J MICHAEL WALLER KENNAN – DONOVAN INITIATIVE GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY JANUARY 21, 2016

POLITICAL WARFARE & STRATEGY

MOST HUMAN CONFLICT IS IN THE GRAY ZONE

- So why is our strategy conceived in white and black?
- What IS white vs black? Peace vs war? Absence of violence vs kinetic violence? Legal vs illegal?
- What is the area between white and black?
- Why do our laws or the interpretation of them discourage strategy and operations in the gray zone?
- How do we as Americans discourage thought processes and innovations that would enable us to develop and execute strategies in the gray zone?

WHAT IS OUR DESIRED END STATE?

- To "counter" an insurgency or violent extremist movement?
- To kill select targets as we find them, or to destroy an enemy's legitimacy as a viable political, ideological or moral force?
- To remain on the permanent defensive, thus giving our adversaries the permanent initiative?
- To understand an adversary's desired end state, predict an adversary's political objectives in advance, and deny that adversary the ability to achieve those objectives that threaten our national interests?
- ▶ To defend the Constitution against all enemies, foreign and domestic?

IT'S ALL IN OUR HEADS: DEFINING ENEMIES, MEANS & GOALS

DOD Dictionary of Military Terms
The DOD Dictionary is managed by the Joint Education and Doctrine Division, J-7, Joint Staff. All approved joint definitions, acronyms, and abbreviations are contained in Joint Publication 1-02, <i>DOD Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms</i> 08 November 2010, as amended through 15 October 2015. The Dictionary is available for browsing, searching, or can be downloaded in the formats below.
PDF 🔀 Excel - Terms and Definitions 🕮 Excel - Acronyms and Defintions 🕮 XML
Search
victory Submit
Search results for: victory
No results found.

DoD does not define "political warfare," "enemy," or "victory."

IT'S ALL IN OUR HEADS: REALITY-BASED STRATEGY?

- Strategy based on false presumption.
- Congress & President
 instruct DoD to presume that
 unconventional warfare only
 involves non-state actors.
- Mandate is to "counter" unconventional warfare - not wage it proactively.

SEC. 1097. DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE STRATEGY FOR COUNTERING UNCONVENTIONAL WARFARE. (a) STRATEGY REQUIRED.—The Secretary of Defense shall, in consultation with the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the heads of other appropriate departments and agencies of the United States Government, develop a strategy for the Department of Defense

(b) ELEMENTS.—The strategy required under subsection (a) shall include each of the following:

to counter unconventional warfare threats posed by adversarial state and non-state actors.

(1) An articulation of the activities that constitute unconventional warfare threats to the United States and allies.

(2) A clarification of the roles and responsibilities of the Department of Defense in providing indications and warning of, and protection against, acts of unconventional warfare.

(3) An analysis of the adequacy of current authorities and command structures necessary for countering unconventional warfare.

(4) An articulation of the goals and objectives of the Department of Defense with respect to countering unconventional warfare threats.

(5) An articulation of related or required interagency capabilities and whole-of-Government activities required by the Department of Defense to support a counter-unconventional warfare strategy.

(6) Recommendations for improving the counter-unconventional warfare capabilities, authorities, and command structures of the Department of Defense.

(7) Recommendations for improving interagency coordination and support mechanisms with respect to countering unconventional warfare threats.

(8) Recommendations for the establishment of joint doctrine to support counter-unconventional warfare capabilities within the Department of Defense.

(9) Any other matters the Secretary of Defense considers appropriate.

(d) UNCONVENTIONAL WARFARE DEFINED.—In this section, the term "unconventional warfare" means activities conducted to enable a resistance movement or insurgency to coerce, disrupt, or overthrow a government or occupying power by operating through or with an underground, auxiliary, or guerrilla force in a denied area.

BASIC ISSUES TO DRIVE STRATEGY

- Have we developed a national strategy that addresses the strategic objectives of our present and potential adversaries?
- CVE concept ONLY considers black. It excludes the gray area in which not-violent groups operate, even though they share the violent groups' same end goals.
- We don't adequately understand culture and politics of adversaries who share enemy world view. Some of this misunderstanding is willful.
- What about those who are not presently violent, but who seek the same end state as the terrorists?
- What about state actors that don't employ terrorism or state actors that do employ unconventional warfare as we define it?
- What is an enemy? What is an enemy of the Constitution? What does it mean to "defend the Constitution against all enemies, foreign and domestic?" Where is this in our national strategy?

FUNCTIONAL APPROACH: NOT CULTURALLY APPROPRIATE FOR US?

- Discredit and dehumanize the target and divide him from his supporters, allies, and even family members, using disinformation if necessary.
- Dig up as much dirt as possible on the target and his friends, and use it for blackmail or to destroy his image and morale.
- > Humiliate and demoralize the target to undermine his morale and break his will.
- Cause provocations to fuel infighting and fratricide.
- ▶ Use the media to undermine the target's beliefs, philosophy, morals and ideals.
- ▶ Infiltrate the target's legal, nonviolent support networks & destroy from within.
- Question: Does the above take place in white, gray or black zones?

HOW ARE WE GOING TO GET COMFORTABLE? GO BACK TO BASICS.

- Kennan, Policy Planning Staff Memorandum, 1948:
 - Political warfare is the logical application of Clausewitz's doctrine in time of peace. In broadest definition, political warfare is the employment of all the means at a nation's command, short of war, to achieve its national objectives.... We have been handicapped . . . by a popular attachment to the concept of a basic difference between peace and war, by a tendency to view war as a sort of sporting context outside of all political context, by a national tendency to seek for a political cure-all, and by a reluctance to recognize the realities of international relations - the perpetual rhythm of struggle, in and out of war."

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OFFICIALLY. THIS IS NOT WARFARE

- "malicious cyber intrusion carried out against the U.S. government, which resulted in the theft of background investigation records."
- What unconventional warfare applications could PRC develop from this cyber attack?



UNITED STATES OFFICE OF PERSONNEL MANAGEMENT Washington, DC 20415

	А	В	C	D	Е
PIN NUMBER:		:		1	

Dear

As you may know, the Office of Personnel Management (OPM) was the target of a malicious cyber intrusion carried out against the U.S. Government, which resulted in the theft of background investigation records.

You are receiving this notification because we have determined that your Social Security Number and other personal information was included in the intrusion. As someone whose information was also taken, I share your concern and frustration and want you to know we are working hard to help those impacted by this incident. The Federal government will provide you and your dependent minor children with comprehensive identity theft protection and monitoring services, at no cost to you.

Since you applied for a position or submitted a background investigation form, the information in our records may include your name, Social Security number, address, date and place of birth, residency, educational, and employment history, personal foreign travel history, information about immediate family as well as business and personal acquaintances, and other information used to conduct and adjudicate your background investigation.

Our records also indicate your fingerprints were likely compromised during the cyber intrusion. Federal experts believe the ability to misuse fingerprint data is currently limited. However, this could change over time as technology evolves. Therefore, we are working with law enforcement and national security experts to review the potential ways fingerprint data could be misused now and in the future, and will seek to prevent such misuse. If new means are identified to misuse fingerprint data, additional information and guidance will be made available.

While we are not aware of any misuse of your information, we are providing a comprehensive suite of identity theft protection and monitoring services. We are offering you, and any of your dependent children who were under the age of 18 as of July 1, 2015, credit monitoring, identity monitoring, identity theft insurance and identity restoration services for the next three years through ID Experts, a company that specializes in identity theft protection. The identity theft insurance and identity restoration service coverage has already begun. You have access to these services at any time during the next three years if your identity is compromised.

To take advantage of the additional credit and identity monitoring services, you must enroll with ID Experts using the PIN code at the top of this letter. To enroll go to https://www.opm.gov/cybersecurity. You may also call 800-750-3004 to enroll in or ask questions about these services. I hope you will take advantage of these services.

Please note that OPM and ID Experts will not contact you to confirm any personal information. If you are contacted by anyone asking for your personal information in relation to this incident, do not provide it. For additional resources such as information you may share with people listed on your forms, sample background investigation forms, types of information which may have been taken, and tips on how to protect your personal information, visit https://www.opm.gov/cybersecurity.

Sincerely

Beth F. Cohert Acting Director Office of Personnel Management

www.opm.gov

ww.usajobs.go

SO, WHAT DO WE DO ABOUT IT?

- Are we going to get comfortable fighting in the gray area?
- Are we willing to do strategy in that space?
- Are we willing to inform the national leadership that we have the will and capability?
- Should special warfare be part of Congressional Review or revision of Goldwater-Nichols?
- What new organizations or adaptations of current structures may be necessary?
- What new mindsets and philosophical approaches may be necessary?