

# **NL ARMS**

Netherlands Annual Review of Military Studies

## **Editor-in-Chief**

P.J. Oonincx, Den Helder, The Netherlands

## **Managing Editor**

F.E.J. de Pee-Vencken, Breda, The Netherlands



Ministry of Defence

## **Series Information**

The series aims to create an overview of scientific research in military sciences and it shows the extent to which researchers of the Faculty of Military Sciences (FMS) of the Netherlands Defence Academy (NLDA) contribute to this field of expertise.

Research at the Faculty is confined to military-relevant, multi-disciplinary areas and therefore deals with issues relating, among others, to:

- Command and control in military operations
- Leadership and ethics
- Military law and history
- Operational analysis
- Navigation
- Combat systems
- Military platforms
- Cyber warfare
- Exit Strategies
- Organizing for Safety and Security in Military Organizations

The series is peer-reviewed and reflects the diversity and quality of the Faculty of Military Sciences at its best. With NL ARMS the FMS hopes to serve as a trigger for more international comparative research on military sciences.

## **Editorial Office**

F.E.J. de Pee-Vencken MA  
Faculty of Military Sciences  
Netherlands Defence Academy  
P.O. Box 90 002  
4800 PA Breda  
The Netherlands

More information about this series at <http://www.springer.com/series/13908>

Paul A.L. Ducheine · Frans P.B. Osinga  
Editors

# NL ARMS

## Netherlands Annual Review of Military Studies 2017

Winning Without Killing: The Strategic  
and Operational Utility of Non-Kinetic  
Capabilities in Crises



ASSER PRESS



Springer

*Editors*

Paul A.L. Ducheine  
Faculty of Military Sciences  
Netherlands Defence Academy  
Breda  
The Netherlands

Frans P.B. Osinga  
Faculty of Military Sciences  
Netherlands Defence Academy  
Breda  
The Netherlands

and

Amsterdam Centre of International Law  
University of Amsterdam  
Amsterdam  
The Netherlands

ISSN 1387-8050

ISSN 2452-235X (electronic)

NL ARMS

ISBN 978-94-6265-188-3

ISBN 978-94-6265-189-0 (eBook)

DOI 10.1007/978-94-6265-189-0

Library of Congress Control Number: 2017940585

Published by T.M.C. ASSER PRESS, The Hague, The Netherlands [www.asserpress.nl](http://www.asserpress.nl)  
Produced and distributed for T.M.C. ASSER PRESS by Springer-Verlag Berlin Heidelberg

© T.M.C. ASSER PRESS and the authors 2017

No part of this work may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, microfilming, recording or otherwise, without written permission from the Publisher, with the exception of any material supplied specifically for the purpose of being entered and executed on a computer system, for exclusive use by the purchaser of the work. The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use.

Printed on acid-free paper

This T.M.C. ASSER PRESS imprint is published by Springer Nature  
The registered company is Springer-Verlag GmbH Germany  
The registered company address is: Heidelberger Platz 3, 14197 Berlin, Germany

# Foreword

The prime task of the Netherlands Defence Academy's Faculty of Military Sciences is to educate officers of the four armed services—navy, army, air force and Royal Netherlands Marechaussee—thus contributing to the effectiveness of the Dutch armed forces.

The courses offered in the various bachelors, masters and other programs require up-to-date knowledge and understanding of contemporary crises, conflict and the (strategic) functions of armed forces. It is through the various research programs and Strategic Research Orientations that these knowledge and understanding are acquired by the Faculty's staff.

From my own experience as a Task Force Commander, modern conflict is volatile, complex, wicked and multi-layered, requiring more than just traditional military and kinetic capabilities to be effective. In general, the notion of a comprehensive approach and the concept of Diplomacy, Development and Defence (3D), proved beneficial to conduct contemporary operations where capabilities of a military and non-military nature are used in an orchestrated way, seeking synergy from the separate elements. In particular, looking back on operations in Uruzgan Province, the non-kinetic capabilities proved very useful in creating a safe and secure environment in a war-torn region.

This Netherlands Annual Review of Military Sciences or NL ARMS is dedicated to non-kinetic, non-military and—until now—sometimes unorthodox capabilities contributing to conflict resolution and crisis management in international relations. With this study, the researchers have sought to contribute to a more solid and grounded understanding of the potential benefits and limits of these capabilities, both at a strategic and at an operational level. Personally, I would have loved to

have obtained this study prior to assuming command in Uruzgan. I am convinced that I could have used more than one insight provided, and I am also convinced that knowledge and understanding contribute to foresight and insight and thus to the effectiveness of armed forces in conflicts and crises.

Which is precisely the very purpose of the Faculty and the Defence Academy as a whole.

Major-General Nico Geerts  
Commander  
Netherlands Defence Academy  
Breda, The Netherlands

# Contents

|          |   |            |
|----------|---|------------|
| <b>1</b> | <b>The Promise, Practice and Challenges of Non-Kinetic Instruments of Power</b> . . . . .   | <b>1</b>   |
|          | Frans P.B. Osinga   |            |
| <b>2</b> | <b>The Resilient Mind-Set and Deterrence</b> . . . . .  | <b>19</b>  |
|          | Theo Brinkel  |            |
| <b>3</b> | <b>On the Instrumentality of Soft Power; or Putin Against Democracy Promotion</b> . . . . .   | <b>39</b>  |
|          | Maarten Rothman   |            |
| <b>4</b> | <b>‘NATO Needs More Than Planes and Tanks and Guns’—Western Strategic Communication in the 1970s and 1980s and Its Implications for Today</b> . . . . .             | <b>55</b>  |
|          | Floribert Baudet  |            |
| <b>5</b> | <b>The Snake Oil of Stabilisation? Explaining the Rise and Demise of the Comprehensive Approach</b> . . . . .   | <b>67</b>  |
|          | Thijs Brocades Zaalberg   |            |
| <b>6</b> | <b>Winning Without Killing: The Case for Targeted Sanctions</b> . . . . .   | <b>91</b>  |
|          | Francesco Giumelli  |            |
| <b>7</b> | <b>International Mediation in Syria’s Complex War: Strategic Implications</b> . . . . .   | <b>107</b> |
|          | Berma Klein Goldewijk   |            |
| <b>8</b> | <b>Lo and Behold: Let the Truth Be Told—Russian Deception Warfare in Crimea and Ukraine and the Return of ‘Maskirovka’ and ‘Reflexive Control Theory’</b> . . . . . | <b>125</b> |
|          | Han Bouwmeester   |            |
| <b>9</b> | <b>Manoeuvring and Generating Effects in the Information Environment</b> . . . . .  | <b>155</b> |
|          | Paul A.L. Ducheine, Jelle van Haaster and Richard van Harskamp  |            |

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| <b>10 Strategic Counter-Marketing to Fight ISIL</b> . . . . .   | 181 |
| Jan van Lieshout and Robert Beeres  |     |
| <b>11 Delegitimising the Adversary: Understanding Actor<br/>and Audience Analysis as a Tool to Influence and Persuade</b> . . . . . | 195 |
| Christina van Kuijck  |     |
| <b>12 Profiling Terrorists—Using Statistics to Fight Terrorism</b> . . . . .  | 221 |
| Robert Beeres, Robert Bertrand and Myriame Bollen   |     |
| <b>13 Reframing Lawfare</b> . . . . .   | 237 |
| Joop Voetelink  |     |
| <b>14 Non-Kinetic Capabilities and the Threshold of Attack<br/>in the Law of Armed Conflict</b> . . . . .                           | 255 |
| Bart van den Bosch  |     |
| <b>15 Jamming and Spoofing: Effective Cyber Weapons Looking<br/>for a Defence</b> . . . . .   | 275 |
| Barend Lubbers, Eric Theunissen and Patrick Oonincx   |     |
| <b>16 Winning Without Killing in the South China Sea</b> . . . . .  | 287 |
| Niels Woudstra  |     |
| <b>17 Maritime Economic Enforcement Measures:<br/>‘Winning Without Killing’ in Modern Conflicts at Sea</b> . . . . .                | 301 |
| Martin Fink   |     |
| <b>18 Employing Comprehensive Intelligence: The UN Experience<br/>in Mali</b> . . . . .   | 313 |
| Sebastiaan Rietjens, Erik de Waard and Paul C. van Fenema   |     |



# About the Contributors

## Editors

**Brigadier-General Prof. Dr. Paul A.L. Ducheine** is Professor for Cyber Operations and Cyber Security at the Netherlands Defence Academy and a Professor of the Law of Military Cyber Operations at the University of Amsterdam. Trained at the Netherlands Royal Military Academy, he joined the Engineer Corps in 1988 and switched to the Army Legal Service in 1998. He holds a Master of Science degree in Public Administration & Political Sciences as well as a Master degree and a Ph.D. in Law.

**Air-Commodore Prof. Dr. Frans P.B. Osinga** is Professor of Military Operational Art and Sciences, Chair of the War Studies Department at the Netherlands Defence Academy (Faculty of Military Sciences), and a member of the Faculty's Managing Board. Trained at the Royal Military Academy, he joined the Royal Netherlands Air Force in 1987 as an F-16 pilot. He defended his Ph.D. in 2005 on the relationship between war, science and the strategic thinking of John Boyd.

## Authors

**Dr. F.H. Baudet** is Associate Professor of Strategy and Military History at the Department of War Studies, Netherlands Defence Academy. He defended his Ph.D. in 2001 at the University of Utrecht on the Netherlands' (human rights) policy for Eastern Europe and Yugoslavia (1972–1989).

**Prof. Dr. R.J.M. Beeres** is Professor of Defence Economics, Department of Military Management Studies at the Faculty of Military Sciences, Netherlands Defence Academy and an Associate Professor at Nyenrode Business University. He obtained a Ph.D in administrative sciences at Radboud University Nijmegen.

**Colonel Dr. R.M.M. Bertrand RA RC RO** is Associate Professor of Accounting Control and Defence Economics, Department of Military Management Studies at the Faculty of Military Sciences, Netherlands Defence Academy. He defended his Ph.D. in 2016 at Maastricht University.

**Prof. Dr. M.T.I.B. Bollen** is Professor of Civil-Military Interaction and Chair of the Department of Military Management Studies and a member of the Managing Board of the Faculty of Military Sciences, Netherlands Defence Academy. She defended her Ph.D. in 2002 at Wageningen University. Professor Bollen is a Visiting Professor at the Baltic Defence College.

**Lieutenant-Colonel G.L.C. van den Bosch, LL.M. MA** is Assistant Professor of Military Law, Department of War Studies, Netherlands Defence Academy. He holds master degrees in Law and in Public Administration (Dutch Open University) and is preparing his Ph.D. thesis on the Law of Armed Conflict for Cyber Operations.

**Colonel A.J.H. Bouwmeester, MSc MMAS** is Associate Professor of Military Strategy and Land Warfare at the Department of War Studies, Netherlands Defence Academy. He holds a Master of Science degree in Public Administration & Political Sciences, is a graduate of the U.S. Army School of Advanced Military Studies and is preparing his Ph.D. thesis on Russia's information campaigns and deception.

**Prof. Dr. Theo Brinkel** is Assistant Professor of International Security Studies at the Department of War Studies, Netherlands Defence Academy and KVMO [Koninklijke Vereniging van Marineofficieren—Royal Association of Naval Officers] Professor of Civil Military Relations at the Faculty of Social Sciences of Leiden University. Theo Brinkel defended his doctoral thesis in 2006 on the subject of nation building and pluralism in South Africa. Previously he was a Member of Parliament for the Christian Democratic Party and a member of the Foreign Affairs and Defence Committees of the Dutch Parliament.

**Dr. T.W. Brocades Zaalberg** is Associate Professor of Intelligence and Security at the Department of War Studies, Netherlands Defence Academy and a University Lecturer in Contemporary Military History at Leiden University. He holds a Master of Arts degree from the University of Groningen. He is the author of *Soldiers and Civil Power: Supporting or Substituting Civil Authorities in Modern Peace Operations*, which earned him his Ph.D. in history from the University of Amsterdam in 2005.

**Prof. Dr. P.C. van Fenema** is Professor of Military Logistics, Department of Military Management Studies at the Faculty of Military Sciences, Netherlands Defence Academy. He obtained his Master of Science degree in Law and

Economics from Utrecht University, and his Ph.D. in Business Administration at the Erasmus University in 2002, both cum laude.

**Commander (RNLN) Dr. M.D. Fink, LL.M.** is Section Head of the Administrative Law Branch, Netherlands Ministry of Defence, and Senior Researcher Law of Armed Conflict and Peace Operations (ACIL/LACPO) at the Faculty of Law, University of Amsterdam. He holds a law degree from Leiden University and obtained his Ph.D. on the Legal Framework for Maritime Interception Operations at the University of Amsterdam in 2016.

**Dr. F. Giumelli** is Assistant Professor in International Relations, Department of International Relations and International Organization (IRIO), University of Groningen. He obtained a master degree in International Relations at Suffolk University, Boston (USA) and a Ph.D. in Political Science at the University of Florence in 2009.

**Lieutenant J. van Haaster, LL.M.** is a Ph.D. researcher for Cyber Warfare at the Department of War Studies, Netherlands Defence Academy and the Amsterdam Centre of International Law (ACIL).

**Colonel R.H. van Harskamp** is a Lecturer at the Department of War Studies, Netherlands Defence Academy. He commanded 42 Mechanized Infantry Battalion during deployment in Iraq (2004), and Task Force Uruzgan in Afghanistan (2008).

**Dr. Berma Klein Goldewijk** is Assistant Professor of International Security Studies at the Department of War Studies, Netherlands Defence Academy. She obtained a master degree (1984) and a Ph.D. degree (1991) on contextual methodology in international religious studies from Radboud University Nijmegen, both cum laude.

**C.I.A. van Kuijk, LL.M. MA** is a Researcher of non-kinetic influence at the Royal Netherlands Air Force's Innovation centre AIR, co-located at the Faculty of Military Sciences, Netherlands Defence Academy. She holds master degrees in International Law and Criminal Law from Tilburg University and a master degree in Military Strategic Studies from the Netherlands Defence Academy.

**J.M.M. van Lieshout, MSc** is Assistant Professor of Defence Economics, Department of Military Management Studies at the Faculty of Military Sciences, Netherlands Defence Academy. He obtained a Master degree in Social Sciences at Tilburg University.

**B. Lubbers, MSc** is Assistant Professor Operational Processes for Navigation Technology at the Department of Military Technical Studies, Netherlands Defence Academy. His research focusses on navigation integrity and navigation warfare.

**Prof. Dr. P.J. Ooninx** is Professor for Navigation Technology, Department of Military Technical Studies and Acting Dean of the Faculty Military Sciences, Netherlands Defence Academy. He obtained his Ph.D. degree from the University of Amsterdam in 2000 on mathematical signal processing for physics.

**Dr. S.J.H. Rietjens**, an engineer by training, is Associate Professor of Information Management, Department of Military Management Studies at the Faculty of Military Sciences, Netherlands Defence Academy. He obtained his master degree and Ph.D. on civil-military interaction during peace support operations from Twente University in 2006. His research focusses on effectiveness of (intelligence) operations.

**Dr. M.G.D. Rothman** is Associate Professor of International Security Studies at the Department of War Studies, Netherlands Defence Academy. He defended his Ph.D. in 2004 at Purdue University (IN, USA) on globalisation as a context for justice.

**Prof. Dr. Eric Theunissen** is Professor of Avionics at the Department of Military Technical Studies, Netherlands Defence Academy.

**Colonel (RNLAf) Dr. J.E.D. Voetelink, LL.M.** is Associate Professor of Military Law at the Department of War Studies, Netherlands Defence Academy and a senior researcher at the Amsterdam Centre of International Law (ACIL). He holds a degree in law from Tilburg University. He defended his Ph.D. thesis Status of Forces Agreements as an Impetus for Military Operational Law at the University of Amsterdam.

**Dr. E.J. de Waard** is Associate Professor of Strategic Organizing and Change, Department of Military Management Studies at the Faculty of Military Sciences, Netherlands Defence Academy. He holds a Master of Science degree from Radboud University Nijmegen and obtained his Ph.D. at the Erasmus University Rotterdam in 2010.

**Captain (RNLN) N.A. Woudstra, LL.M.** is Associate Professor of Maritime Strategy and Operations at the Department of War Studies, Netherlands Defence Academy. He holds a Master degree of Law and International Relations from the Dutch Open University.