

COMMENTARY

ROBERT DAVID STEELE

Fixing the White House and National Intelligence

Four specific White House initiatives within the existing authority of the President, and five specific U.S. Intelligence Community (IC) initiatives within the existing authority of the Director of National Intelligence (DNI) 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 Congress. They would also enable the President to influence, in a compelling manner, global stabilization and reconstruction spending by others that totals over \$1 trillion a year.

In the age of information—and particularly in the age of distributed multilingual 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 In this context, the Industrial-Era White House and U.S. Intelligence Community must be found wanting. In the face of complexity that cannot be addressed by Max Weberian bureaucracies that stovepipe information and persist in attempting top-down “command and control” and at a time when everyone else is starting to practice bottom-up Epoch B

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leadership—harnessing the Collective Intelligence of the swarm—the President must see the urgency of reaching out to iconoclasts and pioneers. The IC and the President must change how they think and how they act, not just who they are.

STRATEGIC PRESIDENTIAL MANAGEMENT

Over many years, as part of several strategic networks, one of the most disturbing trends I have noted is the way 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 the U.S., but the rest of the world too, spends \$1.3 trillion a year waging war, when it costs less than \$230 billion a year to create a prosperous world at peace. Figure 1 is an illustration of that estimate from the book, *Seven Billion Billionaires*, by Medard Gabel, deputy to Buckminster Fuller and cocreator 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 overdue for the restoration of the “M” that was dropped in the late 1970s, but it will urgently need broad unclassified intelligence support to be effective in supporting the President.

The second fact is that members of 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 While others have made this observation, they have not factored in both

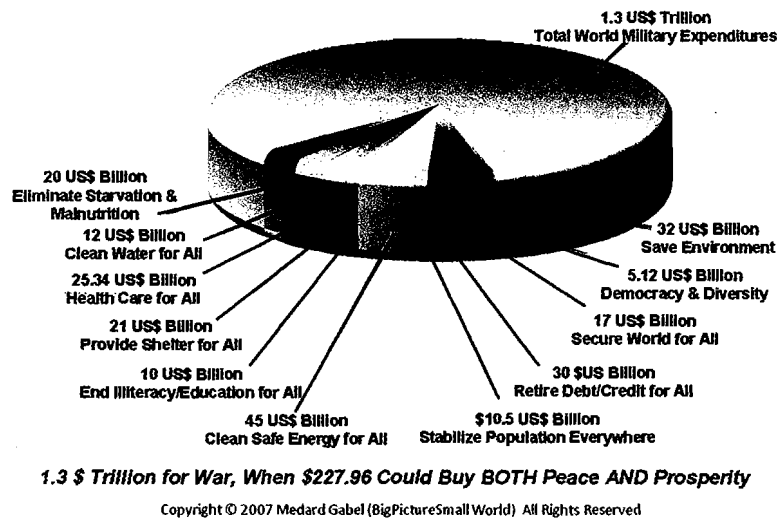


Figure 1. Relative Cost of War Today versus Peace in Near-Term.

the importance of having access to and respect for all information in all languages all the time. They remain largely in a unilateral militarist mindset, and not truly open to multinational operations, and especially to 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 I 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, each of which is known as a “Fog Fact,”⁸ which is to say that it is known, but not acknowledged. This is not to be confused with “Lost History,”⁹ where officials lie to one another as well as the public, or with “Missing Information,” where fiction in all its forms is allowed to drown out reality,¹⁰ a passive form of the more aggressive “Weapons of Mass Deception”¹¹ that “manufactures consent.”¹²

The second and third facts merit emphasis. Notably, 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 mainly concerned about “budget share” constancy and the protection of stake-holder interests, where the stakeholders are those with financial interests, and not with the taxpayers who provide the revenue being spent by politicians and bureaucrats without regard to strategic needs. Congress is in a similar position. It 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, and 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 \$75 billion a year, yet failing to inform anyone other than the President and top commanders and, even there, failing to provide more than four percent “at best” of their command information, according to General Tony Zinni, USMC (Ret.). He has claimed 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 its leaders create a strategic analytic model that can

connect dots to dots, dots to people, and people to people. Leaders and strategists need to be able to show all eight of the major demographic challengers how to achieve their legitimate and righteous aspirations without repeating more than two hundred years of Western depletion of nonrenewable resources and the poisoning of all else.¹⁵

The sixth and final fact is that apart from peace being cheaper than war (the first fact), plenty of money is being spent against the ten high-level threats to humanity.¹⁶ But 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 worldwide, and to then meet those needs. Such an architecture is especially needed because 80 percent 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 scattershot manner. Using public intelligence to combine corporate investments with social investments and local commitments to stability is Earth-changing.

These six facts can be addressed by a very straightforward mix of reinventing the White House, reinventing intelligence,¹⁸ and reinventing the concept of national security.

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

FIXING THE WHITE HOUSE

Because my book, *On Intelligence: Spies and Secrecy in an Open World*¹⁹ has an entire chapter on this, I will list only 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 coequal to the Deputy Vice Presidents and able to connect the President to all the facts, all the opinions, without bias or deception.²¹ [Some may be shocked, 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 overdue 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 changes, move money, and start the process of creating a Smart Nation, is within the U.S.

Intelligence Community. Fixing intelligence is how the President can get 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.²³ The Government 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 only the honesty and completeness of decision-support to the President and all Cabinet members (and their subordinate assistant secretaries and action officers) can call into question the current “heavy metal” military that is optimized for ten percent of the real-world threat, while also illuminating better investments across the whole of government.²⁴

Illustrated, Figure 2 is what I think the White House needs to look like.

As a student of strategy most of my adult life, beginning with a graduate thesis on predicting and controlling revolution in all its forms, and culminating with a decade of reflections for the U.S. Army Strategic Studies Institute, reinforced with deep reading across eighty-five nonfiction categories,²⁵ I continue to be shaken with disbelief at the disconnect between the politicians and senior government officials who hold power, and the experts with deep knowledge.²⁶ Figure 3 is my own construct of what a presidential strategic capability should look like.

In the twenty years since I began the ongoing Open Source Intelligence (OSINT) revolution, and my attempt to reinvent the U.S. Intelligence Community, I have had the privilege of interacting directly with 7,500 mid-career officers who today supervise over 25,000 practitioners of the “new craft of intelligence.”²⁷ Over that time, 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 Intelligence Community believes it is in the business of gathering “secrets for the President.”

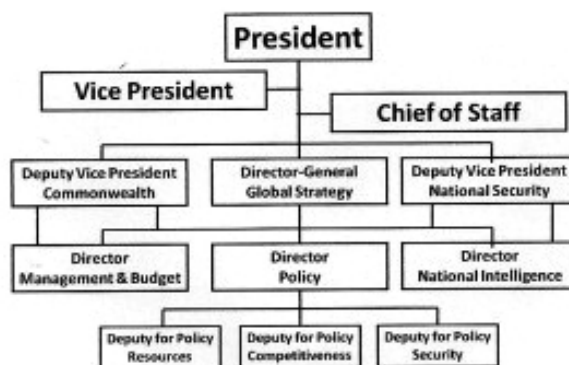


Figure 2. Assuring Effective Strategic Presidential Leadership.

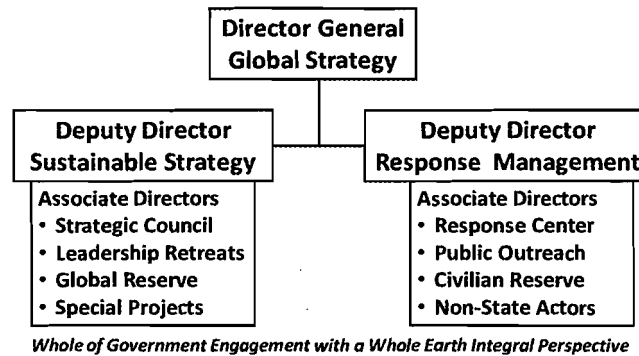


Figure 3. Office of Global Strategy.

2. Governments are the beneficiaries of public sources and methods of intelligence, not the leaders, and certainly not the benefactors. The bulk of what needs to be known is already known to eight different “tribes” of intelligence,²⁸ each with global, regional, national, provincial, and local levels. The nation continues to be “severely deficient” in accessing and exploiting open sources of information in 183 languages most Americans do not understand.²⁹

My own work has suggested that the U.S. leadership operates on two percent of the relevant information.³⁰ To understate the degree of ignorance that characterizes decisionmaking in Washington, D.C. is not possible. “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 that 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

Figure 4 provides a simple matrix representing the three interlocking dimensions of strategic statecraft, followed by an illustration of how all ten threats must be continuously evaluated in relation to all twelve policies.³³

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 domestic U.S. circumstances and costs with foreign circumstances and costs. “Secrets for the President” will no longer do. The President—and everyone else—must be provided with decision support on all national

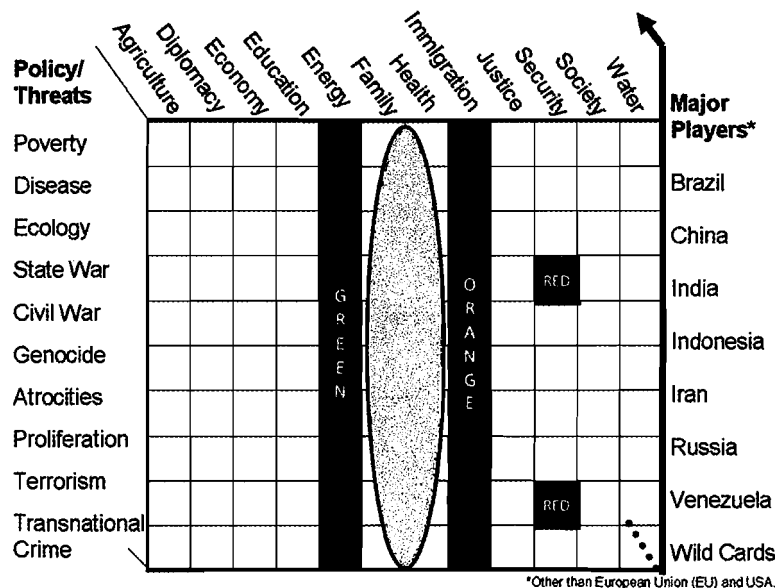


Figure 4. Strategic Analytic Matrix.

topics all the time, and most of it *must* be suitable for sharing without restriction.

Figure 5 is a different way of depicting the urgency of understanding all ten threats in relation to one another and to all twelve 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, using water the nation cannot afford to grow grain that can be eaten, or for fueling cars that should be running on natural gas from Alaska, makes no sense. Because “it is all connected” in reality, it is time to get 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 twenty-first century must be *systemically* informed, devised, and executed.

The most extraordinary benefit that can be derived from fixing national intelligence is financial: information *costs* money while 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. America has been so busy with unilateral militarism that it has failed to realize that, for a fraction of the cost in blood, treasure, and spirit, it could be leading everyone else in creating a prosperous world at peace.³⁴ I conclude this article with one specific earth-changing idea easy

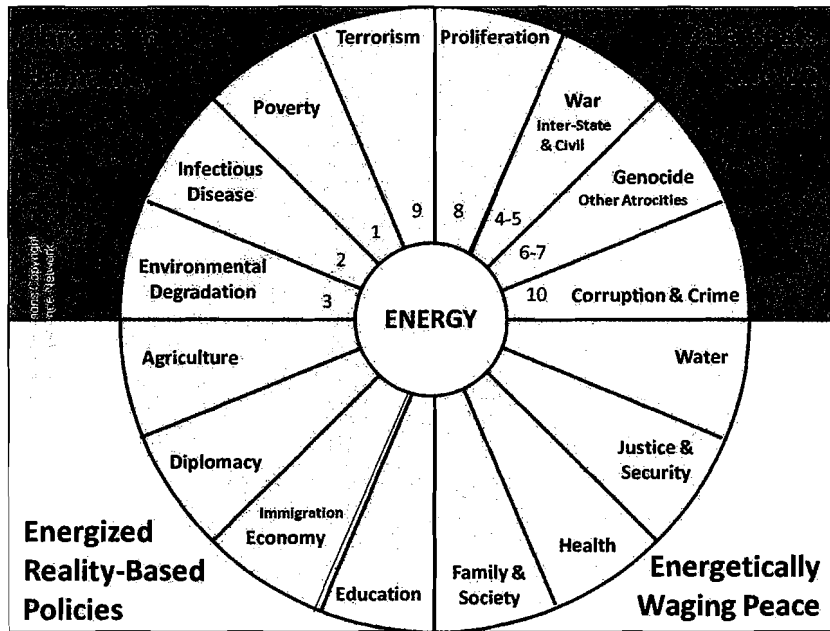


Figure 5. Model for Understanding Each Factor in Relation to All Others.

for President Barack Obama to approve, and DNI Dennis Blair to fund and implement.

Figure 6 illustrates my recommendation as to how the DNI can restructure the U.S. Intelligence Community.

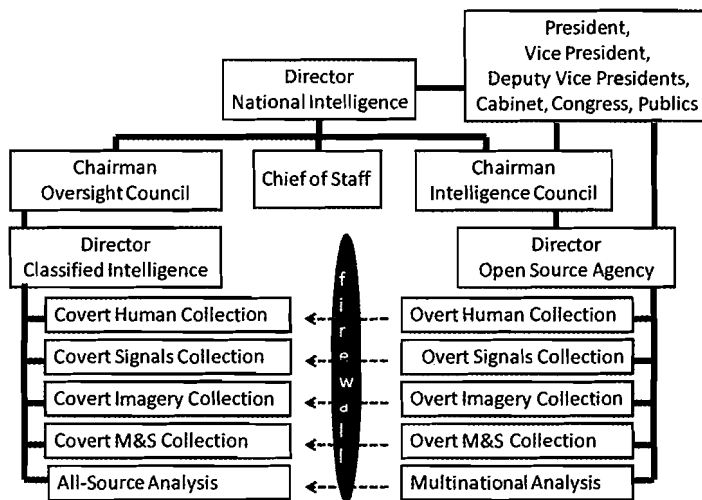


Figure 6. Intelligence for the President AND Everyone Else.

Following is a summary of five specific initiatives the 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 such a unit, as recommended by the 9/11 Commission.³⁵⁻³⁷ 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—i.e., shared information creating wealth. This network would include:
 - 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.** Maj. Gen. Patrick Cammaert, RN NL, elevated to Lt. Gen., 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, preferably, a second U.S. Ambassador could be assigned to that position.
 - c. **Multinational Decision Support Center (MDSC).** This concept was briefed to the leaders of the more than sixty coalition delegations comprising the Coalition Coordination Center (CCC) at the former USCENTCOM.³⁹ The brand-new, fully furnished building they ultimately occupied has today become virtually vacant, and is ideally suited to house the suggested MDSC, with multinational mid-career intelligence analysts instead of logisticians. Figure 7 illustrates how the MDSC would serve as the linchpin for a global public intelligence network that would simultaneously feed the “high side” and empower all of the classified intelligence networks.⁴⁰
2. **Director of Classified Intelligence (DCI).** This long-overdue restoration of status for the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) could easily be done by double-hatting this person as Deputy Director of National Intelligence for Collection Management (DDNI/CM). This would accomplish the following:
 - a. **Centralized Management of All Collection.** Serving as a coequal counterpart 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 DNI’s concurrence. The technical disciplines are currently out of control and do not provide a reasonable return on investment, their claims notwithstanding. The DCI could help the DNI in a major way by consolidating the management staffs of all classified disciplines⁴¹ within the CIA Headquarters building, displacing the analysts.
 - b. **National Processing Agency (NPA).** The National Security Agency (NSA) infrastructure should be enhanced to allow for the fusion of all sources so that information can be integrated, exploited, and made sense of in graphic visualizable time and space pattern analysis and depiction. Dr. Joseph Markowitz pointed out this need in 1994, and the need still exists today.⁴²
3. **National Analytic Network.** The National Intelligence Council, substantially expanded, should receive a hugely expanded mission, that of providing

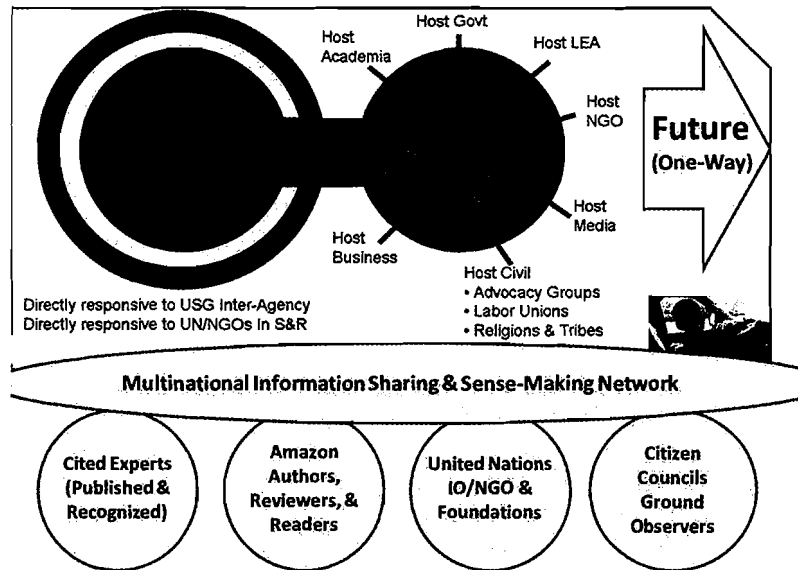


Figure 7. Multi-National Open-Source Decision-Support Network.

intelligence not only for the President, but for everyone, from congressional leaders, to executive consumers, down to the action officer level that is deep and starved for decision-support. Almost immediately, the OSA and MDSC could begin making all of the information they have, and all of the decision-support they create, available to the public that is funding them, thereby impacting on schoolhouses, chambers of commerce, and all elements of civil society, not only in the United States, but all over the world, where shared information can create stabilizing wealth. In this larger construct, eighty percent of the decision-support would be unclassified, and at least sixty percent fully public. The all-source analysts should be moved out of the CIA building at Langley, VA, and into the Taj Majal adjacent to the old Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA). If necessary, room can be made by handpicking a cadre of hundreds of all-source analysts from both the CIA and the DIA, and moving them to Tampa, Florida, to occupy Taj Majal South, the new CENTCOM J-2 building that is apparently down to fifty percent occupancy, if not less, and perhaps also to the Monterey 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 all this in partnership with the OSA would “explode” the degree to which the National Analytic Network could then access unclassified knowledge around the globe. This concept is depicted in Figure 8.

4. **DNI Support to Education and Research.** Since the early 1990s I have championed the need to create a “Smart Nation.”⁴⁴ The harsh reality is that a country 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

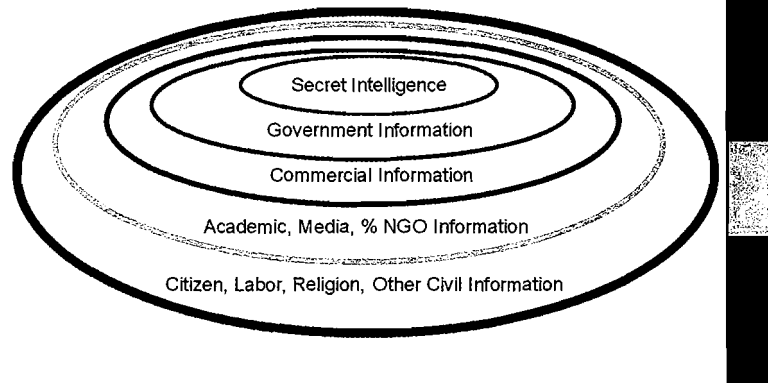


Figure 8. All Information, All Languages, All the Time.

“Whole of Government,” “Whole of Nation” (the eight tribes), and ultimately “Whole of Earth” information, intelligence, knowledge, and wisdom. Eighty percent or more of what the DNI needs to do in the secret world would 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 would 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 the DNI must help to develop desperately needed innovative research to address new solutions for agriculture, energy, health, and water.

5. **Global Range of Needs Table.** 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 1950s Romanian 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

The United States has wandered far afield from the vision of its Founding Fathers’ *A Foreign Policy of Freedom: Peace, Commerce, and Honest Friendship*.⁴⁷ Without debating the fine points, I end with a “grand strategy” formula that would allow the President to once again lead the world toward global security and global prosperity in keeping with America’s values and tradition. Figure 9 illustrates the strategic vision I crafted as a cofounder of the Earth Intelligence Network, a 501(c3) public charity that strives to create public intelligence in the public interest. I respectfully recommend this to

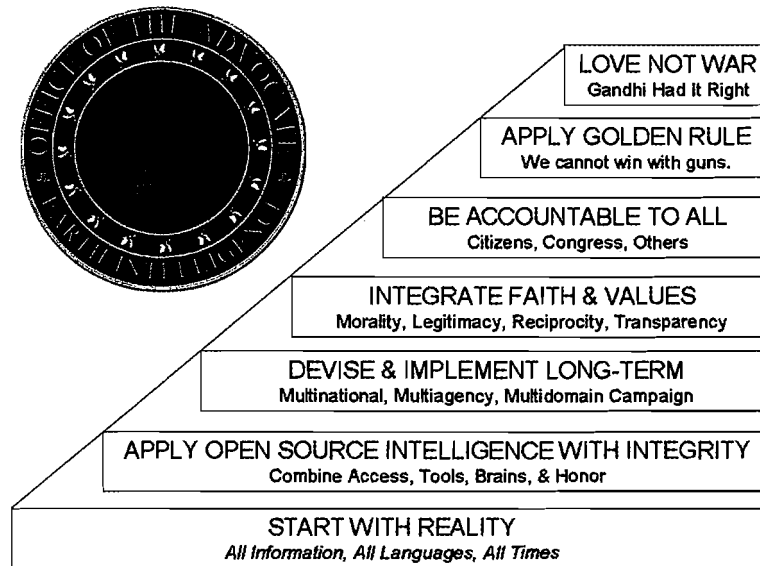


Figure 9. Strategy for Creating a Prosperous World at Peace.

President Obama as a starting point for restoring America's moral standing in the world. As Will and Ariel Durant explained in *Lessons of History*,⁴⁸ morality is a strategic asset of incalculable value.⁴⁹

This is not rocket science. Instead, it merely demands that leaders remember the precise nature of their oath to support the Constitution of the United States of America; that citizens demand that their leaders respect reality and strive to understand the best achievable version of the truth when making decisions, and that everyone behave in a manner consistent with the wisdom that they possess in the aggregate. The nation's collective intelligence is a wisdom that has been suppressed by a very bad system that has subverted the common sense of otherwise good people. Fortunately, leaders now know the "power of the powerless," "a power that governments cannot suppress."⁵⁰ America must have a national strategy that respects global reality, including the raw fact that indigenous peoples, whose knowledge outsiders have disrespected for centuries, actually have a great deal to offer with respect to sustainable coevolution among all species and their habitat.⁵¹

The harsh reality is that changes to the earth that used to take 10,000 years now seem to take only three years—this is the greatest threat to our national security. Nations everywhere have seven years to put a stop to the carbon emissions and global warming trends before the world reaches 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, the United States should be funding \$100 million-a-year water-desalination plants to stop the drawdown 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

On a global scale, and assuming that the DNI has funded the OSA and its subordinate elements as I have recommended, then the single greatest policy, operational, and budgetary initiative the administration 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 proposed Open Source Agency 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 he or she could text a message from a cell phone, identifying a need tagged with a geospatial reference point. Needs would be easily clustered by kind and location, and over time, natural alliances would emerge among individuals and organizations. Figure 10 illustrates this concept as a self-governing construct.

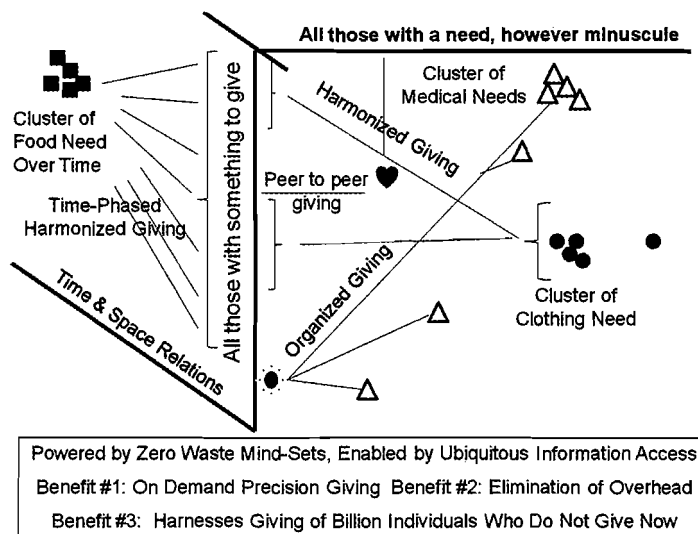


Figure 10. Global Range of Needs and Gifts Table Illustrated.

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 believe the United States can create a Smart Nation, and I know international collaboration can create a prosperous world at peace. The question is: Will the U.S. move in this direction? This is “change” America needs; “change” it can effect. And it is all within the existing authorities of President Obama and DNI Blair.

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- ¹ Alvin Toffler’s *Powershift: Knowledge, Wealth, and Power at the Edge of the 21st Century* (New York: 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* (New York: 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* (Woburn, MA: Butterworth-Heinemann, 1999) and Yochai Benkler, *The Wealth of Networks: How Social Production Transforms Markets and Freedom* (New Haven, CT: 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* (Philadelphia: 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* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2002) and Lester R. Brown, *Plan B 3.0: Mobilizing to Save Civilization, Third Edition* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2008), as well as Lester Brown and the Worldwatch Institute, *State of the World 2008: Toward a Sustainable Global Economy* (New York: 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* (New York: Penguin Non-Classics; Reprint edition, 2008). For the Department of Defense alone, among numerous books I mention just two: Franklin (Chuck) Spinney, *Defense Facts of Life: The Plans/Reality Mismatch* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1985) and Robert Coram, *Boyd: The Fighter Pilot Who Changed the Art of War* (Boston: 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 1990s,” *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* (New York: 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* (New York: Picador, 2005); and Tom Coburn (Senator), *Breach of Trust: How Washington Turns Outsiders Into Insiders* (Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson, 2003).
- ⁸ Larry Beinhart, *Fog Facts: Searching for Truth in the Land of Spin* (New York: Nation Books, 2005).
- ⁹ Robert Parry, *Lost History: Contras, Cocaine, the Press and 'Project Truth'* (New York: Media Consortium, 1999).
- ¹⁰ Bill McKibben, *The Age of Missing Information* (New York: Random House, 2006).
- ¹¹ Sheldon Rampton, *Weapons of Mass Deception: The Uses of Propaganda in Bush's War on Iraq* (New York: Tarcher, 2003).
- ¹² Noam Chomsky and Edward S. Herman, *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media* (New York: 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 K. Johnson, ed., *Strategic Intelligence*, Vol. 2: *Collection* (Westport, CT: 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, available free online at www.phibetaiota.net, I 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, and the Tao of Democracy; Capitalism, Globalization, Peak Oil, and "Free" Trade Run Amok; Collective Intelligence, Power of Us, We Are One, and Wealth of We; Culture of Catastrophe, Cheating, Conflict, and Conspiracy; Deception, Facts, Fog, History (Lost), Knowledge, Learning, and Lies; Democracy in Decline; Emerging and Evolving Threats and Challenges; Failed States, Poverty, Wrongful Leadership, and the Sorrows of Empire; Future of Life, State of the Future, Plan B 3.0; Innovation and 21st Century Leadership; Instruments of National Power Hard and Soft; Intelligence, Decision-Support, and Decision-Making; Internet (Good,

Bad, and Ugly); Philosophy, Psychology, and Religion from Faith to Fascism; Strategy; War, Waste, and 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 the external links are extraordinarily righteous and valuable efforts, but they are all isolated from one another.

¹⁶ Lt. Gen. Dr. Brent Scowcroft, USAF (Ret.) served as the U.S. 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* (New York: 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 that the U.S. 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 percent secret sources and methods. As I have said before, the entire U.S. intelligence and national security system is inside out and upside down—inside out because it persists in seeking unilateral secrets without first finding out what others can tell the U.S.; and upside down because America over emphasizes very expensive and very unrealizable technical collection satellites at the expense of both clandestine and overt human sources on the ground.

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 Robert 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,” David M. Ewalt and Michael Noer, eds., 18 April 2006. Derek Bok wrote the piece on education.

¹⁹ (AFCEA, 2000, OSS, 2001). As with all my books, available free online.

²⁰ My original construct also called for a Deputy Vice President for Education, Intelligence, and Research. 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, the DNI should immediately begin moving increments of secret money over to education and research, not to exceed thirty percent 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*

(New York: 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* (Washington, DC: Heritage Foundation, 2000).

²² Morton Halperin, *Bureaucratic Politics and Foreign Policy* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press; 2nd 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). On 11 September, whatever hit the Pentagon reputedly destroyed all the computers containing all the data needed to investigate the missing 2.3 trillion dollars.

²⁴ This first appeared in “Presidential Leadership and National Security Policymaking,” in Douglas T. Stuart, ed., *Organizing for National Security* (Carlisle, PA: 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* (Carlisle, PA: 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* (Oakton, VA: 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,” especially for Michael O’Hanlon of The Brookings Institution, 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 provide neither 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 twenty-year campaign to reinvent U.S. intelligence can be found at www.oss.net/BASIC. My two books focused on modern reinvented intelligence are *The New Craft of Intelligence: Personal, Public, and Political* (Oakton, VA: 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), nonprofit and nongovernmental 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 U.S. Intelligence Community, published its Report in March 1996. See additional commentary in note 35.

³⁰ *National Security C3, I3, H3: Command, Communications, and Computing; Inter-Agency, Inter-Disciplinary, Inter-Operability; Heuristics of the Community Intelligence Cycle* (Norman, OK: 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
- ³⁴ I 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, 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) did I realize that 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 pp. 23 and 413, where an Open Source Agency was inserted at the last minute as a coequal 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 former Congressman Lee Hamilton (D., IN) 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 DCIs 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 notwithstanding, “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. 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 and CounterIntelligence*, Vol. 19, No. 1, Spring 2006, pp. 187–189. Many other points of view along these lines from hundreds of mid-career professionals are easily found via www.phibetaiota.net
- 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, the action officer for Dr. Stephen Cambone, then–Undersecretary of Defense for Intelligence, 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 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 overturned 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* (Oakton, VA: 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 and reconstruction operations under combat conditions. 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 *MAIS* for a trip report on the peacekeeping intelligence conference in Stockholm in December 2004.
- ³⁹ The briefing as given can be viewed at www.phibetaiota.net. 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. See also two briefings on reinventing intelligence at www.oss.net/HACK
- ⁴⁰ This professional term refers 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 preprocessing load, and if based in Tampa at MacDill AFB, allows for easy upload of all 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 proponentcy, 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 and 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 the Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA) and Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and Secret Service 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 overall collection manager, a HUMINT specialist with multiple technical and inter-agency tours.

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), all visible at www.phibetaiota.net

⁴³ The F Street building previously used for the Intelligence Community Staff (ICS) should be repossessed 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 who gave it over to the General Services Administration (GSA) had no right to do so. 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 and 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 1990s: 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 attention to Kevin O’Keefe, *The Average American: The Extraordinary Search for the Nation’s Most Ordinary Citizen* (New York: 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.

⁴⁷ This is the title of a book by Congressman Ron Paul (R., TX). See also his *The Revolution: A Manifesto* (New York: Grand Central Publishing, 2008), and his many other books (which are generally collections of his remarks in Congress).

⁴⁸ Will and Ariel Durant, *The Lessons of History* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1968).

⁴⁹ The other major variable, one we cannot restore, is time. Cf. Colin Gray, *Modern Strategy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999). We have, in my judgment, wasted forty years from 1975, when the Senate and White House were first briefed by both the 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.

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

⁵¹ Charles C. Mann, *1491: New Revelations of the Americas Before Columbus* (New York: Vintage, 2006). “Co-Evolution” is a term I learned from Stewart Brand, founding editor of the *Co-Evolution Quarterly* and author of *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 seventh floor at the CIA, the verdict articulated by Sandra Cruzman (RIP) was: “This confirms Steele’s place on the lunatic fringe.” The CIA is still in denial, as are the other secret agencies. A complete set of the most important *Whole Earth Review* 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 online at the OSS Website.

BOOK REVIEWS

Stalin's Fifth Column

BENJAMIN B. FISCHER

John Earl Haynes, Harvey Klehr, and Alexander Vassiliev: *Spies: The Rise and Fall of the KGB in America*

Yale University Press, New Haven, CT and London, 2009, 650 p., \$35.00.

Spies is a massive and heavily documented account of Soviet espionage in the United States from 1933 to circa 1950. It is based largely, though not exclusively, on information from the horse's mouth, as it were, in the form of notes transcribed from official KGB records.¹ The book is the culmination of John Earl Haynes's and Harvey Klehr's prodigious effort in three previous volumes to document not only the scope and magnitude of KGB operations but also the spy agency's substantial dependence on the Communist Party of the United States of America (CPUSA) for agents and assistance.² In their first collaborative effort, in 1995, Haynes and Klehr concluded

that few American Communists had spied for the USSR. But reading *Spies*, in conjunction with their subsequent publications, shows how far they have come, and how far the new evidence has taken them in their reassessment.

SOURCES, METHODS, BONA FIDES

Most of the new evidence comes from eight notebooks comprising 1,115 pages of handwritten notes made by their Russian coauthor Alexander Vassiliev. A former KGB foreign intelligence officer turned journalist, Vassiliev was granted unprecedented access to the KGB archives during 1994-1996 as part of an ultimately unsuccessful dollars-for-files

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