in Hybrid Warfare means the combination of one or more previously defined types of warfare, just as hybrid in hybrid fuel means the combination of one or more previously defined types of fuel. While it can be useful to think beyond contemporary definitions, using the term Hybrid Warfare for everything that appears new in modern warfare is inherently imprecise.

To clear up this misunderstanding, Hoffman, in an article with the title “not-so-new warfare,” refined his definition to:

“Hybrid threats are any adversary that simultaneously employs a tailored mix of conventional weapons, irregular tactics, terrorism, and criminal behavior in the same time and battlespace to obtain their political objectives.”²⁶

Murray and Mansoor similarly describe Hybrid Warfare:

“Hybrid Warfare is conflict involving a combination of conventional military forces and irregulars (guerrillas, insurgents, and terrorists), which could include both state and non-state actors, aimed at achieving a common political purpose.”²⁷

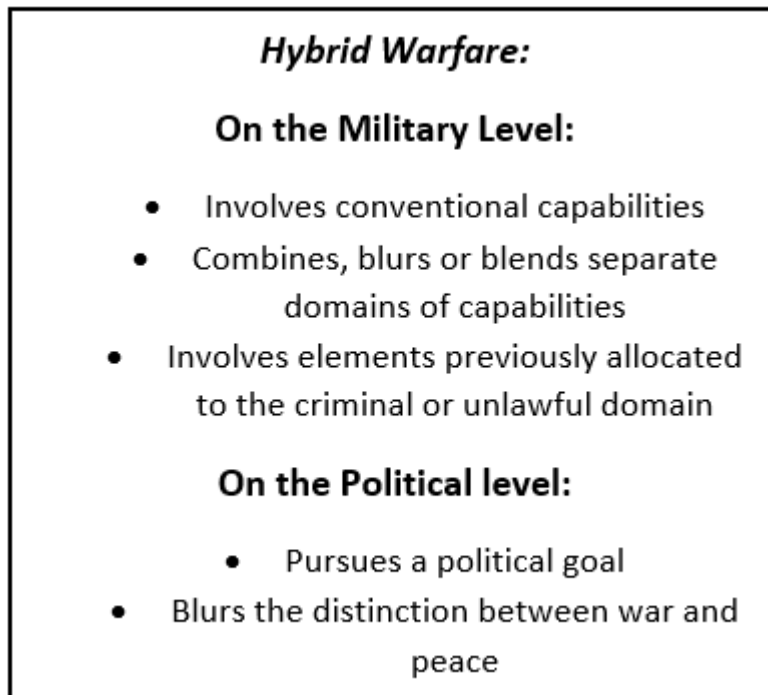
Hoffman shifts from Hybrid wars to Hybrid threats. While Hoffman does not specify his choice of semantics, I upheld the idea that they can be used interchangeably within the context of this research.

Nadia Schadow writes:

“Hybrid Warfare is a term that sought to capture the blurring and blending of previously separate categories of conflict. It uses a blend of military, economic, diplomatic, criminal, and informational means to achieve desired political goals”²⁸.

Former Portuguese minister of Defense, Julio Miranda Calha defines hybrid threats as:

“the use of asymmetrical tactics to probe for and exploit domestic weaknesses via non-military means, backed by the threat of conventional military means”²⁹.



Box 1: Defining elements of Hybrid Warfare

Combining the definitions from Hoffman with the one from Murray and Mansoor, and Schadow and Miranda Calha, I find recurring elements that define Hybrid Warfare: 1) it involves conventional capabilities; 2.) it combines, blurs or blends separate domains of capabilities; 3) it involves elements previously allocated to the criminal or unlawful domain; and 4) it is used to pursue political goals; and finally 5) it blurs the classic distinction between war and peace.

The classics (Sun Tzu, Machiavelli, Clausewitz) of military strategy are referring to Hybrid Warfare one way or another³⁰. Sun Tzu’s Art of War is "the most basic article" of ancient Chinese warfare, a technique rooted in swordsmanship that is called the "side-principal rule", that captures the idea of Hybrid Warfare throughout the ages quite well. The technique referred to avoid a frontal collision, but instead use means (sword) to cut into the less defended (exposed) side of the adversary, damaging your opponent, without being damaged yourself³¹.

3.1.2 Monikers of Hybrid Warfare: different name, same thing?

The United States Special Operations Command (U.S.SOC), in a discussion of “gray zone”, also points out that this topic has had many monikers within the U.S. literature. To name a few: low-intensity conflict, Small Wars (this one did lead to an excellent journal called Small Wars Journal, or SWJ), irregular warfare, asymmetric warfare and Military Operations Other Than

War (MOOTW)³². I will briefly cover each of them and equate them with Hybrid Warfare for the remainder of the document.

Gray Zone

I will adhere to the American spelling here to describe the concept of Gray Zone, which operates within the grey area (zone) of conflict. Unlike Hybrid Warfare, the concept has gained significant attention within the broader strategic studies community, and in particular in the official and unofficial documents from the U.S. government and intelligence agencies.³³

“The ‘gray wars’ concept lacks even the most basic strategic sense,” writes Adam Elkus.³⁴ While Hal Brands, more positive of the term, defines the gray zone as “Gray zone conflict is best understood as activity that is coercive and aggressive in nature, but that is deliberately designed to remain below the threshold of conventional military conflict and open interstate war.”³⁵ U.S. Military Captain John Chambers, a scholar with the Modern War Institute at West Point equates gray zone with Hybrid Warfare by using the term “gray zone hybrid threats” and illustrating the same examples of ambiguous conflict that we have already used to illustrate Hybrid Warfare³⁶. Chambers positions the gray zone as the nonphysical operational environment in which Hybrid Warfare is conducted, citing Schadlow’s description of the gray zone as “the space between peace and war is not an empty one – but a landscape churning with political, economic, and security competitions that require constant attention”³⁷.

Irregular Warfare

With the term irregular warfare, the Special Operations Command is referring to the tactics employed by Usama Bin Laden (UBL) and Al-Qaida (AQ) in Afghanistan during the U.S. invasion following 9/11³⁸. This apparent new warfare was hard to understand by U.S. policy makers and strategists as I will further explain in chapter 7. Hoffman links, as I am doing in this chapter as well, new irregular warfare to the concepts of Unrestricted Warfare (UW) and fourth-generation warfare (4GW)³⁹, both of which I will touch upon later in this chapter, as well as in chapter 5. New irregular warfare conceptualised around the time of “The Surge”. In the 2007 Joint Operation Concept (JOC) on irregular warfare the following definition is used:

“A violent struggle among state and non-state actors for legitimacy and influence over the relevant populations. [IRW] favors indirect and asymmetric approaches, though it may employ the full range of military and other capabilities, in order to erode an adversary’s power, influence, and will”.⁴⁰

Within this definition, we see elements of the earlier cited Hybrid Warfare definitions surface: conventional and unconventional, a political goal and a focus on the asymmetric and non-military means.

Furthermore, the JOC explains that irregular warfare “encompasses insurgency, counterinsurgency, terrorism, and counterterrorism, raising them above the perception that they are somehow a lesser form of conflict below the threshold of warfare”⁴¹. Irregular warfare replaces the earlier concept of low-intensity conflict (LIC). With the development of new irregular warfare, LIC’s definition became problematic. LIC categorised this type of conflict as being “below conventional war”, confined to a localised area in the “Third World”,

with a low level of violence and a constrained in weaponry it was also suggested to be limited in its objective, implying that LIC were of lesser strategic importance than conventional warfare. In contrast, new irregular warfare or Hybrid Warfare is not geographically limited, use all weaponry available and is not limited in its objective.

The JOC is an important document in understanding the development of Hybrid Warfare, as I will demonstrate further in chapter 7. For the conceptual overview, it adds a valid insight regarding the differentiation of the different levels of war.

Asymmetric Warfare

Rob de Wijk, Director of The Hague Centre for Strategic Studies (HCSS), finds that “asymmetry is the key concept for understanding Hybrid Warfare”⁴². Asymmetry or asymmetric warfare is an engagement between belligerents who differ either in military power or who use radically opposing tactics. Typically, the term is used to describe a professional standing army on one side, versus an insurgency or rebel movement on the other. Asymmetric warfare is observed in conflict when the available resources in both material and manpower between parties differ. The two adversaries “interact and attempt to exploit each other's characteristic weaknesses. Such struggles often involve strategies and tactics of unconventional warfare, the weaker combatants [trying] to use strategy to offset deficiencies in quantity or quality”.⁴³

The term is often used interchangeably with “guerrilla warfare”, “insurgency”, “terrorism”, “counter-insurgency”, and “counter-terrorism”, and not to forget of course “Hybrid Warfare”. Examples cited of asymmetric warfare often include the same as cited for Hybrid Warfare, such as the ongoing battle between Israel and Palestine, the Sri Lankan Civil War⁴⁴, the U.S. invasion of Iraq and the ongoing conflict in Syria. The differences between the terms used to describe these conflicts are often nuances. What they share in common is the conceptualization of asymmetric warfare as the ultimate of Sun Zhu’s art of war⁴⁵. Hybrid Warfare is a part of asymmetric warfare and in turn, a form of irregular warfare. The reverse does not apply as not all irregular wars are asymmetric or hybrid. The key element prevalent in Hybrid Warfare developments is the combination of tactics that are not necessarily military by nature⁴⁶, but instead militarized and applied in Hybrid Warfare.

Military Operations Other Than War

A slightly older term is the phrase and acronym Military Operations Other Than War (MOOTW). It originates from the U.S. military at the end of the XXth century. The thesis that originally introduced the term Hybrid Warfare dates from this era and as such Walker writes about MOOTWs. Walker lists these activities under one of the specialities of Special Operation Forces (SOF).

The 1995 Joint Doctrine describes MOOTWs as involving “elements of both combat and noncombat operations in peacetime, conflict, and war situations”⁴⁷. Here again, the goal is of a political nature. As such it closely matches the elements of Hybrid Warfare and it is not hard to place the development of MOOTW in the larger development trend of Hybrid Warfare.

Unrestricted Warfare

Two Chinese military officers, Qiao and Wang, coined the term 'Unrestricted Warfare' to describe a philosophical debate on various forms of unconventional warfare. They carefully explore strategies that militarily and politically disadvantaged nations might take in order to successfully attack a geopolitical stronger adversary (such as the United States)⁴⁸. Whereas previously, these forms of warfare were limited to rebel insurgencies, Hybrid Warfare is now taken up to fight states at the geopolitical level⁴⁹. I will delve further in Unrestricted Warfare in chapter 4.

Small Wars

The terms Small Wars or Micro Wars refer to the proxy wars that dot the XXIth century map but are at the same time unquestionably connected. Colonel Benoit Durieux argues for the term micro wars to describe the “development of a broader crisis in which local political, social, and military factors outweigh the factors that determine this larger conflict and give to a local confrontation a certain autonomy”⁵⁰. He refers to the work of Qiao and Wang by showing that in micro wars, the military aspect of conflict becomes secondary or only part of the much bigger picture⁵¹.

New Generation Warfare / Non-Linear Warfare

The emphasises on a combination of different tactics, irregular warfare, and political subversion – thus omitting the conjunction with a conventional aspect that is part of its western counterpart is common within Russian strategic doctrines. These tactics are, among others, described in the 2015 military doctrine⁵² and the 2015 national security strategy⁵³. A core element in both the Russian state-building process and its military tactics throughout the centuries is deception, *maskirovka* in Russian. Concepts of deception draw on the making of the Russian state and subsequently Russian military thinking.

As Jānis Bērziņš writes, “The Russians have placed the idea of influence at the very centre of their operational planning and used all possible levers to achieve this: the skilful internal communications; deception operations; psychological operations and well-constructed external communications”⁵⁴.

Incorrectly, Hybrid Warfare is used to describe the ‘New Generation Warfare’ doctrine articulated by General Valery Vasilyevich Gerasimov⁵⁵. Within the Russian lens, it may also be referred to as Non-Linear War⁵⁶. In this non-linear means without the normal lines of communication found in a regular hierarchical organized army.

Gerasimov writes (translated):

“The very “rules of war” have changed. The role of nonmilitary means of achieving political and strategic goals has grown, and, in many cases, they have exceeded the power of force of weapons in their effectiveness. . . . The focus of applied methods of conflict has altered in the direction of the broad use of political, economic, informational, humanitarian, and other non-military measures—applied in coordination with the protest potential of the population”.⁵⁷

However, rather than describing a Russian Doctrine, Gerasimov described what he felt Russia's adversaries were doing. I will go deeper into New Generation Warfare and the Russian influences on the development of Hybrid Warfare in chapter 6.

3.2 A Hybrid Warfare Typology

3.2.1. Actors

All actors on the international stage conduct Hybrid Warfare. State, non-state or the organisations they claim to represent. Each of these entities has proven to be successful in using hybrid tactics, with the use of international crime, illegal commerce, terrorism, political warfare, compound tactics and insurgency. The goal is "to achieve their political aims and combine the various dimensions of violence [(both kinetic and non-kinetic)] in different modes to bring about the greatest possible harm to the adversary"⁵⁸. It should be noted that such tactics do not have limitations to who employs them. Through modern technology and interconnectivity, any actor can inflict serious damage through hybrid tactics. Consider, for example, the relatively cheap cyberspace attacks against corporate entities, critical infrastructure, and military facilities from "remote locations, leaving no trail to determine their origin"⁵⁹.

Kaspars Galkins, a Latvian Ministry of Defence official, graduated on the topic of NATO and Hybrid Warfare in 2012 at the U.S. Naval postgraduate school. He divides the conductors into two groups: "friendly users of hybrid threats", and "non-state actors who are the creators of Hybrid Warfare". The first group he subsequently divides between failed states, raising powers and those seeking to regain their power status⁶⁰. I find myself disagreeing with Galkins on a couple of points, however, before addressing these, I will first look at the work of Hedley Bull and Marcel Merle to get a clearer understanding of the term actors.

I focus on Bull as the English School of International Relations appears to have quite a bit of overlap with the U.S. Government appreciated Gray Zone. Hedley Bull defines actors as "having rights and duties in world law, conducting negotiations and perhaps able to command armed forces" qualify as "actors in world politics"⁶¹. For Bull's definition, I would like to stress that command armed forces is not to be confused with state armies, but also irregulars, rebels and even the remote soldiers of IS. Similar Marcel Merle offers a sociologist approach to International relations, he defines an actor as, "any authority, body, group and even person likely to 'play a part' in social life—the international scene in the case in point—is an actor in the international system".⁶² I will follow Merle's definition for not all conductors of Hybrid Warfare have "rights and duties in world law", but rather circumvent international law or (ab)use it as a tactic of Hybrid Warfare.

My first consideration is with regards to Galkin's use of the word friendly. He does not further explain his choice for the word friendly. As he is writing on NATO, I assume he means to say actors who are regarding compliance vis-à-vis NATO, those actors who are not our enemies, such as Russia, Iran and China. Recalling Tatham's remark about the binary war-peace dichotomy, NATO is not at war with Russia, but it does see it as a rival, and similarly for Iran and China⁶³. For such states, Galkin remarks, "[c]reating hybrid threatshelps to challenge their opponents"⁶⁴. He divides friendly states into three categories: failed states (Iran), raising

powers (China) and those trying to regain their power status (Russia). In contrast, the nonstate actors are unfriendly or malicious, who create hybrid threats to wage war against NATO.

In this, I find my strongest disagreement with Galkin, as he sees hybrid war as something that is done against the North Atlantic alliance but does not acknowledge the western use of Hybrid Warfare and tactics to protect the status quo – that is to say western hegemony.

Based on my critique against Galkins and the definition of Merle, I divide the actors into four different groups. While somewhat following Galkin in his description of the raising powers and those seeking to regain their power status, but move away from the assessment that nonstate actors are necessarily evil or that the western states would not use Hybrid Warfare tactics themselves. Rather I see the violent non-state actors (VNSA), who use hybrid tactics in the classic ‘weapons of the weak’ definition. I then further divide the three state actors as raising powers, powers in denial who use hybrid threats to regain their former status and states who use hybrid threats to protect the status quo. At times, such as the example of chairman Mao in chapter 4, and the perceived goal of IS, a non-state actor may turn into a state actor with one of these three objectives.

a. Non-State actors

Violent Non-State Actors (VNSAs) include (state actor supported) terrorist or militia groups (used as paramilitaries in compound tactics), religious motivated fundamentalists (Jihadi’s), organised criminal organisations. VNSAs can work independent or in conjunction with state actors that align with their motives.

Historically, VNSAs are weaker on the conventional domain than state actors or collective defence organisations such as NATO. Murray and Mansoor illustrate most of the historical Hybrid Warfare examples have been between an occupying state-force and a resisting non-state actor. In such cases VNSAs resort to forms of irregular warfare and guerrilla to wear down their opponent. The Taliban in Afghanistan is a suitable example, to which the following line has been attributed: “You have the watches, but we have the time”⁶⁵. Historically more power was linked to survival of the state, and the more power one had, the more likely the state were to survive. Ivan Arreguín-Toft, an Oxford Martin Fellow, studied the question of how the weak win wars. Toft concluded that while this realist perspective may have been true in Thucydides’ writings, the more contemporary conflicts of the past 200 hundred years showed the balance to be shifting in favour of the non-state actor⁶⁶.

Insurgents rely on the population for recruits, food, shelter, and logistical support. In gaining the support of the population, whether genuine or coerced, the insurgency denies that support to the government, reducing its intelligence-gathering capabilities, preventing the reestablishment of public services, and further eroding the bonds of political obligation.

Insurgents may develop a “counter state” by providing essential services and provide a sense of security, after they have disrupted this role played by the state government. Hezbollah in Lebanon is exemplary in providing social services and governance to the population in areas it controls, but it is by no means unique. The Taliban insurgency in Afghanistan maintains

courts, shadow governors, tax assessors, and even an ombudsman for locals to report grievances against Taliban commanders. “The creation of a counter state solidifies the insurgency’s support among the population, and it is the final step on its path to power”.⁶⁷ In this sense, they become more akin to the next two actors I identify. Take the example of Mao Tse-Tung, an insurgent non-state actor that became a rising power. Taliban in Afghanistan is a non-state actor that, for a while, was the (*de facto*) state and is partly seeking to regain its former status. For the sake of simplicity, I do not distinguish between the goal of the non-state actor as I do with the state, as before becoming a state their reason for using hybrid tactics remain the same: weapons of the weak against a stronger adversary.

b. Raising powers

In the category of raising powers, I already identified China, who has taken a leading position in the development of Hybrid Warfare. With raising powers, I mean states whose power in terms of the political, economic and military domain have increased vis-à-vis the western world, to the extent they openly expressed a desire for greater domination in the balance of power. Rather than being able to strengthen their status, these powers focus on the relative relation between themselves and stronger powers. By decreasing the power of their adversaries, the raising powers improve their relation vis-à-vis the strong powers. The means rising powers use, are of a hybrid nature for they are not militarily strong enough to challenge the U.S. military hegemony⁶⁸. To give one example:

“[t]he Iranians used what conventional naval forces they had, including relatively modern conventional frigates, anti-ship cruise missiles, and swarming boats, mines, and rockets. Iranian naval developments over the last decade appear to make a strong case that the Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corps is extending and formalizing hybrid concepts as their central doctrine. This doctrine applies a hybrid combination of conventional and irregular tactics and weapons to posit a significant anti-access threat to both military and commercial shipping”⁶⁹.

Similarly, (military) Hybrid Warfare is employed by China in the build-up in the global commons: the cyber domain, in orbital and outer space and the building up of conventional capacity in the maritime domain in the South-Chinese sea.

c. Regain their former status

Most vividly the methods of the Russian Federation showcase the third category. States in the third category that seeks to use Hybrid Warfare to realise policies are states who occupied a strong position but have lost (some) of their power position, regionally or internationally. They are unable to rebuild their former glory through blood and iron as was done in the XIXth century, as they cannot afford (yet) to unbalance the balance of power. However more historically I would count the examples of Murray and Mansoor to this category as well when describing the former colonial power is attempting to regain their position, such as the English in South Africa, the French in Algeria against the Algerian National Liberation Front (FNL) or the Dutch in the former Dutch Indies.

d. Protecting the Status Quo

The powers protecting the status quo can generally be seen as “The West”. Over the course of history, dominant powers such as the U.S., the UK and France have exercised hybrid tactics to protect the western dominated balance of power, as the examples of category C seek to demonstrate as well. Contemporarily we see these hybrid tactics in two forms: countering Russian influence in Eastern Europe through the use of information campaigns, and secondly in the theatre of Bush’s War on Terror (GWOT) where in 2007 more attention was given to counterinsurgency and the revival of the COIN doctrines. In these forms, the terms counterinsurgency and counterterrorism are often used. These tactics remain within the sphere of Hybrid Warfare due to their nonmilitary nature, using social, economic, legal and so on measures to influence the mindset of their troops and the local population both domestic and foreign. Thus, building forward on MOOTWs to achieve military objectives without military means.

“Confronting [these] “non-military” sources of power are, therefore, a key task of counterinsurgency”⁷⁰. Seemingly “non-military” objectives “play a crucial role in insurgencies, perhaps even greater than conventional military objects”.⁷¹ Countering non-military sources have caused some critique from the humanitarian law perspective, due to the legal interpretation of what then is war and what is not. More so it is the discussion of what constitutes “direct” participation versus “indirect” or non-participation defines whether an activity is part of the Hybrid Warfare toolbox.

The Western World is, to draw back on Tannenwald’s ideas, largely bound by norms and taboo’s related to international and humanitarian law, thus adding a different form of lawfare to the Hybrid Warfare debate. The Red Cross⁷² upholds a strict differentiation: “direct causal relationship between the activity engaged in and the harm done to the enemy at the time and the place where the activity takes place”⁷³.

Sitaruman argues that “direct causal relationships exist when acts are intended to cause actual harm to the personnel and equipment of armed forces”⁷⁴. According to the Red Cross’s definition, for example, the builder of an explosives devices (IED) would not be a direct participant in conflict. The Red Cross argues that the builder of such a device “[does] not cause the harm within one causal step”⁷⁵. In contrast is the “American” view, which is “less restrictive, permitting as targets objects that indirectly but effectively support and sustain the enemy’s war-fighting capabilities”⁷⁶. The “American” approach follows the Clausewitzian argument that war is a whole-of-government activity, as well as echoing the idea of Hybrid Warfare being the pinnacle of the Art of War.

3.2.2 Forms of Hybrid Warfare

In addition to the variety of actors, there are also a range of Hybrid Warfare tactics to distinguish. Hybrid Warfare combines conventional warfare with elements previously not directly associated with war.

Note that these do not include the kinetic element normally associated with warfare. The authors of 'Unrestricted Warfare' believe that in total war, these forms of unrestricted

warfare can be deployed singularly or in combination. Colonels Qiao Liang and Wang Xiangsui devote an entire chapter to combining elements of Hybrid Warfare⁷⁷. It should be noted that the subtitle “China’s Master Plan to Destroy America”, that appeared in the Panamanian edition of the book was not intended – rather than describing a dirty war, Unrestricted Warfare is to be seen as a call for innovative thinking in future warfare. I will delve into this subject matter at a later point.

Financial Warfare	The act of entering and subverting banking and stock markets and manipulating the value of a targeted currency;
Smuggling Warfare	Sabotaging a rival’s economy by flooding its markets with illegal goods and jeopardising a local economy by flooding the market with pirated products
Cultural Warfare	Influencing the cultural biases of a targeted enemy by imposing your cultural viewpoints
Media and Fabrication Warfare (Information Warfare)	involves manipulating foreign media, either by compromising or intimidating journalists or getting access to a rival’s airwaves and imposing your perspective
Technological Warfare	gaining control of or having an edge in particular vital technologies that can be used in both peace and wartime
Resource Warfare	gaining control of scarce natural resources and being able to control or manipulate their access and market value
Psychological Warfare	imposing one’s interest by dominating a rival’s perception of its strengths and weaknesses
Network Warfare	dominating or subverting transnational information systems, often in secret and concealing one’s identity in a type of warfare that is virtually impossible to guard against
International Law Warfare (Lawfare)	means joining international or multinational organisations to subvert their policies and the interpretation of legal rulings ⁷⁸
Environmental Warfare	means weakening or subjugating a rival nation by despoiling or altering its natural environment
Economic Aid Warfare	controlling a targeted country through aid dependency

Table 1: Forms of Unrestricted Warfare⁷⁸

3.3 An Overview of related concepts

3.3.1 4th Generation Warfare (4GW)

The first related concept is that of the fourth generation of warfare. U.S.MC Colonel Thomas X. Hammes describes the movement towards a new generation of warfare that outlines the

developments of the four generations of warfare as they evolved. Hammes traces the development back to Mao Tse-tung.

Mao, Hammes argues, developed a new revolutionary concept by continuously adapting based on his lessons learned as he revolutionised and unified mainland China⁷⁹. I will dedicate more attention to Mao's contribution in chapter 4 (as a non-state actor) and 5 (as a state actor).

Hammes uses the following definition:

“Fourth-generation warfare uses all available networks-political, economic, social, and military- to convince the enemy's political decision-makers that their strategic goals are either unachievable or too costly for the perceived benefit.”⁸⁰

Similarly, in *Unrestricted Warfare*, Cols. Liang and Xiangsui illustrated that “The entire spectrum of information warfare, media manipulation, economic means, diplomatic manoeuvring, and other actions provide an opportunity for harassment, diversion, and direct or indirect attack.”⁸¹ Hybrid Warfare or fourth-generation warfare can thus be equated with the so-called full-spectrum warfare. The United States DOD defines ‘full-spectrum’ as “The cumulative effect of dominance in the air, land, maritime, and space domains and information environment, which includes cyberspace, that permits the conduct of joint operations without effective opposition or prohibitive interference.”⁸²

While neither “new” or “unexpected” (or at least it should come as a surprise), 4GW has evolved around the world over the last eight decades, of these, the last two included the term ‘Hybrid Warfare’. The wars of the XXIth century, (Afghanistan and Iraq in particular) moved away from the comfortable manoeuvre warfare that dictated its previous generation. Hammes introduces 4GW as the only type of war the U.S. has ever lost⁸³, and not once, but it has done so three times. While reasonable low conflict (in terms of casualties, both military and civilian), fourth-generation warfare continues to drain resources, in both blood and treasure, from Western powers in Iraq, Afghanistan and Syria, while Russia has never properly been able to deal with Chechnya.

Charles Crossett and Benjamin Kerman link unrestricted warfare or Hybrid Warfare with the development of Hybrid Warfare with Hammes' work on 4GW. Hammes is illustrating that the “evolution of [hybrid] warfare is based on recognition of the overwhelming disparity between force sizes and capabilities”⁸⁴. An actor may consider Hybrid Warfare to engage an opponent who is stronger in size and capacity. While unable to win the weaker actor may survive until the opponent decides that the harassment caused by the weaker opponent is not worth the costs (resources, political support, human lives) associated with continuing engagement. In other words, the classic war of attrition favoured by nonstate actors, as mentioned earlier. The various elements of non-kinetic warfare listed above play a significant role in breaking the will of both the military and civilian population.

3.3.2 Hybrid Warfare, a revolution in military affairs?

The developments of Hybrid Warfare stand in stark contrast with what was termed “the revolution in military affairs (RMA)”⁸⁵, the rapid increase in technological advancement in the US military. While the technological dominance had worked for the U.S. during the two months'

Gulf War, it provided a little guarantee for success during the invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq. As illustrated earlier also the IDF was caught unaware against an adversary in 2006 despite overwhelming conventional power harnessed with improvements in command and control.

Revolutions in Military Affairs and Military Revolutions were used by historian Michael Roberts to describe the evolution of warfare⁸⁶. One example given by Roberts is how the King of Sweden, Gustavus Adolphus used a combination of linear formations and improved firepower, which allowed for revolutionised tactics, and subsequently new strategic possibilities. Scholars disagree over the cause and nature of MR/RMA and are unable to agree if they represent revolutionary events or instead are incremental processes of chance. The historical root of the debate does show that MR and RMA are not solely limited to the developments of technological supremacy in the Gulf War, but may also include a change in the conceptual thinking of warfare. In figure 4 an overview is given of the relationship between MR and RMA based on the work of Knox and Murray⁸⁷.

Time Period	Military Revolutions	Possible RMA (Resultant and associated)	Characteristics
17 th Century	The creation of the modern state and modern military institutions	Dutch and Swedish tactical reforms French military reforms following the Seven Years War. Naval Revolution	tactical, organisational, cultural tactical, organisational, administrative
18 th Century	French Revolution	National political and economic mobilization	financial, organizational, conceptual
18 th / 19 th Century	Industrial Revolution	Telegraph, smokeless powder, small arms, artillery, automatic weapon	financial, technological, organisational, cultural
20 th Century	World War I: Combined arms (or combination of previous MR's)	Armoured warfare Submarine warfare Aerial combat Strategic bombing Carrier warfare Radar Amphibious warfare	tactical, conceptual, technological, scientific, operational, organisational
20 th Century	Nuclear weapons and ballistic missiles	Precision reconnaissance and strike Computerization Networking of C2 Massive increased lethality of conventional weapons	conceptual, technological

Table 2: Military Revolution (MR) compared to Revolution in Military Affairs (RMA)⁸⁸

3.3.3 Winning Hearts and Minds

Waging war against insurgents is radically unconventional. Counterinsurgents speak of “winning hearts and minds” and “population-centric warfare”. They argue that killing insurgents may not result in victory and that protecting the civilian population is the best way

to defeat the insurgency.⁸⁹ The origins of the term Winning Hearts and Minds, popularly abbreviated as WHAM, has its roots in the French colonial wars along the Indochina-Chinese border, where it was coined by French General Louis Hubert Gonzalve Lyautey, Lyautey introduced Winning Hearts and Minds in an attempt to counter the Black Flags Rebellion⁹⁰.

More recently, and better known is the use of the term in the British reaction to the Malayan emergency⁹¹. The British skilfully achieved their military objectives, without using kinetic elements. In this case, by handing out medicine and food to both the Malayan subjects as well as the tribals. A British report from 1954 describes the tactic as:

“One impressive result of this campaign has been the extent to which Malay women are now taking part in political and social affairs — something still very uncommon among a Moslem people. So much for official measures to encourage racial unity. However, both General Templer and his successor, Sir Donald MacGillivray, have insisted time after time that Malayan patriotism cannot be imposed from without or from above; it must develop in the hearts and minds of the Malaysians themselves”.⁹²

When referring to Hearts and Minds today, the use of the term by the U.S comes to mind to most readers of the subject of counterinsurgency. While contemporary cases refer to the invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq, the U.S., first engaged with a WHAM strategy during the Vietnam campaign in the 1960s. The Vietnam strategy was promoted by, at that time president, Lyndon Baines Johnson, who during a dinner meeting captured the idea as:

"So we must be ready to fight in Viet-Nam, but the ultimate victory will depend upon the hearts and the minds of the people who actually live out there. By helping to bring them hope and electricity you are also striking a very important blow for the cause of freedom throughout the world."⁹³

In all of these cases, winning hearts and minds suggests that the human-social or psychological effect of actions becomes more important than the kinetic aspect. I will delve more into this in chapter 6 and 7 when discussing the developments of Hybrid Warfare from the Russian and U.S. perspective.

3.3.4 Towards kinder weapons

Beyond the insights in taboo's and the change of nuclear use to non-use, Tannenweld's research serves another purpose in this investigation. Namely, it provides insight into a shift to “kinder” weapons. Liang and Xiangsui argue that the development to more hybrid wars goes parallel with a trend to “kinder weapons”⁹⁴. While it may sound as a *contradictio in terminis* “Kind” here refers to the fact it focusses on the war without bloodshed. One example, linked to the development of Hybrid Warfare is the liberation of Kuwait – a complete bloodless campaign. While not all military engagements after the liberation of Kuwait were bloodless, comparative to the cold war's proxy wars and the great wars of the XXth century, wars in the XXIth war do follow the trend of Kinder weapons. This trend moves away from the nuclear dominated cold war. They draw up a philosophical principle: when something reaches an ultimate point - in this case, the development of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) or ultra-lethal weapons⁹⁵ – it will turn in the opposite direction.

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter served to give insight into the origins and various definitions of Hybrid Warfare. I briefly touched upon some of the better-known monikers and covered some concepts and elements that are related to Hybrid Warfare that helps us better understand the development of Hybrid Warfare throughout the past century. For this thesis, I take Hybrid Warfare to include conventional capabilities, mixed and blurred through separate domains and involving elements that may be otherwise seen as criminal or unlawful. Hybrid Warfare moves in what has been named the Gray Zone, an area that is neither war nor peace, but rather in ambiguity and morally a grey area, to pursue a political goal.

Hybrid Warfare is the 4th generation of warfare, returning warfare to pre-modern times. While attributed mostly to non-state actors in the past, recent developments have shown other actors to use hybrid tactics as well. I categorised them into four groups: non-state actors, rising powers, former powers and powers protecting the status quo. Important to stress is that Hybrid Warfare is not something purely used by non-western states, as the examples in this chapter show it has strong origins in colonial wars for independence when both sides of the conflict used it. Contemporarily, however, it is suggested non-western states have become more adept to using hybrid threats to pursue their political goal.

In a non-technical way, Hybrid Warfare is to be seen as a revolution in military affairs, using more precise and kinder tools to pursue their political goals. It strongly focusses on PsyOps and WHAM tactics of all actors involved (local actors, citizens back home, as well as the troops on the ground). As such, its focus lies on nonmilitary means; kinetic elements are secondary or auxiliary to the intended effects.

Building forward on our understanding of Hybrid Warfare and related concepts, I will delve into the developments of Hybrid Warfare for each of the four actors identified. In the fourth chapter, I will focus on the non-state actors, who are geographically spread around the globe. In chapter five, I focus on the Chinese developments, highlighting their use of other means than war, such as economic warfare and lawfare. Chapter six highlights the events in Russia, with a focus on misinformation and Hybrid Warfare applied to its former satellite states. Finally, in chapter seven, I will focus on the evolution of Hybrid Warfare in the western states, primarily the United States of America, but also include its NATO allies. Here counter insurgency is highlighted as the main development of Hybrid Warfare, but it also includes U.S. fuelled political warfare.

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Part II

4. The Non-State Actor Perspective (Weapons of the Weak)

Hybrid Warfare and tactics often bring to mind guerrilla warfare with rebels, on the one hand, fighting against an oppressive regime on the other. Real developments in the thinking of Hybrid Warfare have the origin in the east, rather than the west. Mao Tse-Tung, perhaps more so than Sun-Tzu, is one of China's most influential theorist on warfare. I argue that his victory on the Kuomintang (KMT) can in part be attributed to the tactics Mao developed during the Chinese Civil War in the first half of the XXth century. Mao argues that guerrilla warfare has three phases¹ (see Figure 7 on the next page).

As discussed before, I take Mao Tse-Tung as the founding father of 4th generation warfare / and see this development as a turning point for the development of Hybrid Warfare. In this thesis I will use both terms interchangeable. Mao and his followers transformed through time from the non-state actor to state actor.

In 1927, he and his followers played the role of non-state actor. Mao became the chairman of the communist party in 1949, from that point onward I consider him playing the role of state actor. In this chapter I will discuss the developments up to 1949, while I will discuss the latter part in chapter 5 when discussing the development of Hybrid Warfare from the Chinese perspective (as state actor). In addition to Mao, I focus on a selection of non-state actors who contributed significantly to the development of Hybrid Warfare.

4.1. Communist Revolution, Proto Hybrid Warfare

Due to the scope of this thesis, I will limit myself to what I believe to be the three most important non-state actors who used elements of Hybrid Warfare: Mao Tse-Tung, Ho Chi Minh and Vo Nguyen Giap, and Thomas Borge and Carlos Fonseca.

Three groups of communist revolutionaries that have a plethora of information available on them. At the time these communist revolutions occurred, Hybrid Warfare had not found its way into academic text yet. I consider these forms to be a proto type of Hybrid Warfare. They share a great overlap with modern definitions of Hybrid Warfare, in particular in the renewed focus on the information domain (psychological and cognitive dimensions).

The use of hybrid tactics by other non-state actors should not be omitted that easily. In this chapter I will also touch upon the Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA), Basque for Basque Homeland and Liberty (commonly known under its abbreviated Basque name ETA). The ETA were fighting for an indepenent Basque country between 1959 until their formal disarmement in April 2017. Secondly I will also touch upon the Irish Republican Army (IRA), which existed in various constallations since the Irish Civil War (1922-1923).

4.1.1 Mao Tse-Tung and People's War (1921 - 1949)

Mao's Autumn Harvest Uprising is an example of a relatively weak rebel army taking on a superior (state) actor. In the Chinese case, these were the Chinese warlords. Colonel Thomas X. Hammes in his work on 4GW refers to Mao as the "first practitioner to both write about

and successfully execute a concept of 4GW²". Compare for a moment Hammes' definition of 4GW with the Schadow definition of Hybrid Warfare:

Hammes: "Fourth-generation warfare uses all available networks-political, economic, social, and military- to convince the enemy's political decision-makers that their strategic goals are either unachievable or too costly for the perceived benefit."³

Schadow: "Hybrid Warfare is a term that sought to capture the blurring and blending of previously separate categories of conflict. It uses a blend of military, economic, diplomatic, criminal, and informational means to achieve desired political goals."⁴

In both definitions, Hybrid Warfare considered the full spectrum to enforce or entertain a certain political decision. Hammes also stresses that the decision to apply hybrid tactics stems from the perception that conventional war would be too costly in relation to the political goal. These costs can be in either manpower (loss of life) or simple financial (resources) or political will (commitment).

Mao consolidated his experience in the Chinese Civil War. Re-establishing themselves in Yen-an after The Long March, their new base proved to be a haven allowing Mao to reflect on what he had learned. While in Yen-an, he wrote his famous *Yu Chi Chan* (Guerrilla Warfare).

It should be noted that Mao never claimed to have created a new form of warfare, guerrillas had been around for centuries, and Mao acknowledged their lessons. He was merely a practitioner of war, laying out what he thought would be a war-winning strategy. Hammes suggests that Mao was greatly inspired by Sun Tzu and the Art of War. Hammes suggests Mao may also have been influenced by Michael Collins. Collins was a main strategist in the campaign for a free Ireland⁵.

The Chinese Warlords was the first to put a variation of insurgency *avant la lettre* into practice. Mao's understanding of war as a political undertaking was stronger than that of the Prussian General Clausewitz. Mao stated: "The problem of political mobilization of the army and the people is indeed of the utmost importance . . . political mobilization is the most fundamental condition for winning the war".⁶

Mao also emphasises the primacy of political efforts by stating: "Our job is not merely to recite our political program to the people . . . [We must] transform the political mobilization for the war into a regular movement. [The transformation] is a matter of the first magnitude on which the victory primarily depends".⁷

With the political nature at the core of Mao's approach, he went on to outline what would become the "three phases for the proper conduct of insurgency".

In essence, the three phases are:

Phase 1:	The insurgents concentrate primarily on building political strength. Military action is limited to selected, political motivated assassinations. Any other military action must have a propaganda purpose of cementing the population's support of the insurgents.
Phase 2:	The insurgents gain strength and consolidate control of base areas. They begin to actively administer some portions of the contested area. Moreover, because Mao had no outside sponsor providing weapons, they conducted military operations both to capture arms and to wear down government forces.
Phase 3:	The insurgents commit regular forces (which have been carefully husbanded up to this point) in a final offensive against the government. This phase can succeed only if the "correlation of forces" has been shifted to the insurgents during the early phases.

Box 2: Mao's Three phases, according to Hammes⁸

Hammes notes that "these three phases show a sophisticated understanding of the powerful political, economic, and social elements that constitute the 'base' of military power".⁹ It is clear that Mao understood the hybridity of the warfare he developed.

Mao also builds forward on the base of the concept of 'Winning Hearts and Minds'. I could not establish a link between Louis Hubert Gonzalve Lyautey (see chapter 3) and Mao Tse-Tung (Mao was only four years old when Lyautey traded in Indochina for Morocco), however Mao's famous "Eight Points for Attention" do show a sophisticated understanding of "the people". The Just War theorist Michael Walzer assess the moral quality of Mao's guerrilla, noting that

<p>Eight Points for Attention</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Speak politely. 2. Pay fairly for what you buy. 3. Return everything you borrow. 4. Pay for anything you damage. 5. Do not hit or swear at people. 6. Do not damage crops. 7. Do not take liberties with women. 8. Do not ill-treat captives

Box 3: Mao's Eight Points for Attention

"Mao is by no means committed to the notion of noncombatant immunity . . . but he writes as if, in the China of the warlords and the Kuomintang, only the communists respect the lives and property of the people."¹⁰ With the "Eight Points" Mao distinguishes himself and his 'People's Army' from both his predecessors, the bandits of traditional China, as well as from his current enemies, the warlords and the Kuomintang who ravage the country side.¹¹

4.1.2 Vietnamese development of Hybrid Warfare (1945 – 1975)

The war in Vietnam is often associated with the US involvement, which historians call the Second Indochina War. However, it is the First Indochina War, against former colonial France, that allowed the North Vietnam to develop its warfare. The conflict consisted of different layers. At its core, it was a war in between the communists in South Vietnam and their adversaries. At the layer outside that, it was a war between the artificially divided Vietnams – with the South backed by the United States of America in the Second Indochina War, and the North being backed by both the People's Republic of China and the USSR. It was an Asian regional war. At the international level, it first was a decolonization war, and then a cold war proxy conflict between two dominating ideologies. With all of this layering, Kart Lowe writes, "[t]he war in Vietnam was inherently a hybrid conflict in which state-of-the-art conventional

arms and tactics commingled with the tools and techniques of guerrilla and counterinsurgency warfare”¹². In this chapter I will discuss the modifications of two Vietnamese revolutionaries: Ho Chi Minh, who as Chairman and First Secretary of the Workers' Party of Vietnam served as Prime Minister and later as President of North Vietnam, and Vo Nguyen Giap, North-Vietnamese General turned Minister of Defence. Both had substantial influence in the development of what one might call Hybrid Warfare today. In this chapter I will limit myself to the Vietnamese perspective, while I will discuss the U.S. experience with Hybrid Warfare in Vietnam in chapter 7.

Minh and Giap developed and employed the next major modification to Hybrid Warfare. It has refined Mao's People's War model to include the national will of their principal adversaries. By undermining the will of the citizens of their principal enemy, first France, latter the United States, Minh and Giap aimed to break support for the war.

For the development of Hybrid Warfare, this addition is an important one. The attempts of Ho and Giap were the first documented technique of an adversary to develop which would take the political war to where it hurts, targeting the homeland of their distant adversary – thus influencing the willingness of the nation to go to war. In the case of Vietnam, this fuelled the anti-war protests calling for the US to withdraw. A similar technique is heavily employed and enhanced by IS with the combination of terrorist attacks on European soil and the heavy amplification power of social media.

USMC Colonel Thomas X. Hammes used the Vietnamese case in his development of the 4th Generation Warfare. Among U.S. leadership a popular assessment of the Second Indochina war is that “South Vietnam was not defeated by an insurgency, but rather by the conventional forces of a ‘foreign’ nation”¹³ Hammes is critical on this notion, stating that “by doing so, we fail to see the nature of [hybrid] war that was fought and therefore cannot learn from it”.¹⁴ He continues: “[F]rom a Viet[nam] point of view, using Mao's model of a three-phased insurgency, clearly shows that the Second Indochina War was an insurgency brought to its planned conclusion.”¹⁵ A speech by Ho Chi Minh deliver at a poltical event in 1951, gives the proof of building forward on Maoist tactics:

“Our Party and Government foresaw that our Resistance War has three stages. In the first stage . . . all we did was to preserve and increase our main forces. In the second stage, we have actively contended with the enemy and prepared for the general counteroffensive. The third stage is the general counteroffensive.”¹⁶

The address was given three years before the final conventional campaign of Dien Bien Phy in 1954. This final battle was the victory of the Vietnamese rebels over the French Union's French Far East Expeditionary Corps (Corps Expéditionnaire Français en Extrême-Orient, CEFEO). By describing the three stages this early into the conflict Ho shows that he understood how to defeat the militarily superior French forces¹⁷. Regarding the second Indochina war against the U.S., the Communists were forced back to phase II operations or phase I in some cases, until the “correlation of forces” once again shifted in their favour. Ho envisioned a long war of attrition, leading to ultimate victory. In 1962, Ho explained to French War Correspondent Bernard Fall:

“Sir, you have studied us for ten years, you have written about the Indochina War. It took us eight years of bitter fighting to defeat you French in Indochina . . . The Americans are stronger than the French. It might perhaps take ten years, but our heroic compatriots in the South will defeat them in the end. We shall marshal public opinion about this unjust war against South Vietnamese¹⁸”.

Ho Chi Minh openly explained how the North Vietnamese would beat the U.S.-South Vietnamese alliance. By scrapping away the political will through attrition, amplified with propaganda targeted national and international, Ho aimed to weaken American resolve. This Vietnamese modification, the focus on propaganda is perhaps the most significant development of Hybrid Warfare.

Hammes argues that Ho’s focus on media forecasted the importance of the media’s critical role in all forms of war¹⁹, a development that can only be confirmed by the events of the past thirteen years.

During the thirty years of conflict, the Vietnamese Communists refined and improved on Mao’s doctrine. They showed insurgents how to use different information channels to attack the will of the citizenship to support the adversaries actions directly. These great powers, the United States and France, thought they were protected by oceans from direct enemy action and found too late that they had misunderstood the war they were fighting, and how weak they would be at home because of it.

4.1.3 The Sandinista Refinement (1961 – 1979)

Inspired by the success of the Vietnamese, revolutionaries and insurgents took to heart. The dominant narrative was that if a small third world country like Vietnam could defeat the mighty United States, anything was possible. One such example is the Sandinista Front for National Liberation (FSLN) which was active in Nicaragua. Inspired by the communist victory over the United States in Vietnam, they also developed tactics that would be considered hybrid warfare *avant la lettre*.

The Sandinista), through evolutionary steps, refined Maoist doctrine further, drawing inspiration from Ho Chi Minh and Vo Nguyen Giap. By putting an increased emphasis on political development, they made political strategy itself the end game. Founded by Thomas Borge and Carlos Fonseca, in 1961, the FSLN, with Castro’s success in Cuba and Che Guevara’s popularity, to the “foco” theory of insurgency²⁰. While successful in Cuba, the simplistic approach did not work in Nicaragua, and the FSLN recuperated for several years. Meanwhile through trial and error finding their *modus operandi* for their version of Hybrid Warfare: unsuccessfully flirting with urban revolution, failing to organise labour unions into Communist fronts, or applying Mao’s People’s War to the peasant population around the Pancasan mountain. Anastasio Somoza Debayle, the president of Nicaragua, took the opportunity to announce that the Sandinistas had been destroyed after the Nicaraguan National Guard destroyed a large part of the FSLNs cadres in May 1967²¹.

Rather than being destroyed, the FSLN recuperated again, this time in Costa Rica, where they had been reduced to financing their organisation by robbing banks. An unexpected benefit from this defeat was the gravitation of Latin American students attending university in the

Soviet Union. Despite their limited success the Sandinista leadership resolved to continue a People's War. However, they lacked the clarity of Mao and Ho. Both Mao and Ho had a carefully thought-out political agenda to unify the peasants behind them. Though neither intended to keep the promises made, it allowed them to fuel the 'phase I' political organisation – and they would repeat that theme throughout their struggles. A coherent, applicable message is central to misinformation.

Through multiple ups and downs, the FSLN eventually came to *terceristas* or third-way approach. Advocated by the Ortega brothers, Humberto and Daniel Ortega. Humberto brought together a coalition of middle-class entrepreneurs, students and recent graduates who could not find a job, and the shantytown inhabiting urban poor. Unlike their predecessors, the Ortega's did apply the propaganda element, through FSLN manifesto called the "General Political Military Platform of Struggle for the Sandinista Front for National Liberation". Over time a broad coalition was formed including the more moderate elite. A major factor in the deception by the FSLN was to tailor both the message and the messenger to the audience. For example, no mention was made of the leftist ideas of the aim to spread communism or create a Marxist paradise when meeting with international visitors. The Sandinista's were very specific in targetting their audience and tailoring the message to them. For at the same time, the Sandinista's highlighted the atrocities of the opposing National Guard. Without the visitors knowing, they became spreaders of misinformation without the messengers knowing it themselves.

The insurgents, possessing only minimal military strength, had relied almost entirely on their political strength to achieve final victory. They never conducted large-scale military operations and certainly never conducted the phase III conventional operations characteristic of Maoist insurgency. According to Monimbo, a Sandinista leader, "[I]t was the guerrillas who provided support for the masses so they could defeat the enemy by means of insurrection"²². The proactive role of the insurgents is a critical variation on Mao's concept that the people provide support to the guerrillas, which frees up the guerrilla movement itself for fighting and defeating the government – indirectly the civilian population becomes part of the insurgent movement. While still grounded in Mao's People's War, the Sandinistas added new elements to the mix in the cognitive and psychological domains. They added a combination of Christian theology and socio-economic politics in their propaganda efforts, emphasizing concern for the poor and liberality for the oppressed that is often found in Marxist ideology. The Sandinistas also introduced demonstration and insurgency into the urbanized theatre. Moving hybrid tactics away from jungles it was previously associated with and into the cities. In the end the political efforts of the Sandinista movement changed the "correlation of forces" in favour of the socialists. As a result, the Nicaraguan government collapsed, leaving the insurgents to occupy the power vacuum.

4.2. Modern Hybrid Warfare and the Islamist Jihad

4.2.1 Lebanon: The Rise of Terrorism and the Suicide Bomb (1982 - 1984)

The word "terrorism" used to be commonly used to describe the violence used by revolutionary and anarchical forces. Walzer notes that this is a "small victory for the champions of order, among whom the use of terror are by no means unknown"²³, to point

out that the tactics by no means are used only by revolutionaries – the use of terror campaigns can be traced back through history and was an important part of statecraft. The systematic use of terror, including when applied to whole populations, is a strategy employed by both conventional forces, guerrilla fighters, established governments and radical separatists. Like Hybrid Warfare, it can be traced back historically to the same events Murray and Mansoor write about, the ancient Greek and Romans were not unfamiliar with terror.

In the first two decades of the XXIth century, terrorism has been distinctively different from that in the second half of the previous century. Violent non-state actors started using terrorist attacks in greater numbers than before, though bombing attacks were not uncommon in the XXth century examples include, IRA and ETA, or the French-opposing Algerians during the Algerian war of independence. A specific turning point I wish to zoom in is during the U.S. assistance to Lebanon in 1982-1984, highlighted by Adam Lowther in an analysis of U.S. experience with asymmetric conflict²⁴. Overwhelmed by the number of Palestinian refugees living in Jordan and threatened by militant Palestinians, King Hussein evicted many of the 400,000 refugees from Jordan. Leaving Jordan, many Palestinians settled in Southern Lebanon where they continued waging a low-intensity war against Israel²⁵. The Lebanese Armed Forces (LAF)'s inability to deal with the militant Palestinians, who took on the form of the Palestinian Liberation Army (PLA) led President Suleiman Frangieh to request support from Syria.²⁶ By June 1982 the Israeli Defense Force (IDF) dramatically altered the balance of power when it launched a major invasion. As Israeli forces rapidly pushed the PLA north, while at the same time destroying Syrian aircraft, artillery and tanks, President Reagan's envoy to the Middle East, Ambassador Philip Habib, persuaded Israel to halt its advance²⁷. By the terms agreed upon by the PLA, IDF, Government of Lebanon, and the United States, American marines would oversee the withdrawal of Palestinian fighters who would depart Beirut from the city's port and be removed to host countries²⁸. It was into this highly volatile situation that Marines of the 32nd Marine Amphibious Unit (MAU) entered Beirut on August 25, 1982²⁹. In addition to the U.S, France, Italy and the United Kingdom also contributed troops to the Multinational Force in Lebanon (MNF).

Fast forwarding to April 1983. The Beirut bombing is to my knowledge the first use of the suicide bomber than became the norm in modern terrorism. On April 16, 1983 terrorists attacked the U.S Embassy in Lebanon. The attack was claimed by the Islamic Jihad Organization, who used a vehicle loaded with explosives in an attack intended to kill indiscreetly and indiscriminately³⁰. While car bombings were not uncommon and exploited by for example the ETA or the IRA, the scale at which this happened is to be seen as a turning point. Furthermore, the attacker did not try to get away, as was the case with previous examples of car bombings. The April 16 attack destroyed the embassy, killing 63 civilian and military personnel³¹.

In the months that followed fighting intensified until events culminated on the morning of October 23, 1983. On this day a 12.000 pounds of explosives-filled van ran through several checkpoints crashing through barricades and into U.S. Marine compound near the Beirut Airport. Minutes later a second attack occurred on the French Barracks close by. Like the bombing six months earlier, this was another unique development in Hybrid Warfare's use of

terrorism: the suicide bomber, leaving 299 dead³². This suicide attack would be the first of many such attacks in the middle east, as well as occasionally the United States and European countries.

The use of terrorism in Lebanon is in stark contrast with the use of terrorism by jihadi's in neighbouring Israel. Four years after the Lebanon bombing, during an uprising of the Palestinians in Gaza and the Westbank named the First Intifada, the Palestinian terrorists consciously decided to limit the use of violence. Rather than using suicide bombers or guerrillas with heavy weaponry, they opted for a combination of suicide bombers and young teenagers armed with only small rocks. This operational decision led to the neutralization of U.S. citizenry support for Israeli action and neutralized military action of the IDF. Eventually, it influenced the Israeli elections and brought about the Oslo Accords³³. The combination of "rock-throwing kids" and suicide bombers allowed Hezbollah to bring forth great damages, but at the same time demonise their adversary as oppressive and harming children, influencing the hearts and minds of various target groups simultaneously.

4.2.2. Chechnya

In Chechnya, the use of explosives by insurgent groups posed significant challenges for Russian troops. Half of the deaths can be attributed to the use of IEDs during some parts of the war³⁴. Russian army General Nikolai Serdtsev, in charge of Russian engineering forces, remarked that mine-clearing units were overwhelmed because of improvised explosive devices (IEDs) and sometimes had to contend with as many as twenty devices per day:

"[Chechen fighters] are using booby-trap mines and explosives made from aerial bombs, artillery shells, mortars, or some combination more widely than before . . . If we compare the scale of the "mine war" in the current campaign with the earlier one, we find that its intensity has sharply escalated and the number of casualties among combat and technical personnel has sharply increased. All of this confirms that the terrorists are now more organized in their preparations, in their accumulation of stockpiles of high-explosive munitions, in their development of a network of clandestine laboratories to construct improvised explosive devices and radio-controlled detonators, and in their plans for laying mines and explosive barriers."³⁵

William Nemeth, in his thesis "Future War and Chechnya: A Case for Hybrid Warfare³⁶" was the first to link the concept of IEDs to Hybrid Warfare. He argues that Chechnya became a "hybrid society", where "traditional norms and rules are mixed with laws, norms and modern socio-political structures — combined with modern technology³⁷". As such these places would be breeding grounds for innovation and military revolutions. Contemporary these hybrid societies are referred to as failed states, and the development of hybrid tactics and weaponry is one of the reasons why failed states are deemed to be problematic.

4.2.3. Al-Qaeda and networked Hybrid Warfare (1988-2011)

Usama bin Laden (UBL) the former leader of the Islamic Terrorist organization Al-Qaeda (AQ) declared Fatwa, a war on the western world on 23 February 1998³⁸. UBL's call for the Fatwa, calling for a jihad against the liberal-democratic world was another key turning point in the development of Hybrid Warfare. Until now, at least physical violence had been limited to the

country in which the actors are operating. To recap on the development of Hybrid Warfare to a networked phenomenon, Mao operated and applied hybrid tactics in China, while Minh and Giap limited themselves to Vietnam, but adding (dis)information targeting nations abroad (France and the U.S.). The Sandinista's did move around more regionally, though more out of necessity than a preconceived tactic, and eventually under Ortega were able to garner international support. However, their physical attacks were limited to the countries they were based. The philosophy of Al-Qaeda was different, while decision making remained central in the places it was based, the execution of attacks could occur anywhere.

To understand Al-Qaeda and similar religious motivated violent non-state actors we need to examine their measurement of victory. Legal scholar Orde Kittrie, for example, finds that jihadists measure progress "by the harm they have done to their adversary, and can be willing to sacrifice toward that end both their lives and those of their affiliated civilians"³⁹.

Our international law system, which also constitutes the law of armed conflict, is based on a different idea. Namely that combatants generally do not want get killed, but follow orders and fight as part of (state) armies. Unlike jihadists they do not seek what American Law Professor William C. Banks describes "experiences that convey submission to a divine authority . . . by spilling one's (or an infidel's) blood".⁴⁰

Kilcullen finds that Al-Qaeda operated in a "worldwide pattern of militant Islamist movements that appears to function through regional 'theatres of operation' rather than as a monolithic bloc"⁴¹. The regional cells were networked with one another, but at the same time act independently, without direct control from Al Qaeda. Theatres of operation included the America's with a presence in Mexico, Canada⁴², and South America, the latter being used as a training centre for the movement⁴³. In South America AQ was located in Argentina, Paraguay and Brazil, as well as El Salvador and Panama⁴⁴. The 9/11 attack was the first attack that gave the organization a global presence in the minds of citizens, and led to the United States to invade Afghanistan in October 2001 and call for the Global War on Terror (GWOT) leading to a decade of anti-terrorist operations in the Middle East and Africa. Aside from the attack on the twin towers, the attacks in Mumbai 2002, Madrid 2004 and London 2005⁴⁵ are other examples of AQ's global reach in its hybrid war against the West. Al-Qaeda is not unique in its global ambition, similar claims can be made for Hezbollah's activities in the past⁴⁶ and the contemporary Islamic State (IS), who through the so-called wave of terror fight to undermine the political will of the European population and that of its decision-makers – not unlike the Sandinista's approach.

Noteworthy as well is the band of Jihadi's moving from theatre to theatre, again demonstrating the interconnectedness of the global jihad movement. The Mujahideen were guerrilla-type militant outfits led by the Islamist Afghan warlords in the Soviet-Afghan War. Following the conflict, veterans spread out to other jihadist outfits in various countries, such as Iran in 1979, during the Iran-Iraq war, on the side of the Iraqis (1980-88). Mujahideen affiliated with AQ made appearances in various regional conflicts in the 1990s, including the Yugoslav Wars⁴⁷, the Somali Civil War, and the first and the second Chechen war⁴⁸, of which in the latter case most defected to an IS Cell, and subsequently are now present in Syria⁴⁹.

Thomas X. Hammes argues that “[i]ncreasingly, insurgents are becoming trans dimensional organisations. They are operating seamlessly across both real and cyber space. As the West has succeeded in closing training facilities and destroying cells around the world, Al-Qaeda has moved onto the web for recruiting, indoctrination, training, education, planning, and arranging travel. They have created virtual terrorist universities as well as training camps online.”⁵⁰

4.2.4. Lebanon 2006

Hezbollah itself also nurtured the development of Hybrid Warfare by “[m]ixing an organized political movement with decentralized armed cells employing adaptive tactics in ungoverned zones, Hezbollah [affirmed] an emerging trend”⁵¹. Its fighters were highly disciplined, well trained, and like the previous examples distributed between cells. This non-linear structure allowed them to contest modern conventional forces in densely urbanized areas with a combination of guerrilla insurgent tactics and modern technology. It also showed ingenuity by using C802 anti-ship cruise missiles for bombardments, representing another advance of Hybrid Warfare (the use of equipment for other uses than it is intended) and putting Hybrid Warfare as a buzz word on the map. Although, as before, the concept of hybridity in this way is hardly new, as illustrated by the 2006 Israel-Hezbollah War, its ability to persist within the modern state system, combined with its sophistication and lethality makes Hybrid Warfare by non-state actors a new occurrence.⁵² What else is new in the type of war fought by Hamas is the use and misuse of (international law) and NGOs, a topic I will not further elaborate on but will briefly touch in the next chapter when discussing lawfare and the developments from the Chinese perspective⁵³.

4.2.5 Islamic State (2014-Current)

The Islamic State (IS) started in Jordan in 1999 as the Jama'at al-Tawhid wal-Jihad (Organization of Monotheism and Jihad). After the invasion of Iraq in 2003 by the United States and the United Kingdom, JTJ pledged its support to Al-Qaeda in 2004, took on the name al-Qaeda in Iraq and played a prominent role in the Iraqi insurgency. After the defeat of its sister organization Al-Qaeda in 2011, and amidst the Arab Spring's disruption of the MENA region, the group proclaimed itself as Islamic State. A itself a caliphate and began referring to itself as Islamic State.⁵⁴

The ongoing war in Syria forces an exodus of refugees to come to both bordering nations as well as Europe, with destabilisation effects. Combined with terrorist attacks, it fuels right-wing, xenophobic, and nationalists' groups, who seem to be more effective at breaking down the western democratic system than any jihadi group before them.

The most recent addition to the development of Hybrid Warfare, Islamic State contributed in three ways. The Wave of Terror that engulfed Europe in 2015-2016 is a refinement of the suicide bombers introduced by Hezbollah in Lebanon in 1983 and Israel 1987. Aside from using explosives, the terrorists were able to bring weapons down to everyday tools, yet do not expect to survive the attack.

4.3. Conclusions

Through the past hundred years, Hybrid Warfare developed strongly among non-state actors. Traditionally these tactics have been known as weapons of the weak, though it is unwarranted to consider non-state actors weak, as Ivan Arreguín-Toft points out, over the years conflict outcome has shifted in favour of the weaker violent non-state actor.

From perspective of the VNSA, a few developments are to be highlighted. Firstly, the development of insurgency doctrine by Mao, which has subsequently been adopted, and refined by other communist revolutionaries. Secondly, the major users of hybrid tactics shifted from ideologically based (communism) to religious-based (jihadi); with this change, it also appears the opinion towards the population has shifted. Whereas for the communists, the people were an important mobilizer, the jihadi's target indiscriminately. Both show an increasing focus on undermining political will of adversaries' citizenry, or the strengthening one's own through inspiration or fear.

What have been the changes in military thinking over the past century?

The Chinese insurgency led by Mao focussed on political power as a weapon in insurgency. It is to be seen as a new form of war in its earlier stages. Mao's principles were the foundation that Hybrid Warfare developed on. Mass organisations that were interlocked in a larger network proved to be key to victory through the gathering of political power. Long before we conceived of our "modern," wired, interconnected society, which allowed contemporary insurgency groups, like IS, to remain active even when their physical assets are destroyed.

During the cold war, Hybrid Warfare, although under different monikers, has been the dominant form of war. Throughout the latter half of the XXth century a focus on the information domain developed, leading to 2006 when it was first labelled as Hybrid Warfare by Hoffman. In addition, the original creation of the term prior to its popularization is very much associated with the counter insurgency in the Second Indochina War).

What have been the changes in military practice?

Today practitioners of Hybrid Warfare do not aim at a decisive military confrontation. Instead the end game is to convince their advisory decision makers, through influencing the hearts and minds of their constituency, that a conflict is not worth the price in blood and treasure. As a result, these fourth-generation wars are long commitments. 28 years for the war fought by the Chinese Communists (1921-1949), 30 years for the Vietnamese (1945-1975), 18 years in Nicaragua (1961-1979). The Israeli occupation is being resisted for over 50 years at the moment of this writing (1967-2017), or 69 if you take 1948 as a starting point. The FARC only ended their 53-year struggle recently (1964-2017), and the Chechens and the Russians have been fighting on and off for over two centuries. Al-Qaeda and Jihadi offspring have been on the war path since 1998, entering their 20th year soon, and it would be foolish to assume IS is not going to last for a similar period in one way or another.

How have military thinking and practice interacted with or influenced each other, and how have they interacted with or influenced the development of Hybrid Warfare?

With each practitioner, starting with Mao, but arguably there are those who pre-date him as well, non-state actors have been able to learn and adapt from lessons learned from fellow and former revolutionaries and insurgence. How each interacted with one another and how they influenced one another is an avenue that may be investigated further, for it largely seems to be built on personal connections and networks. Trial and error, and building forward on each other's adjustments and lessons, allowing for a cumulative new approach of war that we contemporary label Hybrid Warfare. The Chechens, the Taliban, the al-Qaeda network, and the self-proclaimed IS caliphate are merely practitioners of a refined set of tactics that developed during the Cold War.

What have been the major determinants of the changes in Hybrid Warfare and why?

With today's focus on misinformation and strategic communication, the examples given show that this adaption developed faster for VNSA than state actors could keep up with. As time progressed information, campaigns became more sophisticated and targeted two or threefold: to the constituencies of the adversaries' population; to its own adversaries; and to the boots on the ground.

In the words of Clausewitz: "[T]he first, the supreme, the most far-reaching act of judgement that the statesman and commander have to make is to establish by that test the kind of war on which they are embarking; neither mistaking it for, nor trying to turn it into something that is alien to its nature."⁵⁵

¹ Mao Tse-tung, *Yu Chi Chan [Guerrilla Warfare]*, trans. Samuel B. Griffith II (New York: Praeger, 1961). See also: *Selected Works of Mao Tse-Tung, Vol. 1* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1954).

² Hammes, *The Sling and The Stone, On War in the 21st Century*, 44.

³ Ibid., 2.

⁴ Schadlow, "The Problem with Hybrid Warfare."

⁵ Hammes, "Modern Warfare Evolves Into A Fourth Generation," 70.

⁶ Mao Tse-tung, *On Protracted War* (Peking: People's Binding House, 1954), 137.

⁷ Ibid., 77.

⁸ Based on Hammes, *The Sling and The Stone, On War in the 21st Century*, 52.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Walzer, "Guerrilla War," 181.

¹¹ Tse-tung, *Selected Works of Mao Tse-Tung, Vol. 1*, 343.

¹² Karl Lowe, "Hybrid War in Vietnam," in *Hybrid Warfare: Fighting Complex Opponents from the Ancient World to the Present*, ed. Williamson Murray and Peter R. Mansoor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 254.

¹³ Hammes, *The Sling and The Stone, On War in the 21st Century*, 58.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ho Chi Minh, *On Revolution: Selected Writings 1920-66*, ed. and trans. Bernard B. Fall (Boulder: Westview Press, 1984).

¹⁷ For a more detailed overview of the first Indochina War see Hammes, *The Sling and The Stone, On War in the 21st Century*, 56–75. and Bernard B. Fall, *Street Without Joy* (New York: Schocken, 1961); Bernard B. Fall, *Viet-Nam Witness 1953-66* (New York: Praeger, 1966).

¹⁸ Minh, *On Revolution: Selected Writings 1920-66*, 355.

¹⁹ Hammes, *The Sling and The Stone, On War in the 21st Century*, 72.

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- ²⁰ See also Adam Lowther's discussion of Che Guevara in Adam Lowther, *Americans and Asymmetric Conflict: Lebanon, Somalia, and Afghanistan* (Westport: Praeger, 2007), 49–50.
- ²¹ Shirley Christian, *Nicaragua: Revolution in the Family* (New York: Vintage Books, 1986), 33.
- ²² David Nolan, "From FOCO to Insurrection: Sandinista Strategies of Revolution," *Air University Review* 37, no. 5 (1986): 72.
- ²³ Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars: A Moral Argument with Historical Illustrations*, 197.
- ²⁴ Adam Lowther, *Americans and Asymmetric Conflict: Lebanon, Somalia, and Afghanistan*.
- ²⁵ John H. Kelly, "Lebanon: 1982-1984," in *U.S. and Russian Policymaking With Respect to the Use of Force*, ed. Jeremy R. Azrael and Emil A. Payin (Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 1995).
- ²⁶ Marius Deeb, *Syria's Terrorist War on Lebanon and the Peace Process* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 5–39.
- ²⁷ *The U.S. Marines in Lebanon* (Wesleyan University Department of Governance, 2001).
- ²⁸ Trudy Rubin, "US Marines in Lebanon : A Solution ? Next up," *Christian Science Monitor*, July 7, 1982; John Yemma, "Lebanon; Shattered State in the Mideast," *Christian Science Monitor*, February 4, 1983; Daniel Southerland, "US Marines Only One Part of Complex Lebanon Package," *Christian Science Monitor*, July 8, 1982; Geoffrey Godsell, "'Send in the Marines'; Decisive US Action Tends to Favor PLO," *Christian Science Monitor*, July 8, 1982.
- ²⁹ T. Elaine Carey, "American Marines Meet the PLO," *Christian Science Monitor*, August 26, 1982.
- ³⁰ Laurent Belsie, "Fallout from Beirut Bombing," *Christian Science Monitor*, April 19, 1983.
- ³¹ Chicago Project on Security and Threats, "Suicide Attack Database" (Chicago: Chicago University, n.d.).
- ³² Ibid.
- ³³ Hammes, "Modern Warfare Evolves Into A Fourth Generation," 77.
- ³⁴ Mark Kramer, "The Perils of Counterinsurgency, Russia's War in Chechnya," *International Security* 29, no. 3 (2005): 25.
- ³⁵ "Za Vremya Kontrterroristicheskoi Operatsii Na Severnom Kavkaze Pogibli 22 Sapera Desantnika [During the Counterterrorist Operation in the North Caucasus 22 of the Paratroop Mine-Clearers Have Perished]," *Agentsvo Voennykh Novostei [Military News Agency]*, April 19, 2001.
- ³⁶ William J. Nemeth, "Future War and Chechnya : A Case for Hybrid Warfare" (Naval Postgraduate School, 2002).
- ³⁷ William J. Nemeth, "Future War and Chechnya : A Case for Hybrid Warfare" (Naval Postgraduate School, 2002).
- ³⁸ David J. Kilcullen, "Countering Global Insurgency," *Journal of Strategic Studies* 28, no. 4 (2005): 597.
- ³⁹ Kitztrie, *Lawfare, Law as a Weapon of War*, 43.
- ⁴⁰ William C. Banks, "Toward an Adaptive International Humanitarian Law: New Norms for New Battlefields," in *New Battlefields/Old Laws: Critical Debates on Asymmetric Warfare*, ed. William C. Banks (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 2. See also Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars: A Moral Argument with Historical Illustrations*.
- ⁴¹ Kilcullen, "Countering Global Insurgency," 600.
- ⁴² Ibid., 601.
- ⁴³ See David Meir-Levi, "Connecting the South American Terror Dots," *Front Page Magazine*, August 9, 2004.
- ⁴⁴ SITE Institute, "Developing Trends in Terrorist Strategy, Tactics, Targeting and Propaganda" (Washington D.C.: SITE Institute, 2004).
- ⁴⁵ Nic Robertson, Paul Cruickshank, and Tim Lister, "Documents Give New Details on Al Qaeda's London Bombings," *CNN*, April 30, 2012.
- ⁴⁶ See Matthew Levitt, "Smeared in Blood , Hezbollah Fingerprints All Over Globe," *The Australian*, June 9, 2003., and Ely Karmon, "FIGHT ON ALL FRONTS"; *Hizballah, the War on Terror, and the War in Iraq* (Washington D.C.: Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 2003).
- ⁴⁷ Mark Urban, "Bosnia: The Cradle of Modern Jihadism?," *BBC News*, July 2, 2015. See also Vlado Azinović and Muhammed Jusić, "The Lure of the Syrian War: The Foreign Fighters' Bosnian Contingent," 2015.
- ⁴⁸ Kramer, "The Perils of Counterinsurgency, Russia's War in Chechnya," 60.
- ⁴⁹ "Holy Warriors," *The Economist*, 2014; "Fight the Good Fight," *The Economist*, April 18, 2015.
- ⁵⁰ Hammes, "Modern Warfare Evolves Into A Fourth Generation," 74.
- ⁵¹ Hoffman, "Lessons from Lebanon: Hezbollah and Hybrid Wars."
- ⁵² Alex Deep, "Hybrid War: Old Concept, New Techniques," *Small Wars Journal*, March 2, 2015.
- ⁵³ While not limited to the Hamas-Israeli conflict, the most sophisticated use of NGO lawfare is seen on both sides of the conflict. For an extensive list see chapters 6, 7 and 8 in Kitztrie, *Lawfare, Law as a Weapon of War*.

⁵⁴ Bill Roggio, "ISIS Announces Formation of Caliphate, Rebrands as 'Islamic State,'" *Long War Journal*, June 29, 2014; Adam Withnall, "Iraq Crisis: Isis Changes Name and Declares Its Territories a New Islamic State with 'Restoration of Caliphate' in Middle East"., *The Independent*, June 30, 2014.

⁵⁵ Von Clausewitz, *On War*, 88.

5. The Chinese Perspective (Unrestricted Warfare, Three Warfares and Lawfare)

Unlike the other three actors (Russia, Western and Violent Non-State Actor Groups) described in this thesis, Hybrid Warfare largely developed independently in China and influenced other actors, then be influenced by external partners itself. Like conventional military Theory, it seems, Chinese Hybrid Warfare developed earlier than its western counter parts. Predating Western civilisation by over a millennium, the Sinic world examined war and statecraft at a much earlier point in the world's history. In the previous chapter, I discussed developments of Hybrid Warfare by Mao as a non-state actor in the XXth century. After his founding of the People's Republic of China (PRC), Mao, as illustrated before, became the source and inspiration of many revolutionaries. In the thirty years following the founding of the PRC the communist relation between China and (Soviet) Russia worsened, the era is marked by the Sino-Soviet split and Sino-American Rapprochement. As a result, China was reluctant to involve itself in the Vietnam war and to my knowledge thinking of war was largely put on a lower priority. Nevertheless, the Chinese brought forward the concept of Unrestricted Warfare as a philosophy and call to think innovatively on warfare, and further developed three specific approaches to warfare: named the *Three Warfares*. In this chapter I dedicate a large part to the development of Lawfare, which is not inherently limited to the Chinese perspective – however, the Chinese have, unlike other actors, fully embraced the concept and institutionalised it. Within this chapter, I will also bring forth examples of the other three actors with references to their corresponding chapters.

5.1. Unrestricted Warfare Qiao and Wang (1999)

In 1999, two Chinese colonels, Qiao Liang and Wang Xiangsui, published the book 'Unrestricted Warfare'. The book's title coins a new Chinese doctrine akin to Hybrid Warfare. At the time, much more than currently, China was a much weaker state vis-à-vis the United States, which had recently demonstrated its superior military might during the gulf war (1990-1991). Qiao and Wang propose a variety of different ways to defeat the United States without contending with its superior air power. As the authors explain, the U.S. showed vulnerabilities in the theatres of low-intensity conflict. Qiao and Wang recommend a combination of low- and high-tech means, and, ahead of their time, argued for a focus on cyber capabilities. Furthermore, a focus on urban terror warfare, as practised by Chechnya vs Russia, Lebanon vs the United States, the IRA and the ETA as well as the global Jihad were recognised as a way to impose psychological shock to the adversary.

Noteworthy, in particular, is the perceived link between China and Al-Qaeda, highlighted by Al Santoli in the 2007 English translation of the book. Santoli argues that 9/11 was not a seemingly random act by AQ on it's own merit. He refers to a section later in *Unrestricted Warfare* where it is suggested that "a major explosion at the World Trade Center or a bombing attack by bin Laden" are examples of how Hybrid Warfare could be conducted by a weaker actor to bring down a stronger actor, like the United States. This passage appeared in the 1999 publication, thus originates more than three years before the September 11 attacks¹.

While such a connection has, to my knowledge, never been confirmed, the link between China and the Taliban in the form of training and arming has been confirmed by U.S. intelligence². It is not unrealistic to think Unrestricted Warfare's concepts were discussed by Chinese trainers, which in turn inspired UBL to execute the attack.

5.2. Three Warfares (2003)

Four years after the publication of Unrestricted Warfare, the Chinese Central Military Commission (CMC) approved "San Zhong Zhanfa", which loosely translates to the concept of three warfares. Whether they were built forward on the philosophic Unrestricted Warfare, or whether Unrestricted Warfare reflected an already ongoing conceptual thinking about warfare that started earlier is unknown to me, and for the sake of the argument does not matter, but publications show a proactive thinking process of Chinese senior leadership. The three warfares would serve as an umbrella for information operations, propaganda and psychological operations. I have not been able to verify why these three were further developed, and whether the other ideas presented in Unrestricted Warfare have not been developed, or what the reason was for prioritizing the Three Warfares. Either way, the Chinese San Zhong Zhanfa focusses on the following:

Psychological Warfare	seeks to undermine an enemy's ability to conduct combat operations through operations aimed at deterring, shocking, and demoralizing enemy military personnel and supporting civilian populations
Media Warfare	is aimed at influencing domestic and international public opinion to build support for China's military actions and dissuade an adversary from pursuing actions contrary to China's interests
Legal Warfare	uses international and domestic law to claim the legal high ground or assert Chinese interests. It can be employed to hamstring an adversary's operational freedom and shape the operational space. Legal warfare is also intended to build international support and manage possible political repercussions of China's military actions

Box 4: San Zhong Zhanfa, the Three Warfares³

The primary target of China's Three Warfares has been Taiwan, both a long dispute and experimentation area of China (not unlike how Georgia served as a testing ground for Russian operations in Ukraine). The General Political Department's Liaison Department (GPD/LD), responsible for the operationalization of Three Warfares, has as mandate to exploit the "political, cultural, and social frictions inside Taiwan, undermining trust between varying political military authorities, delegitimizing Taiwan's international position, and gradually subverting Taiwan's public perceptions to reunite Taiwan on Beijing's terms"⁴.

A second target for Three Warfares is the Chinese South Sea dispute, a territorial dispute between China, Vietnam, Malaysia, the Philippines, Taiwan and Japan that can be traced back to 1970s – when deposits of natural resources, including oil were discovered in the area. The conflict gained media attention when China moved to 'internationalise' a particular dispute with Vietnam, using the UN for propaganda purposes while at the same time rejecting UN arbitration⁵, a tactic described in Qiao and Wang's unrestricted warfare⁶. However, as Michael

Raska points out, targeting is not limited to China's rivals in the near abroad, but also increasing focusses Europe and the U.S.⁷ I decided to go into more detail in lawfare, which of these three is most developed by the PRC while touching upon the other two when discussing the developments in Russia (Media Warfare) and the U.S. (Psychological Warfare).

5.3 Lawfare

5.3.1 Lawfare origins

The term lawfare was coined by Major General (ret) Charles Dunlap in November 2001 in recognition of law's increasing utility as a weapon of war⁸. Dunlap, at that time an Air Force Colonel, defined lawfare "as the strategy of using, or misusing, law as a substitute for traditional military means to achieve an operational objective"⁹. The word itself originates from a 1975 paper on mediation. In which the authors expressed their concern about the adversarial nature that the western legal system appeared to embrace, arguing that "[l]awfare replaces warfare and the duel is with words rather than swords".¹⁰

Professor Orde Kittrie finds that, while the term has been introduced in a discussion and on the western legal system, and subsequently vaulted into the mainstream legal and international relations literature by Charles Dunlap, the United States military has only "sporadically engaged with the concept of lawfare"¹¹. To my knowledge, the U.S. government does not have a lawfare strategy or doctrine. Nor does the U.S. "have an office or interagency mechanism that systematically develops or coordinates offensive lawfare or defences against lawfare"¹². The lack of a lawfare strategy is heavily in contrast with the PLC, who as illustrated earlier, has adopted a similar defined concept as part of its doctrine. For China, 'legal warfare' is a major component of its strategy, while for Western approaches, law is often seen as a barrier or afterthought. I will place the discussion of lawfare in this chapter, and a variation of lawfare related to counter-insurgency in chapter 7.

Kittrie argues that socioeconomic and technological factors have made law a more powerful and prevalent weapon in contemporary conflicts, though they came to the fore twenty-five years ago in the early 90s. This particularly applies to the (mis) use of the law of armed conflict (LOAC). Kittrie states: "[I]t is not surprising that during the five years before Dunlap's essay, several international legal and policy officials and analysts referred to the increasing power of law as a weapon of war, in many senses anticipating his argument – albeit without using the term."¹³ Such examples include the description of law as a weapon provided in *Unrestricted Warfare*¹⁴, or PRC's President Jaing Zemin advice to "[become] adept at using international law as a weapon"¹⁵. The discussion of David Rivkin and Lee Casey to which Dunlap wrote his reply, is another example. In this debate, Rivkin and Casey "warn international law may prove to be one of the most potent weapons ever deployed against the United States"¹⁶.

Noteworthy in the discussion on the development of lawfare and subsequently of Hybrid Warfare is Dunlap's value change towards lawfare. While in his first writing he describes lawfare as largely malign. Dunlap writes "there is disturbing evidence that the rule of law is being hijacked into just another way of fighting (lawfare), to the detriment of humanitarian values as well as the law itself"¹⁷. He continues: "foes of the United States" who are "no longer

able to seriously confront – let alone defeat - America militarily . . . resort to a strategy that can be labelled ‘lawfare’”.¹⁸ Whereas in more recent writings he came to a value-neutral definition: “[Lawfare is] wielded by either side in a belligerency”¹⁹ and “for good or bad purposes, depending on the mindset of those who wield it”²⁰. Here Dunlap refers to the use of lawfare related to counter-insurgency.

5.3.2 Lawfare and Hybrid Warfare

Kittrie provides with five reasons for the increasing influence of lawfare; the first (A) also applies to the broader influence of Hybrid Warfare or in the words of Kittrie: “The mutually reinforcing Increases in Influence of Lawfare and Other Asymmetric Warfares”. Two other factors identified are more lawfare specific: (B) the rise of NGOs who have a focus on related issues, and (C) the increased number of international laws and institutions (and their authority/recognition). Two more factors are more tangential and relate to other forms of Hybrid Warfare in a different way; these are the information technology revolution (D) and the advance of globalisation and (economic) interdependence (E)²¹.

As was mentioned before, the terms lawfare, asymmetric warfare and Hybrid Warfare came to the fore in the last years of the XXth century. Similar relations between the new forms of war have been explored by the Romanian political analyst Iulian Chifu.²²

In his book, *Asymmetric Warfare* Ron Thorton includes a thoughtful analysis of the term’s genesis. He explains that by the 1990s “a variety of factors, more than at any time hitherto in the history of human conflict” had begun to create for relatively “small, weak players” both the need and the opportunity “to have great effect on their stronger foes in distinctly new and profound ways”²³. A similar analysis is given by Qiao and Wang, who saw China as weak vis-à-vis the United States²⁴.

As mentioned in the previous chapters, non-state actors of the jihadi persuasion have a different measurement of victory and are therefore not restricted by the international law of armed conflict, which they openly reject. Furthermore, groups such as AQ and IS maintain that “it is acceptable to kill noncombatants because they bear responsibility for harms suffered by Muslims”²⁵.

Kittrie concludes that the jihadist’ different metrics and legal principles, combined with their rejection of western law feeds the compliance-disparity lawfare waged by Hamas, IS, Taliban and other Jihadist groups, in which [terrorists] selective call upon international law when it fits their agenda, while at the same time violate international law on numerous occasions.

A second and third factor of increasing influence of lawfare and hybrid war, in general, is the Westerner’s aversion for long wars and casualties, while its adversaries such as Russia, China and IS assume that wars will last for decades. As such they put more focus on short-term gains in lawfare (such as U.N. votes or I.C.J investigations etc.), which do not have a direct impact on the ground but can be used for propaganda value in the short term, and more significant cumulative impact over a longer period.

On point B raised by Kittrie, it is worthwhile to worthy as well that NGOs themselves have engaged in lawfare. Today, for example, NGOs such as Defend Europe (anti-migration) and

Migrant Office Aid Station (pro-migration) are battling one another in the Mediterranean Sea over migration²⁶. Another, older, such example is the Gaza Freedom Flotilla which on multiple occasions has attempted to break the Israeli imposed blockade on Gaza²⁷, but were blocked by the Shurat HaDin, an Israeli civil rights organisation²⁸.

5.3.3 Chinese Lawfare development

Consistent with Sun Tzu's maxim "[t]o win one hundred victories in one hundred battles is not the pinnacle of excellence; defeating the enemy without fighting is the pinnacle of excellence"²⁹ the PRC has, as mentioned earlier institutionalised lawfare within its military structure as early as 2003. Since then several PRC texts have been dedicated to *falū zhan*, the synonymous term in Chinese for 'legal warfare', putting the development of Chinese lawfare in a rapid cascade.

Building forward on the conceptual *Unrestricted Warfare* and with the approval of the CMC, the first important text is written by a leading Chinese jurist, Cong Wensheng. Wensheng wrote '*Analysis of 100 Cases of Legal Warfare*' for the PLA in 2004. In which he discusses "controlling the enemy through the law, or using the law to constrain the enemy"³⁰. Wensheng concludes "users can find a lot of room for manipulation in the respects of the content, timing and extent of application [of the law of war]" and "in the future military struggles, our army should . . . enhance the art and level in the application of the law of war so as to attain the best effect".³¹

Following the book by Wensheng, the PLA commissioned Xun Hengdong, a military attorney, to write a book titled '*Legal Warfare in Modern War*'. Xun writes that the pressures of war do not allow restraint and as a result, all nations involved with war are by definition violating parts of (international) LOAC³². Xun argues that LAOC should not be seen as an inviolable set of boundaries but rather as a weapon "to achieve such objectives as manipulating the perceptions of the (international) community"³³.

A third influential text published by the PLA is the text titled *Under Informatized Conditions: Legal Warfare*. In this PLA text "legal warfare" is defined to include "activities conducted by using the law as the weapon and through measures and methods such as legal deterrence, legal attack, legal counterattack, legal restraint, legal sanctions, and legal protections"³⁴.

The Chinese understanding of lawfare/warfare reflects what its western counterparts have dubbed the Whole-Of-Force concept. Orde Kittrie draws up the translated work of U.S. Airforce Captain Paul Stempel, reflecting: "war is not only a military struggle, but also a comprehensive contest on fronts of politics, economy, diplomacy, and law"³⁵.

According to Kittrie, the years following 2008 the Chinese legal system saw a significant deterioration in the process toward the rule of law, as it experienced greater party control and increasingly harsh punishment for attorneys defending people's rights against the government³⁶. Furthermore, when Xi Jinping came to power, he referred in speeches to "law and order" rather than the "rule of law". Jinping resuscitated Mao's metaphor of the state's judicial and police functions as a knife, while also asserting "that the party must ensure the handle of the knife is firmly in the hands of the party and the people". Consistent with the

PRC's sharply instrumental use of law domestically, China engaged in lawfare in several international arenas, and in particular maritime, aviation, space and cyber³⁷.

5.4 Conclusions

The PRC has quickly adopted forms of Hybrid Warfare as counter action to U.S. air superiority demonstrated during the first Gulf War, and in particular, has become adept at the use of Lawfare over the past one and a half-decade. Lawfare remains a development with little scholarly attention, Kittrie's 2016 book being the first English-language book that provides a broad overview of lawfare as defined by Dunlap fifteen years before the publication of *'Lawfare: Law as a weapon of war'*

The PRC's use of lawfare seems consistent with the doctrines of the Chinese Communist Party Chairman Mao Zedong, as well as those of Sun Tzu. Unlike many Western strategists, Mao also tended to think of the cash of arms as just one element, and not necessarily the most important element, of conflict.³⁸

From the Chinese perspective, the conceptual Unrestricted Warfare was the start of a way to wage war with a preference to the non-kinetic. Building forward on the ideas of Qiao and Wang, as well as on ideas that can be traced back to Mao (see chapter 4), Hybrid Warfare, and in particular the three warfares. The PRC has exploited psychological Warfare, Media (Information Warfare) and became an expert in Lawfare.

What have been the changes in military thinking over the past century?

A major shift in military thinking is the development of seeing war as a comprehensive effort which goes beyond the realm of the military.

What have been the changes in military practice?

Unlike its Western counterparts, the Chinese have institutionalised bodies and committees dealing with non-kinetic forms of warfare, such as information campaigns and lawfare within the military structure.

The second change in practice is the use and misuse of NGOs to wage war on behalf of the interest of the state or non-state actor. This development is not limited to the Chinese and is also widely used in other arenas (for example, the Hamas-Israel conflict), as illustrated in the origins of lawfare discussed in this chapter.

How have military thinking and practice interacted with or influenced each other, and how have they interacted with or influenced the development of Hybrid Warfare?

In particular, for the Chinese military thinking it was the military practice of its adversaries (mainly the U.S.) that influenced the development of Hybrid Warfare. Seeking a way to rival the U.S. military strength Chinese military thinkers looked for creative and innovative ways of projecting force and attaining military objectives without confronting kinetically with the U.S. or its allies. For the past twenty-five years, the largest military force (in absolute numbers) has not engaged in military conflict.

What have been the major determinants of the changes in Hybrid Warfare and why?

The major determinant of this change in thinking and practice is the show of force demonstrated by the United States in the First Gulf War and the operations in Bosnia and Kosovo. The PRC realized it would not be able to rival its adversary in the air domain, and knowing that attempts to do so would result in direct response from the United States, the PRC opted for a more concealed approach by embracing the ideas of international law and (western based) international institutions and adapted to using these to their advantage.

¹ Qiao and Wang, *Unrestricted Warfare*, vii-viii; 121-122.

² Bill Gertz and Rowan Scarborough, "Inside the Ring: China-Al-Qaeda Nexus," *Washington Times*, December 21, 2001; Bill Gertz, "China-Made Artillery Seized in Afghanistan," *Washington Times*, April 12, 2002; Scott Baldauf, "How Al-Qaeda Seeks to Buy Chinese Arms," *Christian Science Monitor*, August 23, 2002.

³ Office of the Secretary of Defense (DoD), "Military and Security Developments Involving the People's Republic of China 2011, Annual Report to Congress" (Washington D.C., 2011).

⁴ Michael Raska, "China and the 'Three Warfares,'" *The Diplomat*, December 18, 2015.

⁵ Carl Thayer, "China's Information Warfare Campaign and the South China Sea: Bring It On!," *The Diplomat*, June 16, 2014; Zachary Keck, "China 'Internationalizes' South China Sea Dispute," *The Diplomat*, June 10, 2014.

⁶ Qiao and Wang, *Unrestricted Warfare*, 155-64.

⁷ Raska, "China and the 'Three Warfares.'"

⁸ Charles J. Dunlap Jr., "Law and Military Interventions: Preserving Humanitarian Values in 21st Conflicts," in *Humanitarian Challenges in Military Intervention Conference*, 2001.

⁹ Charles J. Dunlap Jr., "Lawfare Today: A Perspective," *Yale Journal of International Affairs* Winter (2008): 146.

¹⁰ John Carlson and Neville Yeomans, "Whither Goeth the Law - Humanity or Barbarity," *The Way Out - Radical Alternatives in Australia*, 1975.

¹¹ Kittrie, *Lawfare, Law as a Weapon of War*, 3.

¹² Kittrie, *Lawfare, Law as a Weapon of War*, 3.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 5.

¹⁴ Qiao and Wang, *Unrestricted Warfare*.

¹⁵ Odom, "A China in the Bull Shop? Comparing the Rhetoric of a Rising China with the Reality of the International Law of the Sea," 201, 223.

¹⁶ David B. Jr. Rivkin and Lee A. Casey, "The Rocky Shoals of International Law," *National Interest*, no. 62 (Winter 2000/2001): 36.

¹⁷ Dunlap Jr., "Law and Military Interventions: Preserving Humanitarian Values in 21st Conflicts."

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ Charles J. Dunlap Jr., "Lawfare Today . . . and Tomorrow," in *International Law and the Changing Character of War*, ed. Raul A. Pedrozo and Daria P. Wollschlaeger (Newport: U.S Naval War College, 2011), 315-25.

²⁰ Charles J. Dunlap Jr., "Does Lawfare Need an Apologia," *Case Western Reserve Journal of International Law* 43, no. 121 (2011): 122.

²¹ In this chapter I will only delve into the first factor – for an explanation of the other four factors see Kittrie, *Lawfare, Law as a Weapon of War*, 40-50.

²² Iulian Chifu, "Hybrid Warfare, Lawfare, Informational War. the Wars of the Future," in *Proceedings International Scientific Conference Strategies XXI. The Complex Dynamic Nature of the Security Environment*, ed. Stan Anton and Iuliana Simona Tutuianu (Bucharest: "Carol I" National Defence University, 2007), 203-12. See also Greg Simons and Iulian Chifu, *The Changing Face of Warfare in the 21st Century* (London: Routledge, 2017).

²³ Thornton, *Asymmetric Warfare: Threat and Response in the 21st Century*, 19.

²⁴ Qiao and Wang, *Unrestricted Warfare*.

²⁵ Banks, "Toward an Adaptive International Humanitarian Law: New Norms for New Battlefields," 11.

²⁶ Claude Berube and Chris Rawley, "Dueling NGOs on the Seas: 'What Ships Are For,'" *War on the Rocks*, August 2, 2017.

²⁷ George Jonas, "Using Lawfare to Anchor the Gaza Flotilla," *The National Post*, July 6, 2011; Ariel Zirulnick, "Israel's Navy Trains for Second Major Gaza Flotilla," *Christian Science Monitor*, May 31, 2011.

²⁸ Nitsana Darshan-leitner, "Sinking the Gaza Flotilla" (Ramat Gan, 2011). See also Kittrie, *Lawfare, Law as a Weapon of War*, 311–17.

²⁹ Tzu, "The Art of War."

³⁰ Zong Wensheng, *Faluzhan Yibaili Jingdian Anli Pingxi [Analysis of 100 Cases of Legal Warfare]* (PLA Publishing House, 2004), 5., quoted in Dean Cheng, "Winning Without Fighting: Chinese Legal Warfare," *Heritage Foundation Backgrounder*, May 18, 2012, 7.

³¹ Wensheng, *Faluzhan Yibaili Jingdian Anli Pingxi [Analysis of 100 Cases of Legal Warfare]*, 5.

³² Paul A. Stempel, "Reading Lawfare in Chinese: The Meaning of the Term 'Falu Zhan' ('Lawfare') in Chinese Military Literature," (*Unpublished Article*), 2011. Quoted in Kittrie, *Lawfare, Law as a Weapon of War*, 162. Stempel notes that in a Chinese translation of Dunlap's original text on Lawfare, the term is replaced with Falu Zhan, which is translated as Legal Warfare. See also Paul A. Stempel, "The Soul of the Chinese Military: Good Order and Discipline in the People's Liberation Army," *National Security Law Journal* 1, no. 1 (2013): 1–38. The original book, which has not been translated into English is Xun Hengdong, *Lawfare in Modern War* (PLA Publishing House, 2005).

³³ Stempel, "Reading Lawfare in Chinese: The Meaning of the Term 'Falu Zhan' ('Lawfare') in Chinese Military Literature"; Stempel, "The Soul of the Chinese Military: Good Order and Discipline in the People's Liberation Army."

³⁴ Song Yunxia, *Under Informatized Conditions: Legal Warfare* (PLA Publishing House, 2007), 7. Quoted in Odom, "A China in the Bull Shop? Comparing the Rhetoric of a Rising China with the Reality of the International Law of the Sea," 224.

³⁵ Stempel, "Reading Lawfare in Chinese: The Meaning of the Term 'Falu Zhan' ('Lawfare') in Chinese Military Literature." Quoted in Kittrie, *Lawfare, Law as a Weapon of War*, 162.

³⁶ Elizabeth M. Lynch, "The Legal Profession Since the Adoption of the 2007 Lawyers Law," *George Washington International Law Review* 42 (2011): 535.

³⁷ Kittrie, *Lawfare, Law as a Weapon of War*, 164–65. The most known case is the South Chinese Sea Dispute, see for example Thayer, "China's Information Warfare Campaign and the South China Sea: Bring It On!"; Keck, "China 'Internationalizes' South China Sea Dispute." For other cases see Kittrie, *Lawfare, Law as a Weapon of War*, 165–86.

³⁸ William R. Kintner, *Protracted Conflict: A Challenging Study of Communist Strategy* (New York: Harper & Brothers / HarperCollins, 1959).

6. The Russian Perspective (Deception, Information warfare and Stratcom)

As the Chinese sought to find a niche in legal warfare, so did the Russians specialise in information warfare, influence and deception. The 2015 military doctrine¹ and national security strategy² put an emphasise on combining variations of irregular warfare with political subversion. For Russia, this is far from novel, with Russian military thought originating in Tsarist times. Deception (*maskirovka* in Russian)³ is as regular a tool in the toolbox as an AK-47.

Jānis Bērziņš, director of the Center for Security and Strategic Research (CSSR) at the National Defense Academy of Latvia, writes, “The Russians have placed the idea of influence at the very centre of their operational planning and used all possible levers to achieve this: the skilful internal communications; deception operations; psychological operations and well-constructed external communications”.⁴

6.1. Hybrid war during the Soviet Era (1922 – 1991)

6.1.1 Reznichenko and Maskirovka (1922-1945)

The Russian affiliation with deception is documented by Vasily Gerasimovich Reznichenko, a Russian Lieutenant-General who fought in World War II. Reznichenko writes the book ‘*Taktika*’ (tactics), “the objective of camouflage is to conceal from the enemy the true position of our troops and to give him a false idea of it and thereby to lead him into error and force him to a conclusion which does not correspond to the situation. Furthermore, camouflage constitutes the most important means of achieving surprise, which is one of the basic conditions for success in battle.”⁵

While documented approaches to *maskirovka* are traced back to World War II as an established tactic, it is ingrained within Russian military doctrine. I have been unable to find what motivated the Soviet’s to embrace deception as a key element in military operations. Mark Galeotti, an expert and renowned author on transnational crime and Russian security affairs, argues that these roots lay further in the past than that my research covers. In the era of tsarist conquests of the North Caucasus, 18th and 19th centuries, Tsarist Russia employed false flag operations and made use of compound formations⁶.

Until 1981 there had been writing on *maskirovka* by Russian authors, but to my knowledge, the first English synthesis was done by at that time U.S. Major Kenneth Keating. “The Russian word *maskirovka*”, Keating writes, “is usually translated as camouflage. [I]t is used by the Soviets to describe these measures, much more is encompassed in what Keating calls the Soviet system of camouflage than those measures normally associated with the term camouflage”.⁷ Following Keating’s examples, it can be deduced that camouflage was ingrained as a standard in Russian operational practice, rather than a tool in the toolbox that occasionally is used by its Western counterparts.

Maskirovka is based on four guiding principles:

Activity	“the active nature of camouflage convinces the enemy of the presence of weapons and troops in places where they are not” ⁸
Conviction	“the measures taken appear convincing to the enemy, creating an impression of reality in scale, time, and place” ⁹
Continuity	consistent and timely execution of camouflage measures. Concealing materials must constantly be renewed and refreshed ¹⁰
Variety	the exclusion of a pattern in implementing camouflage measures, in the selection of techniques and means of camouflage ¹¹

Box 5: Maskirovka principles

Aside from, for that time, sophisticated uses of camouflage and concealment of troops and equipment Keating’s thesis also reveals the roots of disinformation in Renichenko’s writings. According to the sixth volume of the Soviet military encyclopaedia maskirovka also consist of the intentional spreading of false information (contemporary fake news) about one’s forces, their composition, armament, fighting efficiency, combat operation plans, and so on. The ultimate goal is to mislead the adversary, thereby creating more favourable conditions for achieving success⁸.

6.1.2 Proxy Wars in the cold war (1945-1991)

The ideas of maskirovka fits the limited wars waged in the XXth century as part of the Cold War. Sir Lawrence Freedman, professor of War Studies at King’s College London noticed the limited nature of Hybrid Warfare and linked this back to both the U.S and the U.S.S.R use of proxies to solve their disputes under the umbrella of Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD). This approach made sure the conflict would not escalate to a level of conflict where nuclear weapons were necessary, leading to so-called limited wars.

The characteristics of limited war fit the contemporary definition of hybrid warfare. Both avoid escalating above a certain (nuclear) threshold, the kinetic elements are limited in its operation time, and similar the area of operations is limited. Many of the non-state conflicts drawn up in chapter 4 are examples of U.S.-U.S.S.R proxy wars, in which both parties picked a side fitting to their ideology (though commonly characterized as capitalism versus communism – this was not always the case as with the U.S. backing of Mujahideen in Afghanistan. The Mujahideen were not per se in favour of capitalism, but they were opposing Russian introduced communism).

6.1.3 Hybrid Warfare in Afghanistan (1979-1988)

This latter conflict, arguable, the indirect trigger for the downfall of the Soviet Union⁹ is a shaping moment in the development of (the western understanding of) Hybrid Warfare on the one hand and the Russian development of warfare on the contrary. The Soviet war in Afghanistan was more akin to counterinsurgency and the Hoffman understanding of Hybrid Warfare that I will explore in chapter 7. Over time the Russian’s employed tribal militias and local strongmen to do their bidding. Often these were involved with criminal activities such

as drug trafficking¹⁰. These third parties were often motivated by financial gain or the lure of autonomy¹¹.

Initially, the Soviet-Afghan war was clouded by an active information warfare component¹² until Gorbachev's glasnost [openness] initiative¹³. Throughout the conflict, the Russians made use of Afghanistan KhAD, the counterpart to Russia's KGB. During the course of the conflict, KhAD changed his name to WAD, but its operations remained the same. KhAD/WAD's operations were focussed on limiting foreign assistance, disrupt the rebel movements. Meanwhile, the KGB's Spetsnaz and KhAD/WAD gangs masqueraded as rebels to stage false flag operations or gather intelligence¹⁴.

6.2 The Russian Federation and Hybrid War (1991 – 2017)

6.2.1 Chechnya and the Kadyrovtsy (1994-2009)

I touched upon this conflict briefly in chapter 4 to illustrate the hybrid society that was created in Chechnya. I draw upon it again here as its experience has shaped Russia's approach to Hybrid Warfare. Within the Chechen conflict, we see a shift from Russia's Iron Fist approach towards the insurgents towards a variation of winning hearts and minds¹⁵, as well as a form of Hybrid Warfare Hoffman refers to as compound warfare (CW)¹⁶ – the combination of regular armed forces with loyal paramilitary units from the theatre.

Aside from fighting (Afghanistan) or empowering insurgents (proxy wars) abroad, the Russian Federation also had to deal with insurgency within its regions. Most former Soviet states claimed independence from Russia after the fall of the U.S.S.R without bloodshed. This was not the case for Chechnya which was plagued by civil war, causing the Russian Federation to intervene in 1994. The intervention led to two short wars known as the First Chechen War, between 1994 and 1996, followed by the Second Chechen War in 1999-2000, which was prolonged by an insurgency phase lasting till 2009. The First Chechen War was a crude and brutal, and eventually ineffective, counter-insurgency campaign with a focus on kinetic force to quell the insurgency. The Hybrid Warfare scholar Mark Galeotti argues that in the first war, the Russian ability to employ lessons learned was limited. However, in the second war, they have used proxy militia, employing the lessons of Afghanistan¹⁷. In this case, the Kadyrovtsy.

The term 'Kadyrovtsy', is used to describe militiamen loyal to the Chechen leader, Ramzan Kadyrov. The Kadyrovtsy only really came to power in 1999 when Kadyrov, switched sides in favour of the Russian Federation. Šmíd and Mareš conclude that "the case of the Kadyrovtsy is an example of a Machiavellian policy employed to suppress counterinsurgency on one's own territory"¹⁸.

6.2.2 Gerasimov and the Colour Revolutions (2000-2014)

A common misconception of Russian's thinking about Hybrid Warfare is the Gerasimov doctrine. In the '*Voenna-promyshlennyyi kur'er*' (Military Industrial Courier), the Russian Chief of Staff Valery Gerasimov wrote:

"The very "rules of war" have changed. The role of non-military means of achieving political and strategic goals has grown, and, in many cases, they have exceeded the power of force of weapons in their effectiveness. . . . The focus of applied methods of conflict has altered in the direction of the broad use of political, economic,

informational, humanitarian, and other non-military measures—applied in coordination with the protest potential of the population.”¹⁹

For lack of a better understanding, western analysts referred to this article as the Gerasimov doctrine, while also using the term Hybrid Warfare to describe the tactics described by Gerasimov. They believed Gerasimov described a ‘New Generation Warfare’ doctrine²⁰. However, rather than describing Russian NGW, Gerasimov was talking about Hybrid Warfare employed by the west linked to the so-called Colour Revolutions.²¹ Nevertheless, the term does pop up now and then, which then tends to be quickly corrected.

Gerasimov views the colour revolution as a "new U.S. and European approach to warfare that focuses on creating destabilizing revolutions in other states as a means of serving their security interests at low cost and with minimal casualties."²² The term colour revolution has been used to describe various breakaway movements that developed as the former Soviet Union was falling apart and revolutionary movements in the former Yugoslavia society that led to the Yugoslav Wars.²³

The most recent of these revolutions are the protests in Ukraine as part of the Revolution of Dignity, better known as the Euromaidan Revolution in 2014. This revolution, eventually leading up to Russian occupation of parts of Ukraine and the illegal annexation of Crimea, was seen as a new form of warfare by Defence Minister Sergei Shoigu and Foreign Minister Sergai Lavrov²⁴. Alternatively, at least, it was used as a legitimization of the Crimea annexation. It also prompted President Vladimir Putin to state that it is Russia duty to prevent colour revolutions, "We see what tragic consequences the wave of so-called color revolutions led to. For us this is a lesson and a warning. We should do everything necessary so that nothing similar ever happens in Russia."²⁵

6.2.3 Surkov’s Short Story and Non-Linear Warfare (2014)

The tactics employed by Russia do not match the definition of Hoffman I discussed in chapter 3. Rather than Hybrid Warfare, the correct term to describe the new Russian approach to war would be Non-Linear Warfare²⁶, to illustrate the lack of formal lines of communications. The term was introduced by Vladislav Surkov, a political advisor to Putin. Surkov wrote under his pseudonym, Nathan Dubovitsky, and the short story was published a few days before the annexation of Crimea²⁷. Oddly enough the publication and the story itself received little attention, even after the annexation of Crimea.

The idea that Russian operations on Crimea are not Hybrid Warfare (following the Hoffman definition²⁸) is also asserted by a group of researchers from the Rand Corporation, instead of drawing upon Maskirovka and the western misunderstanding caused by the deception²⁹. These operations remain inherently military but may be supported with hybrid tactics such as lawfare and criminal operations.

Surkov’s short story is set in a dystopian future, in the aftermath of the “fifth world war” (it is unclear what the third and fourth world wars are in Surkov’s view). He writes:

*"It was the first non-linear war. In the primitive wars of the 19th and 20th centuries, it was common for just two sides to fight. Two countries, two blocks of allies. Now four coalitions collided. Not two against two, or three against one. All against all."*³⁰

While Surkov may not be the inventor behind the non-linear war, British Journalist Peter Pomerantsev, known for his book *'Nothing Is True, and Everything Is Possible: The Surreal Heart of the New Russia'* (2005)³¹ believes the short story gives insight into Russia's new approach. He argues that Russia is using globalisation and interconnectivity to its advantage. Exemplarily in Ukraine, rather than going nation against nation, as Surkov describes in the "primitive wars", it's tactic is focused on using local gangs and paramilitaries and local power brokers. These actors fuel a degree of separatism that "help[s] guarantee [the security of local power brokers] while ensuring that their vast financial global interests are not harmed"³².

6.2.4 Information Warfare and current operations (2014-2017)

Similar Non-Linear Warfare sensibility is evident in media campaigns. While the use of information campaigns, including propaganda, is not limited to the Russian Federation (we already saw use of it being made by both non-state actors and the PRC, and will see the western states also to be adept at it), Russia has developed a certain aptitude and skill for the information warfare.

Whereas the Soviet Union was limited to influencing communists supporting the far left, today's non-bi-polar world allows Russia to tailor a plethora of messages to various groups. The narrative of resisting U.S. hegemony (NATO as a puppet of the U.S.A, NATO as a warmonger) is tailored to the far-left, right-nationalists such as France's Front National, Brexiteers or Hungary's Jobbik are swayed by anti-EU messages, while religious conservatives are drawn by Kremlin's narrative of defending Christian tradition, while at the same time portraying the west as Sodom and Gomorrah. These efforts are commonly known as Russia's Troll Factory or Internet Brigade³³. "The result", Pomerantsev writes "is an array of voices, all working away at Western audiences from different angles, producing a cumulative echo chamber of Kremlin support."³⁴ Like in the examples in the previous two chapters, here also NGOs and other organizations such as private (military) companies that play a part in forwarding the Kremlin designed narrative, sometimes consciously and sometimes as so-called "useful idiots".

According to Janis Sarts, director of the NATO Centre of Excellence in Riga, "[i]nformation confrontation, as Russia would call it, is going to be one of the future trends". "The aim of hybrid aggression", he explained, "is to achieve your goal without crossing the threshold into full military conflict ... That's why there is a strong information and influence component - it's less costly and you can always say 'We didn't do it'."³⁵ Within these descriptions of disinformation, I recognise the principles of Maskirovka: Activity, Conviction, Continuity, and Flexibility. Within the Russian national security establishment, Maskirovka has been embraced as a way to accomplish direct results, without the need for any shot to be fired³⁶.

Like the Chinese, the Russians have integrated their new approach to war within their ministry of defence. Russian Defence Minister Sergei Shoigu, in an interview with members of the Duma, stated "four years ago, Russia secretly created an 'information warfare directorate'

within the defence ministry—in effect a new branch of the military that will be engaged in cyber warfare ‘counterpropaganda’³⁷, prompting some analysts to speak about the weaponization of information³⁸.

Information or misinformation campaigns grasp the advantage of social media’s wide reach, ease of access and simplicity to use or automate. Under the name Fake News, the Kremlin narrative exploiting the freedom of speech and expression, long time strength of Western democracies, but now also a weakness³⁹. Recently however, both the EU external action service and Facebook themselves have started countermeasures⁴⁰.

The rise of Vladimir Putin to power can be aligned with evolution of information warfare and by extension Hybrid Warfare. While, Soviet and Russian propagandists put a premium on “controlling the message” in the past, trafficking in petty misinformation, forgeries, leaks and so on. Under Putin, Russian information warfare now attempts to reinvent reality and create “mass hallucinations” that translate into political action.⁴¹

One of the respondents in my research drew up the idea that the information component of operations had become more important than the kinetic part. To illustrate he gave the example of the 2015 cruise missile strike on IS by Russia⁴². From the military perspective, there is no reason to use four warships, positioned 1,500km away to take out 11 targets. From the information domain however there are a couple of strong messages being communicated: 1) we are comfortable using cruise missiles, 2) we are comfortable firing through Iranian airspace – either because we trust one another, or because Iran does not dare to deny Russia, 3) a show of force that we can effectively target and hit the mark at 1,500km range.

Russia’s military engagement in Ukraine and Syria increasingly use proxies and local actors to pursue its goals⁴³. These tactics are strengthened with disinformation warfare. While Ukraine and Syria may look like two very different conflicts, many of the tactics employed are not unfamiliar to the Russian military and their special forces⁴⁴. As mentioned before Mark Galeotti, finds that “this trend in the Russian case, though, grows from indigenous military and political traditions at least as much as it does from any doctrinal or political acknowledgement, like Western actors, of the increasingly limited utility of traditional expeditionary warfare with conventional forces”⁴⁵.

6.3 Conclusions

Deception has been a core part of Russian’s preferred style of fighting wars, and its roots go further back than the invasion of Georgia in 2008. Russia finds itself unable to grow in terms of political and military strength and therefore employs tactics to weaken its adversaries to grow in relative power. While I argue that Russia’s current style of war should not be regarded as Hybrid Warfare as defined in chapter 3, the concept of non-linear warfare is still interesting to delve into from the Russian perspective.

The development of nonlinear warfare has been evolutionary rather than revolutionary with incremental refinements over time and harsh lessons learned in the wars in Afghanistan and Chechnya. With the introduction of the internet and the interconnectedness of the global world Maskirovka, the almost ancient Russian focus on deception could be used on a global scale, but in essence, has not changed.

- What have been the changes in military thinking over the past century?

From the Russian perspective, there have not been many changes in military thinking, their approach to war and the use of deception is rooted in events of the XIXth and XXth century. Deception has been successfully utilised in both world wars, during the proxy wars of the cold war and in the more recent engagements in Georgia, Ukraine and Syria.

Following the Soviet Union's demise, the focus has been largely on what recently was coined non-linear warfare. I assume this was for similar reasons as the Chinese who saw themselves weak vis-à-vis the United States, but I was unable to confirm that with similar clarity.

- What have been the changes in military practice?

Similar to their Chinese counterpart, the Russians have embraced information campaigns within their military structure. In 2013 a dedicated "information warfare directorate" was formed within the Russian MoD. Furthermore, within military practice, the non-kinetic element has become more important than the kinetic element, as the example of the cruise missile showed.

To the extent it can be counted as military practice, disinformation and propaganda campaigns have shifted from a qualitative focus on a specific (extreme left) group to a quantitative approach to various groups serving as a Kremlin echo chamber.

- How have military thinking and practice interacted with or influenced each other, and how have they interacted with or influenced the development of Hybrid Warfare [nonlinear warfare]?

The concept of deception has been part of Russian military doctrine since the late XIXth century has its roots in the time of the Tsars and the Bolsheviks. Wars and in particular defeats have shown the limited utility of open warfare and proven the effectiveness of using Maskirovka – especially in contrast to Russia's military failures in Afghanistan and Chechnya – which also were the last open military engagements by Russia, and showcased a preference for different approaches.

- What have been the major determinants of the changes in Hybrid Warfare [nonlinear warfare] and why?

The major determinant for changes in nonlinear warfare is the increased reach of both (social) media and private actors (wealthy individuals, corporations, NGOs, and so on) that allowed the Russian Federation to employ Maskirovka on a scale not possible earlier.

¹ Olikier, "Russia's New Military Doctrine."

² Russian Federation, "On the Russian Federation's National Security Strategy."

³ Kenneth C. Keating, "Maskirovka: The Soviet System of Camouflage" (New York, 1981). see also Vasiliĭ Gerasimovich Reznichenko, *Taktika* (Moscow: Voennoye Izdatel'stvo ministerstva Oborony, 1966).

⁴ Bērziņš, "Russian New Generation Warfare : Implications for Europe," 6.

⁵ Reznichenko, *Taktika*, 148. Quoted in Keating, "Maskirovka: The Soviet System of Camouflage," 4.

⁶ Mark Galeotti, "Hybrid, Ambiguous, and Non-Linear? How New Is Russia's 'new Way of War'?", *Small Wars & Insurgencies* 27, no. 2 (2016): 294–95. See also Alexander Marshall, "Turkfront: Frunze and the Development

of Counter-Insurgency in Soviet Central Asia,” in *Central Asia: Aspects of Transition*, ed. Tom Everett-Heath (London: Routledge, 2003), 17.

⁷ Keating, “Maskirovka: The Soviet System of Camouflage,” 1.

⁸ *Sovetskaya Voyennaya Entsiklopediya [Soviet Military Encyclopedia]*, vol. 6 (Voyenizdat, 1978). Quoted in Keating, “Maskirovka: The Soviet System of Camouflage,” 11.

⁹ See for example Rodric Braithwaite, *Afgantsy: The Russians in Afghanistan 1979-89* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Antonio Giustozzi, *Empires of Mud: Wars and Warlords in Afghanistan* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

¹⁰ See for example Dipali Mukhopadhyay, *Warlords, Strongman Governors, and the State in Afghanistan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014). And Romain Malejacq, *Warlord Survival: The Delusion of State Building in Afghanistan* (forthcoming, n.d.).

¹¹ Alex Marshall, “Managing Withdrawal: Afghanistan as the Forgotten Example in Attempting Conflict Resolution and State Reconstruction,” *Small Wars & Insurgencies* 18, no. 1 (2007): 68–89.

¹² See also Willem Vogelsang, *The Afghans* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2008).

¹³ Ed A. Hewett and H. Winston, Victor, eds., *Milestones in Glasnost and Perestroika Politics and People* (Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2010).

¹⁴ Aleksei Chikishev, *Spetsnaz v Afganistane* (Moscow: Olma-Press, 2015). Quoted in Galeotti, “Hybrid, Ambiguous, and Non-Linear? How New Is Russia’s ‘new Way of War’?,” 295.

¹⁵ Tomáš Šmíd and Miroslav Mareš, “‘Kadyrovtsy’: Russia’s Counterinsurgency Strategy and the Wars of Paramilitary Clans,” *Journal of Strategic Studies* 38, no. 5 (2015): 652.

¹⁶ Frank G. Hoffman, “Hybrid vs. Compound War - The Janus Choice: Defining Today’s Multifaceted Conflict,” *Armed Forces Journal*, 2009.

¹⁷ Galeotti, “Hybrid, Ambiguous, and Non-Linear? How New Is Russia’s ‘new Way of War’?,” 295.

¹⁸ Šmíd and Mareš, “‘Kadyrovtsy’: Russia’s Counterinsurgency Strategy and the Wars of Paramilitary Clans,” 674.

¹⁹ Coalson, “Top Russian General Lays Bare Putin’s Plan for Ukraine.”

²⁰ Pindják, “Deterring Hybrid Warfare : A Chance for NATO and the EU to Work Together ?”

²¹ The term has been used to describe various related movements that developed in several societies in the former Soviet Union and the Balkans during the early 2000s, such as the “Rose Revolution” in Georgia in 2003, the “Orange Revolution” in Ukraine in 2004, and the “Tulip Revolution” that took place in Kyrgyzstan in 2005. See also Anthony H. Cordesman, “Russia and the ‘Color Revolution’ A Russian Military View of a World Destabilized by the US and the West” (Washington D.C., May 28, 2014). and Galeotti, “The ‘Gerasimov Doctrine’ and Russian Non-Linear War.”

²² Cordesman, “Russia and the ‘Color Revolution’ A Russian Military View of a World Destabilized by the US and the West.”.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Dmitry Gorenburg, “Countering Color Revolutions: Russia’s New Security Strategy and Its Implications for U.S. Policy,” *Russian Military Reform*, September 15, 2014; Corey Flintoff, “Are ‘Color Revolutions’ A New Front In U.S.-Russia Tensions?,” *National Public Radio*, June 12, 2014.

²⁵ Darya Korsunskaya, “Putin Says Russia Must Prevent ‘Color Revolution,’” *Reuters*, November 20, 2014.

²⁶ Michael Kofman and Matthew Rojansky, “A Closer Look at Russia’s ‘Hybrid War,’” *Kennan Cable*, no. 7 (2015); Galeotti, “Hybrid, Ambiguous, and Non-Linear? How New Is Russia’s ‘new Way of War’?”

²⁷ Vladislav Surkov, “A Cloudless Sky,” *Ruspioner*, March 12, 2014. Quoted in Peter Pomerantsev, “How Putin Is Reinventing Warfare?,” *Foreign Policy*, May 5, 2014.

²⁸ Hoffman, “Hybrid vs. Compound War - The Janus Choice: Defining Today’s Multifaceted Conflict.”

²⁹ Michael Kofman et al., “Lessons from Russia’s Operations in Crimea and Eastern Ukraine” (Santa Monica, 2017), 23–24.

³⁰ Surkov, “A Cloudless Sky.”

³¹ Peter Pomerantsev, *Nothing Is True and Everything Is Possible: The Surreal Heart of the New Russia* (New York: Perseus Books, 2015).

³² Pomerantsev, “How Putin Is Reinventing Warfare?”

³³ Anna Polyanskaya, Andrei Krivov, and Ivan Lomko, “Virtual Eye of the Big Brother,” *Vestnik Online*, April 30, 2003; Andrew Higgins, “Effort to Expose Russia’s ‘Troll Army’ Draws Vicious Retaliation,” *New York Times*, May 30, 2016.

³⁴ Pomerantsev, “How Putin Is Reinventing Warfare?”

³⁵ Daniel McLaughlin, “EU Finally Waking up to ‘hybrid’ Threat from Resurgent Russia,” *The Irish Times*, July 6, 2017.

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- ³⁷ Pavel Felgenhauer, "Defense Minister Shoigu Promotes Russian Cyber Warfare Troops and Declares Victory in Syria," *Eurasia Daily Monitor* 14, no. 23 (2017).
- ³⁸ Thomas E. Ricks, "Ukrainian Elder Statesman : How Russian Hybrid War Is Changing the World Order," 2017, 1–8; Brad Allenby and Joel Garreau, "Weaponized Narrative Is the New Battlespace," *Defense One*, January 3, 2017.
- ³⁹ Neil MacFarquhar, "A Powerful Russian Weapon: The Spread of False Stories," *The New York Times*, August 28, 2016; Patrick Beauth et al., "Fake News: War without Blood," *Die Zeit*, February 26, 2017.
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- ⁴² Jonathan Marcus, "Russian Missiles 'Hit IS in Syria from Caspian Sea,'" *BBC News*, October 7, 2015.
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- ⁴⁴ Mark Galeotti, "'Hybrid War' and 'Little Green Men': How It Works, and How It Doesn't," in *Ukraine and Russia: People, Politics, Propaganda and Perspective*, ed. Agnieszka Pikulicka-Wilczewska and Richard Sakwa (Bristol: e-IR Press, 2015), 156–64.
- ⁴⁵ Galeotti, "Hybrid, Ambiguous, and Non-Linear? How New Is Russia's 'new Way of War'?", 283.

7. The Western perspective (Hybrid Warfare as Counter-Insurgency)

In the previous three chapters, I have shown the developments of Hybrid Warfare by the adversaries of the Western Liberal order. As mentioned before, most of the developments in Hybrid Warfare appear to have been triggered by a weaker actor realizing it would be unable to face the might of the Western order by conventional means. But how did Hybrid Warfare develop from a Western point of view?

While it is true that the Sinic world predates western civilisation, and consequently started thinking about warfare much earlier, and that western thinking about war developed much more along with the ideas of linear warfare, it is not to say the west has not been thinking about warfare. It is also not accurate to claim that the West has only been the victim of hybrid tactics, but rather contributed to it quite substantially when it comes to the original (Hoffman) definition of Hybrid Warfare. The developments made in the west also reveal why the definition of hybrid has become so blurry.

7.1 Lawrence, Liddell-Hart, and Fuller (WW I)

One historical example that returns quite often in the literature is the case of the Arab Revolt (1916-1918), where the actions of Captain T.E. Lawrence serves as an early example of modern irregular warfare, somewhat of a hybrid warfare strategist *avant la lettre* with today's knowledge of his exploits. His account *The Seven Pillars of Wisdom* (1926) gives the modern military strategist with tactical insight in irregular warfare and the strategic insight of the operations in the area of operations¹. The flexibility employed by Captain Lawrence greatly contributed to the study of irregular warfare, and his writings are to be considered the first coherent theory of western guerrilla warfare².

Hoffman argues that this form of warfare is not entirely hybrid, but rather compound warfare (CW), combining regular and irregular forces.³, an example we also saw in Russian practice. Compound wars are engagements that had combine regular and irregular troops or components which fight under a single leadership⁴. The instance of T.E. Lawrence is a classic example of CW, in which the troops of General Allenby (in charge of the British Expeditionary Force) were reinforced with the irregular raiding groups of Lawrence in their campaign against the Ottomans in Jerusalem and Damascus. Lawrence's raiders were irregular troops, but still directed, advanced and supplied by the British military leadership, but would not directly fight alongside the British.⁵ The last part is a key difference between other forms of hybridity, as it is based on operationally separate forces.

Two other interesting contributions were made by Captain Basil Liddel-Hart and General John Fuller, who developed independently, yet complementary approaches to warfare based on their experience in the trenches of World War I.

Liddel-Hart wrote one of the XXth century's most prominent works: *Strategy*, in which he puts forward an "indirect approach", focusing on targeting logistics and communication⁶, a practice quite common on world war I in which underwater cables and lines of communication were targetted. Fuller, on the other hand, argued for a fully mechanized force consistent with his *Plan 1919*⁷. Both Liddel-Hart's and Fuller's ideas have been developed further in the XXth and XXIth century's approaches to war.

7.2. Hybrid Warfare in WW II

A turning point in history was WWII when states used hybrid tactics (whereas previously this was limited to the insurgent forces or irregular troops in a compound structure). Hybrid tactics were not limited to only the Pacific theatre. By the end of the second World War, Russia had employed guerrillas, and Nazi Germany also used so-called SS-Werewolf units, building forward on lessons learned from fighting the Russian guerrilla⁸. World War II also brought to the fore special forces as we know them today. While the Nazis only adopted these tactics as a last resort, the British had set up a new organisation in 1940, the Special Operations Executive (SOE). The SOE was tasked with “[setting] Europe ablaze.”⁹. After the war the unit was dissolved in 1946 its operations continue to be employed by the United Kingdom Special Forces (UKSF). The involvement of special forces in Hybrid Warfare does not help much with making a distinction between hybrid tactics and covert operations.

7.3. Political Warfare in the Cold War (1947-1991)

At the beginning of the cold war, George Kennan introduced the term *Political Warfare* in 1948¹⁰. Thus far, the term “warfare” had been used to describe the fighting and violent aspects of war, the physical or kinetic elements. However, there was no physical or kinetic aspect in the activities Kennan listed. Political Warfare is inherently non-kinetic. Kennan’s definition included: “political alliances, economic measures (such as ERP—the Marshall Plan), ‘white’ propaganda (spreading selective selected truths) in the form of covert operations as clandestine support of ‘friendly’ foreign elements, ‘black’ psychological warfare (in which one pretends to be someone else to have credibility) and encouragement of underground resistance in hostile states”¹¹.

Kennan’s Political Warfare thus fit the description of Hybrid Warfare I put forward earlier. Indeed, Kennan himself describes these activities as “the employment of all the means at a nation’s command, short of war, to achieve its national objectives.”¹² The elements of psychological warfare and propaganda were also established pointed outwards (initially towards Soviet/communist supporters). The main example of this is Radio Free Europe (created in 1949) and Radio Liberty (1953) as tools of propaganda – though itself claims this to be a false assessment, yet in 2017 it launched a new initiative under the name ‘Current Time’, a new Russian language communication network.¹³

As part of these political alliances such as NATO, The Western European Union and ANZUS (a defence alliance between The United States and its southern pacific allies Australia and New Zealand) were created in the late fifties, as well as the United Nations whose members originally were largely the western states. While there is no evidence of the intention to use these institutions in the same way Qiao and Wang suggest in *Unrestricted Warfare* when it comes to the use of institutions, aside from Kennan’s realist view, these institutions did grow over time to become major platforms for political warfare, and lawfare. One might argue that the Clausewitzian doctrine stating the war is the extension of politics may then be turned around. Through political warfare, politics has become an extension of war. The desire to settle disputes within institutions, rather than kinetically, again underlines the trend towards kinder weapons.

7.4. Galvin/Petraeus and Vietnam (1955-1975)

In late 1986, a 34 old declared doctrinal war on the U.S. Army. That winter, Parameters featured an article written by David H. Petraeus under the by-line of his superior Gen. John R. Galvin¹⁴.

Galvin/Petraeus wrote “no longer fought simply by the military, it now encompasses entire populations . . . and its outcome depends more and more on their collective will, what Clausewitz termed ‘the popular passions.’”. He strongly criticized the army’s obsession with conventional combat. Against popular opinion, “small wars”: insurgency, terrorism and guerrilla warfare, were not to be seen as aberrations. He concluded that, at the bottomline, the exercise of war is a human endeavour¹⁵, and that the western powers well to understand that the root of conflict lay at non-military problems at “key facets of national life”.

7.5. End of War as we knew it.

7.5.1 Lessons Ignored and Revolutions in Military Affairs

The Vietnam syndrome, combined with the spectre of (nuclear) war between NATO and Warsaw Pact forces in Europe led the U.S. to move towards a different direction. Rather than building forward on the lessons learned from Vietnam, it pushed for a ‘military-technical revolution’. We divide such revolutions into two variations: The Revolution in Military Affairs (RMA) which is society driven (for example airpower is a militarization of the invention of flight, originally not pursued as a military application) or the military driven ‘military revolution (MR)’¹⁶ (for example the Internet was originally purely invited for military communication, and later released for public use).

The RMAs led to the U.S. supremacy in air superiority and command and control (C2, later developed into C4I), allowing the U.S. to win the Gulf war in a matter of days, compared to the long war in Vietnam. While this development itself is not a development of Hybrid Warfare, it was the trigger for China, Russia and various nonstate actors to seek other ways of defeating the U.S., and subsequently, led to the development of Hybrid Warfare as defined by Hoffman¹⁷.

7.5.2 Mattis and Hoffman and Hybrid Warfare as Counter-Insurgency (2005 – 2010)

Contemporary use of the term Hybrid Warfare can be traced back to the United States Marine Corps. It was former Secretary of Defense USMC General Mattis and USMC Colonel Hoffman who put the term in the limelight in 2005¹⁸. From this point onward the term Hybrid has been used aa a buzzword and has resurged at least three times in the past decade.

Less than a year later, the Second Lebanon War (2006) provided with the opportunity for Hezbollah to demonstrate modern Hybrid Warfare in practice when the Israeli Defence Forces (IDF) invaded Lebanon to put an end to the Shi’a militia’s attacks on Northern Israel. Despite superiority in both numbers and technology, the IDF were ill prepared for the hybrid tactics of their opponent. The Israelis were quick to learn and applied the lessons learned to a successful counter Hybrid Warfare strategy during the Gaza war two years later.

Sitaraman's *The Counterinsurgent's Constitution* upholds that for counterinsurgency to be successful, it has to address the root causes of conflict. Similar to Petraeus earlier writing, war is a human endeavour¹⁹. "Counterinsurgency embraces a bottom-up approach," he writes, "that grows organically from the local conditions and context: the population's capacities and needs, their traditions and preferences. Organic reconstruction reframes warfighting as village-building."²⁰ In line with the common lawfare definition by Dunlap: "using, or misusing, law as a substitute for traditional military means to achieve an operational objective"²¹, Sitaraman looks at reconciliation programs as potential "weapons of war, *instruments of lawfare* that can be designed to reduce or even eliminate the insurgency."²²

In July 2009, commanding US and NATO forces in Afghanistan, General Stanley McChrystal, issued a tactical directive governing the use of force by all U.S. and NATO forces. "[W]e will not win based on the number of Taliban we kill," he wrote. "This is different from conventional combat, and how we operate will determine the outcome more than traditional measures, like capture of terrain or attrition of enemy forces." McChrystal continued: "[L]oss of popular support will be decisive to either side in this struggle. The Taliban cannot militarily defeat us – but we can defeat ourselves."²³

Counterinsurgents recommend military officials give greater discretion to subordinates undermining traditional notions of command hierarchy. They even note that soldiers will have to take on greater short-term risks to their own lives and safety to secure an area in the long term. In short, counterinsurgency turns conventional warfare on its head.²⁴

More surprisingly, counterinsurgency rejects the conventional assumption that law exists in opposition to war. Although commentators from Cicero to the present arguing that "the law is silent between arms"²⁵ or that law precariously operates as a constraint on military operations, counterinsurgents of all stripes believe that law is central to success²⁶.

British counterinsurgency strategist Sir Robert Thompson once wrote that "the greatest importance should be attached to the Constitution, from which all authority is derived."²⁷ The Australian counterinsurgency theorist David Kilcullen has stated that a "constitutional path is needed, but lacking, to counter global *jihad*"²⁸. French counterinsurgent Robert Trinquier argued that "[t]he army must apply the law without hesitation."²⁹ Moreover, the U.S. Army and Marine Corps' COIN Field Manual declares that "[e]stablishing the rule of law is a key goal and end state," and it mandates "the U.S. forces follow domestic and international law in order to maintain their legitimacy"³⁰.

By any account, law plays an important part in counterinsurgency operations³¹, as reinforced in the Department of Defense Directive 3000.05³². Along with counter-insurgency tactics the development of Hybrid Warfare as Counter-Insurgency became official policy within the United States Department of Defense.³³

7.6 The misconception of Hybrid Warfare: Reactions to URW and NLW

7.6.1 Misunderstanding Unrestricted Warfare

The focus of the West on Hybrid Warfare as counterinsurgency is also the fallacy for the misconception of Hybrid Warfare, made evident in the reactions to unrestricted warfare as it

was developed in China and the Russian use of Non-Linear Warfare. Such can be seen in the proceedings of the 2006 unrestricted warfare symposium. Not only did this symposium occur almost a decade after Liang and Xiangsui published their conceptual thesis, but it also shows the participants not understanding the book (or perhaps even it shows they did not read it). Rather than discussing the concepts that by 2006 had translated into China's three warfares, the proceedings reveal the discussion was on Hybrid Warfare as counter-insurgency, with the focus quickly shifting towards operations in Iraq and Afghanistan against al-Qaida³⁴. I can only assume the reasons, perhaps – as often occurs with conferences, speakers choose to talk about their own expertise, rather than the topic of the conference they know about.

7.6.2 Non-Linear Warfare and Memetic Warfare

Similar to the reaction to Russian's operations in Ukraine and the Baltic were wrongly labelled Hybrid Warfare for lack of a better understanding. Many of these tactics were not hybrid as defined by Hoffman when looking at non-state actor operations in Lebanon and Iraq, or from Western operations³⁵. Colonel Bouwmeester, at the time working for NATO on the Hybrid Warfare following Hoffman's work, recalled that as the Western interest in the region diminished, so did the interest in Hybrid Warfare. It was only a couple of years later with the annexation that a quick response was necessary and the dust gathering file was pulled from a cabinet. Bouwmeester, now working at the Netherlands Defence Academy, was asked to join a team to work on understanding Russian's actions, a concept had already been created. Upon receiving the concept Bouwmeester was surprised, it was the file he had co-authored five years ago.

A better understanding of linear warfare comes from a, perhaps surprising, side: the Donald Trump Campaign. Among others, social media expert Jeff Giese played a leading role in what is referred to as Memetic Warfare³⁶. Giese builds forward on a 2005 thesis by now Lieutenant Colonel Michael Prosser³⁷. The word Meme itself was coined by Richard Dawkins, an abbreviated form of the word Mimeme, meaning a unit of imitation, arguing that culture evolves the same way as biology through imitation and reproduction, such as a gene. Dawkins uses the definition: "A meme is an idea, behaviour, or style that spreads from person to person within a culture³⁸". An easy way to understand Memetic Warfare is to combine existing ideas of Cultural Warfare with the simplicity and effectiveness of mass communication through the internet, in particular, social media – not unlike Russian understanding and use of Non-Linear Warfare. Giese cites a variety of successful campaigns against ISIS and Trump's political adversaries during the presidential campaigns³⁹. Originated on internet forums such as Reddit, 4Chan and 9Gag, NATO is now slowly considering employing "internet trolling" as a weapon of war⁴⁰, similar to what Russia has been doing since 2003⁴¹. Memetic warfare is best to be seen as information warfare. Which in itself is again one of the pieces of equipment in the Hybrid Warfare toolbox.

7.7 Conclusions

Starting with World War I the western states faced off against guerrilla and rebel forces either as part of compound warfare combined with their own or adversaries' troops or in colonial wars in the XXth century. While these do not fit the definition of Hybrid Warfare as put forward by Hoffman, it did contribute significantly to the development of 4th generation

warfare and elements that would later be used in Hybrid Warfare. Furthermore, it saw the introduction of Special Forces, which are also marked by the use of hybrid tactics.

During the cold war, focus lay on proxy wars (as discussed in the previous chapter) and political, cultural and economic warfare. The developments of both the Vietnam War and the Cold War served as a trigger for the U.S. to move away from asymmetrical warfare, and instead focus on technology which allowed it dominance in the final years of the XXth century. The wars in Iraq Afghanistan and surrounding operations in the Global War on Terror showed that air superiority is limited in its efficiency to deal with modern threats, causing the U.S. Marine Corps, in particular, to focus on the development of Hybrid Warfare.

What have been the changes in military thinking over the past century?

In the historical context, two changes in military thinking became apparent. The first is a shift towards technological dominance in the late XXth century, followed by a return to exploiting asymmetry in the first decade of the XXIth century. Nevertheless, most military thinkers remain stuck in conventional tactics, with calls irregular tactics and strategy being limited to a small group slowly gaining traction.

What have been the changes in military practice?

Similar to the military thinking, military practice made a switch towards air power based on technological dominance. Followed by a second shift towards hybrid and compound tactics, in which air power still plays a major role (for example the use of local Afghan militias, joined by U.S. Special Forces and Air support. Nevertheless, most modern operations still focus largely on conventional forces.

How have military thinking and practice interacted with or influenced each other, and how have they interacted with or influenced the development of Hybrid Warfare?

In thinking and practice, I identified two major shifts, away from and then again towards Hybrid Warfare. The interaction between the two can be explained by the experiences in both Vietnam, leading to a preference for technological superiority, and to the wars in Lebanon, Somalia, Afghanistan and Iraq which demonstrated technological superiority alone was not enough.

What have been the major determinants of the changes in Hybrid Warfare and why?

The first major determinant was the era of the RMA, allowing the development of air superiority. The second determinant was the coming of age of a generation of military leadership (McMaster, Mattis, Petraeus, and the scholarly efforts of Kilcullen and Hoffman) that had argued for Hybrid Warfare for many years and finding the contemporary wars in the XXth century to be their theatre to demonstrate Hybrid Warfare as counterinsurgency. Both the 9/11 attacks and the early operations in Afghanistan showed U.S. policymakers an alternative to the strategy employed in Bosnia and Kosovo, which were dominated by bombardment.

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- ¹ Lawrence, *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*. For a more recent historic account of Captain Lawrence's exploits see Scott Anderson, *Lawrence in Arabia: War, Deceit, Imperial Folly and the Making of the Modern Middle East* (New York: Anchor, 2014).
- ² Martin Van Creveld, *The Art of War: War and Military Thought* (London: Cassell, 2002), 204–5.
- ³ Hoffman, "Hybrid vs. Compound War - The Janus Choice: Defining Today's Multifaceted Conflict." See also Mansoor, "Introduction: Hybrid Warfare in History."
- ⁴ Thomas M. Huber, *Compound Warfare, That Fatal Knot* (Leavenworth: U.S. Army Command and General Staff College Press, 2002).
- ⁵ Hoffman, "Hybrid vs. Compound War - The Janus Choice: Defining Today's Multifaceted Conflict."
- ⁶ Basil H. Liddel-Hart, *Strategy*, 2nd ed. (New York: Meridian (1991), 1929).
- ⁷ John F.C. Fuller, *Military History of the Western World* (Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press (1987), 1945); John F.C. Fuller, *Armament and History: The Influence of Armament on History from the Dawn of Classical Warfare to the End of the Second World War* (Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press (1988), 1954).
- ⁸ Perry Biddiscombe, *Werewolf! The History of the National Socialist Guerrilla Movement* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1997); Perry Biddiscombe, *The Last Nazis* (Charleston: Tempus Publishing, 2000); Charles Whiting, *Hitler's Werewolves* (New York: Playboy Press, 1972).
- ⁹ Gerhard L. Weinberg, *A World at Arms: A Global History of World War II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 150.
- ¹⁰ George Kennan, "Policy Planning Staff Memorandum 269" (Wash, May 4, 1948).
- ¹¹ George Kennan, "Policy Planning Staff Memorandum 269" (Wash, May 4, 1948).
- ¹² Ibid.
- ¹³ Jan Lopatka, "Radio Free Europe, Voice of America Launch New Russian-Language TV," *Reuters*, February 8, 2017.
- ¹⁴ John R. Galvin, "Uncomfortable Wars : Toward a New Paradigm," *Parameters* 16, no. 4 (1986).
- ¹⁵ David H. Petraeus, "The American Military and the Lessons of Vietnam: A Study of Military Influence and the Use of Force in the Post-Vietnam Era" (Princeton University, 1987); Galvin, "Uncomfortable Wars : Toward a New Paradigm."
- ¹⁶ Jacqueline Newmyer, "The Revolution in Military Affairs with Chinese Characteristics," *Journal of Strategic Studies* 33, no. 4 (2010): 484.
- ¹⁷ There is an ongoing discussion on whether the developments of Hybrid Warfare are a Revolution in Military Affairs themselves. See for example the thesis of Bjerregaard, "Hybrid Warfare: A Military Revolution or Revolution in Military Affairs?" for an argument against, or Knox and Murray, *The Dynamics of Military Revolutions, 1300-2050*. for an argument in favour.
- ¹⁸ James N. Mattis and Frank G. Hoffman, "Future Warfare: The Rise of Hybrid Wars," *United States Naval Institute* 131, no. 11 (2005): 18–19.
- ¹⁹ Sitaraman, *The Counterinsurgent's Constitution: Law in the Age of Small Wars*.
- ²⁰ Ibid., 147.
- ²¹ Dunlap Jr., "Lawfare Today: A Perspective," 146.
- ²² Sitaraman, *The Counterinsurgent's Constitution: Law in the Age of Small Wars*, 109. Emphasises added by me
- ²³ Stanley McChrystal, Commander, International Security Assistance Force, Tactical Directive, July 6, 2009.
- ²⁴ Sitaraman, *The Counterinsurgent's Constitution: Law in the Age of Small Wars*, 4.
- ²⁵ Cicero, *Pro Milone*, ed. Robert West (London: Bloomsbury Press, 2016).
- ²⁶ Sitaraman, *The Counterinsurgent's Constitution: Law in the Age of Small Wars*, 4.
- ²⁷ Robert Thompson, *Defeating Communist Insurgency: Experiences from Malaya and Vietnam (Studies in International Security)* (Santa Barbara: F. A. Praeger, 1966).
- ²⁸ Kilcullen, "Countering Global Insurgency," 597, 612.
- ²⁹ Roger Trinquier, "Modern Warfare, A French View of Counterinsurgency," *Combined Arms Research Library* (Fort Leavenworth, 1964), 40.
- ³⁰ U.S. Army / Marine Corps Counterinsurgency Field Manual (FM 3-24) (United States Department of Defense, n.d.), D-38.
- ³¹ Margaret S. Bond, "USAWC Strategy Research Project Hybrid War: A New Paradigm For Stability Operations," 2007.
- ³² U.S. Department of Defense, "Military Support for Stability, Security, Transition, and Reconstruction (SSTR) Operations," *Directive Number 3000.05*, November 28, 2005.
- ³³ Hammes, *The Sling and The Stone, On War in the 21st Century*, 6.

³⁴ See Luman, *Unrestricted Warfare Symposium 2006, Proceedings on Strategy, Analysis, and Technology*.

³⁵ Galeotti, "Hybrid, Ambiguous, and Non-Linear? How New Is Russia's 'new Way of War'?", 282.

³⁶ Jeff Giese, "Jeff Giese's Remarks At NATO's StratCom Dialogue," July 10, 2017.

³⁷ Michael B. Prosser, "Memetics-A Growth Industry in US Military Operations" (Marine Corps University, 2006).

³⁸ Richard Dawkins, *The Selfish Gene* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 192.

³⁹ Jeff Giese, "It's Time to Embrace Memetic Warfare," *Defence Strategic Communications* 1, no. 1 (2015): 67–75.

⁴⁰ Giese, "Jeff Giese's Remarks At NATO's StratCom Dialogue."

⁴¹ Polyanskaya, Krivov, and Lomko, "Virtual Eye of the Big Brother"; Higgins, "Effort to Expose Russia's 'Troll Army' Draws Vicious Retaliation."

Conclusion

8.1 Research Conclusions

Hybrid Warfare, as defined by Hoffman, is a recent development, but has historical roots in a variety of different concepts stretching back over the last century and partly beyond. A variety of different kinds of warfare employed in contemporary conflict have, unjustly, been named Hybrid Warfare, but are nevertheless important to understand. This thesis sets forth to answer the question: *“How have developments in military practice and military thinking influenced Hybrid Warfare over the past century?”* Early in the research, it became apparent that there is much discussion about the terminology. As this research progressed it also became clear that many of the subjects under research were in fact not Hybrid Warfare. At least not in the sense as defined by Hoffman, the definition I have upheld over the course of the study. Nevertheless, I will answer the research conclusions as if it were – and touch upon the use of the term in my recommendations.

The developments of war over the past century to what has been popularised with the term Hybrid Warfare are numerous. With this thesis, I sought to highlight the most important events and the most influential actors who served as *auctores intellectualis*. These are spread across the globe in both space and time, yet the connections between them are vivid. Rather than seeing Hybrid Warfare as something fundamentally new, as some would argue, the development of HW is closer to an evolutionary nature. It is mostly the result of action and reaction of a military institution to gain the upper hand in war.

Nevertheless, in this evolutionary development, a few points are to be highlighted, in chronological order: the earliest development to be associated with contemporary Hybrid Warfare is the early focus on deception by Russia, which since the past three centuries has been part of its military thinking and practice. While a link could not be confirmed, it is not hard to imagine the ideas of deception and (mis)information campaigns ebbed into the approach of the Soviet/communist revolutions. Combined with the innovative and hard-learned lessons from Mao, these were the initial starting points of what we can now call 4th generation warfare. Mao, in turn, influenced the Vietnamese efforts against their colonial overlords and subsequently the attack against the U.S. during the Vietnam War. Secondly, Mao greatly influenced other communist revolutionaries, in particular in Latin America.

For some time, the developments of Hybrid Warfare were limited to non-state actors, mainly rebels, insurgents or revolutionaries, while states limited themselves to more conventional means, with the occasional compound tactic during World War I and II. It was during the frozen standoff between West and East, and the development of nuclear deterrence that other ways of war had to be developed, resulting in proxy wars in which guerrilla tactics and Special Forces Operations were further refined. On the side, institutions were formed that would later serve as a platform for power struggles without kinetic means, and more contemporary the development of lawfare.

Furthermore, the Cold War was largely all about political warfare and information warfare, with relatively low kinetic conflict. At its end, characterised by the experiences of the Vietnam

war, the U.S. opted to abandon irregular warfare, and instead focussed on a pushing a Revolution in Military Affairs: Airpower. Enjoying the success of air power for a good fifteen years, the U.S. was woefully unprepared when wars in the XXlth century demanded a different way of thinking. Building forward on neglected lessons from Vietnam, and triggered by developments of Hybrid Warfare by jihadi (terrorist) organisations and the rise of the suicide bomber, allowing military strategists that had previously been working in the background to put forward Hybrid Warfare as counter-insurgency.

On the adversary's side, the downfall of the U.S.S.R had prompted Russia to develop tactics to fight off insurgency within its borders, and further developed the concept of deception using new tools provided by military revolutions (the internet). A second adversary, until this point largely unimportant, were the Chinese. Though Mao had made almost revolutionary changes in the thinking and doing of warfare, China had avoided military conflict – instead of focussing on the development of other ways to wage war. Leading to the creation of lawfare, which also was noticed by U.S. officials and NGOs, but much less exploited by them than the Chinese counterpart.

Hybrid Warfare and its various monikers may best be captured on the spectrum imagined in figure four. Ranging from conventional warfare to ambiguity, elements of Hybrid Warfare appear in the middle to righter part.

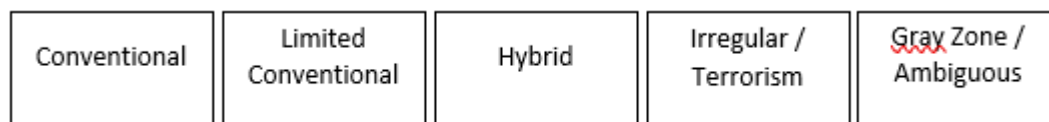


Figure 4: Spectrum of Conflict in Unconventional Warfare

8.2 Recommendations on Hybrid Warfare and future research

One of the first steps I made in my research was the collection of different terms that were used to describe Hybrid Warfare or elements irregular warfare that are closely related to Hybrid Warfare. Hybrid Warfare as defined by Hoffman, however, deals with a very specific target group (the non-state actor) and is widely misused by other authors and analysts, blurring the concept and blurring the (academic) debate in general.

I position myself in the camp of Mark Galeotti, who noticed this blurring and has argued for calling things what they are, and not what they are not. I join him in this recommendation and urge for retaining the Hoffman definition to describe the combination of conventional and unconventional warfare with the criminal element, and maintain the concept of nonlinear warfare for the Russian understanding of war and unrestricted warfare for their Chinese counterpart. Continued research into these concepts is deemed necessary, as the terminology mainly reflects the gross misunderstanding of both developments.

It would be useful to define one overarching term (for example 4th generation warfare) and put under this umbrella the concepts of Hybrid Warfare, Non-Linear Warfare, and Unrestricted Warfare. Between the first two, there is an overlap of using the criminal activities and use the element of deception, while between Non-Linear Warfare and Unrestricted Warfare, a focus on misinformation is shared. Activities of both non-state and state actors

would not be limited to one specific set, but rather take elements of each three to attain their political goals.

Figure five captures the suggestion of keeping the overarching term Asymmetric Warfare. While asymmetric warfare has been used in each of the four generations of warfare identified by Lind, this thesis focusses on the fourth generation. Within the overarching term I place three forms of warfare that were discussed in this thesis. In line with the spectrum identified (see figure four), I place Hybrid Warfare as defined by Hoffman, which includes elements of the insurgency and non-state actors. Moving to the right in the spectrum irregular warfare and terrorism remain part of the Hybrid Warfare domain. As the spectrum shifts between irregular/terrorism into the Gray Zone / Ambiguous, it moves into what the Russians have named non-linear warfare. The image captures the overlapping fields between non-linearity and Hybrid Warfare; in this case, the use of gangs, the irregular or criminals that are shared between them. Between non-linear warfare and the Chinese conceptual Unrestricted Warfare, the overlap lies in deception and ambiguity – elements that are strictly not part of Hybrid Warfare as defined by Hoffman. Unrestricted Warfare focusses on political and legal warfare, and to an extension of both economic warfare. While these are legally correct, they are morally ambiguous. Here again, they are set apart from Hybrid Warfare, which does use the illegal element. Both Chinese Unrestricted Warfare, as well as political/economic/lawfare used by the west, would be grouped under this term.

Opposite Hybrid Warfare is counter-insurgency. While some scholars do equate counter-insurgency with Hybrid Warfare (Kitzen, for example, argued that since it is fighting Hybrid Warfare, it is by definition Hybrid Warfare itself). However, as it does not involve an element of illegality or criminality itself, it is set apart, as visualized by the small arrow between Hybrid Warfare and COIN. COIN is further supported by elements of unrestricted warfare, as Sitaraman's Counterinsurgent's Constitution show: peacebuilding itself is in a way war through different means: the rule of law, and political/economic support.

The above is a suggestion of how the blurring between concepts may be defined, but other ways or variations would be possible as well. What is most important is that scholars are conscious about the blurring of concepts, and how this does not help the academic debate develop further. By being specific in their writing, they can help journalists be more specific in their writing and policymakers more specific in their decision making.

Furthermore, it is recommended to focus in more depth on each of the cases examined. While this thesis searches for the broader descriptive answers to what Hybrid Warfare is, each of the cases themselves may serve as a research project. Within the cases a specific focus can be placed on specific periods. Among others, the connection between the conceptual Unrestricted Warfare and Hybrid Warfare by (violent) non-state actors requires more research, and so does the idea of counter insurgency as Hybrid Warfare. More broadly the developments of (hybrid) warfare for Russia, China, the U.S. (or any other specific larger western state) may be examined.

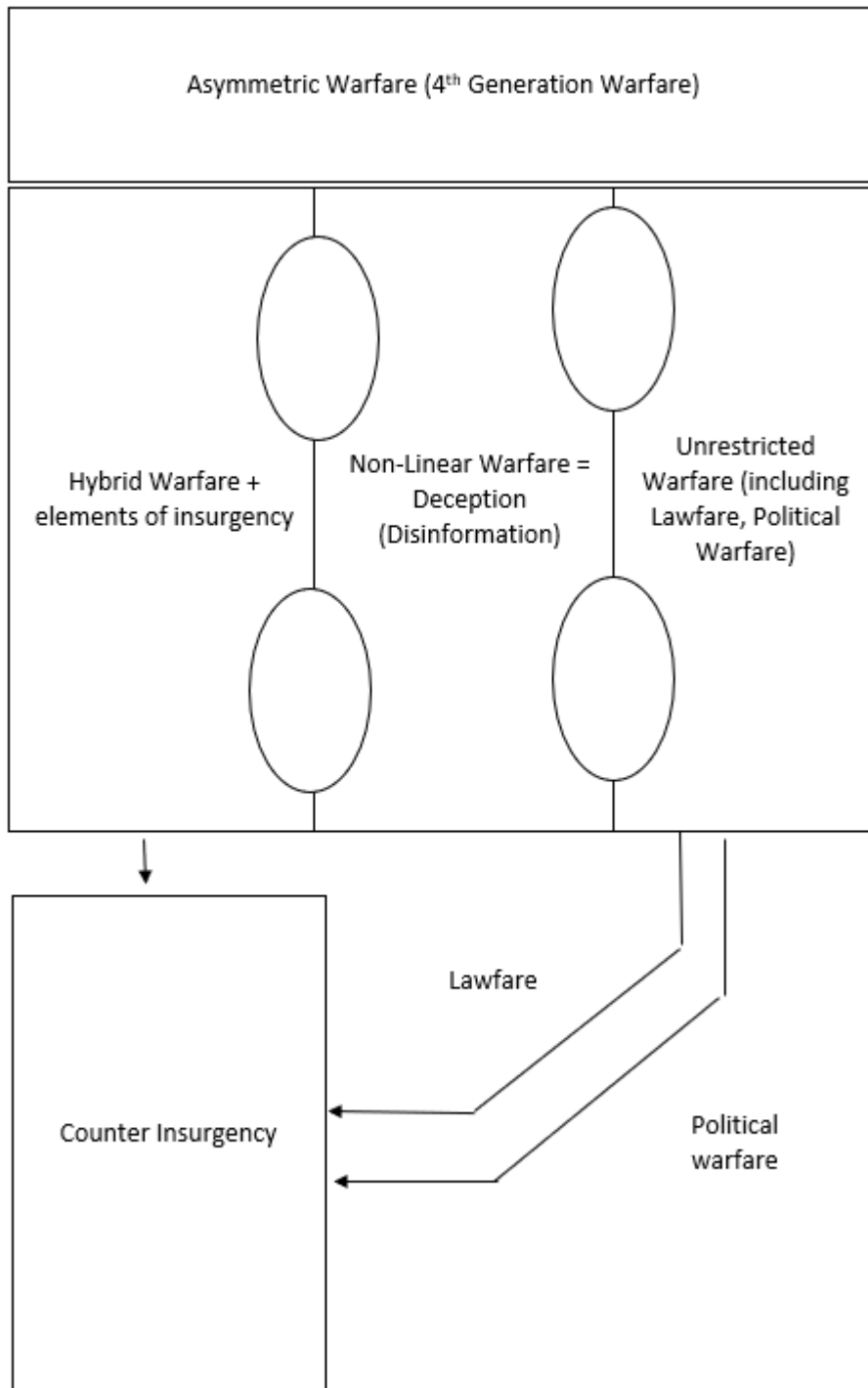


Figure 5: Monikers in Perspective

This research was a tour d' horizon exploring the different monikers and meanings of Hybrid Warfare and how they came about. For each important development, however, there was only little room to explore them and write them down, and arguably in future and existing work on Hybrid Warfare there are many more auctores intellectualis who left their mark on the development of thought and practice on warfare that we nowadays would label as Hybrid Warfare. Furthermore, for each unique historical event, much more can be told, and the relations between them can be explored more extensively.

Finally, one may seek for different lenses to observe the development of Hybrid Warfare. As illustrated in this research, Hybrid Warfare is nothing new. It is rooted in the historical understanding of warfare. Furthermore, it has become clear in this research that independent actors played a key role in its development. Based on these two presumptions, one may look at the English School of International relations to further investigate Hybrid Warfare, though a variation on constructivism may prove fruitful as well.

In the end, Hybrid Warfare remains just that, war. A classic military mantra is the idea that the military tends to be trained for the war it thought last, and not the war that is to come. With the developments of Hybrid Warfare, the young military officer would do well to heed this warning and prepare for new and innovative ways in which conflict is settled.

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Annex

Annex 1: Respondents

Interviews

Land Warfare Centre (NLD)

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Netherlands Defence Academy (NLD)

COL Han Bouwmeester

Military Expert on Hybrid Warfare

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Ms Charlotta Collén

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