A NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY PRIMER

Created by a team at
The National War College

National War College
National Defense University

The National War College at the National Defense University in Washington, DC, is the premier Department of Defense joint professional military education institution for national security strategy. Its mission is to educate future leaders of the Armed Forces, Department of State, and other civilian agencies for high-level policy, command, and staff responsibilities by conducting a senior-level course of study in the theory, development, and assessment of national security strategy.

The 10-month curriculum emphasizes the joint and interagency perspective. Reflecting this emphasis, 59 percent of the student body is composed of equal representation from the land, sea, and air Services (including the Marine Corps and Coast Guard). The remaining 41 percent is drawn from the Department of State and other Federal departments and agencies, as well as international fellows from a number of countries. Graduates earn a master of science in national security strategy.

The NWC commandant, a military officer of one-star rank, occupies a nominative position that rotates among the Army, Navy, and Air Force. As joint sponsor of the National War College, the Department of State nominates a Foreign Service Officer with Ambassadorial rank to serve as the commandant's deputy and international affairs adviser.

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PREFACE

1. Purpose

A National Security Strategy Primer provides students with a common point of reference for material covered in the National War College curriculum. We use the Primer as a point of departure for discussions about strategy, and as a principal tool for understanding and achieving core course learning objectives. The Primer specifically addresses the concept of national security strategy and an approach for developing it, one that should be studied closely. In addition to using current joint and service-specific doctrine, extant procedures, and existing policy guidance, *A National Security Strategy Primer* uses the literature on national security strategy found in academia, the business sector, and elsewhere. While the Primer is geared towards the National War College core curriculum, it can also serve as a useful tool for interagency practitioners charged with designing or assessing national security strategies.

2. Scope

This Primer details the elements of strategic logic taught at The National War College and focuses on national security strategy development. While the elements of strategic logic are relevant and applicable to strategy-making in general, the focus herein is not specifically military or resource strategies, but the broader concept of national security strategy.

3. Application

The guidance in this Primer should inform each student's course of study at the National War College. Developing coherent and effective strategy is difficult due to the complexity and uncertainty inherent in any strategic challenge.[1] Unraveling the complexity and managing the uncertainty requires an ability to think strategically about the problem at hand. Thinking strategically entails applying strategic logic. *A National Security Strategy Primer* is an important restatement of the principal aspects of strategic logic. Students should be mindful that other useful approaches to strategy-making at the national security level exist. Some are covered elsewhere in the curriculum, and are employed in various departments and agencies of the executive branch. Where available, this Primer relies on definitions contained in JP 1-02, *Department of Defense Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms*. Should a student see material discrepancies between the Primer and other sources, s/he should bring them to the attention of the Faculty Seminar Lead (FSL).

4. Note

A National Security Strategy Primer is neither official policy nor doctrine. It is the product of a collaborative effort by members of the National War College faculty, staff and student body.

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[1] A wide variety of definitions for strategy exist. We are guided, throughout this Primer, by the definition of strategy as "A prudent idea or set of ideas for employing the instruments of national power in a synchronized and integrated fashion to achieve theater, national, and/or multinational objectives." From: *DOD Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms,* http://www.dtic.mil/doctrine/new_pubs/dictionary.pdf as of August 2017, p. 220.

The *Primer* is one tool among many designed to assist students in mastering the National War College curriculum.

CHAPTER I
OVERVIEW

1. Introduction to National Security Strategy. *The National War College (NWC) National Security Strategy Primer* provides information and guidance on the development of national security strategy, which includes: 1) **the** National Security Strategy (NSS) signed by the President of the United States setting out the overarching strategic direction for the country; and 2) focused national security strategies crafted to deal with specific security challenges.[2] The publication is intended to assist students in better understanding the complex process of designing the national security strategies from which all subsequent security planning should flow. It provides an introduction to the elements of strategic logic that frame the development of strategy at the highest levels of the national security apparatus. It can serve as a useful framework outside of NWC, but is not intended to replace processes or procedures established at other entities.

2. What is national security strategy? Fundamentally, **national security strategy** is the development and application of ideas for employing means and orchestrating the instruments of national power (diplomatic, informational, military and economic) to achieve viable ends that protect or advance national interests. National security strategy can apply broadly or with respect to a specific situation. Conceptually, national security frequently entails the search for advantage over a foreign nation, group of nations, or non-state actor; a favorable foreign relations position; and/or a defense posture capable of successfully deterring hostile action.

National security strategy is an iterative process, which begins with assessing a security situation that affects national interests. From this starting point it defines achievable, desirable "**ends**" that will preserve, protect or advance national interests. Those ends entail both the **political aim**, or the desired condition the strategy intends to attain, and the **specific objectives** that must be accomplished to achieve the political aim. From this perspective, national security strategy bridges the gap from the current state of affairs or condition to the desired state of affairs or condition, articulated via the "political aim." The national security strategist identifies what specific **objectives**, if achieved, will support the political aim, and also what "**ways**" (how to proceed toward achieving the political aim) and "**means**" (tools, resources, and/or capabilities) will be required to enact the strategy. Note that the term "ways" may be construed broadly to refer to the fundamental strategic approach to be employed or, more narrowly, to how the selected means will be used to achieve the political aim. Finally, throughout the strategy's development and implementation, the national security strategist must iteratively and objectively assess its viability.

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[2] Many national strategies covering a wide range of issues are prepared within the U.S. Government. Examples are: *A National Strategy for Counterterrorism* and *A National Strategy for the Arctic Region* (see: https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/blog/2011/06/29/national-strategy-counterterrorism and: https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/sites/default/files/docs/nat_arctic_strategy.pdf). Herein they are referred to variously as associated, subsidiary, functional and regional strategies. In most cases they address in more detail interests identified in the National Security Strategy (NSS) and while not subordinate in a strict sense, they generally are consistent with direction provided in the NSS.

3. Relationship of *the* National Security Strategy to specific national security strategies. In 1986, the Goldwater-Nichols Defense Department Reorganization Act put in place a more deliberate, structured, and formalized approach to developing an overarching national security strategy. The Act directs the President to submit an annual report on the national security strategy of the United States to Congress. That report must set forth the national security strategy of the United States; detail the country's vital worldwide national security interests, goals, and objectives; and outline the proposed short- and long-term uses of national power. President Ronald Reagan submitted the first of these reports, titled *National Security Strategy of the United States* in 1987.[3]

Strategists who help develop the NSS must understand its pivotal role in the creation of subsidiary strategies and plans. They should help prepare the NSS with enough wisdom, insight and judgment to assist strategists and planners across the executive branch tasked with developing strategies and plans to resolve specific security challenges. As the Army War College's Harry R. Yarger emphasized,

> [t]he hierarchical nature of strategy facilitates span of control. It represents a logical means of delegating responsibility and authority among senior leadership. It also suggests that if strategy consists of objectives, concepts, and resources each should be appropriate to the level of strategy and consistent with one another. Thus [military] strategy at the national . . . level should articulate military objectives at the national level and express the concepts and resources in terms appropriate to the national level for the specified objective.[4]

Associated regional and functional strategies must be in support of national interests and consistent with the broad outline of the National Security Strategy and applicable derivative strategies. Those charged with developing these subsidiary strategies must be mindful of the overarching strategic concepts laid out in the NSS. Alternatively, when tasked with developing a strategy, the strategist could start with a clean sheet of paper, work through the elements of strategic logic, and assess whether the strategy produced aligns with the overarching strategic concepts provided by the NSS. If not, the strategist should then be prepared to reevaluate the strategy, or make the case for a strategy that diverges from the NSS.

The relationship between the overarching National Security Strategy and associated functional and regional strategies is illustrated in the following two examples.

> During the forty-plus years of the Cold War, the United States pursued a national security strategy of containment. Its scope and scale were enormous, driving global U.S. policy for decades and absorbing tremendous amounts of time, money and effort. The overarching strategy of containment served as the guiding

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[3] The White House released the most recent *National Security Strategy of the United States* on December 18th, 2017. All 17 *National Security Strategies of the United States* are archived at http://nssarchive.us/.

[4] Harry R. Yarger, "Towards A Theory of Strategy: Art Lykke and the Army War College Strategy Model," in *U.S. Army War College Guide to National Security Issues, Volume I: Theory of War and Strategy, 3d ed.* (Carlisle, PA: U.S. Army War College, 2008), p. 45.

framework for subsidiary strategies aimed at addressing specific regional and functional security challenges. Thus strategies such as the Marshall Plan for the reconstruction of Europe, the American wars in Korea and Vietnam, and the U.S. space program were guided by the overarching containment strategy.

In 1994, the Clinton Administration promulgated *A National Security Strategy of Engagement and Enlargement*. Its aim was to enhance security by maintaining a strong defense capability and promoting cooperative security measures; open foreign markets and spur global economic growth; and promote democracy abroad. This overarching National Security Strategy was supplemented by regional and functional strategies throughout the two Clinton administrations. Those strategies dealt with specific security challenges such as the expansion of NATO, the enactment of NAFTA, and intervention in the Third Balkan War of 1991-2001.[5]

4. The Role of the National Security Council (NSC) and the NSC Staff. The National Security Council (NSC) is the President's principal forum for considering and coordinating national security and foreign policy matters with his senior national security advisors and cabinet officials. The NSC staff, headed by the National Security Adviser, serves as the President's national security and foreign policy staff within the White House. Typically, the NSC is responsible for developing the overarching National Security Strategy. Specific regional and functional strategies, however, often originate in particular executive departments, agencies or services. At some point, proposed strategies will make their way into the NSC's interagency review and coordination process, and will go before the NSC itself for final review and approval. Their genesis, however, and their early drafts will likely be the work of a single strategist or small team working within a component of one of the executive departments, agencies, or services. That reality reinforces the need for a cadre of professionals across the national security establishment capable of developing national security strategies. Students should be mindful that one of the criteria often used to assess their NWC papers is whether the product is of sufficient quality for review by the NSC Staff without revision.

5. Introduction to Strategic Logic. Development and execution of national security strategy demands the ability to think strategically. Thinking strategically entails applying the five following fundamental elements of strategic logic.
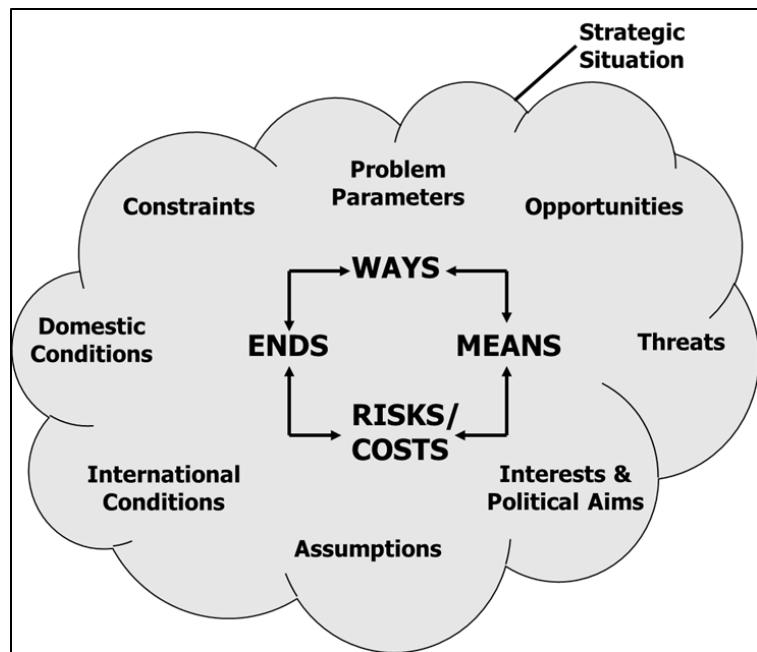
- Analyzing the strategic **SITUATION** (the challenge and its context)
- Defining the desired **ENDS** (the outcomes sought), to include first defining the overarching political aim, and then the specific objectives required to achieve it
- Identifying and/or developing the **MEANS** (resources and capabilities) to bring to bear
- Designing the **WAYS** to use the means to achieve the desired ends
- Assessing the **COSTS/RISKS** associated with the strategy

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[5] The 17 National Security Strategies of the United States are accessible at http://nssarchive.us. The site also includes links to subordinate strategies (i.e., the National Defense Strategy and National Military Strategy). The site is maintained by the Taylor Group, a national security consulting firm unaffiliated with the U.S. Government or any foreign government.

Applying this logic demands the highest levels of critical thinking, insight, and judgment, as well as the courage to act on that judgment. Each of the elements of strategic logic entails numerous questions that should be addressed to produce an effective strategy. Unfortunately, the strategist can find definitive answers to only some of those questions. For the rest, the strategist must rely on assumptions. In developing strategies, unknown factors often outnumber those that are known. Thus, the strategist always operates in an atmosphere of widespread uncertainty and ambiguity. Carl von Clausewitz, the early nineteenth century Prussian general and military theorist who features prominently in the NWC curriculum, spoke to the qualities the strategist needs to operate in this atmosphere when he opined on military genius:

If the mind is to emerge unscathed from this relentless struggle with the unforeseen, two qualities are indispensable: first, an intellect that, even in the darkest hour, retains some glimmerings of the inner light which leads to truth; and second, the courage to follow this faint light wherever it may lead.[6]

Clausewitz was writing about the unforeseeable future, but even the present is not fully knowable. Strategists must address critical uncertainties, whether about the future or the present, with assumptions. These could be assumptions about specific but unknown facts (truths), about cause and effect, about the influence of time on the challenge at hand, and about the consequences of inaction or about certain courses of action.

Strategic Situation

Constraints — Problem Parameters — Opportunities

Domestic Conditions

WAYS
ENDS   MEANS
RISKS/ COSTS

Threats

International Conditions

Interests & Political Aims

Assumptions

While listing the elements of strategic logic makes that logic appear linear, developing strategy actually is a much more complex, multi-dimensional, iterative, and often imprecise process. One useful way to visualize the interrelationships of the elements of strategic logic is shown in the accompanying diagram. It depicts the strategic situation as a cloud, because like a cloud, it is amorphous, ever-shifting, and considerably opaque. Comprising that cloud are considerations such as the problem's parameters, international and domestic conditions that bear on the problem, one's national interests and political aims, threats to those interests and aims (or opportunities for advancing them), constraints on one's freedom of action, the most critical assumptions about the dynamics of the problem confronted, and any other factors important to the strategic situation that surrounds the problem being addressed. It is essential to maintain intellectual agility while applying the steps of strategic logic.

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[6] von Clausewitz, Carl, *On War* (Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1976) p. 102

The key to developing a strategy for dealing with a problem lies in devising an ends-ways-means-costs/risks relationship that accommodates the strategic situation and will produce the overall outcome desired. The ends are the political aim(s) sought and their specific objectives, the means are the resources, power and capabilities available or able to be developed, and the ways are how means will be used to achieve the ends. Costs are the price one has to pay—financially and otherwise—to execute one's strategy, and risks are developments that could go wrong and work to one's disadvantage. To emphasize, the diagram portrays the ends-ways-means-costs/risks as circular rather than linear. The circular relationship stresses the need to consider each element in relation to all the others. The strategist must consider the ends with reference to the available means, possible ways, and likely risks and costs. This principle also applies to each of the other elements of the ends-ways-means-costs/risks formulation. Finally, the circular relationship indicates that there is no end to the process; the strategist must continually go back and iteratively reassess the strategy across its execution.

CHAPTER II
ANALYZING THE STRATEGIC SITUATION

1. General. Every security challenge occurs within a broader strategic context. Analyzing that context and the situation, in general, is the first step in applying strategic logic. For the NSS, the strategic situation encompasses the most important conditions and dynamics that bear on current and future U.S. security across the globe. For an associated regional or functional strategy, the strategist must assess how widely to cast the analytical net. As with the NSS, the goal is to capture the most important conditions and dynamics that bear on the challenge being addressed. Critically, the strategist must be discerning with the available information. Too much peripheral information can obscure rather than clarify the strategic situation. As importantly, the strategist must assess the information's ramifications for possible strategic approaches. As ever, the strategist must answer both the "what" and the "so what" questions.

2. Assumptions are Pivotal. Assumptions, which are suppositions taken as true in the absence of proof, are essential in the analysis of the situation. Despite today's information-rich environment, there are significant limits on what anyone can know about any particular strategic situation. Consequently, strategists must address uncertainties with assumptions. Strategies are necessarily built on assumptions about opponent capabilities, the dynamics of the international situation, and the most important aspects of one's domestic situation. Assumptions also help define one's own interests, what threatens them, and how. Assumptions about an opponent's interests and intentions are equally important, as are assumptions about the cause and effect of potential actions, the role of time, and the likely outcomes, costs and risks of those actions. In short, assumptions enable and shape the development of any successful national security strategy. Made purposefully, deliberatively, and with appropriate caution, they can promote strategic success. Made unwittingly or with inadequate reflection, they can undermine the entire strategic process. Perhaps the most dangerous assumptions are the ones made unwittingly when one fails to question what one seemingly knows to be true. Assumptions surface throughout the development of a strategy, but the strategist should identify explicitly and separately those assumptions most essential to a strategy's success, along with their implications and some explicit characterization of the strategist's level of confidence in each of those key assumptions. Assumptions should be identified and assessed throughout the strategic logic process.

3. The International and Domestic Contexts. The strategic logic process begins with an assessment of the international and domestic contexts or strategic environment.

- **International Context**. Elements in the international context powerfully shape both the situation at hand and possible approaches to dealing with it. The strategist must identify the most important regional and global conditions and dynamics that bear on the nature of the situation at hand and the range of potential strategic responses.

- **Domestic Context**. A state's own domestic context can either enhance or inhibit the ability to develop a strategy for a particular challenge. Thus, the strategist must identify domestic political, economic, bureaucratic, social/cultural, and technological factors that are likely to help or hinder both the strategy-making effort, and its viability once executed. Particularly important is the strategist's judgment of how robust a strategic

effort the nation's economy can support, and at what point the national will might falter in the face of a costly and protracted strategic effort.

- **Constraints.** Constraints are tangible and intangible factors that limit strategic freedom of action. Insufficient means, whether in the form of diminished elements of power or weak institutions and actors, are often difficult to overcome. The element of time potentially poses a constraint on action. Also, policy, legal and normative boundaries can present constraints, whether imposed from within the state or externally. Explicitly stating the most important constraints on freedom of action helps ensure the strategist takes each into account fully when designing the strategic approach.

- **Problem Statement**. To provide definitive focus for the development of a strategy, a clear, concise problem statement is essential. To begin, the strategist should identify the salient characteristics of the strategic situation that are causing it to capture the strategist's attention. What is it all about? What are the current conditions that make the strategic situation appear unsatisfactory or promising and call for concerted action? Note: After completing a thorough analysis of the strategic situation, the strategist would do well to revisit and refine the problem statement.

4. Interests, Threats and Opportunities. National interests are best understood as fundamental and enduring needs or wants the pursuit of which promote a state's well-being and guide its actions. National interests can be categorized broadly as: security, prosperity, and principles (or values). For the sake of clarity, interests should not be viewed as finite achievable ends, but instead as enduring, unachievable guides. For example, a state may determine its security is not immediately at risk and thus place emphasis on the pursuit of other interests. Such was the situation in the U.S. following the collapse of the Soviet Union. This does not mean that security is no longer an interest or that is has been "achieved" but instead that, based on the current conditions, pursuit of additional security may not be as important as needs/wants associated with other interests. When context changes, security may again take primacy.

Often condition statements are used to articulate a state of affairs that is understood to be in the national interest. For example, a condition statement representative of U.S. interests may be written as "A United States that is secure, at peace, stable, and prosperous in a world that respects the rule of law and international norms of behavior." Condition statements may be written very broadly like the one above, or more narrowly associated with a specific situation or event. Whether written as a condition statement or described as a pure interest, strategists must define precisely and concisely the interest(s) the nation has at stake in the challenge to be addressed by a national security strategy. Moreover, when dealing with a specific challenge the strategist should, to the maximum degree possible, refine the interests at stake to those of the highest priority. This emphasis will keep the strategy tightly focused on what matters most for the nation.

- **Valuing Interests.** Having defined the nation's interests in a particular situation, the strategist must assess the value of those interests. That evaluation helps determine the level of energy, effort, and resources to expend in preserving, protecting, or advancing the interests at stake. There is no generally accepted valuation scale for interests, but the

following three-level scale works well. "Vital" interests are ones that a state will use force or risk war to protect. While survival of the state is certainly a vital interest, there may be other vital interests at stake even when the survival of the state is not threatened. That said, given the significant implications connoted by "vital interests," the strategist should be very careful in using the term "vital" or in accepting others' use of the term to describe interests. An "important" or "major" interest is one that would see the state weakened if it did not take action to protect or preserve that interest. Finally, a "peripheral" interest is one that is desirable but is valued less in terms of costs or risks. Whatever valuation scheme a strategist uses, the definitions of the various levels are necessarily imprecise and a matter of judgment. As valuation of an interest can change over time, regularly reassessing the value of interests is essential. Moreover, it is difficult to value interests in the abstract; thus valuing interests may only become meaningful in a specific context in which those interests are threatened or in which one has an opportunity to advance them. Finally, political leaders have in the past and will continue to differ in their judgments over the valuation of interests (or in their judgements about threats to those interests). Such differences will almost certainly manifest themselves during the change from one presidential administration to the next and in multinational and interagency strategy-making.

- **Threats.** Fundamentally, a situation is threatening only if it endangers some aspect of a national interest. Thus, determining whether and to what degree a situation threatens a U.S. national interest is crucial. This question should serve as a point of departure when assessing any strategic situation. As with interests, the strategist derives real advantage by prioritizing threats based on analysis of which are most dangerous or most likely. This prioritization helps keep the strategy focused on what is most important. The strategist must also develop a scheme for assessing the seriousness of threats. Used in combination with the strategist's assessments of the value of the interest, this can provide important additional insight about the most appropriate strategic approach to dealing with the challenge. A significant threat to a vital national interest will call for a different response than a negligible threat to a peripheral national interest. Threats pose perceivable harm to a state's *interests*. The following abstract formula may be useful in assessing threats: Threat = Capability (theirs) x Will (theirs) x Vulnerability (ours). Conceptually, the higher the values, the greater the threat.

- **Opportunities.** National security strategists should recognize when the strategic situation affords an opportunity to advance a national interest. Having defined the national interests at stake in a particular security challenge, the strategist may not see a threat to those interests. Instead, the situation may present an opportunity to advance the interests at stake. It is important, however, not to confuse opportunities with the advantages that derive from dealing successfully with a threat. If a situation presents threats, it likely doesn't present opportunities associated with those threats, e.g., opportunities should not be thought of as the flip-side of threats, the desired state of affairs after successfully dealing with the threats, or the asymmetric advantages one enjoys for addressing the threats. Like threats, however, opportunities exist in relation to national interests, and the strategist should be no less rigorous in defining and distilling opportunities in a concise,

coherent strategy. After all, national security strategies for cooperating with one's allies and trading partners are usually opportunity-based strategies rather than threat-based.

5. Personal and Cognitive Bias Awareness. Human beings naturally bring with them certain worldviews that inevitably shape their perceptions. Worldviews are neither inherently good nor bad. They develop over time, and are shaped by countless factors, to include one's education, experiences, values and cultural mores. Worldviews are shaped by assumptions, and since they inevitably affect one's ideas and attitudes about strategic-level problems and solutions, they introduce considerable bias into the strategy development process. Another source of bias is the fact that strategists tend to agree with people who agree with them, and to over-scrutinize or dismiss those who do not. The need for social acceptance can lead to in-group bias, just as their preference for the status quo can inordinately affect their perceptions of change. Past negative experiences tend to outweigh lessons from positive ones, and people tend to believe that other people and cultures think like they do. Given the stakes at hand, national security strategists should be cognizant of such biases, particularly as they apply to themselves.

CHAPTER III
DEFINING THE DESIRED ENDS

1. The Role of National Interests in Defining Ends. National interests should be the primary driver of ends when addressing a security challenge. They also provide the benchmark against which to assess threats to the nation, or opportunities for advancing the nation's well-being. Yet national interests are generally too broad and amorphous to provide a concrete goal for a specific national security strategy. Strategies that set national interests as their goal run the risk of lacking a clear aim and thus diffusing effort.

2. Political Aim(s). A security challenge constitutes an external situation that a nation finds either troubling or promising. The purpose of national security strategy is to reshape the challenging circumstance into a state of affairs that is either less troubling or more promising. That desired end-state, or outcome, is the political aim of a national security strategy, and it provides a well-defined focus for developing the strategy.[7] Identifying the national interest(s) at stake in a particular strategic challenge clarifies why dealing with that challenge is important. The political aim defines the outcome the strategist believes will preserve, protect, and/or advance the national interest(s) at stake. A political aim should be clear, coherent, and achievable.

In establishing the political aim, the strategist must consider costs, risks, and constraints that could make that aim less viable. Indeed, in crafting a statement of the political aim for a strategy, a strategist must remain mindful of outcomes or conditions that *must* be avoided. If such outcomes or conditions do exist, they should also be and explicitly articulated in the strategy. The strategist must also ensure the political aim—the desired outcome—attenuates, if not fully eliminates, the threat to interests. Where an opportunity to advance interests presents itself, the strategist must ensure the political aim exploits it.

At times, domestic political or policy considerations may prompt an administration to define a political aim with respect to a particular security challenge without having had the benefit of a rigorous, detailed analysis of the strategic situation. In such instances, the strategist is provided the political aim and crafts the most viable strategy feasible to achieve it. Nonetheless, the strategist must conduct a rigorous, detailed analysis of the strategic situation. If that analysis leads the strategist to believe the political aim is not feasible, the strategist should be willing and able to make that case to the national leadership.

3. Specific Objectives. Having identified the outcome the strategy aims to achieve—the political aim—the strategist now has to specify how to reach that goal. To do this, the strategist develops specific objectives that, when accomplished in combination, will achieve the desired political aim.

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[7] In discussing the relationship between war, policy and politics, Clausewitz identifies *political aim* (translated, at times, as *political object*) as the national-level objective. For instance, he says, "The political object is the goal, war is the means of reaching it, and means can never be considered in isolation from their purpose. " (Carl von Clausewitz, Carl, *On War* (Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1976), edited and translated by Michael Howard and Peter Paret. p. 87). The conception of political aim used herein follows Clausewitz's general logic though we refer to all means available to a nation, not just war.

Coherence in a strategy results from a tight linkage between the national interests at stake, the political aim pursued to secure those interests, and the specific objectives that address threats or opportunities to achieve the political aim, thereby protecting or furthering national interests.

The most important characteristics of a sound objective are precision and brevity. It must clearly describe what needs to be accomplished, and it must do so with no wasted verbiage. Ambiguous objectives fail to provide sufficient focus for the strategy, and verbose objectives open the door to misperceptions and diversions of effort. There is no standard for how many objectives a strategist should formulate for a particular security challenge. The nature of both the challenge and the political aim will shape that. As a general rule, fewer and broader—while still precise—objectives will help keep the strategy focused on the desired political aim and will address the most important threats and/or opportunities.

CHAPTER IV
IDENTIFYING AND/OR DEVELOPING THE MEANS

1. The Means of National Security Strategy. The third element in strategic logic is identification of means needed to achieve objectives and produce the desired political aim. In short, means are the capabilities and resources one can bring to bear in the effort to produce the desired political aim. Sometimes adequate means are available; other times they must be developed. There are three components to the means in national security strategy: elements of power, institutions/actors, and the instruments of power.

2. Elements of Power. The elements of power consist of those tangible and intangible factors that undergird the ability of a state or non-state actor to achieve its political aims. There is no universally agreed list of the elements, and much scholarship exists on what, in fact, constitutes national power.[8] However, any list of the elements of power would likely include those shown here. Most important is not the exact composition of the

list, but the recognition that the means of national security strategy rest on fundamental elements of power. The ability of a state or non-state actor to effectively convert elements of power into specific capabilities that can be used to pursue political aims is crucial to its strategic success.

Although listing elements makes them appear distinct, they are overlapping and interdependent and must be considered in relation to one another. They defy simple definition, and their importance is always relative to a given strategic situation. In general, a state's natural resources, geography, economy, infrastructure, and industrial base are traditionally recognized as "foundational" elements of power—those that are critical for supporting other strategic actions. Human capital encompasses demographics, which can include population size, birth rates, immigration trends, and levels of education. Governance refers to matters such as political structure, effectiveness, and might include the population's mood, its view of what the nation's aims and objectives ought to be, and what sacrifices it is willing to make to achieve them. A nation's level of research, development, and technology encompasses a state's capability to innovate. Like national will, culture is a particularly broad concept that is difficult to measure but can play an important role in the state's ability to build and project power. Culture may also shape a nation's international reputation, which reflects the perceptions of foreign institutions, actors, and individuals.[9]

Strategists should evaluate whether their strategies, when implemented, will add to or detract from their nation's elements of power. States should avoid embarking on a strategic course of action if it will ultimately diminish national power rather than preserve or supplement it.

3. Institutions and Actors. National security strategists often look to selected government institutions and actors, such as the Department of State or Defense, to achieve objectives and

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[8] "Elements of Power" may also be described as "correlates of power."

[9] Though not included in the chart, in the modern environment, data may also be considered an element of power.

produce outcomes that are tied to a strategy's political aim. Depending on the situation, however, other institutions and actors may be appropriate. The accompanying list illustrates a range of public, private, domestic, international, and other organizations and actors that may contribute to a strategy's success through formal, semi-formal, or informal relationships.


"International Governmental Organizations" (IGOs) and "International Financial Institutions" (IFIs) are entities such as the United Nations and the International Monetary Fund, respectively. "Quasi-Governmental" organizations are partially state-owned or run, but operate with broader independence; one example is the United States Institute for Peace. "Partners" refers to foreign governments, their agencies, and personnel. "Proxies" refers to non-governmental foreign partners who, through their actions, directly or indirectly implement a nation's strategy; the Mujahedeen and the Contras are two historic examples for the U.S; Hezbollah is a current example for Iran. Used here, the term "media" refers to the full spectrum of reporters, bloggers, journalists, and virtually any other person or agency that broadcasts, prints, or uploads any form of news; it also includes the entertainment industry, again broadly construed. "Business" is another wide-ranging term that represents all forms of private or state-owned commercial enterprises. Used here, "civil society" includes charities, unions, private organizations, political parties, religious groups, non-commercial firms, and civic groups. Some of those groups are similar to "Non-Governmental Organizations" (NGOs), which include not-for-profit, voluntary citizens' groups organized at a local, national, or international level. "Empowered individuals" are persons relied upon by national-level strategists, independent of any institutional affiliations; examples could include celebrities, other persons of notoriety, and philanthropists—some of whom may be virtually unknown.
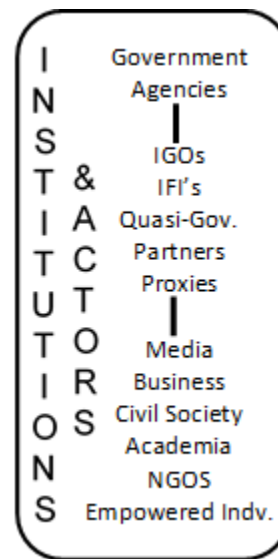
None of the above institutions or actors hold a monopoly on particular instruments of power. While it is helpful to recognize institutional capabilities, resources, and missions, it can be counterproductive for strategists to bind any institution or actor too tightly to a specific instrument. For example, the U.S. Department of Defense is the institution most closely tied to the U.S. military instrument of power, and most of its capabilities and missions are associated with the application of the military instrument. However, The DoD can and does also wield the diplomatic instrument, the information instrument, and at times the economic instrument. The strategist that assumes the DoD is synonymous with the military instrument is assuming away a range of capabilities that could be crucial to achieving the desired ends.

4. The Instruments of Power (DIME). Actors and institutions pursue objectives by wielding four primary instruments—diplomatic, informational, military and economic (DIME)—to project power; each instrument comprises a set of fundamental capabilities, which are noted in the accompanying figure.[10] The strategists' challenge is to determine what combination of those

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[10] The DIME model is one of several approaches to capturing the instruments of power. DIME is used in both U.S. Joint Doctrine and the doctrine of various other countries. Another common acronym is DIMEFIL, which represents the instruments of power as Diplomatic, Informational, Military, Economic, Financial, Intelligence, and Law Enforcement. Consistent with U.S. Doctrine, the *Primer* incorporates "FIL" within DIME.

capabilities is best suited to deal with the situation at hand; this effort requires understanding the utility of each instrument: *what are its capabilities and limitations given a particular situation, what are the best concepts and methods for how to use it,* and *what are its costs and risks*.

- **The Diplomatic Instrument.** Diplomacy is sometimes described as "the outward expression of foreign policy"—the effort to provide real-time coordination of all the other instruments. This definition is appealing to practitioners because it captures the lead roles of both senior diplomats in formulating foreign policy and of embassies in executing it overseas. Yet, this perspective conflates diplomacy with both policy and statecraft. This conflation makes it difficult to understand diplomacy as an independent *instrument* of statecraft. A significantly more limited and operational definition as used in the DIME construct looks at diplomacy as official engagement—how a state formally interacts with state or non-state actors. This interaction takes many forms, running the gamut from officially conveying threats, imposing sanctions, and declaring war ("hard" or "coercive" diplomacy), to identifying shared interests, building alliances, and negotiating or sustaining agreements. *Types* of engagement can be roughly characterized in three ways: representation, negotiation, and implementation.

  Diplomatic
  Representation
  Negotiation
  Implementation
  Informational
  Perceive
  Inform
  Control
  Military
  Force
  Threat of Force
  Force Enabling
  Economic
  Assistance
  Trade
  Finance

  - **Representation (explaining and advocating).** The *most common* diplomatic acts involve the day to day building of relationships and engaging foreign counterparts to describe, defend, or forward a position and seek responses that support, or at least do not contradict, it. These actions help to ensure that others feel their views are heard and ensure others understand U.S. policy.

  - **Negotiation.** As *a principal* method for producing strategic results, negotiation is the generally give and take process to reach an agreement that resolves a problem/conflict or works to the mutual advantage of the parties involved. At a more mundane level, it also involves developing technical parameters on how countries, government entities, companies, and even individuals should proceed with transnational interactions.

  - **Implementation (including of agreements).** Diplomacy includes implementation actions as well as reaching agreement. Just as agreement takes many different forms (e.g., bilateral statements, joint communiqués, partnerships, and legal treaty commitments), follow-up activities shape and manage the ensuing environment. Examples include maintaining a coalition, providing technical assistance, strategic dialogues, treaty verification, and may include certain aspects of national and international law enforcement.

  A wide variety of institutions and actors can conduct diplomacy. The Department of State is the principal institution for conducting diplomacy on behalf of the United States, but it

is not the only actor. For example, the President and the White House staff engage with the offices of heads of state in other countries to collect and convey information about strategic intent. Similarly, Department of Defense officials meet with foreign counterparts to discuss military cooperation but also to defuse tensions, build relationships, and negotiate agreements. Treasury, Commerce, and Trade representatives pursue economic objectives via diplomatic means when they engage foreign officials to secure commercial deals, reach agreement on trade or imposing sanctions, or coordinate decisions of International Financial Institutions (IFIs). And the Intelligence Community engages domestic and foreign counterparts in a variety of information-sharing initiatives to build relationships in addition to addressing shared security concerns. Parallel organizations in other states conduct similar diplomatic activities.

- **The Informational Instrument** The information instrument encompasses a wide range of concepts: cyber, intelligence, public diplomacy, strategic communications, psychological and influence operations, and propaganda, among others and is wielded by an even broader range of actors, from the government, to academia, businesses, civil society, and many more. Despite the range of concepts and actors involved, the nature of the information instrument revolves around the pillars of perception, distribution, and control of knowledge. As with all the instruments, in application these pillars function more as an overlapping continuum than perfectly distinct categories.

  - **Perceive** involves accurately understanding the world as it is, it has two aspects; first the collection, processing, integration, analyzing, and interpretation of available information. The impact of the first aspect of perceiving the world is exemplified in former British Prime Minister Winston Churchill attribution of the Allied victory in World War II to the Ultra Program, which deciphered German encryption and allowed the Allies to read German war plans prior to execution. This first aspect, centered around, but not limited to, the intelligence community, is more institutional than instrumental. In other words it relates to the creation, maintenance, or enabling of power rather than the direct wielding of power. The second aspect of perception relates to external recognition of a state's ability to accurately understand the world. The perception that an adversary has a robust ability to identify and understand creates a powerful constraint that can, itself be wielded to influence target behavior.

  - **Inform** consists of the persuasive transmission of knowledge to an audience of choice. It rests on the connectivity with an audience, the content of the message, and cognitive impact of the information. Many aspects of inform are embodied in the concept of Strategic communication which involves efforts to understand and engage key audiences to create, strengthen, or preserve conditions favorable for the advancement of one's interests, policies, and objectives through the use of coordinated programs, plans, themes, messages, and products. Yet inform may also include more passive, soft, or informal forms of knowledge transmission, such as cultural/social structures, public media, exchange programs and narratives. Successful dissemination of a message is based on myriad contextual factors,

including trust in the sender, relation of the sender to the message, preconceptions of the audience, culture, language, method of transmission, capability and durability of transmission systems.

- **Control** focuses on the destruction, manipulation, and restriction of information to produce a desired effect. Control has two broad aspects; corrupt and deny. Corrupt involves destruction, manipulation, or usurpation of information to prevent a target from accurately perceiving or responding to a situation, persuasively disseminating their own message, or controlling the friendly information environment. Deny involves the restriction of unfriendly information from one's own information environment. Control is partly encapsulated in the doctrinal definition of Information operations which entail efforts by one party to deny another the ability to acquire and use information, and to protect and enhance its own ability to do the same. Information control involves actively disrupting perception and/or interdicting dissemination of rival state and actor communications, conducting deception operations, many offensive cyber activities, propaganda, and other actions intended to restrict, manipulate, or destroy information to control behavior or perception of a target.

As the internet, social media, and information/technical infrastructure have expanded over the past quarter-century, and as more activity has shifted to cyberspace, information has become an increasingly critical aspect of state power. Today, state and non-state actors work to exploit new technical information capabilities; autocratic states broadly project propaganda and disinformation; and terrorist groups exploit social media and other digital means to spread their messages, recruit armies, and elicit funds. Perhaps most significantly, virtually all critical infrastructure—civilian and military—in the developed world is attached to computer networks. The ubiquity and permeability of cyberspace create vulnerabilities that states and non-state actors exploit to their advantage and overlook at their peril. Cyberspace, however, is not synonymous with the information instrument; it is a domain through which information can flow and in which certain types of information operations can take place. It is difficult to assess how information will develop as an element and an instrument of state power in the long run, yet current trends point toward its ever-increasing importance.

- **The Military Instrument.** The military instrument of power entails applying, threatening to apply, or enabling other parties to apply or threaten to apply force in furtherance of political aims. The use of the military instrument in war is potentially the most dangerous action a state can undertake; strategists and leaders should apply it only with a clear understanding and assessment of its nature, capabilities, limitations, and costs/risks. Though there are no universally accepted definitions of the aspects of the military instrument, the concepts of "Force," "Threat of Force," and "Force Enabling" capture its essence and provide an appropriate framework for such assessment.

  - **Force** is the application of violence by one party to coerce, subdue or eradicate another, and it can occur in any domain (Land, Sea, Air, Space, and Cyber). Force

may include overt, clandestine, and covert activities; small-unit actions; single targeted strikes; employment of proxies; the use of destructive cyber power; or any other activity in which violence is applied to achieve political aims and their associated specific objectives.

- **Threat of force** is used to modify coercively an adversary's current behavior or shape its future actions. Like force, the threat of force is used to achieve political aims, it can be used either defensively/preventatively to *deter* an adversary from initiating damaging action for fear of the consequences, or offensively to *compel* an adversary into ceasing damaging action or giving up something of value.[11] In either case, the key determinant of effectiveness is credibility; the adversary must believe in both one's *capability and willingness* to make good on the threat. Moreover, the threat of force can be *explicit or implicit;* diplomats and heads of state frequently express or imply it in diplomatic messages, adding weight to the diplomatic instrument of power.

- **Force enabling** consists of improving the capacity/capability of international partners to apply or threaten force and encompasses a wide array of concepts. It may be used to help state or non-state actors bolster their military capability, to improve state or regional security, to enhance elements or institutions of military power, to make an allied or aligned state a more effective partner, or to link a foreign state to one's own by way of military cooperation. Force enabling activities are frequently, though not exclusively, conducted by the armed forces and intelligence services. Such efforts often tie closely the diplomatic, information, and economic instruments.

- **The Economic Instrument:** As an element of power, the economy—national wealth and prosperity, serves as a key foundation. A large economy is an important (but not individually sufficient) factor enabling a state to develop effective institutions. The larger and more productive a state's economy, the more resources available to convert into institutions, fund external operations, and offer as inducements. A large economy also empowers the various instruments, by its very existence strengthening the ability of the instruments to effective external change. The national security strategist must critically assess both the positive and negative effects that a proposed strategy may have on national economies. Strategies that jeopardize economic health should be chosen warily, with a clear view of the vital interests at stake.

  As an instrument, economic tools focus on either furthering or constraining others' prosperity (economy), or on influencing key groups and decision-makers. Thus, there are three major categories of the economic instrument that a state can wield when attempting to affect outcomes in the foreign policy realm: trade, finance, and assistance.

  - **Assistance** is money, goods, materiel, or service's given by one state or non-state actor directly to another. Assistance can be used to improve the target's

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[11] The classic discussion on the distinction of these two forms of coercion is: Schelling, Thomas C., *Arms and Influence*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966) pp. 69-78

capability/capacity in a specific sector, as budget support, as humanitarian support, and to develop goodwill or ties to support a longer term relationship or induce short-term actions; it can be either directed (i.e. "with strings attached") or undirected. Relative to private capital flows, private philanthropy, and diaspora remittances, state to state assistance has become a smaller and smaller proportion of assistance to poor nations in the past 50 years. However, assistance is still a relevant and potentially useful category of the economic instrument power

– **Trade** of goods and services has the potential to increase the wealth and prosperity of trading partners. Limits or restrictions on trade (including sanctions and tariffs) harm or threaten to harm an adversary's economy. Conversely, trade agreements or reduced tariffs can be inducements for certain desirable foreign policy outcomes. Although trade is normally considered mutually beneficial, a state must carefully consider the potential harm to its own economic prosperity when considering trade restrictions as an instrument of state policy. A state may also want to consider the role of private and state owned enterprises in the projection of state power and the potential direct and indirect influences such enterprises may have.

– **Finance** and access to capital markets is required for modern businesses to undertake investments to increase productive capacity, and also for modern governments to provide expected services (e.g., infrastructure, health, welfare, education) to their citizens. Financial lending, investment, and capital flows are necessary for the macroeconomic stability of states and the entire global economy. Restricting or impeding access to finance and banking systems or manipulating investments can achieve political aims or objectives, but like trade restrictions, a state must carefully consider the potential harm to its own and its allies/partners' economic prosperity (and reputation as an impartial financial entity) when considering using financial tools to wield the economic instrument.

Strategists should consider the nature of their own state's economy and that of their allies/partners' as well as that of the target state or entity. The more that a state's economic activity is privately controlled (by proportion) and the more it relies on free-market forces to generate economic prosperity, the less direct ability it has to shape its own trade and financial activities to suit particular strategic purposes. In such situations, the less confident strategists should be that trade, financial, or aid actions will be able to produce a particular strategic effect on a target country.

5. Interrelationships among the Three Components of the Means. National security strategists need to appreciate how the means' three components—elements, instruments/actors, and instruments—relate to each other. The elements of power are the "raw material" or "the bank account" states use to create institutions and/or to enable the instruments of power. But because these elements are inevitably finite (though non-linear and non-zero sum), a state must also use its institutions and instruments to develop, protect, and conserve them. Preserving the elements

therefore sustains the state's power; if one or more elements is significantly diminished—whether through strategic inattention, adversary action, or the pursuit of strategies that are too costly—relative decline could ensue. The relationship between the elements and the institutions/instruments is important, but so too is the direct relationship between institutions and the instruments. It is the fundamental capabilities of the instruments, employed by appropriate institutions and actors, and brought to bear in appropriate combinations, that produce effects to resolve security challenges and achieve desired political aims. Put more simply, institutions and actors wield the instruments in pursuit of the state's political aims. Thus, for example, it is not armed forces that produce effects; instead, the use of force, threat of force or enabling of force produces effects. Similarly, it is not diplomats that produce effects; instead, it is the use of representation, negotiation, or implementation that produce effects. In other words it is the activity not the actor that produces effect.
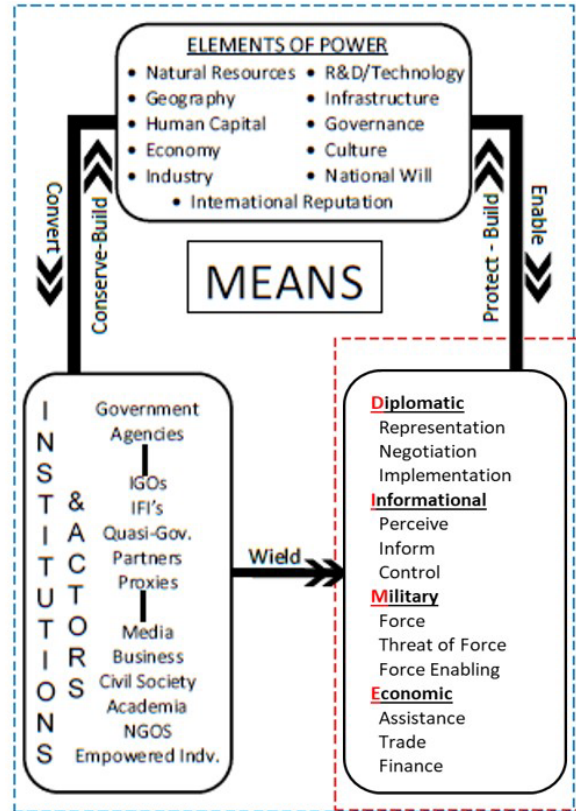
6. Employing Means/Developing Means. At the *National Security Strategy* (NSS) level, strategists examine not only the current global security situation, but also the desired situation for the nation in the future. This analysis requires considering not just the means needed to achieve political aims *today*, but also the means (elements, actors and institutions, and instruments) that the nation will need *in the years ahead*; these may include alliances, specific military capabilities, international agreements, critical infrastructure, or an educated workforce trained with particular skills.
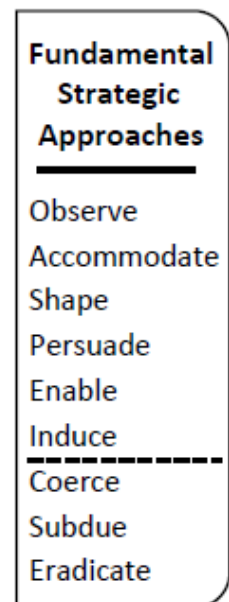
Strategies designed to respond to specific security challenges frequently require considering how to implement them within the bounds of existing means. Occasionally, however, the challenge may be of sufficient magnitude and with a sufficiently long anticipated timeline that a strategy can both employ the means at hand and include an effort to develop new means. For example, America's ultimate political aim in the Pacific during World War II was Japan's unconditional surrender. In the months immediately after Pearl Harbor, U.S. strategy focused on employing existing means to blunt further Japanese advances. That effort bought time for the United States to mobilize and innovate, which eventually created vastly increased and significantly more advanced military capabilities. Together, mobilization and the development of advanced technology enabled the United States to create the military means needed to achieve its political aim. Similarly, as part of the U.S. strategy for dealing with the Soviet Union during the Cold War, President John F. Kennedy established the goal of a manned mission to the Moon. That effort spawned a national space program that enhanced America's elements of power. As a result of the space program, the United States strengthened its geography (occupying key points in

space), R & D and technology, human capital, international reputation, and national culture. These newly developed means were crucial to the long-term strategy of the U.S. to defeat the Soviet Union.

CHAPTER V
DESIGNING THE WAYS

1. General. Designing the ways to achieve the political aim and its specific objectives is the fourth element in strategic logic. Whereas "identifying the means" focuses on *with what*, "designing ways" addresses *how*. In deciding how to use the selected means (elements, institutions/actors, and instruments) to achieve the political aim and its specific objectives, the national security strategist must answer—and continuously revisit—the following four fundamental questions. First, what fundamental strategic approach(s) is most suitable? Second, within that fundamental strategic approach, which modes of action seems most promising (e.g., direct vs. indirect, or sequential vs. cumulative)? Third, given the answers to the first two questions, which instruments and institutions are best suited to help secure the political aim, and what institutions should wield them in that endeavor? Finally, how will the strategist orchestrate the selected instruments to achieve the desired ends?

2. Fundamental Strategic Approaches. The process of formulating the ways for a strategy will likely begin with consideration of the most appropriate strategic approach(s) for dealing with the national security challenge at hand. Strategic approaches fall roughly along a spectrum from virtually no action to the near absolute eradication of an opponent. The accompanying box lists the fundamental strategic approaches a strategist could choose to pursue, ranging from least to most aggressive. The dashed line in the box demarcates a critical decision point in the formulation of a strategy—the point at which the strategist is considering approaches that include the potential use or threatened use of force. In selecting the appropriate approach, the strategist must take into account the interests at stake, the strategic context, the political aim and its objectives, and the available means. Conversely, once chosen, the approach should guide employment of the selected instruments. Finally, the strategist must continually revisit whether the chosen strategic approach is effective. Once a state or non-state actor puts a particular strategy into effect, the strategic situation may change, often in unanticipated—and at times almost unimaginable—ways. As that happens, the strategist must rethink whether the initial approach continues to suit the situation and will achieve the political aim with the available means at acceptable levels of cost and risk. Potentially, the strategist must also consider if the situation has changed to such a dramatic degree that the desired political aim is no longer viable. Below is a list of strategic approaches, further defining the terms in the box to the right:

Fundamental Strategic Approaches
Observe
Accommodate
Shape
Persuade
Enable
Induce
- - - - - - - - -
Coerce
Subdue
Eradicate

- **Observe** is the least active strategic approach and is often appropriate when threats to interests are minimal, international partners independently address an issue sufficiently, or when assessed costs and risks of greater action outweigh potential benefits.

- **Accommodate** means acceding to others' interests/aims with the belief that acceding will limit or prevent additional competition or conflict. Though this approach has certain negative connotations it may be the most appropriate if the level of interest at stake does not support the risks/costs of a more confrontational approach. Depending on the

situation, accommodation can take multiple forms, including appeasement, adaptation, abrogation, retraction, abandonment, etc.

- **Shape** is often a means building approach, intended to engender a more beneficial environment. This approach may be most appropriate when threats are not clear or immediate/severe and an opportunity creates a chance to mold the strategic situation in one's favor.

- **Persuade** generally entails trying to convince another actor through force of argument. Persuasion is primarily viable where the parties' interests align or significantly overlap; its utility is otherwise limited. Successful persuasion generally creates ideological agreement and thus can lead to a stronger partnership than more aggressive actions.

- **Enable** is used—when interests align—to improve the capability of an actor already taking beneficial action or who is likely to produce or benefit one's political aim. Enabling can occur in myriad ways, such as force-enabling of a partner's military capability, or providing information or financial assistance to an ally.

- **Induce** involves offering something positive--for example promises of assistance, security guarantees, or tariff concessions to change another state or actor's behavior. Inducement generally works by changing the targets cost/risk/benefit calculation, and thus can work even when interests do not align initially or significantly overlap. Inducements often create a transactional relationship.

- **Coerce** crosses an important conceptual threshold by moving from positive to negative engagement with the potential for the use, or threatened use, of force. Coercive actions may be actual or prospective and may include actions such as eliminating aid, refusing weapons sales, raising tariffs, imposing sanctions, curtailing diplomatic relations, deploying or posturing forces, and actually employing force. Coercion is generally understood to encompass both deterrence and compellence.

- **Subdue** seeks to remove all choice from the target; this is in contrast to even the most forceful act of coercion, which still leaves the choice to be or not be coerced with the targeted actor. Subdue is generally heavy on force and may include occupation, forceful regime change, and destruction or severe degradation of the target's capacity to employ force or defend itself.

- **Eradicate** seeks the absolute elimination of the target state or actor, many or all of its key leaders and believers, as well as the ideology guiding it.

3. Modes of Action. In addition to choosing a fundamental strategic approach, the strategist should consider which mode(s) of action will best accomplish the chosen strategy. The modes of action shown in the box to the right are not a checklist, but a few examples of choices about various methods a strategist could utilize to build a strategy. Although the choices may seem binary, different objectives within the same strategy may simultaneously employ multiple modes of action (e.g., using both overt and covert force). The modes of action listed are not all-encompassing, strategists need to consider a wide range of potential modes as part of their "ways" development. They also need to consider whether a particular mode fits the strategic situation, will achieve the political aim and its specific objectives, and can do so with the available means at acceptable levels of risk and cost.

Modes of Action (examples)		
Direct	←→	Indirect
Unilateral	←→	Multilateral
Sequential	←→	Cumulative
Actual	←→	Prospective
Proactive	←→	Reactive
Overt	←→	Covert
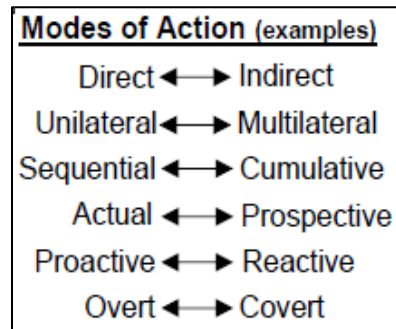
4. Matching Institutions/Actors with Instruments. When designing the "ways," strategists must remember that institutions/actors are not instruments. Institutions/actors wield the instruments of power in pursuit of the political aim and its specific objectives. This notion is central to the link between means and ways. Strategists should think broadly when deciding which institutions or actors should employ the chosen instruments. For example, tasking the Department of Defense (DoD) with the application of force seems intuitive, but may not always be the right choice; in certain circumstances, an intelligence agency, a proxy, a partner, or perhaps a law enforcement agency may be better suited to apply force (wield the military instrument). While having DoD employ force may be one option, the strategist should consider as many other options as practicable.

5. Orchestration. The instruments of national power overlap, interconnect, and are interdependent. Each of the instruments works most effectively when supported by and operating harmoniously with the others. Consequently, the strategist should consider what the proposed strategy is asking each instrument to do; at any point in time and space, one of the instruments may play the principal role in advancing the strategy, while the others are in support. The strategist ensures that each is doing all it can at that moment to achieve its particular purpose and to support the efforts of the other instruments. It is critical for the success of the strategy that no instrument's operations work against those of the principal or lead instrument.

Orchestration *defines* how institutions wield the instruments of power through distinctive actions and approaches in a logical, coherent strategy for accomplishing political aims. Effective orchestration depends on several factors. Because strategy normally includes several specific objectives intended to accomplish the political aim, and because actions taken in support of any particular objective could undermine attainment of other objectives, each objective must be **prioritized** in terms of its importance. Moreover, given that resources are finite, prioritization is essential to ensure the most important objectives get the resources needed for their attainment. In addition, strategies often benefit from the clear identification of a lead instrument, with the rest of the instruments operating in support. The strategist must take care not to let the actions of supporting instruments undermine the main line of effort. The strategist should also **sequence** objectives, specifying whether one objective needs to be attained before another objective can be pursued. On occasion some objectives can be achieved in parallel: that is, simultaneously. Also

vital is the need to **coordinate** the instruments to ensure they are not working at cross-purposes. To ensure limited means are appropriately apportioned to achieve the desired effects, strategists must properly **balance** resources between objectives and instruments. Achieving objectives often requires the **integration** of multiple instruments in a "whole-of-government" approach. Such integration may be exceedingly difficult but can make the difference between success and failure.

As a strategy unfolds, instruments and institutions interact with each other. Many of those interactions are intentional and positive, part of the strategic design. Some interactions, though, are unintentional and potentially negative. Consequently, strategists have to work to assure that interactions among the instruments and institutions produce positive synergistic effects. As an example, when U.S. strategists formulated the plan for providing relief to Southeast Asian nations after the 2004 Tsunami, they assessed that the effort would also send constructive messages about America to the local population. In turn, they anticipated that those positive messages would undermine a degree of support from local populations for Al Qaeda's Indonesian affiliate, Jemaah Islamiyah. Similarly, strategists have to shape their strategic designs to prevent unanticipated interactions from producing negative effects. For example, using force can often lead to collateral destruction and casualties, which may in turn incite resistance among an adversary's population. Such concerns mandate extensive consideration and may well limit actions.

CHAPTER VI
ASSESSING THE COSTS/RISKS AND RESULTS

1. Iterative Assessment. Assessing the costs and risks stemming from a strategy is the fifth fundamental element of strategic logic. As with the first element—analyzing the strategic situation—assessing costs and risks must permeate the process of developing national security strategy. Neither analyzing the strategic situation nor assessing risks and costs should be pursued linearly iteratively and with regular frequency.

2. Evaluating Costs. Costs represent the outlay of resources and other assets needed to achieve a political aim. They include, the funding required to acquire, build, enable, protect, convert, achieve, or maintain something of strategic value, whether tangible or intangible. Costs also can include people killed and injured, infrastructure damaged or destroyed, diminished capital, accumulated debt, weakening of the economy, or tarnished reputation and diminished influence. They can be transactional, political, temporal, or stem from forfeited opportunities.

While the strategist can calculate some costs with specificity, others must be based on assumptions. Nevertheless, whether based on hard data or estimates and judgments, strategists must provide a definitive statement of likely costs for the decision-maker. Only in this way can the strategist make it possible for the decision-maker to weigh the hoped-for benefits from a particular strategy against the expected costs. Proposed strategies for which the likely costs exceed the value of the hoped-for benefits ought to be rethought. This process reinforces the criticality of having defined precisely: 1) the interests the state has at stake in the problem; 2) the value of those interests; 3) threats to those interests; and 4) the seriousness of those threats. The essential question in the cost-benefit analysis of any strategy is whether it protects/advances the state's interests at an acceptable cost. Ultimately, many national strategy debates revolve around value tradeoffs—for instance, lives vs. economic harm—that are difficult, if not impossible, to resolve definitively. Strategists ought to consider at least three categories of costs—resources (lives, money, equipment, time), political costs, and opportunity costs. In addition, strategists would do well to consider the costs of inaction.

3. Identifying Risks. Strategists must consider risks as they design strategies. In general, risk entails the probability and severity of loss linked to hazards. With respect to strategy, risks are elements that could go wrong. As the general definition states, the severity of a risk is determined by both the likelihood of its occurrence ***and*** the magnitude of damage that would ensue if the risk became manifest. Thus, a state that employs force against an adversary that possesses nuclear weapons runs the risk that the enemy will retaliate with a nuclear strike. The magnitude of the ensuing damage would be huge, but if there is little or no likelihood that the other state would respond with a nuclear strike, then the severity of the risk might well be deemed acceptable.

There is no magic formula for calculating risk. Risks emerge as the strategist brings insightful, objective analysis and judgment to bear on what research and intelligence has revealed about the nature and dynamics of the problem. Despite the strategist's best efforts, however, both the likelihood and severity of any identified risks will remain only probabilities. Therefore, it is

critical that the strategist develops a scheme for valuing both the likelihood and the severity of risks and uses that scheme to characterize each of risks considered by decision-makers.

Strategists must assess both risks **to the strategy** and risks **from the strategy**. Risks to the strategy are things that could cause it to fail, and they arise particularly from assumptions that prove invalid in whole or in part. Risks from the strategy are additional threats, costs, or otherwise undesired consequences caused by the strategy's implementation. When the United States invaded Iraq in 2003 with the political aim of changing the Iraqi regime, a risk to the strategy was that popular resistance within Iraq to the U.S. invasion would coalesce into an effective insurgency. At the same time, a clear risk from the U.S. strategy was that the weakening of Iraq that would almost certainly occur as a result of the U.S. invasion would open the door for Iran to establish a much stronger position in the region. In the end, U.S. decision-makers judged their political aim to be of sufficient value to warrant accepting both of those risks.

4. Viability Assessments. Throughout the strategy development process, strategists must continuously assess a strategy's viability. Multiple factors can affect a strategy's prospects for successful implementation. To assess the viability of a national security strategy, strategists should use the "…ilities" tests, which allow them to evaluate the strategy from multiple vantage points. Strategists should begin by considering **suitability**, which addresses whether the strategy will protect/advance the national interest(s) at stake and not work against other national-level strategies, policies, and goals. Second, the strategist should test **feasibility**, which examines whether the strategy will actually achieve the political aim. Are sufficient means of the appropriate type available (or attainable) to achieve the political aim? Even if a strategy is suitable and feasible, the strategist must determine its **desirability**, which entails assessing whether the expected benefits outweigh the expected costs—is attainment of the political aim worth what it will cost to attain it? To be judged desirable, the strategy (not just the hoped for outcome) must deliver something valued beyond all that will be expended to purchase it. Next comes the test of **acceptability**. Is the plan of action consistent with the state's values, the national mood, domestic concerns, the interests of allies and partners, and the personal goals of political leaders? Finally, comes the test of **sustainability**. Can the necessary level of resources, political will and backing, and popular support be sustained long enough to attain the political aim? Strategists should continuously apply these basic tests of viability throughout the strategy development process. Assessments of viability are generally a matter of degree. If the answer to any one of the tests is ever a definitive "no," the strategist should consider a different strategic approach that offers greater viability.

5. Red Teaming. Throughout the strategic logic process, but particularly during the assessment phase, use of a red team to think critically about the problem, the major assumptions, and other key elements of the proposed strategy from the target's perspective is essential. The discussion in *Joint Pub 5-0* on the use of red-teaming in joint planning offers a helpful guide on how similar red team efforts could sharpen strategic logic and improve the strategy-making process.[12]

6. Course Corrections. Once a state or other party launches a strategy, it must conduct frequent iterative assessments of that strategy's progress. No strategy is infallible. Strategies are, after all,

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[12] See *Joint Pub 5-0 Joint Planning*, 16 Jun 2017, APPENDIX K: RED TEAMS, pp. K-1 thru K-7.

built upon a foundation of assumptions, and some—maybe many—of those assumptions will prove flawed to some degree. Additionally, the strategic situation could change in ways that invalidate initially sound assumptions. As assumptions prove incorrect or are invalidated, the strategist must adjust the strategy's ends, means, and/or ways to accommodate the new reality. Some of the most powerful assumptions are unconscious judgments about how the adversary will react to the various aspects of the strategy. Adversaries, however, act in line with their own logic, and analyses of the situation, which may lead them to respond in unexpected ways, including ways that seem at odds with their interests. Moreover, adversaries are not passive targets of a strategy, but active participants. As such they can be expected to do all they can to frustrate or prevent an opposing plan's success, and to maximize their own gains.

Successful execution of any strategy entails constant adjustments to an adversary's moves. As German field Marshal Helmuth von Moltke the Elder is credited with noting long ago, "No plan survives first contact with the enemy." That statement captures an essential truth about strategy, as well: as soon as a strategy is put into effect, the strategic situation changes in numerous ways. The opponent is also a strategic actor, with his own strategy. The implementation of strategy is thus, in a sense, a contest between two or more competing strategies and a test of which actor can best and more rapidly adapt to the other.

As the strategic situation changes, the strategist must revisit the analysis to ensure the strategy continues to rest on a comprehensive and timely understanding of the most important conditions and dynamics shaping the unfolding situation. Significant changes should force the strategist to adjust the strategy's ends, means, and/or ways to accommodate new realities. As a strategy proceeds, the strategist should constantly assess the prospects of achieving the political aim. If those prospects are not increasing—or worse, are decreasing—then alternative courses of action should be explored. This requirement might entail defining a new political aim, bringing new or additional means to bear, formulating a new strategic approach, or abandoning the effort altogether. Changing one's ends, means and/or ways can be difficult.
Scaling back one's aims is especially challenging once force has been used. As history teaches us, loss of life makes it exceedingly difficult to moderate or change the political aim, lest sacrifices be perceived as in vain.
That said, the principal consideration for assessing whether a strategy may need to be reassessed is whether it is achieving the desired political aim at an acceptable cost. If strategists and political and military leaders determine the costs to be "sunk"; that is, they cannot be recovered because the political aim cannot be achieved, it is time—however painful it may be—to change the political aim, and, accordingly, the strategy that supports it.

CHAPTER VII
CONCLUSION

The modern strategic environment poses significant challenges, challenges that are evolving at considerable speed. The collapse of the Soviet Union changed the strategic environment from one dominated by bipolar considerations to one transitioning to multi-polar challenges. Globalization powered by rapid advances in information technology and processes has reshaped the dynamics of international relations. Long-suppressed ethnic, religious, and even personal conflicts have spawned an increase in intra- and interstate violence. Terrorism, civil wars, secession and irredentism threaten to fracture existing states and break down regional order. The world has witnessed a revival of nationalism, populism, and nativism that further threatens to undermine the post-World War II international order. Most recently, revisionist great powers have risen and begun challenging the existing order and U.S. preeminence. Simultaneously, the character of war/conflict is quickly changing with rapid technological and social upheavals. The time when U.S. strategists could fall back on the Cold War's overarching strategic concept of containment is long past. Strategic thinking must adjust to the evolving strategic environment. Each strategic challenge is unique. Each demands thorough, comprehensive, and insightful analysis of the situation. Each demands definition of a realistic political aim and specific objectives, grounded in an objective assessment of one's interests, resources, and capabilities, as well as those of one's adversaries and allies. Each requires the crafting of a creative, coherent strategic approach that takes into account all of the possible ways the adversary might try to counteract and/or frustrate one's strategy.

The best "insurance" for strategic success is to think strategically—to diligently and systematically work through the five fundamentals of strategic logic. Strategists should ensure that each judgment and decision made to resolve the questions inherent in each of the elements of strategic logic builds upon and fits with all those made previously, leaving no gaps in the logic. As importantly, strategists must not "pre-judge" the outcome, decide on a preferred strategic approach at the outset, and then manipulate the logic to justify that approach. Strategists must let an objective application of strategic logic reveal the best strategic approach to adopt.

Good strategists never forget that strategy is—at a minimum—a "two-player" game. Every strategy has to work against a thinking, proactive adversary who always has a vote in how events unfold. His or her aim—his or her job—is to find ways to neutralize an opponent's strengths and frustrate that opponent's strategic approach. Even a significant power differential in one's own favor does not guarantee success. Time and again, superior powers have learned that skilled, determined, and creative adversaries can find ways to minimize their opponent's superior capabilities and create leverage of their own that creates a more level playing field.

Finally, strategists must consider what kinds of outcomes are reasonable—and achievable—given the advantage and leverage they are able to create. To reach for more than that—no matter how seemingly desirable—is strategically foolish and generally ends up costing far more than whatever benefits—if any—are gained. The best safeguard against strategic folly is a cadre of well-educated, trained, and experienced professionals and leaders who rigorously apply the

elements of strategic logic. This is perhaps the most important lesson students can take from their experience at the National War College.

Common Primer Terms of Reference

National Security Strategy	*The art and science of developing, applying, and coordinating the instruments of national power (diplomatic, informational, military and economic) to achieve ends that protect or advance national interests.*
The National Security Strategy of the United States (The NSS)	*A document mandated by the 1986 Goldwater-Nichols Defense Department Reorganization Act. The NSS outlines the broad national security strategy of the United States.*
The National Security Council (NSC) and the NSC Staff	*The National Security Council (NSC) is the President's principal forum for considering and coordinating national security and foreign policy matters with his/her senior national security advisors and cabinet officials. The NSC staff, headed by the National Security Adviser, serves as the President's national security and foreign policy staff within the White House.*
Strategic Logic	*The logic needed to develop and orchestrate national security strategy Strategic Logic entails applying the five following fundamental elements:* • *Analyzing the strategic **SITUATION** (the context and assumptions about that context)* • *Identifying **INTERESTS** at stake in the situation* • *Defining the desired **ENDS** (the outcomes sought), to include first defining the overarching political aim, and then the subordinate objectives required to achieve it* • *Identifying and/or developing the **MEANS** (resources and capabilities) needed to achieve the desired ends* • *Designing the **WAYS** to use the means to achieve the desired ends* • *Assessing the **RISKS/COSTS** associated with the strategic design, as well as tests of coherence and the "—ilities" tests*
Assumption	*An unproven assertion treated as true. To produce a coherent, effective strategy, strategists must fill **knowledge gaps** with **assumptions**. Strategies are replete with assumptions about opponent capabilities, interests, and intent, the dynamics of the international situation, and the most important aspects of one's domestic situation. Assumptions help define perceived threats to one's own interests, and the cause and effect of potential actions.*
Problem Statement	*A concise summation of why a strategic threat or opportunity warrants attention. A problem statement should briefly: (a) describe issue/situation (i.e., the BLUF); (b) explicitly link the problem to a national interest; and (c) specify how the threat/opportunity affects that interest. Crafting the problem statement helps discern whether the threat or opportunity is significant enough to warrant a strategy without being so broad as to be unmanageable.*

Context	*Any factor(s), internationally, regionally, or domestically that affect the development or implementation of a national security strategy. Context can include: political matters; historic events; cultural, religious, ethnic, or tribal factors; societal norms and structures— almost anything that could influence the strategist's work.*
National Interests	*The fundamental, enduring values of a state. National interests are subject to various interpretations. The strategist must define precisely and concisely the interest(s) the nation has at stake in the challenge addressed. For purposes of this document, National Interests are not a specific or achievable end state. They are aspirational, and thus distinct from political aims, which are tangible conditions.*
Condition	*A current or desired state of affairs.*
Threats to National Interest(s)	*A strategic situation that endangers one or more national interests. Threats occur <u>only</u> in relation to interests, and should be defined in a concise, coherent manner.*
Opportunity to Advance National Interest(s)	*A favorable set of circumstances extant in the strategic context that may allow for the advancement of one or more interests; opportunities exist independently of the successful resolution of a threat to an interest. The strategist should not confuse opportunities with advantages derived from successfully dealing with a threat.*
Constraint	*Tangible and intangible factors that limit strategic freedom of action. Constraints include insufficient means or political restrictions on the means available. Legal, political, and normative considerations can also constrain strategy.*
Political Aim	*The desired end-state of a national security strategy. The political aim defines the outcome the strategist believes will preserve, protect, and/or advance the national interest(s) at stake. Because the political aim is a distinct and achievable goal, it is best defined using nouns and adjectives—for example, "a stable, secure Iraq." The strategist must ensure that the overarching political aim—the desired outcome—preserves or advances interests.*
Specific Objectives	*The specific achievements that, when accomplished and combined, create the end-state envisioned in the political aim. Specific objectives typically consist of verbs and adverbs, to wit: "Deter Russian aggression" or "Halt Serb ethnic cleansing." Important attributes of a sound subordinate objective are precision and brevity, devoid of any mention of ways or means.*
Ends	*An overarching, generic term that encompasses political aims and their subordinate objectives.*
Means	*Generally, resources and capabilities that either exist or need to be developed to achieve desired Ends. There are three inter-related components of the means in national security strategy: the elements of power, such as resources, human capital, and industry, which sustain national power; institutions/actors, such as the President, Congress, the UN, etc., that wield the instruments of power; and the*

	instruments of power themselves—diplomacy, information, military, and economic.
Elements of Power	*The tangible and intangible factors from which the power of a state or non-state actor is built and sustained. While there is no definitive list of the elements of power, they include inter alia: natural resources, geography, human capital, economy, industry, R&D/technology, infrastructure, governance, national will, and international reputation. To have enduring viable strategic options, states/actors must sustain, conserve, or build the elements of power.*
Institutions and Actors	*The organizations, structures, and individuals that national security strategists rely on to secure a strategy's political aim. Government agencies and their personnel generally design and implement most strategies; however, other non-government institutions and actors may be better suited for certain tasks.*
The Instruments of Power (DIME).	*The instruments of power include diplomacy, information, the military, and economics (DIME). Each instrument possesses a unique nature/essence, and distinct capabilities and limitations.*
Ways	<u>*How*</u> *the strategist achieves the political aim and subordinate objectives. Though "means" focus on questions of taking action "with what," national "ways" address the question of "how" those means are used.*
Fundamental Strategic Approaches	*A continuum of strategic approaches for applying instruments of power to achieve a desired political end. The spectrum spans everything from taking no action to eradicating an opponent.* • **Observe**: *Monitoring without otherwise acting.* • **Accommodate**: *Acquiescence to a rival's demands/wishes.* • **Enable**: *Creating, supporting or otherwise bolstering the capabilities of other international actors.* • **Shape**: *Taking action to adjust the strategic environment to make it more favorable or conducive for future action.* • **Persuade**: *Convincing another actor through the force of argument.* • **Induce**: *Promising or providing something positive to achieve a desired response from other international actors.* • **Coerce**: *Taking or threatening negative actions to affect another international actor's behavior.* **Deterrence** *is a form of coercion that threatens negative consequences for an opponent should they attempt to change the status quo.* **Compellence** *is another form of coercion that threatens negative consequences for an opponent should they attempt to maintain the status quo.* • **Subdue**: *Using force to make another actor voluntarily or involuntarily capitulate.* • **Eradicate**: *Destruction of another international actor, to include its government, ideology, economy, military, etc.*

Modes of Action	*A set of binary strategic options regarding how the instruments of power are used to achieve the desired subordinate objective/political aim. Strategists should consider a wide range of potential modes to implement a strategic concept. They should consider whether a particular mode fits a strategic situation, will achieve the political aim and its subordinate objectives, and can do so with available means at acceptable levels of cost and risk. Examples of modes of actions are: direct—indirect; unilateral—multilateral; sequential—parallel; action—message; offensive—defensive; active—passive; overt—covert, etc.*
Orchestration	*A logical, coherent strategic plan for accomplishing political goals using the instruments of power. Strategic plans **prioritize** objectives, **sequence** actions, **coordinate** instruments to ensure they are not working at cross-purposes and **balance** limited resources between instruments and objectives. Orchestration often requires the **integration** of multiple instruments (e.g. in a "whole-of-government" approach).*
Assessment	*Assessment consists of evaluating a strategy's national and international costs and risks.* • ***Costs****: The price, financial or otherwise, one has to pay to implement a strategy. Costs can include: deaths, resources, expenses, penalties, prestige, and/or missed opportunities.* • ***Risks****: Aspects of a strategic design that could go wrong or work to the strategy's disadvantage. Risks often relate to the divergence between assumptions of an opponent's or third party likely reactions to a strategy and their actual reactions to that strategy.* *Assessing a strategy's internal viability involves determining whether it is suitable, feasible, desirable, acceptable, and sustainable (i.e. the "—ilities tests"). Multiple failures in the "—ilities tests" may indicate that the strategic design is flawed.* • ***Suitability*** *addresses whether the strategy serves national interests and is consistent with other national-level strategies, policies, and goals.* • ***Feasibility*** *examines whether political aims are realistically achievable and whether sufficient means and time are available or attainable to achieve the political aim.* • ***Desirability*** *assures that the strategic plan matches the desired political aim, and the expected benefits of implementation outweigh the anticipated costs.* • ***Acceptability*** *determines if the strategy is consistent with the state's values, the national mood, domestic concerns (political or otherwise), and partners' interests.* • ***Sustainability*** *considers whether resources and popular support can endure long enough to attain the political aim,*

	even in the face of potential changes in the strategic environment.
Viability	*The overall assessment produced by the –ilities test.*

THE NWC NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY FRAMEWORK

1. ANALYZING THE STRATEGIC SITUATION

* What is the story? Develop a **problem statement**.
* Assess the **international and domestic contexts.**
* Identify **knowns**, **critical unknowns**, and **key assumptions** (re: self, others, environment).
* What **national interests**—if any—are **at stake**? How **vital** is each interest?
* Determine **threats and opportunities and their relation to national interests.**
* How **imminent** are the threats? How **salient** are the opportunities?

2. DEFINING THE DESIRED ENDS

A. POLITICAL AIM(S)

* **Stated** and **implied** political aims—define **desired end-state/success**. What does success look like?
* What are **likely constraints—**governmental, domestic, international, media-driven, etc.?

B. SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES

* **Can the political aims be translated** into viable **objectives**?
* Specify objectives, **achievable at a reasonable cost** that will **accomplish** desired political aims
* **Rank** objectives by **priority.**

3. IDENTIFYING AND/OR DEVELOPING MEANS

* Identify **our instruments of power** (DIME) needed to obtain ends.
* **Assumptions** about **capabilities/limits of our instruments.**
* What are the **intangibles** for **all actors**, to include morale/will and time available?

4. DESIGNING THE WAYS

* Specify **fundamental strategic approach(es)** – state how the instruments blend together. Are the associated objectives pursued **sequentially** or **simultaneously**?
* Consider **Modes of Action**.
* Identify **institutions/agencies** that will direct the various instruments of power.
* Most likely **constraints**? Does the strategic approach **account for** them?

5. ASSESSING THE COST, RISKS, AND RESULTS

* What are likely **costs** and **benefits**? Can they be **tracked/measured**?
* Most likely **risks**, including those **to** and **from** the strategy—have they been **accounted for** and **mitigated**?
* **Viability Assessments:** Is our strategic approach **suitable, feasible, desirable, acceptable,** and **sustainable?**
* What are the **most pivotal assumptions? Consequences** if wrong? What **mechanisms to validate?**
* How does **success translate** into **lasting political effects?**

Red Teaming
* **Assumptions** about allies', neutrals', target's political aims, underlying rationale, and specific objectives.
* Identify **target's instruments of power** needed to attain ends—Is one or more likely to be dominant?
* Assumptions about the capabilities/limits of **target's** instruments.
* What are the target's **most likely** and **most dangerous** courses of action? Does our strategy negate them?

National Security Strategy Model for Relating Ends, Ways, and Means

NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY MODEL
For
Relating Ends, Ways, and Means

DESIRED / AVAILABLE — **E N D S - - - ⇧ - - - M E A N S - ⟳ - W A Y S - - - ⇧ - - - E N D S** — VIABLE

Means Restricted Strategy

Enduring NATIONAL INTERESTS → **Political Aim(s) ENDS**

Strategic Concept → **Subordinate Strategies**

WAYS

Modes of Action (examples)
- Direct ⟷ Indirect
- Unilateral ⟷ Multilateral
- Sequential ⟷ Cumulative
- Actual ⟷ Prospective
- Proactive ⟷ Reactive
- Overt ⟷ Covert

Orchestration
- Prioritize
- Sequence
- Coordinate
- Balance
- Integrate

Instrument & Institution Packages — Specific • • • Objectives

Fundamental Strategic Approaches
- Observe
- Accommodate
- Shape
- Persuade
- Enable
- Induce
- Coerce
- Subdue
- Eradicate

MEANS

ELEMENTS OF POWER
- Natural Resources • R&D/Technology
- Geography • Infrastructure
- Human Capital • Governance
- Economy • Culture
- Industry • National Will
- International. Reputation

Enable-Empower
Protect - Build
Conserve-Build
Convert

INSTRUMENTS (Diplomatic / Informational / Military / Economic)
- **Diplomatic**
  - Representation
  - Negotiation
  - Implementation
- **Informational**
  - Perceive
  - Inform
  - Control
- **Military**
  - Force
  - Threat of Force
  - Force Enabling
- **Economic**
  - Assistance
  - Trade
  - Finance

Wield

INSTITUTIONS & ACTORS
- Government Agencies
- IGOs
- IFI's
- Quasi-Gov.
- Partners
- Proxies
- Media
- Business
- Civil Society
- Academia
- NGOS
- Empowered Indvs.

DESIRED — **E N D S - - - ⇩ - - - W A Y S - - - ⇩ - - - M E A N S - - - ⇩ - - - W A Y S - - - ⇩ - - - E N D S** — NEEDED

Means Creating Strategy

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