



## **Current Challenges to Euro-Atlantic Security: Strategies for Co-operation and Joint Solutions**

**17 March 2015**  
*Washington, DC*

### **REPORT**

#### **Introduction**

Over the past year, new challenges have shaken the international security system to its foundations. The crisis in and around Ukraine has revealed a growing East-West divide and called into question the fundamental principles of Euro-Atlantic security. Afghanistan has entered a new stage of its transformation, but it remains a fragile state whose instability affects security and stability across Central Asia and beyond. The swift and brutal rise of extremist militant groups in the Middle East has contributed to the radicalization of young people in countries around the globe, inspiring them to serve as foreign terrorist fighters and to attempt acts of terrorism at home. All of these rapidly evolving developments are increasing instability and insecurity throughout the Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian region. Because these challenges are too complex and multifaceted for any single country or organization to tackle on its own, co-operation and joint solutions are the only practical approach to addressing them.

On 17 March 2015, the OSCE Secretariat and the Wilson Center co-organized an OSCE Security Days conference on “Current Challenges to Euro-Atlantic Security: Strategies for Co-operation and Joint Solutions” to provide a platform for exploring strategies to address these critical issues. Discussions were focused on four key questions:

- What can be done to de-escalate the East-West tensions that have deepened over the crisis in and around Ukraine and that are feeding the broader crisis in Euro-Atlantic security?
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- How can a forward-looking agenda for Afghanistan and Central Asia aimed at strengthening security, stability and prosperity in Afghanistan and the wider region be developed?
- What are the domestic as well as international factors that contribute to violent extremism and radicalization that lead to terrorism and what kinds of co-operative approaches can be taken to stem the flow of foreign terrorist fighters?
- What can be done to rebuild trust and foster co-operation within the Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian region as steps toward addressing the broader crisis in international security, and what is the potential of the OSCE as an inclusive platform for dialogue and joint action?

The first OSCE Security Days event held outside Vienna, this conference inspired a lively debate and accentuated the important role that the OSCE plays in addressing these critical challenges. Among the more than 600 registered participants, 45 OSCE participating States and several OSCE Partner countries were represented, in addition to other countries. The Washington foreign policy and diplomatic community was well represented by an impressive number of ambassadors and senior officials, as well as senior officials from international organizations, civil society leaders, academic experts and prominent journalists. Many more followed the program via live streaming and made their opinions heard using social media.

## **Ukraine and the Crisis of Euro-Atlantic Security**

*The crisis in and around Ukraine has revealed the depth of the growing East-West divide in Europe. Fundamental principles have been called into question, and an increasingly harsh rhetoric of division and different perceptions of threats are translating into new realities on the ground. What are the ripple effects of the Ukraine crisis? How can East-West tensions be reduced?*

There was broad agreement that the current crisis in and around Ukraine marks a low point in European security since the end of the Cold War – or even since the end of World War II, according to some. Central principles of international peace and cooperation have been violated in the course of the crisis, which threatens to undermine not only regional but also global security. Events in and around Ukraine have taken place against a backdrop of growing tensions and worsening instability in Europe and neighbouring regions. There is a possibility that some of Europe's protracted conflicts could become hot again. The

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impression that “geopolitics is back” in the Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian spaces was widely shared. Several speakers concurred that tensions may continue to grow in the coming years, deepening and hardening long-standing divides between East and West and possibly creating new ones.

Views differed deeply, however, as to the origins of the crisis in and around Ukraine and the specific drivers of renewed instability in Europe. Some focused on the annexation of Crimea and the deteriorating security situation in some parts of Ukraine, pointing to developments that have undermined the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country. One speaker preferred to take a long view of the crisis, posing questions about international strategies that allegedly pressured Ukraine to choose its international allegiance in a way that divided Ukrainian citizens. In response, others pointed out that states have the right to choose their international affiliations, including military alliances, without being exposed to the threat or actual use of external interference in these sovereign matters.

Views also differed as to the role that various actors could play in the de-escalation and ultimate resolution of the crisis. Some asserted that Russia could play a decisive role in reining in separatist tendencies in Ukraine and in de-militarizing the confrontation. One panellist criticized the government in Kiev for failing to create conditions for a much-needed national dialogue focused on national reconciliation and constitutional and administrative reform. Despite such widely divergent views, there was broad agreement that the September 2014 and February 2015 Minsk agreements provide the basis for a solution to the crisis and should be fully implemented in good faith. The OSCE’s Special Monitoring Mission to Ukraine – a civilian mission deployed in March 2014 to monitor and provide impartial reports on developments on the ground, including the implementation of the so-called Minsk agreements – should have safe and unfettered access to all concerned areas of the country. Opinions differed, however, over how to achieve full implementation of the agreement. While praising the unique role of the OSCE on the ground and recognizing that the cease-fire, although fragile, was generally holding, some suggested that the tools at the OSCE’s disposal might not be adequate to address challenges in all the crisis areas. Some proposed that OSCE personnel should be armed in order to be able to monitor developments in conflict zones and ensure the application of a durable and credible cease-fire. More broadly, a review of OSCE enforcement mechanisms was invoked as a priority by several participants. Some asserted that the OSCE had not always been able to effectively protect the principles and commitments recognized by the Organization throughout the different phases of the crisis in and around Ukraine.

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One point on which there was general agreement was the need to reverse the deterioration of the security situation in Ukraine and other areas of Europe. There was also broad agreement that the OSCE, while tested by the crisis, proved to be an invaluable forum for political dialogue even at the height of tensions, and the operational capacity of the OSCE, which was unmatched by any other regional organization, enabled it to play a critical role in supporting the de-escalation of the crisis. Many referred to the urgent need for OSCE participating States to re-commit to the Organization's founding principles enshrined in the 1975 Helsinki Final Act and for a shared vision of a European security community to be revived as soon as possible in order to avoid further crises. The revival of such a vision was inseparable from a frank and open-ended discussion about the values and norms that should underpin future international strategies by national and regional actors. It was noted that although the crisis in and around Ukraine was extremely serious, it had not derailed other security initiatives involving successful cooperation among Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian actors, including in the areas of non-proliferation and counter-terrorism.

## **Afghanistan and Central Asia: Enhancing Stability and Security in the Region**

*As Afghanistan enters a new phase of its transformation to establish democratic institutions and the rule of law and to improve the well-being of its people, it continues to face challenges. To what extent does instability in Afghanistan affect regional stability in Central Asia? In which areas could bilateral or multilateral cooperation be strengthened within the region for mutual benefit? What can the international community do to enhance stability and foster development and prosperity in Afghanistan and the wider region?*

Afghanistan faces a very delicate turning point in 2015. As was foreseen in the 2011 Bonn Declaration, Afghanistan launched the start of the Transformation Decade “to consolidate its sovereignty by strengthening a fully functioning, sustainable State in the service of its people”. NATO/ISAF international military forces have withdrawn partially from the country but the U.S. has pledged to keep 9,800 troops. Meanwhile, the Unity Government formed after the presidential elections in 2014 has not yet been able to establish a full cabinet of ministers. While domestic factors will continue to be determinants of the country's future, regional conditions are seen as an important contributing factor for Afghanistan's success or failure. Indeed, many of Afghanistan's outstanding challenges either have regional ramifications or find their roots in regional developments, from the lingering presence of fundamentalist and terrorist groups to challenges posed by drug trafficking and organized

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crime. Participants agreed, therefore, that Afghanistan's national agenda should not be disjoined from the larger regional equation, especially in the security realm. Some noted, however, that while all of Afghanistan's neighbours agree in principle on the importance of helping to stabilize the country and strengthen regional security, they do not necessarily see eye to eye on the most urgent priorities and most effective strategies. Thus it might not be possible for them to become stakeholders in a process of progressive stabilization leading to peace.

In this context, it was suggested that recent calls by the self-proclaimed "Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant" (ISIL) to expand Jihad to Afghanistan should serve as a serious warning for all neighbours, possibly prompting regional partners to unite efforts around the common goal of defeating terrorism. Although so far ISIL only had a limited following among the local population within Central Asia and might not be able to fully penetrate tribal and other local groups, the growing number of foreign terrorist fighters from Central Asia in Syria and Iraq seemed to indicate the growing appeal of ISIL.

While new threats could serve as a uniting factor for enhanced regional security cooperation, the Central Asian states face other challenges, such as economic slowdown, water and energy issues, and unresolved bilateral issues. For some Central Asian countries participation in a regional strategy for Afghanistan would require improvements in their domestic situation. Some panellists saw Central Asian countries as faced with a choice of either increasing their involvement in the stabilization of Afghanistan in a cooperative way or attempting to build a *cordon sanitaire* of sorts around the country to prevent negative spill-over effects. One panellist suggested that in order for a new regional security agenda to be agreed and implemented, a regional leadership was needed. A shared vision of a common economic future benefiting all countries in the region was also required. However, for the time being, Central Asia remains a diverse and deeply divided region with one of the lowest levels of economic integration. The quest for scarce resources such as water and energy continued to fuel intra-regional competition and created the risk of future conflicts. Moreover, the private sector in many of Afghanistan's neighbouring countries was either not sufficiently developed to embark on regional ventures or reluctant to invest in Afghanistan because it lacked the necessary guarantees. Coalescence around a new regional agenda for Afghanistan could also be complicated by elections several Central Asian countries in 2015, which would focus attention on domestic issues and might politicize foreign policy debates.

Despite these and other challenges, there was broad agreement that efforts should be directed at creating the most conducive regional conditions for Afghanistan's success.

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Attention was drawn to the role that Kazakhstan played in raising the profile of regional security issues when it held the OSCE Chairmanship in 2010. The Astana Declaration reaffirmed the indivisibility of security and highlighted the challenges facing the Central Asian region in the OSCE space. This also raised awareness of OSCE commitments among governments across the region and familiarized local populations with the principles and practices of the OSCE, including the importance of a comprehensive definition of security, including human dimension of security. It was also noted that the United Nations has come to rely on the role that regional security organizations such as the OSCE, which has the largest international presence on the ground in the five Central Asian states and can play an even more visible role in fostering dialogue and cooperation among Afghanistan's neighbours. The OSCE remains a unique regional platform for political dialogue and joint action offers invaluable experience and best practices that could be applied at the local level. Afghanistan has been an OSCE Partner for Co-operation since 2003. The OSCE Office of Democratic Institutions and Human Rights has provided critical assistance to the election process, and looking forward, successful experiences such as Mongolia's work on "electoral integrity" could be shared.

The OSCE could also foster a human rights-based approach to security in Afghanistan and the wider region, particularly in the fight against violent extremism. The OSCE was already working closely with countries facing similar dynamics, focusing on the potential role that the youth and women can play as conflict preventers and as promoters of dialogue and security. More broadly, the OSCE could play an important role in promoting cooperation between governments as well as people-to-people contacts. Confidence-building measures are a key area where the OSCE could provide added value, including with respect to supporting the "Heart of Asia" process. OSCE field operations in Central Asia already have expertise that could be used to help them more directly support a future regional security agenda for Afghanistan. Regional meetings of experts could be held more frequently to leverage OSCE expertise and networks and promote the value of the "OSCE model" for enhancing regional security. Trainings by the Border Management Staff College in Dushanbe and the OSCE Academy in Bishkek could be expanded.

Tackling transnational threats is another area where the OSCE has long-standing experience that is highly relevant to the security needs of the region. The panel concluded that border management was an important area where the OSCE could make a difference, for example by strengthening the resilience of the region's border communities through outreach activities aimed at local leaders, women, minorities, and grass-roots entities that compose

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their often fragile civil societies. Border regions are where trade and people-to-people relations are developed and it is in these areas that efforts must be strengthened to counter phenomena such as drug trafficking and the infiltration of insurgency groups.

There was widespread agreement that Afghanistan remains vulnerable since around 80 percent of its budget still derives from foreign aid. In this respect, it was noted that governments of the region have often not weighted their commitment to the stabilization of Afghanistan to the financial resources that are needed to attain this goal. Experts in the panel noted that the risk of geopolitical competition remained very high, including from Afghanistan's closest neighbours, and that any successful regional strategy would have to engage civil society actors more directly with governmental entities. While prospects for Afghanistan's rehabilitation could under some conditions exacerbate intra-regional tensions by raising the stakes and fuelling a competition for influence, civil society actors could encourage and support convergence and even integration processes.

## **Confronting the Challenge Within: Preventing Radicalization that Leads to Terrorism**

*The rise of violent extremist militant groups in the Middle East has attracted disaffected youth from countries across the southern Mediterranean, Europe, Eurasia and North America to serve as foreign terrorist fighters, and increasingly to commit terrorist acts at home. What factors in our societies encourage vulnerable individuals to follow the path of radicalization that leads to violent extremism and terrorism? What kinds of policies can stop this phenomenon while respecting the rule of law and human rights? How can countries work together to prevent terrorist radicalization and the flow of foreign terrorist fighters?*

The terrorist threat is far from tamed as demonstrated by the rapid rise of the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) as well as the evolution and transformation of Al Qaeda-affiliated groups. Purportedly ISIL has been able to recruit approximately 1,000 new members per month, and has active elements on at least three continents: Africa, Asia and Europe. Indeed, Europe seems to be a more direct focus of ISIL than was the case with other groups engaged in Al Qaeda-inspired terrorism. OSCE participating States are targets of the group's radical and violent propaganda, have suffered a number of attacks already, and provide seemingly fertile ground for the recruitment of new fighters. It was estimated that at least 4,000-5,000 persons carrying EU passports were currently fighting in ISIL ranks in Syria and Iraq. It was also believed that despite more stringent counter-terrorism policies, a third or more of recruits actively involved in the planning, support, or execution of terrorist activities, had not been detected by authorities and therefore were not monitored by the police and special counter-

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terrorism units. ISIL has also been able to recruit from countries as far afield from the Middle East as the U.S. and Canada.

The heavy reliance by the new terrorist groups on the Internet and especially social media as tools for recruitment and communication has created a particularly formidable challenge for law enforcement agencies. It was estimated that almost 48,000 Twitter accounts were linked to the criminal activities of ISIL. The Internet, among other channels, enabled ISIL recruiters to reach individuals, especially young people, and radicalized them, turning them into potential recruits. In many countries, including the United States, radicalization per se does not constitute a crime. Only when terrorist or other criminal activity is undertaken can charges be levelled.

Although ISIL now operates outside the Middle East in a systematic way, it was recognized that its focus remains the Levant. It is unique among terrorist groups in its aspiration to establish a state entity of sorts (a “caliphate”) with at least some of the attributes of sovereignty. There was agreement that one of the group’s central aims was to undermine the Arab state system that emerged from the dismantlement of the Ottoman Empire and the colonization and decolonization processes, and to re-establish pre-modern entities and instil primeval allegiances among local populations. Lucrative criminal activities, including smuggling of oil and other natural resources, have enabled ISIL to generate levels of revenues that could allow it to operate as a quasi-state in the territories it controls. It has already succeeded in redrawing the map of the Levant, blurring borders between the conflicts in Iraq and Syria.

Yet despite ISIL’s brutality, it had so far caused fewer casualties outside the Middle East than Al Qaeda did in the 1990s and 2000s. It was also noted that the group has begun to display significant internal divisions that might undermine its medium- to long-term ability to expand or even to sustain itself. The international coalition fighting the group had recently made significant progress. Moreover, although ISIL was particularly effective at recruiting foreign terrorist fighters, its barbaric methods had already generated a counter-reaction in those population segments, including diasporas and expatriate communities in Europe, which represent its key recruitment targets.

Although presenting new characteristics, the foreign terrorist fighter phenomenon is far from new and law enforcement agencies have developed a wealth of experience and tools to address this threat. One of the present challenges is to strengthen international co-ordination, from sharing intelligence to joint investigative activities, especially when many governments are experiencing budgetary pressures. There was broad agreement that the

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phenomenon of terrorist radicalization is a very rational, and therefore understandable and preventable, process, no matter how irrational and barbaric its outcomes might be. Thus early detection and prevention are critical, as well as addressing the root causes and leveraging the tools available in local communities. Key among these is education. Marginalization, particularly of young people, sometimes plays a critical role in the process of radicalization to violent extremism. Thus, creating favourable conditions for integration, providing support and funding to relevant local authorities and NGOs, as well as training parents, were all practical approaches to preventing violent radicalization. The role of local religious and community leaders was also seen as a key component of a prevention strategy.

While there was general agreement on the need to foster regional and international co-operation in counter-terrorism, including prevention, there was some disagreement over the specific origins of terrorist groups like ISIL. Some linked the rise of these groups to dynamics that are internal to the Arab world and emphasized the personal responsibility of individuals even when they are radicalized in a context of marginalization or failed integration. Others focused on the alleged responsibilities of external actors, including one suggestion that there was a connection between the rise of ISIL and Western-led military interventions in the Middle East in recent years. It was also noted that long-standing regional conflicts, such as the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, continued to fuel widespread frustration and anger among Muslim communities, including expatriate communities in Europe. Thus the bottom-up approach at the community level should be complemented by a more traditional top-down approach involving diplomacy and other governmental efforts to decrease tensions in the region and reduce the North-South development gap.

In this context, it was agreed that the OSCE has an important role to play in facilitating communication between governments as well as between governmental institutions and civil society leaders. Indeed, counter-terrorism is one area where OSCE participating States have been able to find some common ground despite severe tensions in other areas. In 2014, the OSCE Ministerial Council agreed to two declarations addressing the threat of foreign terrorist fighters and kidnapping for ransom as a means of financing terrorism. The OSCE pragmatically tackles terrorism from a variety of angles and has already conducted successful initiatives aimed at countering terrorist radicalization that integrated a human rights-based approach – which is often neglected or downplayed in counter-terrorism strategies. Thanks to its large and diverse membership, which includes countries that have been targeted by a variety of terrorist organizations, the OSCE has successfully leveraged the political will and security capabilities of its participating States. The Organization also carries

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out valuable work on the ground through its field operations and by mobilizing an extensive network of contacts among local authorities and NGOs that are based in some of the most sensitive contexts. It was agreed that in light of the recent and rapid upsurge in terrorist activity, the OSCE could step up its efforts to both combat and prevent terrorism. It could also make more proactive use of its Partnership for Co-operation with eleven countries in Asia and the southern Mediterranean region, including through promoting dialogue, awareness-raising, information exchange, training, and other activities to strengthen inter-regional cooperation.

## **Strategies for the Future**

*Rapidly evolving challenges to security in the Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian region urgently require common policies and joint actions to address them. Yet growing East-West tensions are making cooperation all the more difficult to achieve. What can the international community do to address this broader crisis? What strategies hold out the most promise for creating trust and restoring confidence? In which areas is there common ground for cooperation to tackle urgent threats to security? Could the OSCE play a larger role in providing an inclusive platform for dialogue and joint action?*

Before looking to the future, it was acknowledged that the “Helsinki Process” that resulted in the 1975 Helsinki Final Act – which in turn laid the groundwork for the OSCE – helped create the conditions for ending the Cold War. The Helsinki Process brought together two ideologically opposed camps to agree on some common principles of security to ensure peace and stability in Europe. These principles included respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity as well as the right to self-determination and fundamental human freedoms. Some noted that the inherent tension between the “status-quo” elements of the Helsinki Final Act (the recognition of post-war international borders, the respect for sovereignty) and the more dynamic aspects of the same document (self-determination, human rights) was never fully reconciled. At its core, the current European security crisis stems from a failure to agree on which principles should take priority when there is tension between them. Some emphasized that in the current crisis in Europe, fundamental principles that should remain under all circumstances unequivocal and undisputed have been violated, such as the prohibition to change international borders by force.

In addition to establishing the fundamental principles of the Helsinki Final Act, the Helsinki Process conveyed a larger promise, which was subsequently spelled out in the 1990 Charter of Paris for a New Europe: the creation of a security community extending from North America to Eurasia that left behind the geopolitical division between “East” and

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“West.” Some asserted that this promise had been broken. After the fall of the Berlin Wall and the dissolution of the Soviet Union, sub-regional convergence and integration processes were carried forward without the Russian Federation and some of the other Soviet successor states. The question was raised of why NATO decided to enlarge eastward even as it argued that Russia was no longer an enemy. It was acknowledged that in recent years a dangerous process of bloc-building has resumed in Europe. This has been accompanied by increasingly divergent threat perceptions and narratives about international developments. According to one perspective, the West has promoted the expansion of a rules-based order, fostering political and economic opening and democratization in Europe and beyond. According to another perspective, the West has embarked on a process of eastward enlargement without coordinating its strategy with other actors and using its power to unilaterally change the rules of the game as it saw fit.

Despite such opposite views, it was generally acknowledged that the security of Europe as a whole was suffering as a result of recent tensions and crises. There was an urgent need to revive the “spirit of Helsinki” and re-commit to the founding principles of the OSCE. At the same time, some emphasized the need to update European security tools and for OSCE participating States to re-engage in an open discussion about norms and values. Several speakers asserted that the so-called “Helsinki +40 Process” should continue and urged the review of OSCE commitments and tools to be frank and severe while avoiding a pessimistic or cynical view of the Organization. The OSCE has achieved significant results despite growing tensions, including preventing crises thanks to its early warning mechanisms.

Looking forward, a number of key tasks for the OSCE were suggested, including:

- Helping to resolve the crisis in and around Ukraine by supporting the full implementation of the Minsk agreements and using all available means to facilitate a political solution.
  - Supporting all OSCE participating States that have come under external pressure by insisting on the centrality and inviolability of international law as well as respect for human rights.
  - Reaping all benefits from and further reinforcing the broad co-operation that still exists in key areas such as arms control, non-proliferation, and counter-terrorism (co-operation can also be strengthened in relatively new areas such as cyber security).
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- Tackling the difficult yet critically important debate on the future of the European security architecture.

It was pointed out that in addition to the Helsinki +40 process, a Track II initiative had recently been launched featuring a Panel of Eminent Persons. In a time of crisis, the independent work of renowned European security experts and practitioners could help encourage governments to look beyond their differences and explore solutions to the current impasse, including considering creative new approaches to some of the traditional European security issues.

Some recommended that the OSCE should sharpen its conflict prevention mechanisms and that States should show greater political willingness to activate existing mechanisms – which did not happen in the run-up to the crisis in and around Ukraine. On the brighter side, it was noted that the OSCE's operational capabilities were fully demonstrated in the impressively rapid deployment of monitors within 24 hours of the OSCE Permanent Council decision to deploy the Special Monitoring Mission to Ukraine. Even as the Organization continues reflecting on its future, its operational capacity should be kept fully prepared and on alert for the possible outbreak of other crises.

The human requirements for the future of European security were also discussed, particularly the critical role that can and should be played by women. Historical experience borne out by research shows that countries that have made the greatest efforts to support the equality of women are more developed and have had the most success in avoiding conflicts and wars. Just as states should aim at inclusive international policies, inclusion should also become the pole star in their domestic agendas. Women should have full access to national political debates and decision-making processes and recognized as a critical economic and social resources. Women can be effective peace builders and promoters of dialogue and security within and across communities.

The conference concluded in an atmosphere of cautious optimism. Although divisions in the OSCE region are real and deep, all speakers referred to the need to mitigate or even bridge existing differences. The serious risks that could emerge if the current insecurity becomes protracted seemed to be clear to everyone although opinions differed over where the origins and responsibility for the current crisis lay. Recognizing the need to move beyond present tensions, some insisted that the only durable solution would be to relegate geopolitics to the past, leaving behind zero-sum logic and a sphere-of-influence approach. By contrast, others believed that the solution had to accommodate what remain inherently competing

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interests, so bridging different camps is the key to peace, rather than the wishful attempt to bury geopolitics altogether. Yet all agreed that trust must be restored, and that there was an urgent need for renewed leadership committed to a common vision of peace and stability in Europe.

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**About the OSCE**

With 57 participating States in Europe, Central Asia and North America, the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) is the world's largest regional security organization. Its mission is rooted in the principles and commitments contained in the 1975 Helsinki Final Act, a pioneering document that contributed to the end of the Cold War. The OSCE has a comprehensive approach to security that encompasses the politico-military, economic and environmental, and human dimensions of security and that is reflected throughout the work of the Organization. All OSCE participating States enjoy equal status and decisions, which are politically binding, are adopted by consensus. The Organization maintains a regular dialogue and co-operation with 11 Partner states in the Mediterranean region and Asia, including Afghanistan.

**About the Wilson Center**

The Wilson Center, chartered by the United States Congress as the official memorial to President Woodrow Wilson, is a key non-partisan policy forum for tackling global issues through independent research and open dialogue to inform actionable ideas for Congress, the Administration and the broader policy community. Located in Washington, D.C., it is a United States Presidential Memorial that was established as part of the Smithsonian Institution by an act of Congress in 1968. It is also a highly recognized think tank, ranked among the top ten in the world.

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