The American National Security Consciousness, Culture and State:

Can Other Media Provide a Credible, Alternative Narrative that Matters?

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Synopsis

A National Security Consciousness is firmly implanted in the psyche of the United States of America. Consequently, a National Security Culture and State has emerged as the defining characteristic of America in the early part of the 21st Century. This development was nearly a century in the making proceeding in fits and starts from the second decade of the 20th Century until the insurgent attacks of September 11, 2001 on New York City and Arlington, Virginia. Following that event, Whole of Government, Whole of Society strategies, tactics and operations were initiated to mobilize all of America's Instruments of National Power to secure its Homeland. The American public has sanctioned this vision and mission. Behind the veil of the National Security Consciousness, Culture and State is the engine that powers the United States: American Capitalism with all its creative beauty and terrible destruction, and cyclic crises that capitalism demands.

At the helm of the mighty American National Security machine are Four Controlling Domains, one of which is Big Media (a subset of the Corporate Domain). Through Big Media, and with the other Controlling Domains' inputs, the consciousness of the American public has been shaped for acceptance of this new national security paradigm and existence within it. The American people have legitimized this reality through the electoral process.

The process leading to the American National Security Consciousness, Culture, and State was not the result of a conspiratorial process. The transition to the national security reality was openly discussed by the Four Controlling Domains via Big Media. America's brand of Capitalism--varnished with messianic myths and language—made it all inevitable.

Other Media's task is to offer a credible alternative to the controlling national security narrative. At the very least, *Other Media* must provide a challenge.

In Part I of this paper the development of the National Security Consciousness, State and Culture is traced back to the early part of the 20th Century. Part II and Appendix A offers information that is useful and arguably necessary in the analyses of media and culture (and its emergent properties). It maintains that Evolutionary Theory must be employed as a foundation for the study of human interactions that give rise to politics and every other human interaction. Part III provides a case study: *Other Media and the US Army's Human Terrain System, 1.0*. The case study supports central themes within the paper.

Importance of Internet, World Wide Web based Journalism

McChesney's solution to the upheavals in the US mainstream media is to ask the "public" to subsidize a "new system of independent journalism." Wall Street and the US Government (an insignificant distinction it seems) are doing just that for the financial services industry. If McChesney's suggestion was adopted to save American journalism (it does not need saving) the rich and powerful would still shape the consciousness of the American public.

There is a revolution in journalism taking place and it's taken right from the play book of the American Revolution. Jefferson would be quite proud of it, I think. Electronic pamphleteers—call them blogs, independent media sites, print-on-demand publishers, trade publications—are pushing opinions and stories, getting factual local to global news out to the public, and generating interest in subject matter; many times controversial, that the national and local media elites ignore.

Their efforts may not be the caliber of Paine's Common Sense or the Federalist Papers, and the writing and editing may be a bit raw, but it's journalism nonetheless undertaken with a passion and without a phalanx of lawyers, shareholders, talking heads and media celebrity groupies. They operate largely through self-subsidy, barter and donations. Moreover, "sufficient journalism" (McChesney leaves this undefined) in the young age of the Internet and World Wide Web does not require journalism school, associations of journalists and other organizations that make for today's established journalism. In short, the blessing of the old school is not required.

The Internet and World Wide Web--and the access they provide to think tanks, governments, corporations, data and trade publications--has freed individuals and publics around the globe from the need to rely on the journalistic equivalent of an interpreter. For example, if interested parties want to know something about the US defense budget, they can access the gritty details from US government websites and watchdog groups or find contact emails for specialists at various think tanks/trade publications. Who on earth really needs a paper newspaper from which ink bleeds onto the hands requiring a hand washing?

It is an opportune time for people the world over—and the American public--to continue to use/develop Internet and World Wide Web era journalism tools to wean themselves off the products of lumbering media organizations that see themselves not as monitors of local-state-global governments/corporations, but as equivalent to them. [1]

Part I: Development of the American National Security Culture

In 1922, Leon Trotsky had this to say about the United States of America: *"Nobody believes at present…in the inviolability of frontiers or the stability of regimes…The US progressively gobbles up the*

[1] John Stanton's response to media critic Robert W. McChesney's, The Death and Life of American Journalism, October 2009, Fifth Estate. McChesney is the author of several books on media and politics and professor of communication at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

shares which will give her control of the human race; assuredly, a great undertaking, but a risky one. The Americans will not be long in convincing themselves of it. This American pacifist program of putting the whole world under her control is not at all a program of peace; on the contrary, it is pregnant with wars, and with the greatest revolutionary convulsions. It is not very likely that the bourgeoisie of all countries will consent to be shoved into the background, to become vassals of America without at least trying to resist. The contradictions are too great, the appetites are too monstrous, the urge to preserve old ruler-ship is too great, the habits of world domination are too powerful…Military conflicts are inevitable. The era of pacifist Americanism that seems to be opening up at this time is only a preparation for new wars of unprecedented scope and unimaginable monstrosity."[2]

89 years later in 2011, history appears to have looked favorably on Trotsky's foresight.

Later on in 1926, Trotsky would make these observations.

"The world struggle for oil between England and America has already led to revolutionary shocks and military clashes in Mexico, Turkey, and Persia. But tomorrow's newspapers will perhaps inform us that England and America have arrived at a peaceful collaboration in the domain of oil. What will this mean? It will mean an oil conference in Washington. In other words, England will be invited to take a more modest ration of oil…The United States, you see, lacks many things of which others have no lack. In this connection American newspapers have published a map showing the distribution of raw materials over the whole globe. They now talk and think in terms of whole continents...

Americans think in terms of continents: it simplifies the study of geography, and, what is most important, it provides ample room for robbery. And so, American newspapers have published a map of the world with ten black spots on it, the ten major deficiencies of the US economy in raw materials: rubber, coffee, nitrates, tin, potash, sisal and other less important raw materials…But American capitalism is no longer self-sufficing. It cannot maintain itself on an internal equilibrium. It needs world equilibrium…In military art there is a saying that whoever moves into the enemy's rear in order to cut off, is often cut off himself. In economy something analogous takes place: the more the United States puts the whole world under its dependence, all the more does it become dependent upon the whole world, with all its contradictions and threatening upheavals.

Already today, revolution in Europe means convulsions in Wall Street; tomorrow, when the investments of American capital in European economy have increased, it will mean a profound upheaval…In order to maintain its internal equilibrium the United States requires a larger and larger outlet abroad; but its outlet abroad introduces into its economic order more and more elements of European and Asiatic disorder…We know that when its own skin is at stake, American capitalism will unleash the fiercest energy in the struggle. It is quite possible that all that books and our own experience have taught us

[2] Leon Trotsky, Europe and America (Part 1), (February 1924), www.marxists.org

about the fight of the privileged classes for their domination will pale before the violence that American capital will try to inflict…"[3]

A Perilous Problem

According to President Dwight David Eisenhower, *"The problem in defense is how far you can go without destroying from within what you are trying to defend from without*."[4]

American history has shown that since the second decade of the 20th Century American civilian and military leaders have failed to develop a formula for resolving Eisenhower's security dilemma. Rather, they have consistently embraced and executed policies and practices that have taken the country to the end of the road and off the cliff into the *National Security Consciousness, Culture and State*. In the process, and as a consequence of this, the metaphysical ideal of the United States has been laid bare and is nearly destroyed. On the other hand the American capitalist machinery--fueled by the national security apparatus--continues to digest, absorb, eliminate and recycle people, places and things with the nightmarish beauty that capitalism demands. The resources required to sustain the *American Way of Life* have been taken, as Trotsky pointed out, from the stores of other nations sometimes with their consent, but more often without it.

Americans have created their national security reality through a combination of reflexive, guttural strategies and tactics executed by civilian and military leadership (for example, opportunistic use of 911 to invade Iraq and restrict civil liberties in the US Homeland); ad hoc governance by powerful economic interests though America's two major parties (Democrats and Republicans); American ignorance of The Other's history and culture (*Zbigniew Brzezinski: "Most Americans are close to total ignorance about the world. They are ignorant*."[5]); tolerance of economic disparity, torture and war; civilian leadership's creation of an *American Military Theology* in which none dare challenge the sanctity of the military profession or its salary and benefit structure; and the cycles of perpetual crisis--and creative and destructive practices—that capitalism demands.

Americans have reached back into the 20th Century and enlists Cold War strategies and tactics used against the once mighty Soviet Union (has the Cold War really ended?). Those methods are employed in the 21st Century's War on Terror with the difference being that the military might of America is marshaled against demons who are a rag tag group called Al Qaeda, eco-terrorists, or drug lords and criminals. Neutralizing these adversaries was once the province of civilian law enforcement/judiciary.

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[3] Leon Trotsky, Europe and America (Part 2), (February 1924), www.marxists.org

[4] 50 years after the 'military-industrial complex,' what Eisenhower really meant, Susan Eisenhower, Washington Post, January 14, 2011

[5] Spokespersons of US Right 'In Most Cases Stunningly Ignorant: 'http://www.spiegel.de/international/world/0,1518,733079,00.html

At the height of the Cold War, the US Air Force's Strategic Air Command stated that *Peace is Our Profession*. In the 21st Century all branches of the US military and intelligence community have direct involvement in Peace and Stability Operations around the globe and in the US Homeland (weather events, gangs, drugs, insurgent attacks). This pathology comes from choosing obsessive security over risky freedom. It is manifested by American politicians and their staffs in Congress and the White House who fill the coffers of the national security machinery at the expense of civilian departments and agencies that might secure the nation from economic disaster and; using diplomacy and aid money, more explosive conflicts.

"The militarization of aid in conflict is now a reality and is likely to exponentially to increase in the future…the military has found itself forced to blur conventional distinctions by taking the place of aid agencies.."[6]

Militarization Catalyzes the Development of the American National Security Culture

"This new American militarism manifests itself in several different ways. It does so, first of all, in the scope, cost, and configuration of America's present-day military establishment…for the Department of Defense and all of its constituent parts, defense per se figures as little more than an afterthought. The primary mission of America's far-flung military establishment is global power projection, a reality tacitly understood in all quarters of American society. To suggest that the U.S. military has become the world's police force may slightly overstate the case, but only slightly… Even apart from fighting wars and pursuing terrorists, U.S. forces are constantly prowling around the globe -- training, exercising, planning, and posturing – [and this] elicits no more notice (and in some cases less) from the average American than the presence of a cop on a city street corner. Even before the Pentagon officially assigned itself the mission of "shaping" the international environment, members of the political elite, liberals and conservatives alike, had reached a common understanding that scattering U.S. troops around the globe to restrain, inspire, influence, persuade, or cajole paid dividends….

The new American militarism also manifests itself through an increased propensity to use force, leading, in effect, to the normalization of war… The American public's ready acceptance of the prospect of war without foreseeable end and of a policy that abandons even the pretense of the United States fighting defensively or viewing war as a last resort shows clearly how far the process of militarization has advanced… Reinforcing this heightened predilection for arms has been the appearance in recent years of a new aesthetic of war. This is the third indication of advancing militarism… In public life today, paying homage to those in uniform has become obligatory and the one unforgivable sin is to be found guilty of failing to 'support the troops'…Thus has the condition that worried C. Wright Mills in 1956 come to pass in our own day. "For the first time in the nation's history," Mills wrote, "men in authority are talking about an 'emergency' without a foreseeable end." While in earlier times Americans had viewed history as "a peaceful continuum interrupted by war," today planning, preparing, and waging war has become "the

[6] The Soldier Diplomat in Afghanistan and Iraq: http://www.fride.org/publication/654/the-

normal state and seemingly permanent condition of the United States." And "the only accepted 'plan' for peace is the loaded pistol."[7]

In his 2010 National Security Strategy[8], President Barak Obama stated that the security of the United States includes both homeland security and national defense. *Beyond Traditional Distinctions* is how the president described the latest American national security paradigm. In this vision, the security of the country is every citizen's responsibility just as it is the duty of every member of the uniformed services to be an intelligence collector; whether on or off duty, home or abroad. National security now encompasses every aspect of American existence. Agriculture and entertainment industry operations and output, and America's critical infrastructure (for example, telecommunication networks, energy production facilities, roads, bridges and the defense industrial base) are worrisome targets for "terrorists" and must be protected by the national security machinery.[9]

Indeed, the United States remains a *Nation at War* according to President Obama's National Security Strategy because it is involved in overt wars (for example, Iraq, Afghanistan, Libya and Yemen) and many covert wars (for example, Mexico, Bahrain, Iran and Nigeria). The United States remains under the *State of Emergency* declared by President George W. Bush after 911. That emergency state has been renewed each year by President Obama's administration.[10] Ten years after September 11, 2001 with covert and overt, soft and kinetic wars waged by American forces everywhere it seems, the prospects for decades of war long into the 21st Century are certain. Maintaining the war effort; that is to say, American Capitalism and the American Way of Life, means that national security becomes a persistent national obsession minus "peaceful interludes."

The national security consciousness has now been firmly established in the collective consciousness of Americans and its emergent culture and government reflect that development. *"The anniversary of history's deadliest attack of international terrorism and a spate of natural disasters reminds us that America's security and resilience work is never finished. While we are safer, stronger, and better*

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7 The New American Militarism: How Americans Are Seduced by War, Andrew J. Bacevich, Oxford University Press, USA; 1st edition (April 1, 2005)

8 National Security Strategy, The White House, February 2010

9 See Critical Infrastructure in See Conclusion in National Preparedness Goal, September 2011, Department of Homeland Security: http://www.fema.gov/pdf/prepared/npg.pdf

10 NOTIFICATION THAT THE NATIONAL EMERGENCY DECLARED WITH RESPECT TO PERSONS WHO COMMIT, THREATEN TO COMMIT, OR SUPPORT TERRORISM IS TO CONTINUE IN EFFECT BEYOND SEPTEMBER 23, 2011, PURSUANT TO 50 U.S.C. 1622(d): http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/CDOC-112hdoc57/pdf/CDOC-112hdoc57.pdf

prepared than a decade ago, we remain resolute in our commitment to safeguard the Nation against the greatest risks it faces, now and for decades to come."[11]

The United States has used violent military force 150 times over the past 121 years on minute and massive scales.[12] Since Wounded Knee in 1890, the United States has relied on its national security machinery to pursue its messianic vision of American capitalism and Exceptionalism heavily sugar coated in the airy language of pacifism, peace and prosperity.

The American historical narrative includes national security operations against Native American populations as well as the suppression of union and labor protests. Around the globe the United States has engineered the overthrow of freely elected governments (in Iran and Chile, for example), summarily executed suspected terrorists and criminals in foreign lands (Bin Laden, for example), and waged two global mechanized wars (World War I and II). Every one of these actions has been air brushed with the language of religion, freedom and democracy.

Big Media, as Trotsky pointed out above (Big Media in his day being newspapers), has long been a tool used by America's civilian and military leaders to ignite emotions of both bravado and insecurity in the public consciousness.

In 1940 President Franklin Roosevelt's *National Security Speech*—transmitted via radio--was a historic oration aimed at garnering support for America's entry into World War II. Roosevelt painted a vivid and fearful picture of the threats posed by the Axis Powers for the American public (he made a similar speech many years earlier on America's domestic banking crisis and the Great Depression).

"*This is not a fireside chat on war. It is a talk on national security; because the nub of the whole purpose of your President is to keep you now, and your children later, and your grandchildren much later, out of a last-ditch war for the preservation of American independence, and all of the things that American independence means to you and to me and to ours.*

Tonight, in the presence of a world crisis, my mind goes back eight years to a night in the midst of a domestic crisis. It was a time when the wheels of American industry were grinding to a full stop, when the whole banking system of our country had ceased to function. I well remember that while I sat in my study in the White House, preparing to talk with the people of the United States, I had before my eyes the picture of all those Americans with whom I was talking. I saw the workmen in the mills, the mines, the factories, the girl behind the counter, the small shopkeeper, the farmer doing his spring plowing, the widows and the old men wondering about their life's savings. I tried to convey to the great mass of American people what the banking crisis meant to them in their daily lives.

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[11] See Conclusion in National Preparedness Goal, September 2011, Department of Homeland Security: http://www.fema.gov/pdf/prepared/npg.pdf

[12] From Wounded Knee to Libya: A Century of US Military Interventions: http://academic.evergreen.edu/g/grossmaz/interventions.html

Tonight, I want to do the same thing, with the same people, in this new crisis which faces America. We met the issue of 1933 with courage and realism. We face this new crisis, this new threat to the security of our nation, with the same courage and realism. Never before since Jamestown and Plymouth Rock has our American civilization been in such danger as now. For on September 27th, 1940 -- this year -- by an agreement signed in Berlin, three powerful nations, two in Europe and one in Asia, joined themselves together in the threat that if the United States of America interfered with or blocked the expansion program of these three nations -- a program aimed at world control -- they would unite in ultimate action against the United States… Let us no longer blind ourselves to the undeniable fact that the evil forces which have crushed and undermined and corrupted so many others are already within our own gates. Your government knows much about them and every day is ferreting them out…" [13]

Securing the Planet for the American Homeland

The United States has 865 military bases of varying sizes across the entire planet.[14] American military personnel are regularly deified by American political leaders even though securing the homeland largely falls to civilian public safety officials who keep the peace in local neighborhoods and salvage lives. Yevgeny Zamyatin's novel We[15] fairly describes the American landscape and consciousness in 2011: a place where liberty and individuality has been sacrificed for security and homogeneity; a place where terrorist threats exist on footpaths and in hallways according to those who design and invigorate the national security narrative; a place where communication is devoid of emotion, where language has been replaced by numbing, emotionless numbers.

The *American National Security Consciousness, Culture and State* requires perpetual soft and kinetic war on people, places, things, and disruptive dissent. The War in Iraq, The War in Afghanistan, the War in Libya, The War on Drugs, and The War on Terror and Criminal Networks continue on. And next generation wars are being advocated by civilian and military officials on Iran, Pakistan and Mexico. Through America's Foreign Internal Defense Program American special operations units--and contractors--operate in a variety of covert capacities in over 63 countries.[16]

Americans are encouraged to join with military and public safety officials in a *Whole of Government, All of Nation* national security missions[17]. They are all foot soldiers now. They are armed with terrorist tip

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[13] Franklin Delano Roosevelt, The Great Arsenal of Democracy, delivered via radio transmission, December 29, 1940

[14] http://www.thenation.com/blog/161378/around-globe-us-military-bases-generate-resentment-not-security

[15] http://ieet.org/index.php/IEET/more/4692

[16] Foreign Internal Defense: http://www.dtic.mil/doctrine/new_pubs/jp3_22.pdf

[17] See for example the Interagency Counterinsurgency Guide. Note the logo: All of Government, All of Society. http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/119629.pdf

line telephone numbers memorized from flashing signs on the nation's interstate highways; web-links to the children's sections of the Department of Homeland Security and the Central Intelligence Agency; home emergency plans for every sort of threat; and data on the flight test progress of Lockheed Martin's F-35 II Thunderbolt. As Bacevich stated earlier, "*The American public's ready acceptance of the prospect of war without foreseeable end and of a policy that abandons even the pretense of the United States fighting defensively or viewing war as a last resort shows clearly how far the process of militarization has advanced…"*

Americans tune in to the yearly Academy Awards and the National Football League's Super Bowl and wonder if those events might be the venues for the inevitable insurgent reprisal. Such is the security consciousness of Americans in 2011. Not to worry though, they both are designated National Special Security Events by the Department of Homeland Security and defended as such.

Shaping the American Consciousness: Four Controlling Domains

Big Media (primarily, but not limited to, the New York Times, Washington Post, Wall Street Journal, ABC, CNN, CBS, NBC, Time Magazine and subsidiary corporate outlets[18]) blankets the mind with visuals, signs, news and information on death and destruction taking place Afghanistan, Iraq, Pakistan, Yemen, North Africa, Mexico, and America's urban centers. The tone and temper of those carnage filled television broadcasts are the same ones used to announce a combat sporting event like a National Football League game, The Casey Anthony Trial, or Championship Wrestling. *Carnage Reporting* techniques are called upon to broadcast the activities of Wall Street; inform on the activity of the three branches of the American government as they debate legislation, law, budgets, and party ideology; ponder the fate of the American people, or discuss the oncoming weather event/storm.

The language used by corporations and the national security community dominates the American lexicon. Language has been drained of emotion and has been collaterally damaged by decades of war and violence and the linguistic gymnastics by *Big Media* to justify it all. Words like assassination, torture, unemployment, homelessness, sorry, or the American People are no longer catalysts for the emotions that ignite feelings of horror or care.

This is a natural state of affairs in a culture in which *Big Media* is owned by corporations who are at the core of the *National Security Consciousness, Culture and State* pushing its theme and profiting mightily from it. They sell information packaged as news; product advertisements; *Whole of Government, Whole of Nation* campaigns (war, counterinsurgency and bank rescue schemes); or entertainment (military and intelligence agency approved scripts/films). Although *Big Media* is part of the *Corporate Controlling Domain* it serves as the conduit through which the American Government Domain (Civil and Military); the Corporate Domain (Defense and Commercial—includes Big Media); the Academic Domain (Universities and Think Tanks); and the Nonprofit Domain (Associations and Institutes shape the public's

[18] Who Owns What: http://www.cjr.org/resources/

consciousness. Big Media also serves as a space in which the *Four Controlling Domains* communicate, cooperate and compete with each other.

From the *national security practitioner's perspective,* Big Media is at once a tool and risky battle-space. Big Media, the Internet and the World Wide Web are viewed as physical battlegrounds by the national security community.

Joint National Security Strategies, operations and tactics have been designed and promoted across the *Four Controlling Domains* and articulated through Big Media in the past. But at no time in American history have the actors in the *Four Controlling Domains* worked so closely together for so long to secure the *American Way of Life.*

Certainly communications and monitoring technologies, specifically the Internet and World Wide Web, have empowered individuals and groups (*Other Media*) to offer alternative narratives. But the same technologies have enabled, to an unprecedented degree, the centralization and dominance of cultural, political, military and economic power in the hands of those at the pinnacles of the *Four Controlling Domains*; for example, the President and Commander in Chief of the United States, the Secretary of Defense, and the mammoth machinery of the US Department of Defense and the Geographic Combatant Commanders.[19]

Oddly, the Combatant Commands structure reinforces Trotsky's comment earlier that Americans are fond of viewing the world as continents. The newest continent to be contested is the Cyber Continent which is now the province of United States Cyber Command. American interests will be defended and promoted on the Cyber Continent with assistance from telecommunications enterprises (Verizon, for example) and major American defense contractors (Lockheed Martin and Northrop Grumman for example).[20]

In the face of all this, the impact that Other Media--and the idealists promoting its potential influence--can have on reshaping the American National Security Consciousness, Culture and State seems hopelessly unrealistic (*Other Media* for this paper is defined as domestic and foreign media platforms such as Pravda, Cryptome, Sri Lanka Guardian, Antiwar, Wikileaks, Xinhua, Press TV, Russia Today, Al Manar, Counterpunch, Common Dreams, and Public Intelligence. Other Media also includes those platforms considered force multipliers for the national security community's message; for example, the Right Links listing of Conservative and Patriotic websites[21]).

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[19] Unified Command Plan: http://www.defense.gov/home/features/2009/0109_unifiedcommand/

[20] National Security Telecommunications Advisory Committee: http://www.ncs.gov/nstac/nstac_members.html

[21] The Right Links: Project of the American Conservative Caucus: http://www.conservativeusa.org/ritelink.htm

Just as the dominant political parties in America (Republicans and Democrats) limit political expression and possibilities, so too will the *Four Controlling Domains* monitor and inhibit the counter-narratives that *Other Media* offers. Dominance of the Cyber Continent will be achieved by adopting cyber strategies, tactics and operations similar in form and practice to those employed since the early 20th Century.

The *Four Controlling Domains* will work together as a Joint Force more closely in the coming years.

Joint Force

The *Joint Force* is well underway.

"The joint force should develop frameworks and mechanisms with academia, business and industry, NGOs and other US Government agencies to enable the identification and analysis of the appropriate leading indicators that measure the effectiveness of developmental, governance, and security activities in an Irregular Warfare environment…It will institutionalize frameworks capable of directing integrated civilian military action on a regional and global scale. Such efforts to improve our whole-of-government approach will lay a strong foundation for a broader comprehensive approach, which integrates the USG effort with multinational, nongovernmental, intergovernmental, and private sector partners who share common goals.

In the 21st century's complex operating environment, adaptive adversaries present irregular threats that seriously challenge military only responses in what are essentially contests for influence and legitimacy. Irregular threats including terrorists, insurgents, and criminal networks are enmeshed in the population and are increasingly empowered by astute use of communications, cyberspace, and technology to extend their reach regionally and globally. Subversion and terrorism are not readily countered by military means alone, just as legitimacy and influence cannot be achieved solely by rapid, decisive application of military power. Since the problem is not purely a military one, the approach is also not purely military. Due to the nature of these complex and amorphous threats, these contests are unlikely to end with decisive military victory. Success will more often be defined by long-term involvement to remedy, reduce, manage, or mitigate the conflict and its causes. The joint force thus must find multidimensional approaches in tandem with other partners to solve them, when directed by the President to do so." [22]

The US Department of Justice FY 2012 Budget included a request for $128.6 million and 170 positions in program increases to purchase essential technological and human capital to detect, disrupt, and deter threats to US national security. "*Defending national security from both internal and external threats remains the [Department's] highest priority. National security threats are constantly evolving and adapting, requiring additional resources to address new critical areas. Increasing global access to*

[22] Irregular Warfare: Countering Irregular Threats, Joint Operating Concept, Version 2.0, May 17, 2010

technological advancements results in new vulnerabilities that must be addressed [and] technological and human capital [is needed] to detect, disrupt, and deter threats to our national security."[23]

Secretary of Defense Leon Panetta echoed that view. "*In the post-September 11th era, there have been significant benefits due to increased unity of effort and interagency cooperation. Civilian-military collaboration has improved and our military commanders expect to operate in a coordinated and joint, multi-service environment. Diplomats, development experts, intelligence analysts, and law enforcement must work together in today's complex operations."*[24]

According to the Pentagon's National Military Strategy of the United States, 2011, "*There are no more vital interests than the security of the American people, our territory, and our way of life... Military power complements economic development, governance, and rule of law - the true bedrocks of counterterrorism efforts...We will defend the homeland and play a critical role in supporting homeland security..."*[25]

The new *Joint Force, an All of Government, All of Nation effort, is a powerful catalyst for the creation and sustainment of the American National Security Consciousness, Culture and State*. The American people, through the electoral process, have voted time and again to send political officials to the US Congress and White House who support the new national security paradigm. If this is indeed the will of the American People, to affirm the primacy of obsessive security over risky freedom, then they have legitimized the creation and operation of the National Security Consciousness, Culture and State.

It's good to know what one is up against.

There is real liberation in analyzing and understanding the development, mission, structure and mechanics of the *National Security Consciousness, Culture and State*. Without this knowledge existing and communicating with impact in the national security system is not possible, particularly if one hopes to provide an alternative narrative through Other Media platforms.

Instigating change through *Other Media* means that *Absolute Credibility* must be achieved by Other Media Journalists. To create and communicate a credible alternative narrative it is necessary to understand the strategies, tactics, and operations of the dominant (and submissive) groups within the national security culture and geography. This includes an awareness of the threats, risks and consequences of existing and acting as an alternative element either in cyber space or geographic space.

Big Media's centralized structure and its many subsidiaries/alliances through which to capture the American public's attention—and shape its consciousness--makes it extraordinarily difficult for *Other*

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[23] http://www.justice.gov/jmd/2012factsheets/docs/fy12-national-security.pdf

[24] http://armed-services.senate.gov/statemnt/2011/06%20June/Panetta%2006-09-11.pdf

[25] The National Military Strategy of the United States of America, 2011, Redefining America's Military Leadership

Media to break through to the public consciousness so enamored with what the *Four Controlling Domains* offer through Big Media.

Big Media's centralization is its greatest strength. It mirrors the centralized media machine of the former Soviet Union.

"*Hazards of centralized mass media include the following: 1.) A disproportion of power occurs and disproportionate informational power accrues to those who control centralized mass media; arguably, it is inherently undemocratic. 2.) An inability to transmit tacit knowledge; the context of content presented must either be explicitly explained or is assumed to be understood by the receiver. 3.) An inclination to focus on the unusual and sensational to capture the receivers' attention, leading to a distortion and trivialization of reality. 4.) The deliberate promotion of emotions such as anxiety, fear, or greed can be used to sell a particular agenda. 5.) An inability to deal with complex issues because of time and economic constraints leads to simplification, further distorting and trivializing reality*."[26]

[26] FM 3-05.130, US Army Special Operations Forces Unconventional Warfare, 2008

Part II: Analyzing and Understanding the American National Security Consciousness, Culture and State

"Culture Operations actively seek to alter either the behavior or determinants of behavior of indigenous people for tactical and strategic purposes."[27]

Evolutionary Theory is the foundation upon which all fields of study should be built (refer to *Appendix A*: *Framework for Strategic Cultural Analysis*). [28] In order to understand the "fundamental questions related to the communication of messages about events, policies, and identities in international studies,"[29] a study of the human, cultural and geographic ecosystem must be undertaken. This can only be done through the lenses of Evolutionary Theory and Cognitive Neuroscience. Keeping current with the latest developments in these two fields is vitally important to the study of human interactions that are categorized as political or otherwise.

The *Framework for Strategic Cultural Analysis* in Appendix A provides a way of looking at the human, cultural and geographic ecosystem.

Human minds, human behavior, human artifacts and human culture are all biological phenomena aspects of the phenotypes of humans and their relationships with one another. Humans, like every other natural system are embedded in the contingencies of a larger principle of history. Explaining any particular fact about them requires the joint analysis of all principles and contingencies involved. To break this seamless matrix of causation to attempt to dismember the individual into biological versus non-biological aspects is to embrace and perpetuate an ancient dualism endemic to Western cultural tradition: mind/body, biological/social, physical/mental, human/animal, biological/cultural. This dualistic view expresses only a pre-modern version of biology, whose intellectual warrant has vanished.

Evolutionary Psychology has shown that beneath the undeniable fact of cross cultural variation there is a bedrock of human universals: ways of thinking and feeling and behaving that can be seen in all of the cultures documented by ethnography…They number some 300, everything from aesthetics, affection, anthropomorphization, vowel contrasts, weapons, attempts to control weather, and a word for the color white. Our developmental programs as well as the physiological and psychological mechanisms that they reliably construct are the natural product of evolutionary history.[30]

National Security Defined

"This [National Security] strategy calls for a comprehensive range of national actions, and a broad conception of what constitutes our national security. We are now moving beyond traditional distinctions

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[27] United States Marine Corps, BOS8610, Student Handout

[28] Framework for Strategic Cultural Analysis, John Stanton, 2008, briefing at Defence Academy of the UK

[29] ISA-South 2011 Conference Theme: http://www.isanet.org/meetings/isa-south-2011.html#call

[30] See Framework for Strategic Cultural Analysis in Appendix A

between homeland and national security. National security draws on the strength and resilience of our citizens, communities, and economy. Time and again, we have seen that the best ambassadors for American values and interests are the American people—our businesses, nongovernmental organizations, scientists, athletes, artists, military service members, and students…"The United States will protect its people and advance our prosperity irrespective of the actions of any other nation…"[31]

The definition of National Security (for this paper) is the ability to shape one or many environments favorably using the United States' Instruments of National Power in accordance with the President's National Security Strategy of the United States, the Pentagon's National Military Strategy, and the Department of State's Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review: Leading through Civilian Power.[32]

The exercise of National Security (for this paper) is the use of America's Instruments of National Power by the President and Secretary of Defense, and subordinates, to secure and defend American interests in the international and domestic realms. The Instruments of National Power consist of diplomatic, informational, military, economic, financial, law enforcement, intelligence and people skills/tools that have global and household reach. The acronym associated with the instruments of national power is *DIMEFLIP.*

There are constants in the design/execution of national security that remain unchanged since ancient historians began documenting the lives of nations and their national security pursuits. Foremost among those constants is that humans and their culture take center stage. Second, the interconnected relationships between/amongst leaders representing nations, leaders representing transnational groups, and leaders on The Street must be understood and calibrated into national security design and execution.

"*The different types of power with which international players—chiefly sovereign nation-states--contend are all interconnected. This is one of the reasons it is difficult to separate them into distinct categories. It is also the single greatest reason that the ideas of Unrestricted Warfare, Information Warfare, Counterinsurgency, and so on present such a challenge both conceptually and practically. Every time a serious commentator exhorts the need for interagency coordination to solve an international problem or calls for a holistic approach to its prosecution, it is this natural and man-made interconnectedness of power to which he refers.*"

"*The United States Government uses DIMEF[LIP] instruments to apply its sources of power; power founded in human potential, economy, industry, science and technology, academic institutions, geography, and national will [people]. The President and the Secretary of Defense establish the rules for*

[31] National Security Strategy, The White House, February 2010

[32] National Security Strategy, The White House, February 2010; The National Military Strategy of the United States of America, 2011, Redefining America's Military Leadership; The First Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review (QDDR): Leading Through Civilian Power, 2010

military power and integrate it with the other instruments of national power to advance and defend US values, interests, and objectives. To accomplish this integration, the armed forces interact with the other responsible agencies to ensure mutual understanding of the capabilities, limitations, and consequences of military and civilian actions and to identify the ways in which military and nonmilitary capabilities best complement each other."[33]

Definitions of Media

"*It is largely through our media that we define who we are as a society or as a subgroup within society. Media are thus the vehicles of cultural communications. Media technologies - from voice to satellites - help to determine how this cultural communication takes place. And social conditions help to shape how, or even if, we will use the available technologies. Content, technologies, and social conditions together form an interactive whole system—an ecology of media*.[34]

The term "media organization" means a person or entity engaged in disseminating information to the general public through a newspaper, magazine, other publication, radio, television, cable television, or other medium of mass communication.[35]

"*Mass media is a term used to denote that section of the media specifically conceived and designed to reach a very large audience, such as the population of a nation-state. The term "public media" has a similar meaning: it is the sum of the public mass distributors of news and entertainment across mediums such as newspapers, TV, radio broadcasting, and text publishers. The expansion of Internet media has complicated the concept of mass media because now individuals have a means of potential exposure on a scale comparable to what was previously restricted to a select group of mass media producers. Traditional mass media has a correspondingly lessened monopoly on information. These Internet media can include personal Web pages, podcasts, and blogs*.

Another description of mass media is central media, meaning that it emanates from a central point and provides an identical message to numerous recipients. Those who control centralized media are able to control the content and leverage public opinion, as well as inherently force certain intrinsic constraints on the kind of messages and information conveyed.[36]

The powerful and motivating messages and signs delivered through *Big Media* television—whether by newscast, advertisement or entertainment—reach a massive and attentive audience in America. From

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[33] FM 3-05.130, US Army Special Operations Forces Unconventional Warfare, 2008

[34] Robert Gilman, The Ecology of Media, From Story Telling to Telecommunications, 1989: In Context, a Quarterly of Human Sustainable Culture

[35] United States Code, Title 2 , Chapter 26 , Section 1602

[36] FM 3-05.130, US Army Special Operations Forces Unconventional Warfare, 2008

birth to age 65 Americans will watch approximately 9 years of television programing. The number of violent acts witnessed from birth to age 18 is estimated at 200,000.[37]

What is the Internet and World Wide Web?

The Internet is "a network of networks." Specifically, it is the worldwide, publicly accessible network of interconnected computer networks. This network transmits data by packet switching using the standard Internet protocol. It consists of millions of smaller domestic, academic, business, and governmental networks, which together carry various information and services, such as email, online chat, file transfer, and the interlinked Web pages and other documents of the World Wide Web. Contrary to common usage, the Internet and the World Wide Web are not synonymous: the Internet is a collection of interconnected computer networks, linked by copper wires, fiber-optic cables, wireless connections, and soon; the Web is a collection of interconnected documents linked by hyperlinks and uniform resource locators (URLs). The World Wide Web is accessible via the Internet.[38]

Cyber Inhabitants, Travelers

According to Internet World Stats[39], "*Research firms, analysts, consultancies and other sources all disagree on how to answer this seemingly simple question. The ITU subscribes to the definition of an Internet user as someone aged 2 years old and above, who went online in the past 30 days. The US Department of Commerce, in contrast, defines Internet users as those 3 years or older who 'currently use' the Internet. The CNNIC defines the Internet user as a Chinese citizen, aged 6 or above, who uses the Internet at least one hour per week. Other market researchers and market research organizations have their own definitions. For example, Nielsen Online in its reports presents two figures for the Internet users: the first is "Active Internet User", which is defined as the number of users that viewed the Internet at least once during the last month, and the other figure is, of course, the total universe estimate of Internet users in a country, region, or city. We believe that a definition must be as general and as simple as possible. Therefore, for analyzing and comparing Internet users on a global scale, IWS adopts as its benchmark a broad definition and defines an Internet User as anyone currently in capacity to use the Internet. In our opinion, there are only two requirements for a person to be considered an Internet User: (1) The person must have available access to an Internet connection point, and (2) The person must have the basic knowledge required to use web technology.*

That's it. No need to make complex something that is really quite simple. In many Third World countries one same Internet connection may be shared by many individual users. Due to this reason, Internet users generally outnumber the amount of Internet access subscribers and also outnumber the telephone lines available in each country. The Internet today offers users more options for access, for example: mobile,

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[37] http://www.turnoffyourtv.com/turnoffweek/TV.turnoff.week.html

[38] FM 3-05.130, US Army Special Operations Forces Unconventional Warfare, 2008

[39] http://www.internetworldstats.com/stats.htm

G2, G3, and so forth. Our definition and stats (statistics) consider ALL the ways a user or a subscriber connects. Internet World Stats numbers represent the "universe" of Internet users in any region, country or territory. These figures are useful for estimating Internet market size at a global, regional or local scale."

United States Stakes Claim to Cyber Continent

As of March 31, 2011 nearly 2.1 billion people around the globe were accessing the Internet and the World Wide Web. Over 700 million Europeans and North Americans; 922 million Asians; 215 million Latin Americans; 118 million Africans; 68 million Middle Easterners; and 21 million Australians (Oceana) are included in that number.[40]

Senior leaders across the Four Controlling Domains seek to use American Instruments of National Power (DIMEFLIP) to dominate the Cyber Continent.

"*From the 1980s onward, cyberspace was redefined [by realists] as both an extension of the battle space and an extension of the marketplace due to the development of e-commerce. And once issues of wealth and wealth-building began to require resolution within cyberspace, one might argue that these inequities made ''war,'' including cyber war, inevitable. Cyberspace was thus not a revolutionary space for the subversion of existing power structures within international relations, but instead a field for the overlay of traditional power structures onto this new surface.*

In addition, the development of e-commerce as well as the evolving notion that security within cyberspace could be provided privately (either by citizens or by hired moderators answerable to the specific private Internet environment) suggested that while cyberspace might be without a nationality or a gender, it was not without an economic ideology. Cyberspace was capitalist, not socialist, not based on barter or some other system—and by extension, it may be argued, cyberspace also was construed of as ''western,'' perhaps even American.

Analysts noted that cyberspace had a temporal as well as a geographic dimension, as information technology helped to make intelligence and communication available more quickly (thus lifting Clausewitz's ''fog of war''), as well as overcoming geographic distance between players in both conventional and unconventional warfare… state and non-state actors bring their longstanding endogenous preferences—for relative power, defense against their neighbors and the expansion of territory and national interest—to the cyberspace game, essentially reproducing the security dilemma in the virtual world. Information warfare is a different kind of battle calling for different strategies and tactics, but its aims and goals are the same…The existence of new technology and new terrain has simply added a new front to the battle." [41]

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[40] http://www.internetworldstats.com/stats.htm

[41] From Global Village to Virtual Battlespace: The Colonizing of the Internet and the Extension of Realpolitik, Mary McEvoy Manjikian, International Studies Quarterly, 2010

"Military Information Support Operations (MISO) seeks to induce, influence, or reinforce the perceptions, attitudes, reasoning, and behavior of individuals, foreign leaders, groups, and organizations in a manner advantageous to US forces and objectives…"[42]

Shaping the American Public Consciousness in 1947: The Marshall Plan and MISO-Lite

...The cardinal concern from the end of the Moscow Conference until my Harvard speech was to time properly the offer of US assistance [European Recovery Plan] so as to ensure domestic acceptance of the proposal. Our intention at all times was to spring the plan with explosive force in order not to dissipate the chances of US acceptance by premature political debate…The greatest far was of an adverse reaction from the Mid-West from Bert McCormick and the Chicago Tribune. Originally I had planned to accept a degree from the University of Michigan in order to spring the plan in the heartland of expected opposition however this ceremony was cancelled because details of the plan could not be worked out in time. My second decision was to reveal the proposal during my acceptance of a degree from Amherst on June 16th. However a worsening of conditions in Europe forced a stepping up of this schedule and I reversed an earlier decision not to accept a degree from Harvard on June 5th 1947 in order to announce the proposal…I took only a few intimate advisors into my confidence…for fear that my deliberations would be leaked…[43]

Battle for the Mind in 2011: Adversaries as Other Media

The Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan mirrors the US Air Force take on MISO. Will Cyber Command tolerate the presence of the Emirate and its message on the Cyber Continent?

"Wars today cannot be won without media. Media is directed to the heart rather than the body. The weapon is directed to the body. If the heart is defeated the battle is won and the body is defeated. In the beginning, with the fall of the Islamic Emirate, the enemy thought that the field was completely open before them, and they spread their lies and falsehoods that they had destroyed the Islamic Emirate and its Mujahideen and that their victory in the land of Afghanistan was complete. All of their resources, especially their media were directed towards changing the ideas of Afghans and injecting defeatist thought into them and instilling in them a petrifying fear of the new occupiers. First through the grace of Allah, subhanahu wa ta'ala, then through the victories of the Mujahideen and their rightly guided leadership; and after defeats were inflicted on the enemy on the field of battle, a media committee was established to contest with the enemy in the (media) field…Among other committees, the Islamic Emirates established a special Media Committee to spread news about Jihadist activities in different fields and chase away the voice of the unjust enemy who, before the entire world, was distorting the image of the Jihad in Afghanistan and was claiming false victories here and there over the Mujahideen.

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[42] Military Information Support Operations, Air Force Instruction 10-702, June 7, 2011

[43] Interview with George C. Marshall, October 30, 1952: Harry Price and Roy Foulke, Truman Library

Need called for the existence of a media agency to take responsibility for the Mujahideen in Afghanistan…"[44]

No Free Pass Says the US Military

"In irregular warfare, the primary effects are created by influencing perceptions of disparate populations…. Adversaries understand this and design their operations to achieve the desired effect on the perception of populations at the local, regional, and international level. Their efforts are made easier when they operate in domains that the United States and its allies generally consider "free" (e.g., cyberspace, the press, and religious institutions). Adversaries use their knowledge of local history, culture, and religion to frame their actions positively and those of the joint force negatively. The joint force and its partners must grasp the central importance of this "battle of the narrative"… The first principle is to recognize that perception is shaped by both actions and words, and that both must convey the same message. Actions taken that are contrary to words undermine credibility and negate the latter's effect."[45]

Language Appropriate for National Security

After so many decades of war, the American version of the English language has become devoid of emotion. It is arid and often empty. Words, phrases are uttered mechanically, repetitively. It seems human beings are beginning to mimic the emotionless software language machines use to communicate with each other. Zamyatin's We was prophetic.

Can *Other Media* do anything to reverse this process?

Going forward, will *Other Media* remain alive long enough to assist human beings in breaking through the walls made of spin, propaganda and greed?

Can *Other Media* provide an alternative narrative that says human beings are not capital and not fungible?

Globalization and digitization turns all language into provisional language. Provisional Language in today's world language has become a provisional space temporary and debased mere material to be shoveled, reshaped, hoarded and molded into whatever form is convenient only to be discarded just as quickly…Provisional language pretends to unite but it actually splinters. It creates communities not of shared interest or of free associations but of identical statistics and unavoidable demographics, an opportunistic weave of vested interests…Provisional language is surprisingly authoritarian….Provisional writing features the office as the urban home, desks become sculptures and electronic Post-It universe imbues the new writing by adopting corporate speak as its lingo: team memory and information

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[44] The Islamic Emirate Of Afghanistan: Interview with the Administrator of The Islamic Emirate Website, Esteemed Brother Abdul Sattar Maiwand, February 17, 2011

[45] Irregular Warfare: Countering Irregular Threats, Joint Operating Concept, Version 2.0, May 17, 2010

management… The ubiquity of English, now that we all speak it, nobody remembers its use. The collective bastardization of English is our most impressive achievement: we have broken its back with ignorance, accent, slang, jargon, tourism and multitasking. We can make it say anything we want like a speech dummy. We cannot stop noticing: no sequence too absurd, trivial, meaningless, insulting: we helplessly register, provide sense, squeeze meaning and read intention out of the most atomized of words…The only legitimate discourse is loss: we used to renew what was depleted, now we try to resurrect what is gone." [46]

Part III: Case Study: Other Media and the US Army's Human Terrain System 1.0

See Appendix B: The case study is based on nearly 70 articles I wrote from 2008-2011 on the US Army's Human Terrain System (HTS). Those stories are those of approximately 110 sources in HTS located at sites in the USA, Iraq and Afghanistan. The last two slides of the case study are important as I will use them to speak to the experience of communicating through *Other Media Platforms* against the *Four Controlling Domains* using *Big Media*. The *Media and Security Panel* presentation will focus on those two slides to support points throughout the paper.

The 70 articles can be found at Cryptome.org; Pravda.ru; and Srilankaguardian.org. Zeroanthropology.net and a link to the Network of Concerned Anthropologists can be found through the Zero Anthropology website.

The report from the American Anthropological Association condemning the HTS program is located here: http://www.aaanet.org/issues/policy-advocacy/CEAUSSIC-Releases-Final-Report-on-Army-HTS-Program.cfm

See also All Our Eggs in One Broken Basket by Major Ben Conable, USMC: http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/milreview/connable_mar09.pdf

My personal view is that US Army Civil Affairs at Fort Bragg, NC, had the skillsets in place to perform human terrain analysis functions and could have enhanced any outdated skills through rapid training. They and the people who suffered within HTS at the hands of indifferent US Army civilian and military leadership were robbed.

Suggested Readings

Information and Living Systems: Philosophical and Scientific Perspectives, edited by George Terzis and Robert Arp, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2011

On the Origin of Stories: Evolution, Cognition and Fiction, Brian Boyd, Harvard University Press, 2009

[46] Uncreative Writing, Kenneth Goldsmith, Columbia University Press, 2011, p218-221

Appendix A

Framework for Strategic Cultural Analysis

ISA-South

15 October 2011

John Stanton

Framework for Strategic Cultural Analysis

Delivered at the Defence Academy of the United Kingdom
June 2008

Executive Summary: FSCA Cornerstones

- Change the thinking process. Must view the world as an Integrated Evolutionary Information System. Culture is humanity in all its forms. Planetary forces are in control of both. Turn strategic cultural analysis on self and society. Must know one's own group culture first. Employ qualitative thinking.

- Essential to employ Darwin's theory of evolution with upgrades: evolutionary psychology, co-evolution (genes/systems), evolutionary cognitive neuroscience, phylogenetic systematics. Avoid dualities: culture versus nature.

- Explore, examine, diagnose culture by focusing on the crucial properties of culture. Analyze from a qualitative systems perspective.

- Incorporate a multidimensional political and strategic Analytical Cultural Framework for Strategy and Policy (ACFSP) atop an evolutionary foundation.

- Recognize Culture is cyclic, multidirectional. Culture development cycle begins with questions in the quest to resolve uncertainty and reach stability. Culture is contained in porous containers categorized as tribes, states, etc. Culture cycle repeats as internal/external symbiotic interactions cause instability. Internal and External Non-disruptive and Disruptive subsystems are a creation of culture.

Executive Summary: FSCA Cornerstones (cont.)

- ❑ Apply Boyd's OODA Loop correctly: as a sophisticated epistemological model/philosophy always in flux. Accept strategy as qualitative art.

- ❑ Enhance cultural situational awareness/metacognition models to account for cultural impact on cognition and identity development.

- ❑ View culture as a property of a human information organism, not a thing. Observer changes state of property.

- ❑ Recognize that cultural analysis has been used to exploit and manage other cultures and justify/further the interests of the conqueror or invader. It is being used for many ends: understanding, dominance, enhancing kill chain, peace/trust.

- ❑ Understand the importance of strategic cultural communications. The language of national leadership can be dangerous and damaging. Should there be an HTT group for policymakers? Defense Science Board recommends creation of a new Strategic Communications bureaucracy within US government.

- ❑ Do not forget that FSCA is human-centric. People are the center of gravity (USMC). Must generate useful/practical tools for the policymaker and war-fighter. For example, *Iraq Culture Smart Card with IED Reference*--Kwikpoint.

Notable Strategic Cultural Analysts, Human Terrain Team Members

- **Tacitus: Germania, 98**

They are likewise wont to scoop caves deep in the ground, and over them to lay great heaps of dung. Thither they retire for shelter in the winter, and thither convey their grain: for by such close places they mollify the rigorous and excessive cold. Besides when at any time their enemy invades them, he can only ravage the open country, but either knows not such recesses as are invisible and subterraneous; or must suffer them to escape him, on this very account that he is uncertain where to find them.

- **Hume: Essays Moral, Political and Literary, 1742-1752**

Where a number of men are united into one political body, the occasions of their Intercourse must be so frequent for defense, commerce and government that together with the same speech or language they must acquire a resemblance in their manners and have a common national character as well as a personal one peculiar to each individual.

- **Montesquieu: Spirit of the Laws, 1752**

It is a variety of wants in different climates that fist occasioned a difference in the manner of living, and this gave rise to a variety of laws. Where people are very communicative there must be particular laws, and others where there is but little communication.

- **Jefferson: Notes on the State of Virginia, 1781-1782**

The whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions, the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submissions on the other. Our children see this and learn to imitate it; for man is an imitative animal. This quality is the germ of all education in him. From his cradle to his grave he is learning to do what he sees others do.

Clearing the Decks in the Brain

- The illiterate of the 21st century will not be those who cannot read and write but those who cannot learn, unlearn and relearn.

Alvin Toffler quoted in The Industrial College of the Armed Forces (US-NDU) Spring 2007 Education Industry Final Report

- Most of our problems involving security--whether in the narrow or broad sense—have global implications and require transnational institutions for their solution. We need a crude look at the whole treating global security and global politics as part of a very general set of questions about the future.

Murray Gell-Mann , Remarks at Complexity and Security Conference (NDU, 2003)

- The idea of soft power and hard power is old thinking which is why I don't use it. That's serial, linear thinking. You have to understand this as a whole. The idea that you can have these things in separate packets is utterly our problem. It is the way we think about war and conflict and how the institutions work together that has to change. *General Sir Rupert Smith (Carnegie Council, January 2007)*

21st Century Worldview
Humanity as Integrated Evolutionary Information System

Our developmental programs as well as the physiological and psychological mechanisms that they reliably construct are the natural product of evolutionary history. Human minds, human behavior, human artifacts and human culture are all biological phenomena—aspects of the phenotypes of humans and their relationships with one another. Humans, like every other natural system, are embedded in the contingencies of a larger principle of history. Explaining any particular fact about them requires the joint analysis of all principles and contingencies involved.

Clearing the Decks in the Brain (cont.)

- Strategic Cultural Analysis Demands Acceptance of a 21st Century Worldview. But Full Spectrum Resistance to this Worldview is Seen Across all Strata of USA's Culture.

- Cultural Analysis being Developed at USA/TRADOC, USMC, DTRA, et al, Reflects Slightly Different Approaches to Dealing with The Other's Culture. This is a Result of Internal Culture of Service/Agency/Organization. HTT Members Must Understand Military Service Culture to be Effective.

- Service/Agency Culture's View of World/Rivalry may Hamstring the Prospects for Joint/Common SCA (see below), but may be Useful on Case-by-Case Basis.

Culture Clash: Data Sharing

- **Incompatibility between Air Force and Army databases often hinders the flow of information in Iraq and Afghanistan, officials said. ..The inter-service spat over UAVs has gotten so ugly that both services have given up trying to resolve it on their own and now expect the dispute to be settled as part of a broad Pentagon-wide review of military roles and missions.**

- **"All services are to blame for this, said Brig. Gen. Stephen Mundt, director of Army aviation. Each service builds its own UAVs and sensors, all from different vendors. "You end up with stovepipe information channels, which means the data have to be sorted out and disseminated, thus causing further delays."**

More Eyes in the Sky May Not Generate Better Intelligence, Sandra Erwin, National DEFENSE, June 2008.

Clearing the Decks in the Brain (cont.)
Evolutionary Psychology/Cognitive Science

❑ What is Humankind? **It is now possible to locate Man's place in nature, to use Huxley's famous phrase, and therefore to understand for the first time what humankind is and why we have the characteristics that we do. Humans are self-producing chemical systems, multicellular heterotrophic mobile organisms (animals), appearing very late in in the history of life as somewhat modified versions of earlier primate designs.**

❑ Part of a System. **Our developmental programs as well as the physiological and psychological mechanisms that they reliably construct are the natural product of evolutionary history. Human minds, human behavior, human artifacts and human culture are all biological phenomena—aspects of the phenotypes of humans and their relationships with one another. Humans, like every other natural system are embedded in the contingencies of a larger principle of history. Explaining any particular fact about them requires the joint analysis of all principles and contingencies involved.**

❑ Not Dualistic. **To break this seamless matrix of causation—to attempt to dismember the individual into biological versus nonbiological aspects—is to embrace and perpetuate an ancient dualism endemic to Western cultural tradition: mind/body, biological/social, physical/mental, human/animal, biological/cultural. This dualistic view expresses only a premodern version of biology, whose intellectual warrant has vanished.**

From Psychological Foundations of Culture by John Tooby and Leda Cosmides, 1992. Located in The Adapted Mind: Evolutionary Psychology and the Generation of Culture. J. Barkow, L. Cosmides, J. Tooby, editors. New York, Oxford Press

Clearing the Decks in the Brain (cont.)
Evolutionary Psychology/Cognitive Science

❑ Evolutionary Psychology **has shown that beneath the undeniable fact of cross-cultural variation there is a bedrock of human universals: ways of thinking and feeling and behaving that can be seen in all of the cultures documented by ethnography…They number some 300, everything from aesthetics, affection, anthropomorphization, vowel contrasts, weapons, attempt to control weather, and a word for the color white.**

❑ Evolutionary Psychology **has shown that many human drives can't really be understood as ways people maximize their well being in their own lifetimes but can only be interpreted as adaptations to survival and reproduction in an ancestral environment; namely the foraging lifestyle that characterized our species through 99% of its evolutionary history.**

❑ Cognitive Science/Neuroscience **has shown that all of our experiences, thoughts, feelings, yearnings and emotions consist of physiological activity in the brain.**

Quoted from The General Psychologist, Spring 2006, Steven Pinker, The Blank Slate (essay). Pinker's book the Blank Slate: The Modern Denial of Human Nature and most recently The Language Instinct are exceptional reads.

❑ Cognitive Causal Chains **occur in the brain and the interactions between the brain and environment. To each casual link in the chain there corresponds and semantic or content relationship.**

❑ Social Cognitive Causal Chains **link together mental and public things. The mental things involved are mental representations and processes. These mental representations and processes may cause behaviors that alter the environment in ways that can be perceived and thus serve as stimuli to further cognitive processes. A cultural group is held together by a constant flow of information.**

Quoted from Conceptual Tools for a Natural Science of Society and Culture, 1999, Radcliffe Brown Lecture by Dan Sperber and The Cognitive Foundations of Cultural Stability and Diversity , 2004, Trends in Cognitive Science, Dan Sperber and L. Hirschfeld

Strategic Cultural Analysis: Key Areas for Foundational Analysis

- System Complexity Without a Single Designer: **Systems such as language, rituals and building methods--rather than traits like memes—should be studied.**

- Multiplicity and Variation: **Thousands of distinct cultures, upwards of 8000 based on language. Variation and commonality exists within and between them. How and why?**

- Vertical Transmission and Phylogenetic Systematics: **Cultures derive, in part, from descent by modification (according to Darwin). Through vertical transmission, cultural phenomena can become extraordinarily stable. As examples: Chinese & Tamil language for 3000 years and the hand axe for 1 million. How and why?**

- Horizontal Transmission and Cultural Diffusion: **Cultural ideas and techniques are borrowed. Parallel inventions similar to parallel evolution in biology exist. Cultural parasites arise. How and why?**

- Cultural Phenomena are Cumulative: **They can embody the wisdom of generations. Humans inherit the results of millennia of experimentation without any costs or dangers. This is an adaptive advantage for humans. Why?**

- Cultural Phenomena are Not Always Adaptive**: Cultures include large portions of elements that appear functionless and sometimes harmful to biological preservation and success. Why are such features propagated?**

- Culture, Group Selection and the Feedback to Biology: **Cultural groups can act as wholes taking collective decisions upon which the biological survival of the whole group depends. War, genocide, violent enculturation are examples. What does evolution say about leaders and followers?**

Quoted From Introduction: Evolution of Culture in a Microcosm by Stephen Levinson, 2006. In Evolution and Culture, MIT Press

Strategic Cultural Analysis: What's the Purpose?

❑ Classification of The Other: **In the 1500's and 1600's attempts to justify the conquest and subjugation of indigenous peoples lead to controversies over commensurability: Were native peoples as fully human as Europeans? A variety of answers was provided as European colonists and administrators in Seville and later in London and Paris struggled to justify forced incorporation of indigenous populations into their economic and religious systems ,or their eradication or relocation out of the way of colonial expansion.**

❑ Management Needs/Weaponizing Culture: **To politicians and administrators, both secular and clerical, the Otherness issue generated certain management needs--to use modern parlance. It seemed prudent to learn about the cultural and political practice of the native populations, the better to deal with them diplomatically or militarily as they were educated, subjugated, converted or forced into some sort of dependency relationship with a government or church group.**

❑ Cultural Analysis: Some Heritage, Some Influences

- **1799--Thomas Jefferson, American Philosophical Society: Native Americans & Empire of Liberty**
- **1823--Lewis Cass: Ethnographic and Linguistic manual on Native American Cultures and Language**
- **1842—Albert Gallatin, American Ethnological Society**
- **1879—John Powell, Bureau of Ethnology; Charles Norton, Archeological Institute of America; Henry Morgan, Ancient Society; Franz Boas, American Museum of Natural History**

Quoted from The Beginnings of Anthropological Archeology in the North American Southwest: From Thomas Jefferson to the Pecos Conference by David Wilcox and Don Fowler. Journal of the American Southwest, 2002.

❑ US Marine Corps, 2006. **Culture Operations actively seek to alter either the behavior or determinants of behavior of indigenous people for tactical and strategic purposes.** ***USMC*** *BOS8610 Student Handout*

❑ Defense Threat Reduction Agency, 2006, Colin Gray. **The plot is the idea that the security community thinks in ways that are influenced by what it has taught itself about itself.** *(metacognition--js)*

❑ Defense Science Board, 2008. **United States national needs require a proactive and durable means to engage and influence the attitudes and behavior of global publics on a broad range of consequential issues.** *DSB Task Force on Strategic Communications, January 2008*

❑ US Army, 2007. **Culture is expressed as symbols and symbolic systems that have meaning. Critical to the mission to identify and decode symbols.** *TRADOC's Draft Army Culture and Foreign Language (citing from Kim's ACFSP).*

The Analytical Cultural Framework for Strategy and Policy (ACFSP)*

❑ The ACFSP is one approach to the vital task of viewing the world through many lenses. It focuses on cultural considerations at the political and strategic levels dealing with the impact of cultural factors in the formulation, implementation and outcome of policy and strategy.

❑ The ACFSP identifies basic cultural dimensions that seem to be fundamental in determining political and strategic action and behavior. There are three dimensions:

- IDENTITY: the basis for defining identity and its linkage to interests
- POLITICAL CULTURE: the structure of power and decision making
- RESILIENCE: the capacity or ability to resist or adapt to external forces

❑ The ACFSP identifies common themes within the three dimensions:

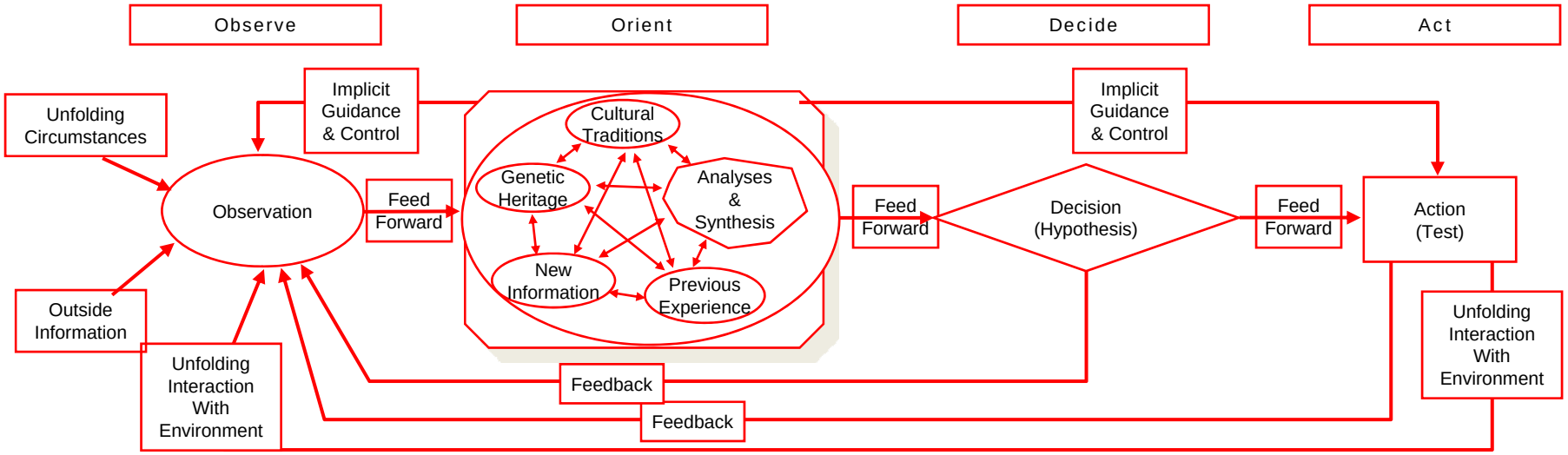
- Modernity and Nationalism
- Subjectivity, Emotionalism (evolutionary psychology)
- History

** Thanks to Colonel Jiyul Kim, USA, Director of Asian Studies at the US Army War College.*
Taken from the draft paper and presentation titled Cultural Dimensions of Strategy and Policy 2008.

Strategic Cultural Analysis: Boyd's OODA as a Discipline

OODA Loop is Flexible. **Good strategic theory must be holistic paying due respect for the interdependency of the various elements and dimensions that give form to strategy. Strategic theory needs to account for the fact that it is concerned with people that react, learn and anticipate. Successful strategic theory will be imitated forcing development of new strategic theories. Boyd's concern with the traditional overreliance and over confidence of the US military was of great concern. Instead of technology and the attritionist mindset, he focused on time, moral and mental dimensions, organizational culture and non-technological factors of change**

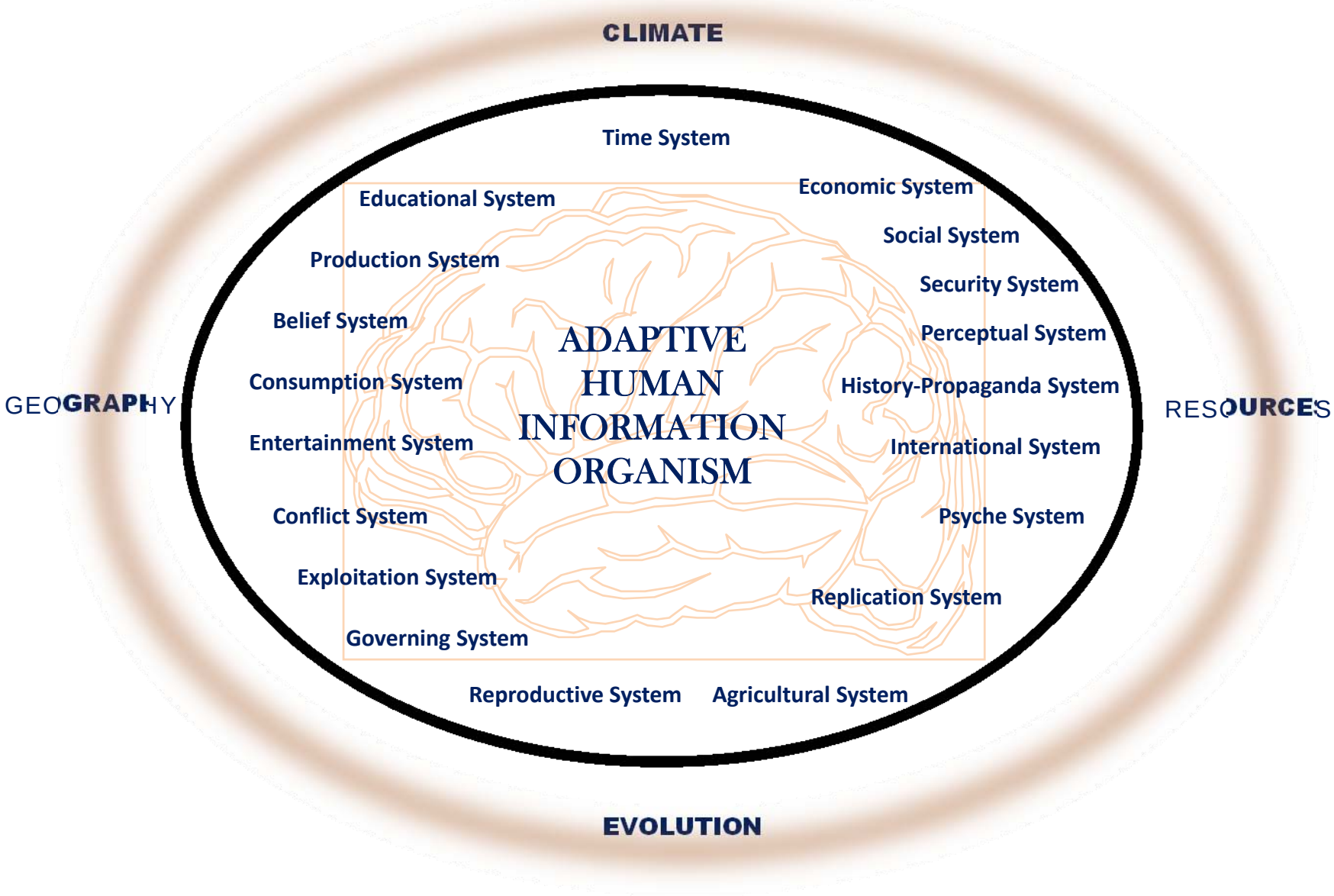
On Boyd, Bin Laden and 4GW as String Theory by Col. Dr. Frans Osigna, June 2007. In On New Wars (Oslo 2007)



Employs Situational Awareness (digesting the correct information). **The OODA-Loop is much less a model of decision making than a model of individual and organizational learning and adaption…There is a fundamental uncertainty of our knowledge [situational awareness] Concerning our environment with the subsequent need to continuously "evolve" our mental models so As to cope with our ever changing environment. Boyd's double loop learning pays attention to information, culture, experience, worldviews, doctrine and much more. At heart, Boyd's OODA Loop is a sophisticated epistemological model**

On Boyd, Bin Laden and 4GW as String Theory by Col. Dr. Frans Osigna, June 2007. In On New Wars (Oslo 2007)

Culture is a Property of a Co-Evolutionary Macro Adaptive Information Organism with many Interacting Sub-Systems



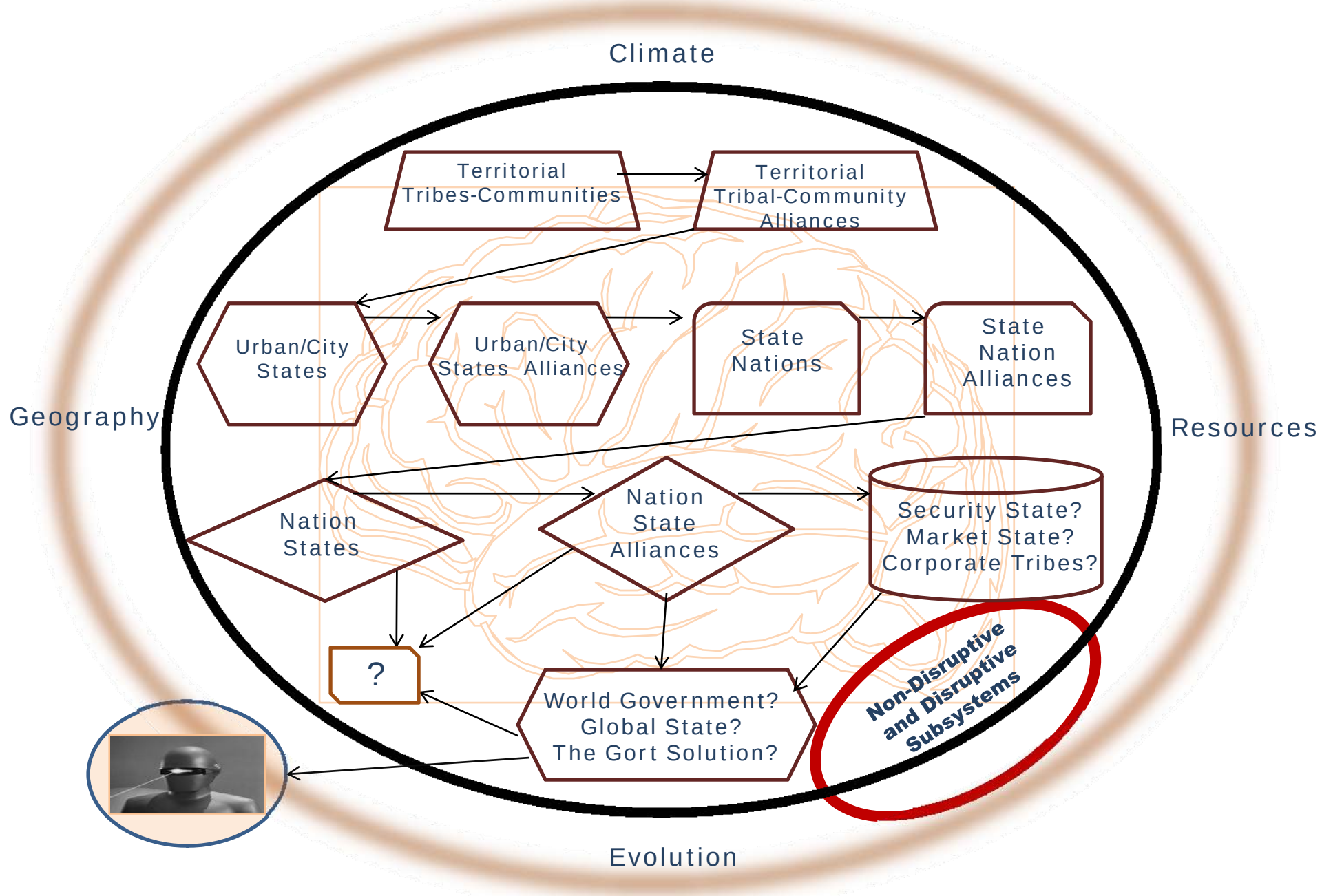
Beyond Maslow:
The Culture Cycle--The Search for Identity, Commonality, Security

- Individual to Global Awareness Cycle
- Uncertainty to Familiarity & Stability
- Categorizing Selves, Others, Environment

- Cataclysmic Events Create Change
- Inter-group Interaction Creates Change
- Intra-group C or R can Disrupt Certainty

Culture Naturally Produces Non-Disruptive and Disruptive Sub-Systems

Culture is a Human State that is Containerized and Porous Moving in Some Direction to Some End



APPENDIX B

Other Media and the US Army Human Terrain System

ISA-South

15 October 2011

John Stanton

What is the Human Terrain System?

- **Created in response to cultural deficiencies of American political and military planners in the design and execution of the invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq. Soldiers and intelligence officers on the ground in Afghanistan and Iraq lacked actionable knowledge of the indigenous populations. Joint Urgent Operational Needs Statement requests HTS-type capabilities**

- **HTS is a US Army Training and Doctrine Command (TRADOC) program, directed from TRADOC G-2, Intelligence. It is supported by the Office of the Secretary of Defense, Intelligence. HTS is currently funded through Central Command (CENTCOM).**

- **HTS uses Human Terrain Teams (Iraq and Afghanistan) to conduct empirical sociocultural research and analysis to fill operational decision-making support gaps. The research attempts to provide current, accurate, and reliable data generated after surveying specific social groups in the supported unit's operating environment.**

- **Human Terrain Teams are deployed to/with Army Brigade Combat Teams, US Marine Corps Regimental Combat Teams, Army Division and Marine Expeditionary Forces at many levels. There is a United States' based Reach-back Research Center to assist in the process.**

- **HTS attempts to improve the commander's understanding of the local population by providing information useful in the Military Decision Making Process.**

Human Terrain System—Highlights 2003-2011

- **US national security community presses academia, non-profits, associations, corporations, public to support the War on Terror and the Wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. Insurgency in Afghanistan and Iraq damaging US credibility. Urgent Needs Statements from US Army for Cultural Support begin. Whole of Government, Whole of Society programs begin; Minerva Initiative launched.**

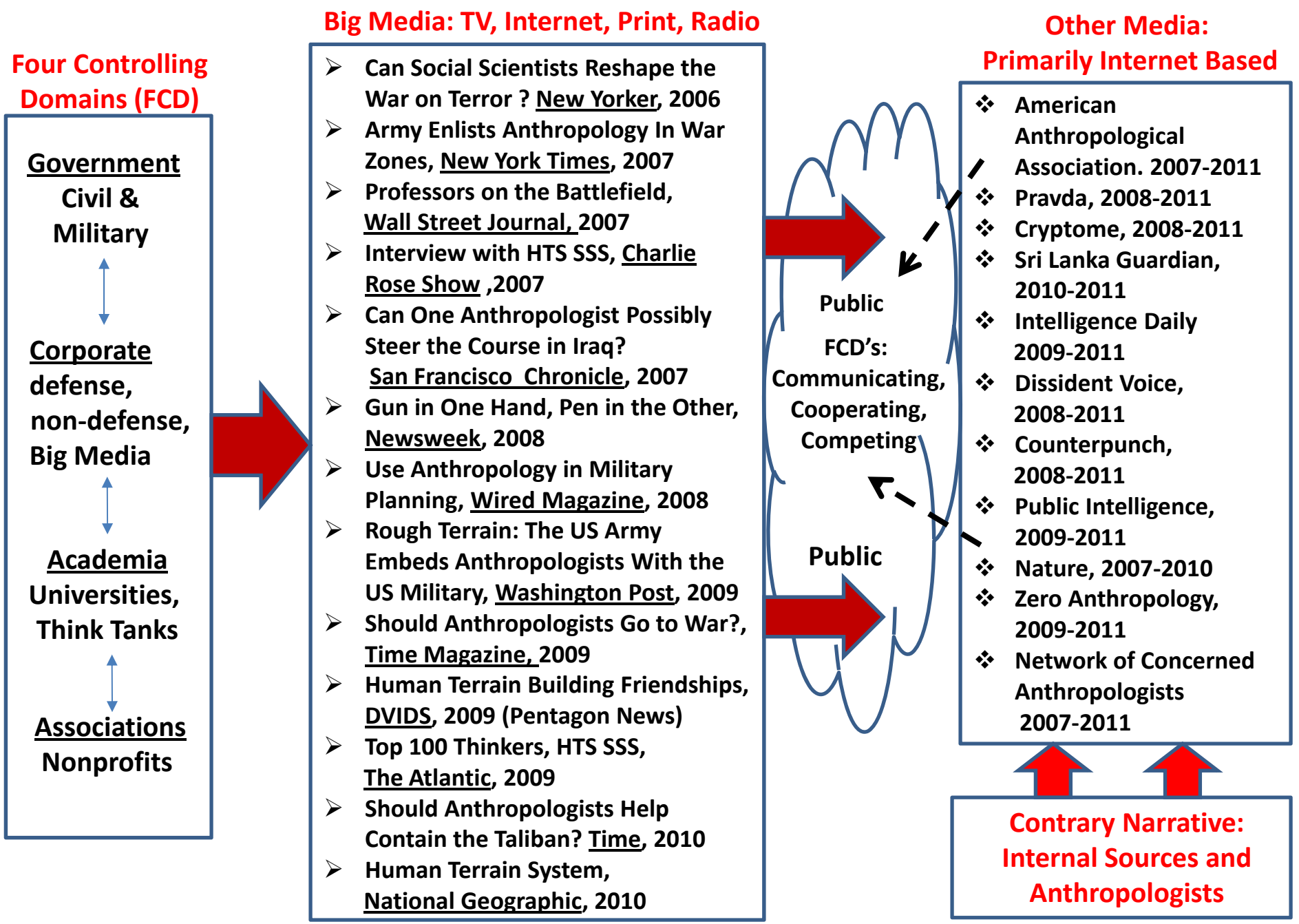
- **Rewrite of US Counterinsurgency (COIN) Strategy led by US Army General David Petraeus. COIN begins to dominate national security strategy.**

- **Mapping and Preparation of the Human Terrain designated as a Critical 21st Century Strategic Vector by the Defense Science Board. Preparation and Mapping of the Human Terrain vital for war Against adaptive adversaries according to the Defense Science Board 2006 Summer Study on 21st Century Strategic Technology Vectors. Human Terrain System hits the presses in Military Review and the New Yorker in late 2006**

- **2003-2007-Groundwork laid for development and deployment of the Human Terrain System (HTS) by HTS Program Manager and Senior Social Scientist. Joint Improvised Explosive Device Defeat Organization temporarily houses HTS. HTS shopped around US government until TRADOC's G2 Deputy Chief of Staff--Intelligence buys the program**

- **First Human Terrain Team deploys in early 2007. Secretary of Defense Gates and US Army General David Petraeus strongly support HTS on the record. Gates approves $40 million (US) in 2007 to expand the program**

Human Terrain System—Other Media's Challenge



Other Media Reporting on HTS 1.0: What was the Story?

- **Nearly 70 articles written in Other Media outlets from summer 2008 to summer 2011. Approximately 110 HTS sources were able to tell their stories. It is "their story" and was central to changing HTS 1.0**
- ***Other Media* must have absolute credibility to successfully counter a dubious narrative. Big Media, and FCD's, could not challenge the alternative narrative so largely opted to ignore it. The Pentagon listened and opted to simply replace HTS 1.0 with HTS 2.0 starting in 2010**
- **Management's focus on expanding the program and not managing the day to day tasks or demonstrating competence in inter-personnel relations created anarchy within the program.**
- **Civil-Military relations within HTS: Clash between academic and military cultures, and defense contractors, the military and academia Nearly alien to each other as in the larger United States**
- **Recruitment and training problematic: few anthropologists or qualified researchers.**
- **Murders; civilian casualties; soldiers wounded; race and sexual discrimination woes; waste, fraud and abuse**
- **US Army Civil Affairs operations damaged by HTS**
- **Congressionally Mandated Assessment of HTS performed**
- **Pentagon conducting criminal investigations**
- **Three founding HTS 1.0 principals replaced and others resigned**
- **Primary HTS defense contractor (UK based BAE System) and many subcontractors lost the re-compete in 2011 to CGI (Canada based contractor) . CGI awarded $227 million (US) in 2011**
- **HTS being shopped to all US Geographic Combatant Commands, 2011-2012**