Geopolitical competition is increasingly playing out in the space beyond diplomacy and short of conventional war, sometimes referred to as the *gray zone*. The nature of this competition is forcing the United States to confront the liabilities of its strengths. This report assesses current U.S. government actions to deter, campaign through, and respond to competitors’ gray zone tactics. Using the campaign planning framework established in *By Other Means Part I*, the report provides recommendations aimed at ameliorating American liabilities and building on its asymmetries to improve U.S. national security in the presence of rivals’ gray zone approaches.

**Dynamically Campaign along Interests-Based Lines of Effort**
- Protect U.S. constitutional tenets and the American way of life.
- Promote the nation’s economic vitality
- Advance U.S. influence abroad

**Priority Recommendations to Advance U.S. Government Campaigning**
*Strategic Action and Oversight:* Build and synchronize the employment of U.S. power, and speed quality decision-making to improve signaling and risk management.
- Issue a gray zone presidential decision directive outlining a dynamic campaign approach and the supporting executive branch elements described herein.
- Designate a National Security Council (NSC) senior director, along with supporting intelligence-operations task force and senior interagency coordination mechanism, to drive efforts.
- Demonstrate bipartisan congressional leadership with rapid information sharing and solution generation on issues crossing multiple committee stovepipes.
- Expand the membership of the Senate’s bipartisan National Security Working Group to strengthen representation and linkages across domestic security, foreign, and defense committees.
- Create a similarly scoped, staffed, and resourced bipartisan House National Security Working Group.

*Intelligence and Warning Systems:* Recognize campaigns from weak signals, including rivals’ intent, capability, impact, interactive effects, and impact on U.S. interests.
- Designate a national intelligence officer for gray zone threat fusion, leveraging the capabilities of the National Counterterrorism Center, Cyber Threat Information Integration Center, and other-like bodies.
- Revitalize an “active measures working group,” focused on covert action aspects of campaigning.
Strategic Communications and Narrative: Designate information as a critical domain of statecraft, with the NSC senior director for gray zone assigned to lead coordination efforts across domestic and international communication spheres.

- Deepen investments and expectations in domestic (Department of Homeland Security (DHS)) and overseas (Department of State) strategic narratives and misinformation reporting.
- Improve the Federal Bureau of Investigation and DHS reporting mechanisms for the private sector, universities, political campaigns, and the general public to access hotlines and public service announcements in the event of threats.
- Promote civic education and media literacy best practices and associated Department of Education grant opportunities; promote civics education in the Department of Defense’s Education Activity schools.
- Regulate social media consistent with First Amendment principles, including establishing a social media oversight board, like the Privacy and Civil Liberties and Oversight Board, tasked with evaluating social media algorithms, misinformation, and disinformation based on common guidelines or policies.

National Cyber Capabilities: Buttress national cyber capabilities.

- Designate a cyber coordinator on the NSC staff to facilitate interagency collaboration and deconfliction.
- Create a code of conduct for U.S. cyber operations.
- Authorize and fully resource DHS’s Election Task Force and federal assistance to election security.
- Develop capabilities for offensive cyber operations focused on deterrence against and defense of U.S. territory and institutions.

Coalition Building and Third-Party Inducements: Advance coalitions across borders and sectors, spanning public and private, as well as foreign and domestic, divides.

- Improve mechanisms to collaborate, share information, and develop coordinated approaches with the private sector at home and allies and partners abroad.
- Strengthen and expand inducements to allies and partners overseas, including through trade agreements, security cooperation, and targeted investment.
- Spur private sector security innovation at home through federal research and development investment, smart immigration policies, and incentives to reduce societal vulnerabilities.

Read the full report here. For related CSIS gray zone analysis visit: csis.org/grayzone.