Fixing the White House
& National Intelligence

by Robert David STEELE Vivas[1]

Summary

There are four specific White House initiatives within the existing authority of the President, and five specific U.S. Intelligence Community initiatives within the existing authority of the Director of National Intelligence (DNI) that would, in the aggregate, immediately increase by a factor of 10 to 100 both the strategic coherence of the Presidency and the constructive decision-support available to both the Cabinet and to Congress, while also enabling the President to influence in a compelling manner global stabilization & reconstruction spending by others that totals over $1 trillion a year.

Introduction

In the age of information—and particularly in the age of distributed multi-lingual information—"central intelligence" is an oxymoron. Alvin, Toffler, among others has demonstrated that information is a substitute for violence, wealth, time, and space.[1] Others have shown that infinite stabilizing wealth can be created by sharing information, most especially with the five billion poor at the base of the pyramid.[2] It is in this context that the Industrial-Era White House and U.S. Intelligence Community must be found wanting. In the face of complexity that cannot be addressed by Weberian bureaucracies that stove-pipe information and persist in attempting top-down "command and control" at a time when everyone else is starting to practice bottom-up Epoch B leadership—harnessing the Collective Intelligence of the swarm—we must help the President-elect see that the urgency of reaching out to iconoclasts and pioneers. We must change *how* we think and *how* we act, not just the *who*.
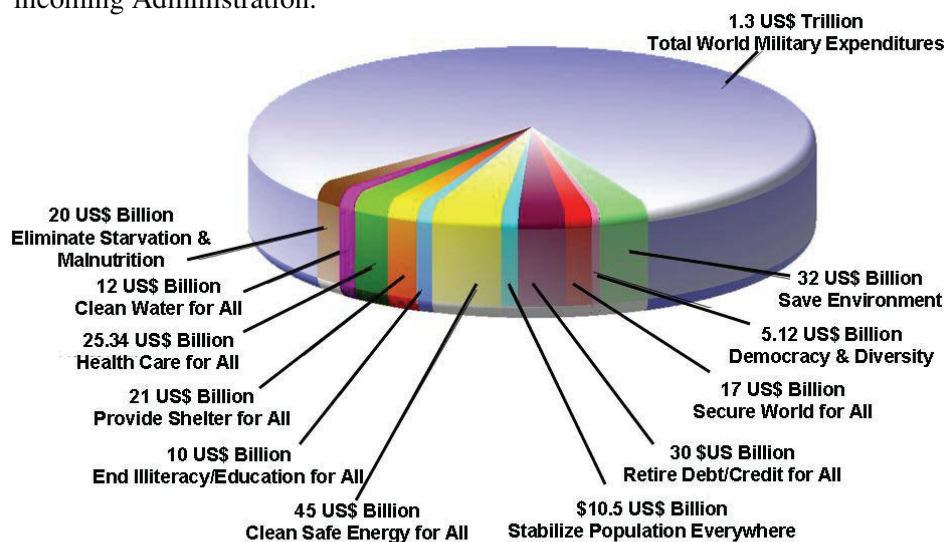
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[1] The author entered on duty with the U.S. Government in 1979, serving until 1993. Since 1988 he has been the foremost international proponent for intelligence reform with an emphasis on multinational information-sharing and sense-making, and a greater reliance on Open Source Intelligence (OSINT). He is the CEO of OSS.Net, Inc. and the volunteer CEO of Earth Intelligence Network, a 501c3 Public Charity.

Robert Steele, oss.net symbol cox.net, Northern Virginia 242.1701

Strategic Presidential Management

It has been my great privilege to be a part of several strategic networks, and one of the most disturbing trends I have noted is how we strategists can perceive and articulate facts, while those in power continue to spend the public treasure, largely unconcerned by, if not oblivious to, all relevant facts.

The first and most important FACT is that we (mostly the US but including the rest of the world) spend $1.3 trillion dollars a year waging war, when it costs less than $230 billion a year to create a prosperous world at peace. Below is an illustration from a forthcoming book, *Seven Billion Billionaires*, by Medard Gabel, deputy to Buckminster Fuller and co-creator of the World Game as well as architect of the forthcoming EarthGame™.[3] Similar cost estimates are available from E.O. Wilson and Lester Brown.[4] The Office of Management and Budget (OMB) is long over-due for the restoration of the "M" that they dropped in the late 1970's, but they will urgently need broad unclassified intelligence support to be effective in supporting the President, and that is one reason I feel compelled to articulate these views in a fresh form tailored to the incoming Administration.

Figure 1: Relative Cost of War Today versus Peace in Near-Term

The second FACT is that the Executive Branch, and the Executive Office of the President in particular, are not trained, equipped, or organized to

plan, program, budget, and manage Whole of Government operations.[5] Others have made this observation, but they have not factored in both the importance of having access to and respect for all information in all languages all the time; and they are still in a unilateral militarist mind-set, and not truly open to multinational operations, and especially what General Al Gray called "peaceful preventive measures."[6]

The third FACT is that Congress is trained, equipped, and organized to proffer pork via stovepipes, and has—as books by Members themselves testify—chosen to abdicate its Article 1 responsibilities and to neglect its obligation to pursue the public interest. When combined with an Executive that is similarly inclined, the results are visibly catastrophic.[7]

In relation to the first three facts, the first fact is what is known as a "Fog Fact,"[8] which is to say, it is known, but not acknowledged. This is not to be confused with "Lost History"[9] where we lie to ourselves, or with "Missing Information," where we allow fiction in all its forms to drown out reality,[10] a passive form of the more aggressive "Weapons of Mass Deception"[11] that "Manufacture Consent."[12]

The second and third facts merit emphasis. It is very important to note that the Cabinet departments do not do "decision-support" nor do they do strategic planning, programming, and budgeting as military professionals understand it (not that the military professionals are allowed to do this, but at least they know how). Cabinet departments and agencies—as with the four military services—are about "budget share" constancy and the protection of stake-holder interests where the stake-holders are those with financial interests, NOT the taxpayer providing the revenue being spent by politicians and bureaucrats without regard to strategic needs. Congress is in a similar position. Congress does not receive "intelligence support" across the authorizing, oversight, and appropriations jurisdictions, all of which are dependent on the Congressional Research Service (CRS) for relatively simplistic overviews or worse, on lobbyists all too eager to spin the truth to the advantage of special interests instead of the public.

The fourth FACT—and a major reason why the first three facts are extant—is that the U.S. Intelligence Community is spending $60 billion to $75 billion a year, yet failing to inform anyone other than the President and top commanders, and even there, failing to provide more than 4%, "at best" according to General Tony Zinni, USMC (Ret.), of their command information. He has gone on to say that everything else came from either really public open sources (80%), or "if he knew where to look," e.g. which coalition member to ask, from limited edition locally available open sources (16%).[13] The reality is that in the absence of a professional decision-support capability that can deliver

unclassified public intelligence in the public interest, special interests and pork will dominate especially when "rule by secrecy" is the operative paradigm in the national capital.[14]

The fifth FACT is that nothing the U.S. does in the next seven to seventy years is going to matter unless we create a strategic analytic model that can connect dots to dots, dots to people, and people to people. I will outline below how we do that. We need to be able to show all eight of the major demographic challengers how to achieve their legitimate and righteous aspirations without repeating our 200 plus years of Western depletion of non-renewable resources and our poisoning of all else.[15]

The sixth and final FACT is that apart from peace being cheaper than war (the first fact), there is *plenty of money* being spent against the ten high-level threats to humanity,[16] it's just not being spent wisely. All governments, all organizations, are lacking in a global strategic architecture by which to catalog needs at the household and village level world-wide, and to then meet those needs. Such an architecture is especially needed because 80% of the one billion rich people do not contribute to foundations, but could be incentivized to take on individual needs in the $1 to $10,000 category.[17] For virtually no money—only the intangible cost of leadership—the DNI could—should—create a Global Range of Needs Table that would guide, harmonize, and help apply over $1 trillion in funding now being spent in a scatter-shot manner. Using public intelligence to combine corporate investments with social investments and local commitments to stability is *Earth-changing.*

All six of these facts can be addressed by a very straight-forward mix of reinventing the White House, reinventing intelligence,[18] and reinventing the concept of national security.

Without White House & National Intelligence reform the USA will remain a ship without a rudder, certain to run aground and come to pieces.
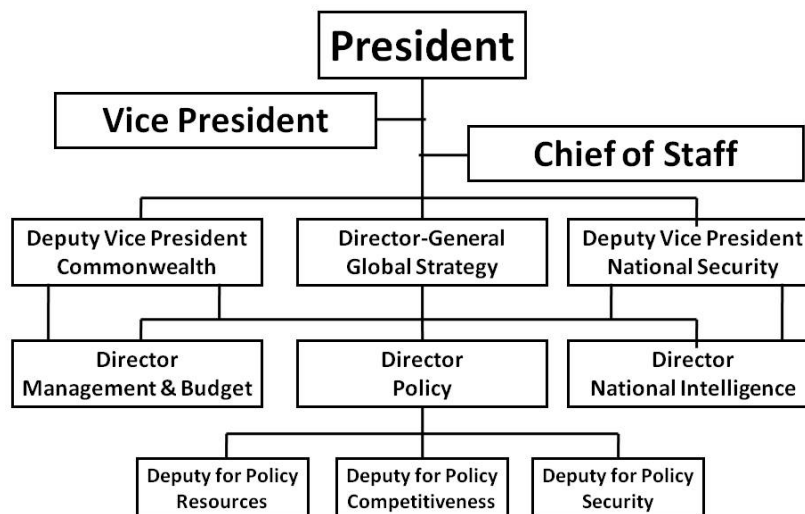
Fixing the White House

My first book, *ON INTELLIGENCE: Spies and Secrecy in an Open World,*[19] has an entire chapter on this so I will limit myself to four specific recommendations:

1. The President and Vice President need two Deputy Vice Presidents, one for National Security and one for the Commonwealth, so as to harmonize disparate Industrial-Era Cabinet Departments and "independent" agencies at a level that demands obedience from the Cabinet Secretaries and agency heads, but does not consume Presidential time.[20]
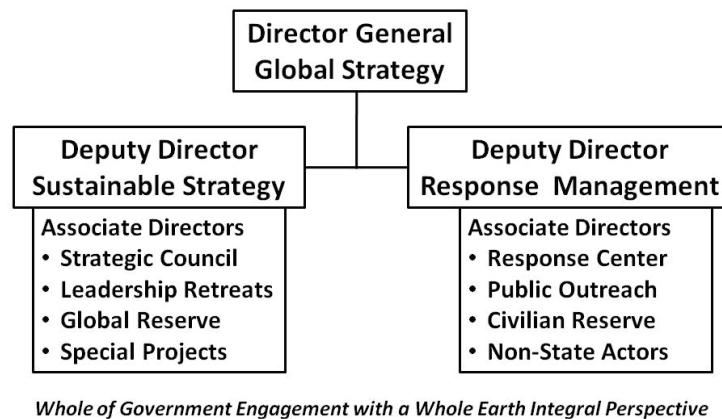
2. The Republic needs a Director-General for Global Strategy that is co-equal to the Deputy Vice Presidents and able to connect the President to all the facts, all the opinions, without bias or deception[21]. [It may shock some, but Rule 1 in Washington is "Lie to the President if you can get away with it."[22]]

3. The National Security Council (NSC) is long over-due for conversion into a National Policy Council with three divisions integrating Presidential oversight of Resources (not just money), National Competitiveness, and National Security.

4. Finally, *the single easiest place for the President to begin to make change*, move money, and start the process of creating a Smart Nation, is within the U.S. Intelligence Community. Fixing intelligence is how the President gets a grip on the waste and redundancy that characterizes the entire Department of Defense (DoD), which is still concealing the facts about the "disappearance" of 2.3 trillion dollars.[23] The General Accountability Office (GAO) has much to offer—and should be embraced by the new DNI as a partner in catalyzing change internal to the secret world—but it is only the honesty and completeness of *decision-support* to the President and all Cabinet Members (and their subordinate Assistant Secretaries and action officers) that can call into question the current "heavy metal" military that is optimized for 10% of the real-world threat, while also illuminating better investments across the Whole of Government. [24]

Below I illustrate what I think the White House needs to look like.

Figure 2: Assuring Effective Strategic Presidential Leadership

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Robert Steele, oss.net symbol cox.net, Northern Virginia 242.1701

I have been a student of strategy most of my adult life, beginning with a graduate thesis on predicting and controlling revolution in all its forms, pausing to learn from Capt George Thibault, USN (Ret), my instructor for the Naval War College course on Strategy, and culminating with a decade of reflections for the U.S. Army Strategic Studies Institute reinforced with deep reading across eighty-five non-fiction categories.[25] I mention all of this because I continue to be shaken with disbelief at the disconnect between politicians and senior government officials with power, and experts with deep knowledge.[26] Below is my own construct of what a Presidential strategic capability should look like.

Whole of Government Engagement with a Whole Earth Integral Perspective

Figure 3: Office of Global Strategy

In the twenty years since I started the current Open Source Intelligence (OSINT) revolution and my attempt to reinvent the U.S. Intelligence Community, it has been my privilege to interact directly with 7,500 mid-career officers who today supervise over 25,000 practitioners of the "new craft of intelligence."[27] I have learned two things:

1. U.S. policymakers, acquisition managers, and operational commanders struggle to discover, discriminate, and distill relevant information, in part because the U.S. Intelligence Community believes it is in the business of "secrets for the President."

2. Governments are the beneficiaries of public sources and methods of intelligence, not the leaders, not the funders, not the anything. The bulk of what we need to know is known to eight different "tribes" of intelligence,[28] each with global, regional, national, provincial, and local levels, and we continue to be "severely deficient" in accessing and exploiting open sources of information in 183 languages we do not understand.[29]

My own work has suggested that our leadership operates on 2% of the relevant information.[30] It is not possible to under-state the degree of ignorance that characterizes decision-making in Washington, D.C. "The underlying threat to peace and prosperity—the cause of causes—is the ever-widening chasm between policymakers with power, and private sector experts and participants with knowledge." I wrote this in 1997, and it is even truer today.[31] *The root cause of this ignorance is the improper definition of national intelligence as "secrets for the President."*

Fixing Intelligence

The White House can fix its internal organization, but it must also fix national intelligence if it is to be informed across all ten high-level threats to humanity; all twelve core policy domains; and in sensible relation to each of the eight demographic challengers for the future.[32]

Below for the convenience of the reader is a simple matrix representing the three inter-locking dimensions of strategic statecraft, followed by an illustration of how all ten threats must be evaluated in relation to all twelve policies,[33] all the time.
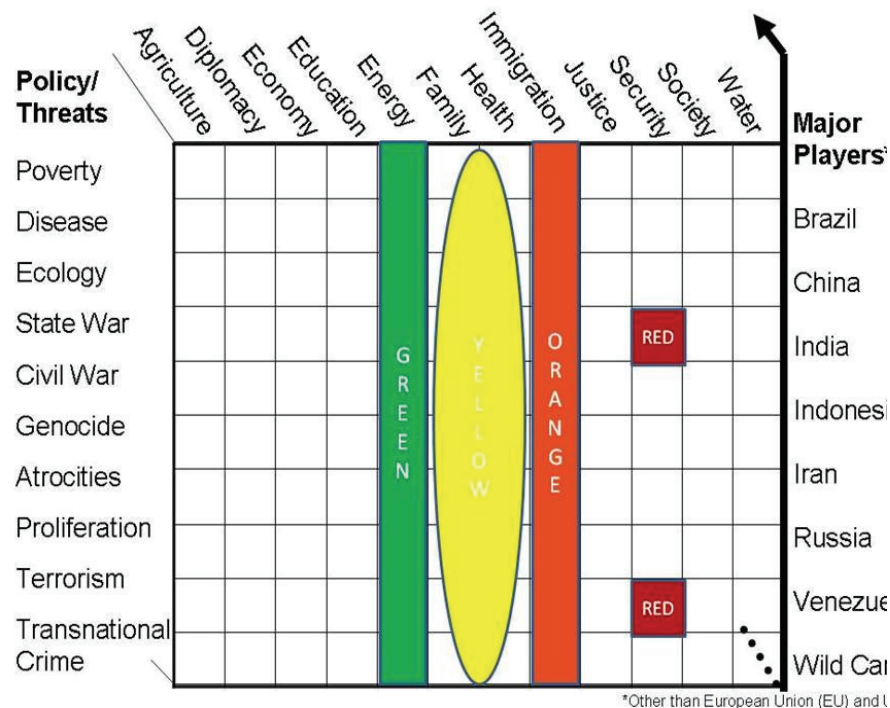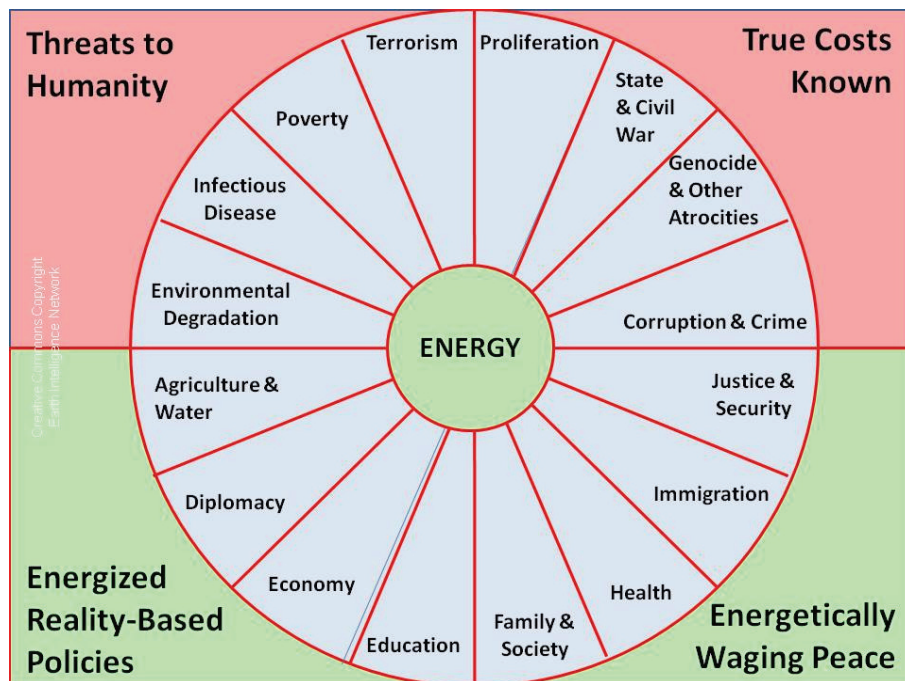

Figure 4: Strategic Analytic Matrix

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Energy and Immigration bracket Family and Health, but no one in the White House has access to integrated intelligence (decision-support) that is able to evaluate true costs and conditions across different domains, or to compare our domestic circumstances and costs with foreign circumstances and costs. *"Secrets for the President" will no longer do.* We must provide the President—AND everyone else—with decision support on all national topics all of the time.
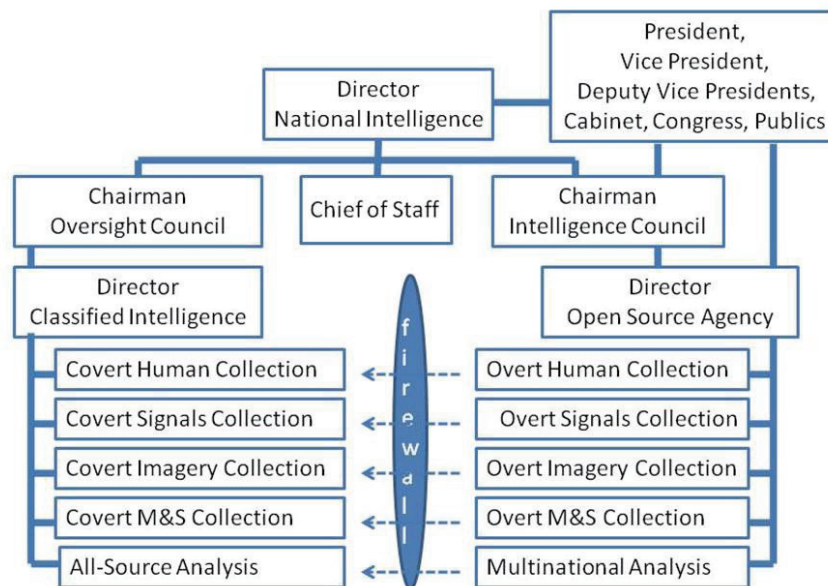

Figure 5: Model for Understanding Each in Relation to All

Above is a different way of depicting the urgency of understanding all ten of the threats in relation to one another and to all twelve of the policies. Energy is used here since it may well be the most central policy, but the same holds true for each threat or each policy—they must each be viewed "in relation" not in isolation. For example, it makes no sense to use water we cannot afford to waste, growing grain we cannot eat, to fuel cars that should be running on natural gas from Alaska. "It is all connected" in reality; it is time we got a *grip* on reality. The DNI can—*must*—do this for the simple reason that the President needs decision-support on *everything*. Wise governance in the 21st century must be *systemically* informed, devised, and executed!

Robert Steele, oss.net symbol cox.net, Northern Virginia 242.1701

The most extraordinary benefit that can be derived from fixing national intelligence is financial: information _costs_ money, intelligence _makes_ money. In addition and following logically, properly devised and shared decision-support can influence how other governments, corporations, and foundations spend upwards of $1 trillion a year against the ten high-level threats to humanity. We have been so busy with our unilateral militarism that we have failed to realize that for a fraction of the cost in blood, treasure, and spirit, we could be leading everyone else in creating a prosperous world at peace.[34] I conclude this article with two specific *Earth-changing* ideas easy for the President to approve and the DNI to fund and implement.

Below is an illustration of how I recommend the next DNI restructure the U.S. Intelligence Community.
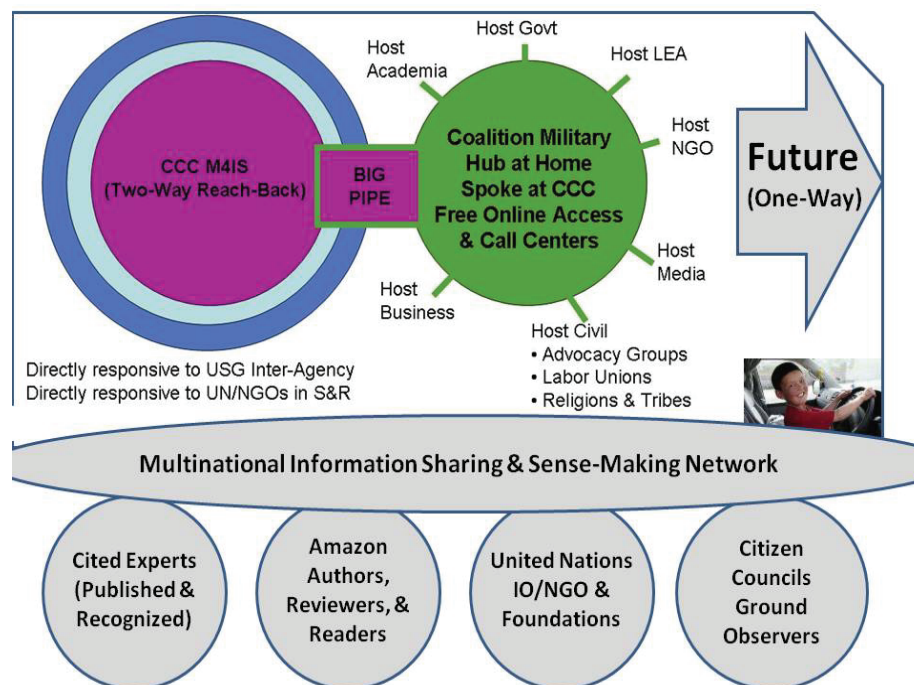

Figure 6: Intelligence for the President AND Everyone Else

Here is a summary of five specific initiatives the next DNI can take to help the President lead America and in so doing, intelligently lead the global community of nations, organizations, and individuals.

1. **Open Source Agency (OSA).** Create as recommended by the 9-11 Commission.[35] [36] [37] Within the OSA, fund the three multinational elements that will vacuum-clean the planet for all information in all languages all the

time, while creating an enormous *unclassified* multinational sense-making network—shared information creating wealth:

a. **Office of Information Sharing Treaties and Agreements** led by a senior U.S. Ambassador.

b. **Office of the Assistant Secretary General for Decision Support, United Nations**. MajGen Patrick Cammaert, RN NL, elevated to LtGen, is the most-perfectly qualified candidate.[38] The Ambassador leading the Office of Information Sharing Treaties and Agreements could be double-hatted as the Deputy Assistant Secretary General for Decision Support, or a second US Ambassador could be assigned to that position, my own preference.

c. **Multinational Decision Support Center (MDSC).** This concept was briefed to the leaders of the 60+ coalition delegations comprising the Coalition Coordination Center (CCC) at USCENTCOM.[39] Today the brand-new fully-furnished building they finally occupied has become virtually vacant, and is ideally suited to house the MDSC, only with multinational mid-career intelligence analysts instead of logisticians. Below is an illustration of how the MDSC would serve as the linch pin for a global public intelligence network that would simultaneously feed the "high side" and empower all of the classified intelligence networks. [40]

Figure 7: Multi-National Open-Source Decision-Support Network

2. **Director of Classified Intelligence (DCI)**, is a long-overdue restoration of status for the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), and easily done by double-hatting this person as Deputy Director of National Intelligence for Collection Management (DDNI/CM).

a. **Centralized Management of All Collection.** Serving as a co-equal counter-part to the Director of the OSA, both reporting to the DNI, this individual, who should be a world-class clandestine Human Intelligence (HUMINT) specialist rather than a technician, should have a mandate to right-size and redirect all classified technical collection programs, subject to the concurrence of the DNI. The technical disciplines are out of control and not providing a reasonable return on investment, their claims not-with-standing. The DCI could help the DNI in a major way by consolidating the management staffs of all classified disciplines[41] within the CIA Headquarters building, displacing the analysts as discussed below.

b. **National Processing Agency (NPA).** The National Security Agency (NSA) infrastructure should be enhanced to allow for the fusion of all sources of information can be integrated, exploited, and made sense of in graphic visualizable time and space pattern analysis and depiction. Dr. Joseph Markowitz pointed this out this need in 1994, and it still does not exist today.[42]

3. **National Analytic Network.** The National Intelligence Council, substantially expanded, should receive a hugely expanded mission, that of providing intelligence not only for the President, but for everyone else as well (Congressional leaders as well as executive consumers down to the action officer level that is one deep and starved for decision-support). Almost immediately, the OSA and MDSC can begin making all of the information they have and all of the decision-support they create available to the public that is funding them, impacting on schoolhouses, chambers of commerce, and all elements of civil society, not only in the USA, but all over the world where shared information can create stabilizing wealth   In this larger construct, 80% of the decision-support will be unclassified, and at least 60% will be fully public. The all-source analysts should be moved out of CIA and into the Taj Majal adjacent to the old Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA). If necessary, make room by hand-picking a cadre of hundreds of all-source analysts from both CIA and DIA, and moving them to Tampa to occupy Taj Majal South, the new CENTCOM J-2 building that I am told is down to 50% occupancy if not less, and perhaps also to the Monterrey area in California adjacent to the Naval Post-Graduate School (NPS), the Defense Language Institute (DLI), and the Monterey Institute of

International Studies (MIIS). The DNI should not be located at Bolling Air Force Base.[43] Doing this in partnership with the OSA "explodes" the degree to which the National Analytic Network can access unclassified knowledge around the globe. I depict this concept below.

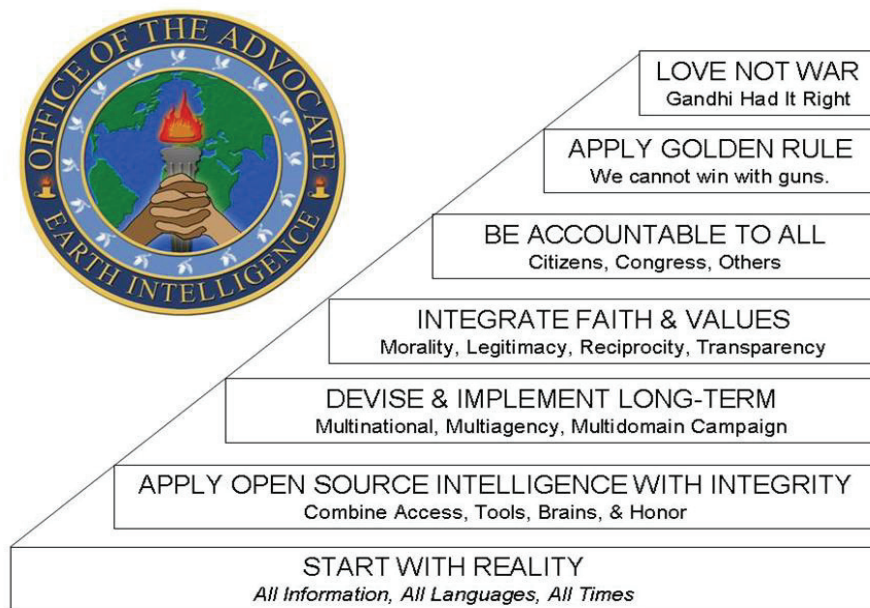**Figure 8: All Information, All Languages, All the Time**

4. **DNI Support to Education and Research.** Since the early 1990's I have championed the need to create a "Smart Nation."[44] The harsh reality is that one cannot have "smart" spies in the context of a "dumb" nation, and that national intelligence, writ large, must nurture and harness the distributed intelligence of Whole of Government, Whole of Nation (the eight tribes), and ultimately Whole of Earth information, intelligence, knowledge, and wisdom. 80% or more of what the DNI needs to do in the secret world will be enhanced by creating a more robust non-secret multinational information-sharing and sense-making network. At the same time, most research is dual-use, and the DNI can make a huge difference in redirecting funds toward energy and health and other forms of research that will be directly useful to the President as a form of "overt action" at home and abroad. If an educated public is a Nation's best defense,[45] and we desperately need innovative research to address new solutions for agriculture, energy, health, and water, the DNI *must* help.

5. **Global Range of Needs Table.** I will discuss and illustrate this in the concluding section.   As pedestrian as it may sound, the most urgent decision-support needs do not center on weapons of mass destruction or elective hostile behavior by opposing Armed Forces. Rather, they center on

inventorying needs down to the household level in every village on the planet, and then connecting each of the one billion rich with as many of the five billion poor as possible, to facilitate $1 to $10,000 annual transfers of enabling wealth—a $2 ceramic refrigerator;[46] a $25 spare part for a 1950's Rumanian engine; a $100 bicycle; and so on. That is the endgame of the EarthGame™--to create infinite stabilizing wealth and a world at peace.

Fixing the Republic Saves the Earth

We have wandered far afield from the vision of our Founding Fathers *A Foreign Policy of Freedom: Peace, Commerce, and Honest Friendship*.[47] I do not seek to debate the fine points, but to end with a "grand strategy" formula that will allow the President to once again lead the world toward global security and global prosperity in keeping with our values and tradition. Below is the strategic vision I crafted as a co-founder of Earth Intelligence Network, a 501c3 Public Charity that strives to create public intelligence in the public interest. I respectfully recommend this to the President as a starting point for restoring America's moral standing in the world—as Will and Ariel Durant tell us in *Lessons of History*,[48] morality is a strategic asset of incalculable value.[49]

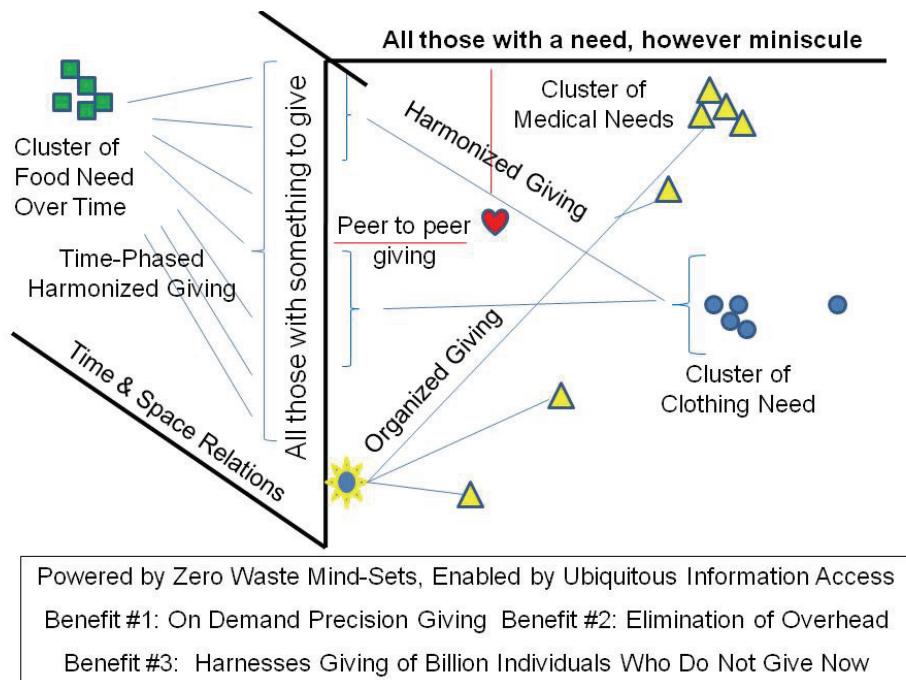**Figure 9: Strategy for Creating a Prosperous World at Peace**

This is not rocket science. It just demands that we all remember the precise nature of our Oath to support the Constitution of the United States of America; that we demand that our leaders respect reality and strive to understand the best achievable version of the truth when making decisions, and that we all behave in a manner consistent with the wisdom that we possess in the aggregate, our Collective Intelligence, a wisdom that has been suppressed by a very bad system that has subverted the common sense of otherwise good people. Fortunately we now know the "power of the powerless," "a power that governments cannot suppress."[50] The time has come for America to *have* a national strategy that *respects global reality*, including the raw fact that indigenous peoples whose knowledge we have disrespected for centuries, actually have a great deal to offer with respect to sustainable co-evolution among all species and their habitat.[51]

The harsh reality is that changes to the Earth that used to take 10,000 years now take three years—this is the greatest threat to our national security. We have seven years to put a stop to the carbon emissions and global warming trends before we reach what may be a tipping point. Similarly, as glaciers melt and the sea level rises, salt water is flooding into and contaminating aquifers that will not be restored for tens of thousands of years—among many, many other priorities, we should be funding $100 million dollar a year water-desalination plants to stop the draw-down on the aquifers and provide for peace in the Middle East and many other water-stressed areas where the lack of water creates poverty, and the lack of clean water creates infectious disease, the two top high-level threats to humanity.[52]

At a global scale, and assuming the DNI has funded the OSA and its subordinate elements as recommended above, then the single greatest policy, operational, and budgetary initiative we can take is the creation of an online **Global Range of Needs Table.** The time has come for the U.S. Government to help steer the Earth with actionable decision-support on every topic.

Using distributed processing power and a "sparse matrix" approach to the data architecture, the OSA would provide, under the oversight of the Assistant Secretary General for Decision-Support of the United Nations, a single global network where anyone could identify a need at any level of funding from US$1 to US$1 trillion. Civil Affairs patrols, UN peacekeeping observers, all deployed elements of all Non-Governmental Organizations, all indigenous groups, corporate field engineers—EVERYONE—would have a place where they could text a message from their cell phone identifying a need tagged with a geospatial reference point. Needs will be easily clustered by kind and location, and over time natural alliances will emerge among individuals and organizations. I illustrate this concept, a self-governing construct, below.

Robert Steele, oss.net symbol cox.net, Northern Virginia 242.1701

Figure 10: Global Range of Needs Table

The most fruitful alliance could well be among corporations seeking to invest in emerging markets, foundations seeking to make social investments, and local communities willing to guarantee stability irrespective of a government presence, in return for attracting both investments in tandem.

I know we can create a Smart Nation, and I know we can create a prosperous world at peace. The question is: will we? This is change we need, change we can effect, and it is all within the existing authorities of the President and DNI. I dare to hope, I dare to want it all.

Endnotes

Endnotes, including live links to sources and reviews of books, can be found at the conclusion of the article as posted at www.oss.net/HILL.

Robert Steele, oss.net symbol cox.net, Northern Virginia 242.1701

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[1] Alvin Toffler, *Powershift: Knowledge, Wealth, and Power at the Edge of the 21st Century* Bantam, 1991) was the first full treatment, followed fifteen years later by Alvin and Heidi Toffler, *Revolutionary Wealth: How it will be created and how it will change our lives* (Doubleday Business, 2007).

[2] Extremely important books on the creation of wealth include Barry Carter, *Infinite Wealth: A New World of Collaboration and Abundance in the Knowledge Era* (Butterworth-Heinemann, 1999) and Yochai Benkler, *The Wealth of Networks: How Social Production Transforms Markets and Freedom* (Yale University Press, 2006). The paradigm shifting book for capitalism, completely apart from the literature on natural capitalism and ecological economics, is CK Prahalad, *The Fortune at the Bottom of the Pyramid: Eradicating Poverty Through Profits* (Wharton School Publishing, 2004)

[3] Professor Gabel's preliminary technical cost estimate for building the EarthGame™ can be read at the Earth Intelligence Network under EarthGame in the menu. Visit him directly at BigPictureSmallWorld.

[4] Edward O. Wilson, *The Future of Life* (Knoph, 2002) and Lester R. Brown, *Plan B 3.0: Mobilizing to Save Civilization, Third Edition* (W. W. Norton, 2008) as well as Lester Brown and the Worldwatch Institute, *State of the World 2008: Toward a Sustainable Global Economy* (W. W. Norton, 2008)

[5] Numerous books have made this point in different ways, most of them partisan in nature, for example, John Dean, *Broken Government: How Republican Rule Destroyed the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial Branches* Penguin (Non-Classics; Reprint edition, 2008). For the Department of Defense alone, we have numerous books among which I will mention just two, Franklin (Chuck) Spinney, *Defense Facts of Life: The Plans/Reality Mismatch* (Westview Press, 1985) and Robert Coram, Boyd: *The Fighter Pilot Who Changed the Art of War* (Back Bay Books, 2004). There are many others that focus on Congress as the primary problem.

[6] Al Gray (General), "Global Intelligence Challenges in the 1990's," American Intelligence Journal (Winter 1989-1990). The Marines, alone among all elements of the U.S. Government, correctly forecast the emerging era of instability and revolutionary and criminal warfare. I personally spent time on behalf of the Marine Corps seeking a redirection of the National Intelligence Topics (NIT) and a change in collection strategy from one that emphasized constant collection on the top two threats (Russia, China), toward gap-driven collection allowing for sweeps down into the other five priorities including unstable Third World nations and non-state actors. The good people trapped in a bad mind-set always said no. I resigned in 1993.

[7] Cf. Thomas Mann and Norman Orstein, *The Broken Branch: How Congress Is Failing America and How to Get It Back on Track* (Oxford University Press, 2008); Peter G. Peterson, *Running on Empty: How the Democratic and Republican Parties Are Bankrupting Our Future and What Americans Can Do About It* (Picador, 2005); and Tom Coburn (Senator), *Breach of Trust: How Washington Turns Outsiders Into Insiders* (Thomas Nelson, 2003)

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[8] Larry Beinhart, *Fog Facts : Searching for Truth in the Land of Spin* (Nation Books, 2005)

[9] Robert Parry, *Lost History: Contras, Cocaine, the Press & 'Project Truth'* (Media Consortium, 1999)

[10] Bill McKibben, *The Age of Missing Information* (Plume, 1993)

[11] Sheldon Rampton, *Weapons of Mass Deception: The Uses of Propaganda in Bush's War on Iraq* (Tarcher, 2003)

[12] Noam Chomsky and Edward S. Herman, *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media* (Pantheon, 2002)

[13] As recounted to me by a Marine Corps peer, and published for the first time in "Open Source Intelligence (OSINT)" in Loch Johnson (ed.), *Strategic Intelligence* (Volume 2: *Collection*, Praeger, 2007). This is the strategic overview in relation to all aspects of secret intelligence. The chapter is free online at www.oss.net/OSINT-S.

[14] Apart from my own books, all for sale on Amazon and also available free online at www.oss.net, here I wish to point readers to the annotated bibliography of my latest book, with numerous books all hot-linked to my reviews of each respectively, in the following categories supportive of strategic reflection by national security and public administration professionals: Anti-Americanism, Blowback, Why the Rest Hates the West; Betrayal of the Public Trust; Biomimicry, Green Chemistry, Ecological Economics, Natural Capitalism; Blessed Unrest, Dignity, Dissent, & the Tao of Democracy; Capitalism, Globalization, Peak Oil, & "Free" Trade Run Amok; Collective Intelligence, Power of Us, We Are One, & Wealth of We; Culture of Catastrophe, Cheating, Conflict, & Conspiracy; Deception, Facts, Fog, History (Lost), Knowledge, Learning, & Lies; Democracy in Decline; Emerging and Evolving Threats & Challenges; Failed States, Poverty, Wrongful Leadership, and the Sorrows of Empire; Future of Life, State of the Future, Plan B 3.0; Innovation & 21st Century Leadership; Instruments of National Power Hard and Soft; Intelligence, Decision-Support, & Decision-Making; Internet (Good, Bad, & Ugly); Philosophy, Psychology, & Religion from Faith to Fascism; Strategy; War, Waste, & Crimes Against Humanity.

[15] A fuller understanding of this assertion is easily achieved at www.earth-intelligence.net; see especially the ten-page overview document. All of the external links are extraordinarily righteous and valuable efforts, but they are all isolated from one another.

[16] LtGen Dr. Brent Scowcroft, USAF (Ret.) served as the US member of the High Level Panel on Threats and Challenges that reported out in , *A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility--Report of the Secretary-General's High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change* (United Nations, 2004) [Free online as a PDF.] This was in my judgment a seismic shifting of the national security paradigm because it prioritized the ten threats as follows: Poverty; Infectious Disease; Environmental Degradation; Inter-State Conflict; Civil War, Genocide; Other Atrocities; Proliferation; Terrorism; and Transnational Crime. With this as a foundation it is a simple matter to determine

Robert Steele, oss.net symbol cox.net, Northern Virginia 242.1701

that the US taxpayer is paying close to a trillion a year against the Inter-State Conflict threat and virtually nothing on all of the others. It is also noteworthy that of the ten threats, virtually all can be addressed most capably by open sources of information, with the more conspiratorial threats such as terrorism and transnational crime and war requiring—at best—10% to 20% secret sources and methods. As I have said before, our entire intelligence and national security system is inside out and upside down—inside out because we persist in seeking unilateral secrets without first finding out what others can tell us; and upside down because we over-emphasize very expensive and very unrealizable technical collection satellites at the expense of both clandestine and overt human sources on the ground. See also note 17.

[17] For additional observations and illustrations on this point, see "Call to Arms: Fund We, Not Them," and also "GLOBAL TRENDS 2025: A Critique by Steele," both at www.oss.net/PIG.

[18] Although I have written about this topic since 1990, the single best article for the general public is "Reinventing Intelligence: Open Source Intelligence," and a sidebar, "U.S. Intelligence: How Bad Is It?," both in *Forbes ASAP* Special Report: **Blank Slate,** Edited By David M. Ewalt and Michael Noer 04.18.06. The editors deserve all of the credit for making my arcane technical language so easily digestible. Derek Bok wrote the piece on Education.

[19] (AFCEA, 2000, OSS, 2001). As with all my books, available free online as well as in hard-copy at Amazon.

[20] My original construct also called for a Deputy Vice President for Education, Intelligence, and Research, and I still believe that such a position would be enormously beneficial, especially if General Colin Powell, USA (Ret.), could be persuaded to be the first incumbent and ideally appointed for a lifetime term. Regardless of whether this comes to pass, whoever is DNI should immediately begin moving increments of secret money over to education and research, not to exceed 30% of the consolidated total (including the national agencies that must be moved out of DoD and under the DNI's direct budget authority).

[21] David Abshire has done more than any other to develop this requirement, beginning with his book, *Preventing World War III: A Realistic Grand Strategy* (Harper & Row, 1988), and going on to his establishing of the Center for the Study of the Presidency. An example of useful work is provided by Alvin Felzenberg, *The Keys to a Successful Presidency* (Heritage Foundation, 2000).

[22] Morton Halperin, *Bureaucratic Politics And Foreign Policy* (Brookings Institution Press; 2 edition, 2007).

[23] On 10 September 2001 then Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld was being ruthlessly grilled on these missing funds by Representative Cynthia McKinney (D-GA-04). On 11 September whatever hit the Pentagon reputedly destroyed all of the computers containing all of the data needed to investigate the missing 2.3 trillion dollars.

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[24] This first appeared in "Presidential Leadership and National Security Policymaking", in Douglas T. Stuart (ed.), *Organizing for National Security* (Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, 2000), pp. 245-282 after being briefed to the 1998 Army Strategy Conference, and was expanded upon in "Threats Strategy and Force Structure, an Alternative Paradigm for 21st Century Security," in Steven Metz (ed.) *Revising the Two MTW Force Shaping Paradigm* (Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute, April 2001). It then made its way into Chapter 13, "Presidential Leadership," of *On Intelligence: Spies and Secrecy in an Open World* (AFCEA, 2000, OSS, 2001).

[25] A list of the 85 categories is online, in the last portal page at www.oss.net.

[26] While I have a high regard for many associated with "think tanks," and Michael O'Hanlon of The Brookings Institute especially, in my experience most think tanks have become too partisan and too focused on placing their experts in future positions within government. In brief, "think tanks" do not provide a diversity of views, nor a sufficiency of facts.

[27] 30,000 pages from 750 authorities are easily navigable via www.oss.net/COMMUNITIES. A single page of the most important links from this 20-year campaign to reinvent U.S. intelligence can be found at www.oss.net/BASIC. My two books focused on modern re-invented intelligence are *The New Craft of Intelligence: Personal, Public, & Political* (OSS, 2002, see especially the chapter on the new rules (26 of them)); *Information Operations: All Information, All Languages, All the Time* (OSS, 2006); and Robert David Steele, *The Smart Nation Act: Public Intelligence in the Public Interest* (OSS, 2006).

[28] Government, military, law enforcement, academic, business, media including niche media and zines, non-profit and non-governmental organizations, and civil societies including religions, labor unions, and citizen advocacy groups.

[29] The Aspin-Brown Commission, formally known as the Commission on the Roles and Capabilities of the US Intelligence Community, published its report in March 1996. See additional commentary in note 35.

[30] *National Security C3, I3, H3: Command, Communications, & Computing; Inter-Agency, Inter-Disciplinary, Inter-Operability; Heuristics of the Community Intelligence Cycle* (University of Oklahoma, 1987)

[31] "Virtual Intelligence: Conflict Avoidance and Resolution through Information Peacekeeping", *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (Spring 1999), originally developed for the U.S. Institute of Peace (1997).

[32] A more complete discussion is provided in the chapter on "The Substance of Governance" in *ELECTION 2008: Lipstick on the Pig* (Earth Intelligence Network, 2008), free online at www.oss.net/PIG.

[33] The twelve policies were identified by examining "Mandate for Change" publications associated with both parties going back multiple Presidential elections. They are discussed in more detail in my various books, and especially in "The Substance of Governance," available as a separate chapter at www.oss.net/PIG.

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[34] I no longer write books myself, but now prefer to nurture others and create aggregated value. The first book published following this new emphasis is Mark Tovey (ed.), *COLLECTIVE INTELLIGENCE: Creating a Prosperous World at Peace* (Earth Intelligence Network, 2008). Although I have spent over a decade anticipating that the future of intelligence will not be federal, or secret, or expensive, it was not until I met Tom Atlee, founder of the Co-Intelligence Institute and author of *The Tao of Democracy: Using Co-Intelligence to Create a World That Works for All (*Writers' Collective; Revised edition, 2003) that I realized I was on the right track in seeking to enhance public intelligence in the public interest, something the secret world seems unable to respect at this time.

[35] The only reference is on page 413 where an Open Source Agency was inserted at the last minute as a co-equal agency to the Central Intelligence Agency. The CIA participants fought bitterly against this final demand from the reformers, who were aided by the fact that The Honorable Lee Hamilton (D-IN-09) observed the Burundi Exercise for the Aspin-Brown Commission that reported out in 1996, and was acutely conscious of the disregard that a series of DCI's demonstrated toward all of the Commission's recommendations. The Commission found the secret community "severely deficient" in its access to open sources of information, and recommended that OSINT be a "top priority" for both funding and for DCI prioritization. Their very bland comments in Chapter 8 not-with-standing, "severely deficient" was a stake in the heart of the secret world, but the secret world remains in denial on this matter. Nothing of substance has changed. Apart from *supra* note 13 (www.oss.net/OSINT-S), also see "Intelligence in Denial," *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence*, (Winter 2006) and "Intelligence Affairs: Evolution, Revolution, or Reactionary Collapse?" *International Journal of Intelligence & Counterintelligence* (Winter 2005-2006). Many other points of view along these lines from hundreds of mid-career professionals are easily found via www.oss.net/LIBRARY.

[36] It has been my great privilege to support J-23 (Open Source Branch) since its inception in 1997 at my suggestion to General Peter Schoomaker, USA (Ret), then CINCSOC. Col Vincent Stewart, USMC was the action officer for Dr. Stephen Cambone then Undersecretary of Defense for Intelligence, and created the proposed DoD program. USSOCOM was offered up to $2 billion a year and turned it down, as they had not yet realized that the Long War was about ideas, not just one man-one bullet. All of this is known to me from personal engagement over time.

[37] The OSA should not be confused with the Open Source Center (OSC), a modification of the Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS) that places emphasis on monitoring online sources from Reston (Virginia), while lacking a budget line or local analog access. The OSC does NOT share its OSINT with the public, and is primarily an internal element of the secret world. The Acting Assistant Deputy Director of National Intelligence for Open Source (Acting ADDNI/OS) has no budget line, no permanent staff to speak of, and no status within either of the two DNI plans. The USSOCOM J-23 (Open Source Branch) remains the single best center of excellence. Each of the last three Defense Science Board reports has stressed the urgency of getting a grip on global open sources in all languages. The OSA will do that with three major

beneficiary groups: the secret world including the OSC; the government at all levels, both legislative and executive; and the public, both domestic and multinational.

[38] As the Military Advisor to the Secretary General of the United Nations (UN), General Cammaert single-handedly over-turned the UN cultural view that intelligence was a dirty word, and created the Joint Military Analysis Center (JMAC) as a complement to the Joint Operational Center (JOC), both now used to help all UN leaders (as many as six to ten different elements in any one country) with decision-support that is predominantly unclassified. He was helped by a book on display in the lobby of UN Plaza 1 from the day it was published, *PEACEKEEPING INTELLIGENCE: Emerging Concepts for the Future* (OSS, 2003). The next book on this topic is taking shape at www.oss.net/Peace. General Cammaert went on to command the UN Force in Eastern Congo, where he further refined the concepts and doctrine for multinational intelligence support to multinational forces engaged in stabilization & reconstruction operations under combat conditions, and I consider him not only the most qualified professionally, but also the most suited diplomatically, to be the founding Assistant Secretary General for Decision Support. See M4IS for a trip report on the peacekeeping intelligence conference in Stockholm in December 2004.

[39] The briefing as given can be viewed at www.oss.net/CCC. Words are in Notes format. Two other relevant briefings rounding out the overall "information battlefield" that the secret world is ignoring are at www.oss.net/AMAZON and www.oss.net/GNOME. Briefings given to the Department of State and to the Department of Homeland Security can be seen at their respective portal pages at www.oss.net.

[40] This is a professional term referring to the Secret, Top Secret, and Codeword networks. The multinational information sharing and sense-making network solves the challenge that the Open Source Center (OSC) cannot: it eliminates the acquisition and pre-processing load, and if based in Tampa on MacDill AFB, allows for easy upload of all of the digital information to the classified Intelink using the electronic loading docks developed by the U.S. Special Operations Command (J-23)—with all the information pre-tagged with Intelink meta-data!. The key DIFFERENCE in my approach is that the original copy of the information is kept "outside the wire" under Civil Affairs proponency, and thus can be shared with anyone anywhere without being encumbered by security managers and lawyers from the classified side of the national information sharing architecture.

[41] In addition to Imagery and Signals (IMINT and SIGINT), also Measurements & Signatures (MASINT) and the bits and pieces here and there including all of the disparate "close in" technical collection programs. The National Clandestine Service (NCS) that purportedly integrates all civilian and military case officers, must be revitalized and expanded to include Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA) and Federal Bureau of Investigations (FBI) and Secret Service (USSS) undercover operations. The core concept here is that nothing will be done by humans that can be done by technical, but technical will not do anything that is not validated as useful by the over-all collection manager.

Robert Steele, oss.net symbol cox.net, Northern Virginia 242.1701

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[42] Dr. Joe Markowitz, the first and only formal Director of the Community Open Source Program Office (COSPO), has in my view been the only person in the U.S. Government, both as a civil servant and as a consultant in retirement, who has consistently understood the value of open sources, the urgency of integrating open sources into all-source intelligence, and the value to the President and the Cabinet of having unrestricted access to unclassified intelligence (decision-support) that can be shared with Congress, allies, the media, and the public. Among his many contributions that I especially admire are his original Open Source Intelligence Investment Plan, his contributions of the OSINT portions of *Transitions to and from Hostilities* (Defense Science Board, December 2004), and also of *Defense Imperatives* (Defense Science Board, 2008)

[43] The F Street building previously used for the Intelligence Community Staff (ICS) should be re-possessed for one year while a new Headquarters complex is built at the South-Central complex with three small towers, one each for Education, Intelligence, and Research. That land was donated to the CIA in perpetuity and the DCI that gave it over to the General Services Administration (GSA) had no right to do that. Adjacent to the Department of State, the new U.S. Institute of Peace (USIP) building, and the Kennedy Center with its vacant auditoriums and parking during the day, I believe this specific site should become the "center of gravity" for creating a Smart Nation.

[44] "Creating a Smart Nation: Strategy, Policy, Intelligence, and Information," *Government Information Quarterly* (Summer 1996); "Reinventing Intelligence: The Vision and the Strategy," *International Defense & Technologies* (December 1995), bilingual in French and English; "Private Enterprise Intelligence: Its Potential Contribution to National Security," in *Intelligence and National Security* (Special Issue, October 1995); "Reinventing Intelligence: Holy Grail or Mission Impossible?" *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence* (Summer 1994); "Corporate Role in National Competitiveness: Smart People + Good Tools + Information = Profit", Proceedings, Society of Photo-Optical Engineers (Spring 1994); "E3I: Ethics, Ecology, Evolution, and Intelligence: An Alternative Paradigm for National Intelligence," *Whole Earth Review* (Fall 1992); and "Intelligence in the 1990's: Recasting National Security in a Changing World," *American Intelligence Journal* (Summer/Fall 1990), among others.. Articles without links in the first book, *ON INTELLIGENCE: Spies and Secrecy in an Open World* (AFCEA, 2000, OSS 2001)

[45] I never tire of quoting Thomas Jefferson, "A Nation's best defense is an educated citizenry," or James Madison, "A popular government without popular information, or the means of acquiring it, is but a prologue to a farce or a tragedy, or perhaps both. Knowledge will forever govern ignorance, and a people who mean to be their own governors must arm themselves with the power which knowledge gives." Jefferson also said "If all Americans know the facts, they will never make a mistake." I believe that, and commend to the reader's attention Kevin O'Keefe, *The Average American: The Extraordinary Search for the Nation's Most Ordinary Citizen* (PublicAffairs, 2005).

[46] Ceramic jar with long neck inside another similar jar with air gap. Buried in the earth, keeps meat fresh for five days.

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[47] This is the title of a book by Ron Paul (R-TX-14). See also his *The Revolution: A Manifesto* (Grand Central Publishing (April 2008) and his many other books (generally collections of his remarks in Congress) at Amazon.

[48] Will and Ariel Durant, *The Lessons of History* (Simon & Schuster, 1968).

[49] The other major variable, one we cannot restore, is time. Cf. Colin Gray, *Modern Strategy* (Oxford University Press, 1999). We have, in my judgment, wasted 40 years from 1975 when the Senate and White House were first briefed by both CIA and public experts on Peak Oil, AIDS, and other factors, and both the Senate and the White House chose to carry on with business as usual, allowing catastrophic forms of behavior to continue unabated. We the People, by creating public intelligence, have it within our power to prevent our government officials from ever again disrespecting the truth about the reality that will define the future we bequeath to our children.

[50] Vaclav Havel, *The Power of the Powerless: Citizens Against the State in Central-Eastern Europe* (M. E. Sharpe, 1985) and   Howard Zinn, *A Power Governments Cannot Suppress* (City Lights Publishers, 2006)

[51] Charles C. Mann, *1491: New Revelations of the Americas Before Columbus* (Vintage, 2006). "Co-Evolution" is a term I learned from Stewart Brand, founding editor of the *Co-Evolution Quarterly* and author of Stewart Brand, *The Clock of the Long Now: Time and Responsibility*. It morphed into the *Whole Earth Review*, where Editor Howard Rheingold published my first "radical" article, "E3I: Ethics, Ecology, Evolution, and Intelligence: An Alternative Paradigm for National Intelligence," *Whole Earth Review* (Fall 1992). Dr. Ross Stapleton-Gray told me that when circulated on the 7th floor at CIA, the verdict articulated by Sandra Cruzman (RIP) was "this confirms Steele's place on the lunatic fringe." CIA is still in denial, as are the other secret agencies. A complete set of the most important WER articles by all authors on the topics of information and intelligence can be found at www.oss.net in the Archives as WER Special.

[52] On these points, see my lists of books at Amazon.