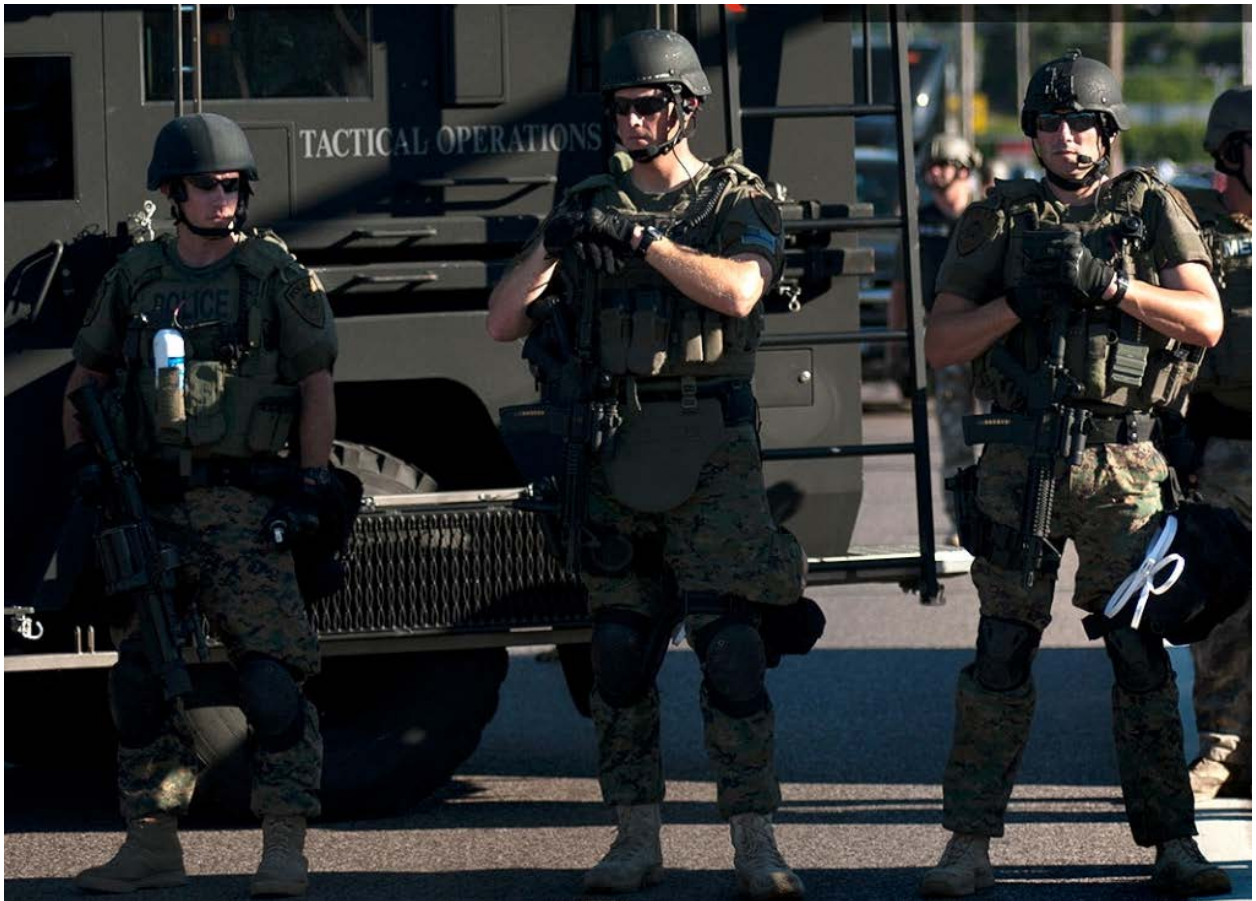


“. . .all the physical and conceptual walls associated with the modern, sovereign state—the walls that divide domestic from international, the police from the military, intelligence from law enforcement, war from peace, and crime from war—are coming down.”

*The Manhattan Institute*



Militarized American police

**Deep Politics:  
Institutionalized Corruption at the Top  
and the Corporate Assault on Democracy**

K. L. Roberts



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*“Fascism should more appropriately be called corporatism because it is a merger of state and corporate power.”*

**Attributed (incorrectly) to Benito Mussolini’s  
*Encyclopedia Italiana* article, but nevertheless true**



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## 1. An Introduction to “Deep Politics”

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*“The finest trick of the devil is to persuade you that he does not exist.”*

**Charles Baudelaire**

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DC insider Mike Lofgren has [said](#) that “There’s a shadow government running the country, and it’s not up for re-election.”

Defense expert William Arkin [says](#) that a “terrified government is destroying the constitution.”

But neither of these individuals ever gets around to naming any names. From a reading of their accounts, one could only conclude that no actual, *specific* human beings are responsible, only vague institutions like Wall Street , the Military Industrial Complex, and a “terrified government”.

Obviously, however, institutions *are* made up – entirely – of human beings. And the good news is that sociologists know, to some degree, who they are.

In this white paper we're going to introduce some key players to you, and we're also going to tell you what they've been up to the last few years. (Unfortunately, it could hardly be more alarming.)



One faction of the “shadow government” is comprised of “defense” contractors and revolving-door, ex-government “neo-cons” *a la* [Dick Cheney](#). Another faction is made up of executives of transnational financial institutions, corporations and banks. All are politically active; but, as we’ll see, there exists an inner core which has long focused on the executive branch. More peripheral organizations, though related, and certainly significant, have other priorities.

The primary aim of this document is to provide a quick and very rough introduction to this inner core, which is largely (though, of course, not exclusively) responsible for many of the problems that concern most Americans. To do this we’ll focus on the most tightly-integrated core players only. Much of what you’ll discover will shock you, so we’ve made this paper self-documenting. But to keep it readable, we’ve moved most of that documentation into appendices, with the exception of fairly extensive hyperlinking.

If you *do* want to learn more about individuals and organizations beyond the inner core – and you really should – a terrific introduction is available from sociologist [Peter Phillips](#) of [Project Censored](#). Here’s that [link](#). And a good overview of the transnational financial framework is available from [David Korten here](#). You can find other relevant names named at another white paper written by Phillips [here](#).

The core faction in question is comprised of the CEOs of a relatively small group of cross-affiliated corporations, including, crucially, media corporations. We’ll refer to this Executive branch insider clique as the Business Roundtable/Council on Foreign Relations Nexus. (Because that’s a bit of a mouthful, from this point forward we’ll also just call it “the Nexus” or the “BRT/CFR Nexus”.)

We'll see that these corporations have long cultivated an intimate relationship with the Executive branch (that is, the Presidency ) of the United States, as well as with the NSA and (previously unknown) FBI mass-surveillance programs. And we'll also see that they are a key force behind the "[trade accord](#)" known as the [Trans-Pacific Partnership \(TPP\)](#), which Chris Hedges [calls](#) "the most brazen corporate power grab in American history."

Because it would be easy to lose sight of the forest for the trees even in this sort of simplified account, it should be stated clearly that the "brazen corporate power grab" Hedges is talking about is, incredibly, like something straight out of a Bond movie: the CEOs and bankers involved are seeking nothing less than total global political, economic, and military control by the owners of transnational corporations and banks.

If it passes, the TPP will hand over to them a big chunk of what they want on a silver platter.

On now to the anatomy and physiology of the more domestic side of the nexus, the engineers of this mad power grab.

Hold on to your hat. You are about to experience one *wild* ride into *terra incognita*.

## The Least You Need to Know

Not everyone has time to read the entirety of a document of this length; and even those who do have the time and interest may benefit from a quick overview, so here it is.

- **The Executive Branch is entirely dominated by corporate interests, especially as represented by the Council on Foreign Relations and the Business Roundtable**
  - There are four main organizational players
    - The Council on Foreign Relations (CFR)
    - The Business Roundtable (BRT)
    - The American Bankers Association (ABA)
    - The US Chamber of Commerce (USCoC)
  - But of these four, two enjoy especially intimate access to the Executive Branch
    - The Council on Foreign Relations (headed up by David Rockefeller) and
    - The Business Roundtable
    - And these two organizations are themselves strongly cross-affiliated
- **This domination of the Executive Branch has been enabled by the corporate mass media, which comprise a crucial subset of the Executive branch insider clique**
  - *All* of the corporate television broadcast media are also members of the Council on Foreign Relations
  - *All* of the headquarters of the television broadcast media are situated within 1.5 miles of each other in New York City, and the headquarters of the Council on Foreign Relations is also situated within this same small Manhattan neighborhood
- **This domination has now resulted in the police and surveillance powers of the FBI being laid at the doorstep of the BRT/CFR via a “public-private” partnership known as the DSAC (Domestic Security Alliance Council)**
  - The leadership board of the DSAC is comprised primarily of BRT/CFR corporations
  - Member corporations of the DSAC are granted “*Centralized* access to security information not only from the FBI, but *from all federal government entities*, including the Department of Homeland Security, FEMA, the IRS, U.S. Coast Guard, and the U.S. Secret Service”
    - American media have almost entirely omitted news coverage of the DSAC which, by itself, speaks volumes
- **The secret NSA mass surveillance program was overseen by the Executive branch and may also have originated with the BRT/CFR nexus that dominates it**
  - Many of those most responsible for the program under both the Bush and Obama administrations are CFR members, and *all* of those with whom the program necessarily originated are CFR affiliated in some way

- **The Trans-Pacific Partnership, negotiated in secret, with even Congress excluded, focuses on prioritizing corporate interests over Congress and the courts, and on establishing a secret tribunal in which governments can be sued by corporations for unlimited amounts for an anticipated “loss of profits”– and many of the same BRT/CFR corporations are centrally involved *again***
  - The ideological roots of the secret tribunal (the so-called Investor-State Dispute Settlement mechanism) lie with a book by Daniel Epstein of the Rockefeller-founded University of Chicago
  - The NAFTA/TPP legal framework was hammered out by the little-known USCIB (US Council for International Business)
    - USCIB corporations are, to a large extent, the same ones we’ve seen affiliated with the BRT/CFR nexus – and they are *also* located in the same Manhattan neighborhood as the CFR and the broadcast media
  - The TPP has been sought and promoted primarily by an organization known as the US Coalition for TPP
    - This organization is *also* largely comprised of the same BRT/CFR corporations
- ***Militarized policing combined with spying has been advocated for by an organization known, unsurprisingly, as the Manhattan Institute. This institute is also situated in the same Manhattan neighborhood as the HQ of the CFR, the headquarters of the mass media, and the headquarters of the USCIB. (For details, please see Appendix 5.)***
- ***So: the domination of the Executive Branch of the US government has resulted in at least one, and perhaps two, secret mass surveillance programs, in which spying on American citizens is done for profit, and for the private, political benefit of transnational corporations***
- ***In the form of the TPP, it has also brought about what amounts to an attempt to overthrow the entire legal framework of the United States government – it is, in effect a corporate coup d’etat***
- ***With the CFR/BRT nexus effectively in long-standing control of both the media and the Executive Branch, it is hardly surprising to find, for example, the media nearly excluding a non-CFR politician like Bernie Sanders from news coverage, while at the same time extensively covering CFR members like Joe Biden and those closely related to them, like Hillary Clinton***

*“Some of the problems of governance in the United States today stem from an excess of democracy . . . Democracy is only one way of constituting authority, and it is not necessarily a universally applicable one.”*

[The Crisis of Democracy](#)  
[Trilateral Commission](#)

## **The Corporate Media and the Council on Foreign Relations**

One might think that anything on the scale of a global corporate takeover would, absolutely, be front-page news. But if most of the news itself originates from within enormous [media conglomerates](#) then that assumption would, obviously, be thrown seriously into doubt. (87% of Americans get some news [from television](#), and 24% prefer it to all other sources.) And, of course, even the most informative news doesn't come labelled as manifestations of a corporate takeover. It comes labelled instead as stories about, say, [Citizen's United v. Federal Election Commission](#), or headlined as controversy over the [Glass-Steagall act](#), or, though very rarely, the TPP. Nevertheless, all such stories do mark the same trend.

So let's begin our introduction to the “shadow government” by having a closer look at its key, and indeed essential, ally: the corporate broadcast media. (The print media are almost as bad, as you'll see in Appendix 2.)



## New York City: Ground Zero in the Corporate/Media War on Democracy

Few Americans seem to have wondered where the American broadcast media are headquartered. The short answer is: New York City. And not just anywhere in NYC. ABC, CBS, CNN, Fox, and NBC are *all* headquartered within a 1.5 mile radius of each other toward the southern end of Manhattan. To get a better picture of this, let's have a look at a series of maps that drill down into Manhattan, starting from the multi-state level.



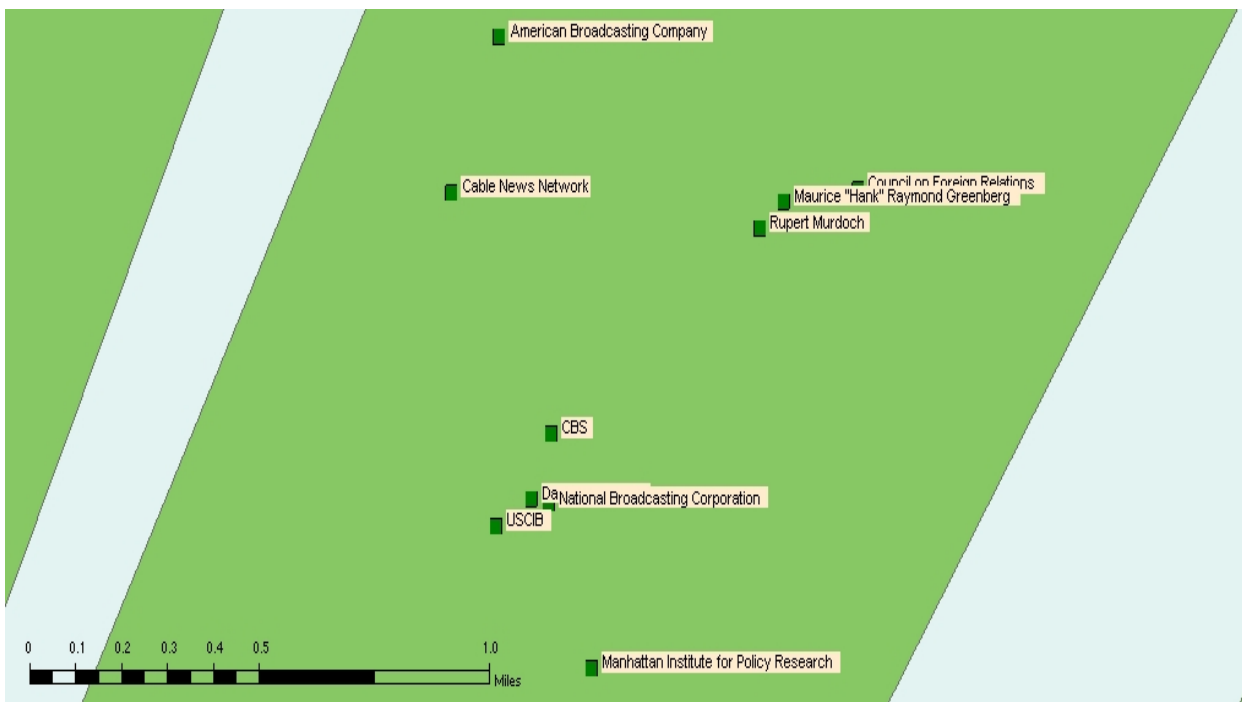
**Figure 1.** All of the television broadcast media are headquartered in Manhattan, in New York City, within 1.5 miles of each other and the Council on Foreign Relations headquarters. In this map we can see their location relative to nearby states, like Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Connecticut.



**Figure 2.** Zooming in, we now see Pennsylvania and New Jersey to the left, and, more centrally, Staten Island, Manhattan, and Long Island.



**Figure 3.** Manhattan is at the center in this image. Though tightly lumped together, media headquarters can be seen here to some extent near the southern end. (The scale here, at lower left, is calibrated at 10 miles.)



**Figure 4.** Here the locations of media corporate headquarters in the same Manhattan neighborhood can more clearly be seen. The ABC headquarters, for example, is visible at the top. The other individuals and organizations shown here, such as the Council on Foreign Relations, are linked directly or indirectly to the media. (The scale here, at bottom left, is calibrated at 1 mile.) There is, of course, no ordinary business reason for these corporations to be clustered together in this fashion.



**Figure 5.** *Some of the overlapping text in the previous figures is resolved here. David Rockefeller’s primary residence is at the center, overlapped by NBC headquarters text. (The scale here is .4 miles.) Rockefeller heads up the nearby Council on Foreign Relations.*

Now, obviously, this kind of physical proximity alone may not signify much. However, the physical proximity that we see in these maps is *also* matched by extensive organizational membership in a private political club for the wealthy known as the Council on Foreign Relations.

An early 1990s-era roster of *media* CFR members follows. Be aware that CFR alumni may *also* be found working in many other areas of business – and government too. (Since the Time Warner headquarters is also situated within the same 1.5 mile radius, and since it is also a major media company, we’ve also included its CFR members):

## ABC



*90s-era CFR member, Thomas S. Murphy, CEO*

**And, in addition:**

Barbara Walters  
John Connor  
Diane Sawyer  
John Scall

**Table 1.** *90s-era ABC CFR affiliated individuals.*

**CBS**



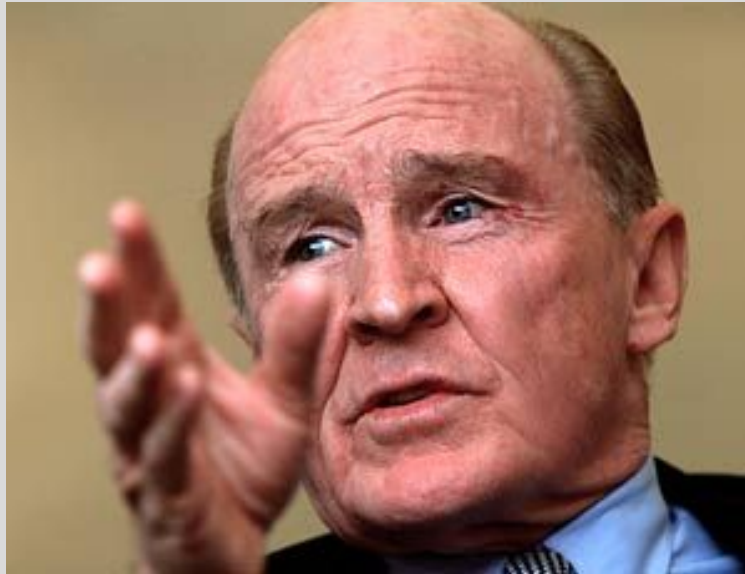
90s-era CFR member, Laurence A. Tisch, **CEO**

**And, in addition:**

Roswell Gilpatric  
James Houghton  
Henry Schacht  
Dan Rather  
Richard Hottelet  
Frank Stanton

**Table 2.** *90s-era CBS CFR affiliations.*

## NBC/RCA



*90s-era CFR member, John F. Welch, CEO*

### **And, in addition:**

Jane Pfeiffer

Lester Crystal

R.W. Sonnenfeldt

John Petty

Tom Brokaw

David Brinkley

John Chancellor

Marvin Kalb

Irving R. Levine

Herbert Schlosser

Peter G. Peterson (**Note:** Peterson went on to become Chairman of the CFR, and is also a Trilateral Commission member)

John Sawhill

**Table 3.** *90s-era NBC CFR affiliations.*

### **Public Broadcast Service**

Robert Mcneil  
Jim Lehrer  
C. Hunter-Gault  
Hodding Carter III  
Daniel Schorr

**Table 4.** *90s-era PBS CFR affiliations.*

### **Time, Inc. (Now Time Warner)**

Ralph Davidson  
Donal M. Wilson  
Henry Grunwald  
Alexander Heard  
Sol Linowitz  
Thomas Watson, Jr.  
Strobe Talbott

**Table 5.** *90s-era Time, Inc. CFR affiliations.*

(For a somewhat more current roster of media affiliations, please see Appendix 1 of this document.)

Obviously, then, as an integral part of it, the broadcast media know all about the CFR. But the media never *talk* about their relationship with the CFR publicly. There can be little doubt about it: they *want* this relationship to remain secret, and they've kept it that way for a *very* long time.

Secrecy about the political and economic identities of insiders is by no means unusual for the broadcast media: there are many, *many* other things they don't talk much about either, such as the [Bank of International Settlements](#), the very hub of international banking; the [National](#)



[Association for Broadcasters](#), its corporate lobby, which keeps its membership secret; or the [immense profits](#) the broadcast media are making from the disastrous [Citizen's United](#) ruling). And, while we do know [which corporations control which other media corporations](#), we don't, to a large extent, know who actually *owns* and *controls* the media, a different matter entirely.



**Figure 6.** *Hillary Rodham Clinton, who isn't a member, but is surrounded by them, speaks to those who are members. (She is a protégé of Henry Kissinger, a Rockefeller satellite.)*

So far, then, we've seen that all of the television broadcast media are clustered in close proximity to one another in the same tiny Manhattan neighborhood. We've also seen that all of these broadcast media are affiliated with the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), *which is itself* headquartered within the same neighborhood.

We've further seen that the media simply don't talk about this affiliation.

Ever.

But just what *is* the CFR, anyway? Again, to keep things concise, we won't go into great depth here. However, here's a bare-bones excerpt from [Wikipedia](#):

The **Council on Foreign Relations (CFR)**, founded in 1921, is a [United States nonprofit](#), 4900 [member organization](#), [publisher](#), and [think tank](#) specializing in U.S. [foreign policy](#) and [international affairs](#), headquartered in [New York City](#), with an additional office in

[Washington, D.C.](#). Its membership has included [*many*] senior politicians, more than a dozen [secretaries of state](#), [CIA](#) directors, bankers, lawyers, professors, and senior [media](#) figures. The CFR promotes [globalization](#), [free trade](#), reducing financial regulations on [transnational corporations](#), and economic consolidation into regional blocs such as [NAFTA](#) or the [European Union](#). . . .



**Figure 7.** *The headquarters of the Council on Foreign Relations on 68<sup>th</sup> St. in Manhattan, New York City. The facility was donated to the CFR by David Rockefeller's father, generally known as "Junior". Even at 100, David remains the power behind the organization.*

The *most* important things to know about the CFR are as follows:

- The CFR is, 100%, a *private* organization (and has features of both a club and a think tank)
- You must be nominated by existing CFR members to become a member
- It is dominated and funded by [corporate members](#) that include the largest of large transnational corporations
- CFR alumni have staffed the Executive branch for decades, and continue to do so today

- It is by no means solely concerned with foreign policy, and so, is misleadingly named
- There is no constitutionally-sanctioned role for this organization whatsoever
- Because of its comprehensive media affiliations, if the CFR really doesn't want you to know about something, the chances are very good that you [won't know about it](#) – and if they do want you to know about something, you very likely will

Interested readers can discover more concerning the CFR [here](#) and [here](#).

Let's continue. What has the CFR been up to recently?



**Figure 8.** *President Obama addresses the [Council on Foreign Relations](#). Like the Bush administration, his administration is riddled with numerous appointees who are CFR alumni (and that affiliation also includes the First Lady). (Query with the keywords "Council on Foreign Relations at the White House site: <http://www.whitehouse.gov> for a lengthy list of references.)*

## **The Disreputable Hobbies of the Good Ol' Boys**

A photo, of course, is worth a thousand words. But a table can be, too. Even at first glance you can see that the individuals included in the table below are heavy-hitters. But this is no random assortment. The NSA is part of the Department of Defense, which is, in turn, overseen by the Executive branch. The table includes the names of those most certain to have known about the extra-constitutional NSA mass-surveillance program before it became a matter of public awareness.

Individual	Position	In Office	CFR Affiliation	Booz Allen Hamilton (Carlyle Group)
<a href="#">George W. Bush</a>	POTUS	1/2001 – 1/2009	Carlyle group is a corporate CFR member	The Carlyle group has former <a href="#">Bush family ties</a>
<a href="#">Dick Cheney</a>	VPOTUS	1/2001 – 1/2009	CFR <b>director</b>	( <a href="#">Halliburton</a> )
<a href="#">John Negroponte</a>	Director National Intelligence (First)	2005 – 2007	CFR member	
<a href="#">Donald Rumsfeld</a>	Sec’y of Defense	2001 – 2006	CFR member	
<a href="#">Robert Gates</a>	Sec’y of Defense	2006 – 2011	Co-Chair CFR taskforce	
<a href="#">Michael Hayden</a>	Director of NSA	1999 – 2005	CFR member	( <a href="#">Chertoff Group</a> )
<a href="#">Barack Obama</a>	POTUS	1/2009 – Present		
Michelle Obama	First Lady	1/2009 – Present	CFR Member	
Joe Biden	VPOTUS	1/2009 – Present	CFR Member	
VADM Michael McConnell	DNI (Also Director, NSA, Board member Council on CyberSecurity)	2007 – 2009		Vice Chairman, <a href="#">Booz Allen Hamilton</a>
<a href="#">Dennis Blair</a>	DNI	2009 - 2010	(Trilateral Commission)	
David Gompert	DNI	2010 – Present	CFR Member	
Leon Panetta	Sec’y of Defense	2011 - 2013		
Chuck Hagel	Sec’y of Defense	2013 – 2015	CFR member	
Ashton Carter	Sec’y of Defense	2015 - Present	CFR member	
<a href="#">Keith B. Alexander</a>	Director of NSA	2005 – 2014		(Involved in <a href="#">investments</a> of questionable propriety)

**Table 6.** *The individuals most certain to have known about the NSA mass-surveillance program, most of whom also had a role in administering it, together with their Council on Foreign Relations affiliations. Note that all Bush-era figures had some CFR affiliation.*

Obviously, the relationships documented in this table don’t, of themselves, constitute hard proof that the NSA program originated with the Council on Foreign Relations. However, it does suggest a compelling question: *could this many key members of the program be CFR alumni (including NSA Director Michael Hayden) and there be no CFR relationship with the NSA program?* And if there is a relationship, what, exactly, is it?



**Figure 9.** *Michael Hayden, NSA Director and CFR member, speaks to the Council on Foreign Relations.*



**Figure 10.** Dick Cheney [speaking](#) to the Council on Foreign Relations: “I was actually Director . . . . [Smirks] I never mentioned that when I was campaigning for re-election back in Wyoming. . . .” [Audience laughs]

What’s the Booz Allen Hamilton/Carlyle Group connection here? Well, it’s one of questionable propriety and legality. Carlyle Group owns Booz Allen Hamilton, which gets 99% of its multi-billion dollar revenue stream from doing contract work for the Federal government. It was administering the NSA program when its employee, Ed Snowden, blew the whistle on it.

In 2006 Booz Allen Hamilton was discovered administering another surveillance program of probable illegality, something called the [SWIFT monitoring program](#). Earlier, BAH, as it’s sometimes known, also worked on the illegal [Total Information Awareness Program](#). And that’s not all. As we’ll see later, it’s *also* administering a previously-unknown FBI mass-surveillance program. (Those reading this white paper are the very first to learn of it.)

What BAH personifies, then, is Big-Brother-for-profit. And its personnel move back and forth between roles in government and the private sector. This is not the only revolving door of this nature, however: NSA director Keith Alexander, for example, was caught trading in stock in Synchronoss Technologies, a service provider the NSA had a business relationship with. Cheney is famously entwined in the military-industrial complex via his Halliburton association.

The private development and private administration of intelligence programs for profit has much in common with the prison-for-profit system: both have created a deep-pocketed constituency

with disreputable business interests. The prison-for-profit industry has strong [financial incentives](#) for encouraging draconian [incarceration](#) policies; the Big-Brother-for-profits industry has similar financial incentives for spying on the American public. (And the rest of the world, too, including nominal allies.)

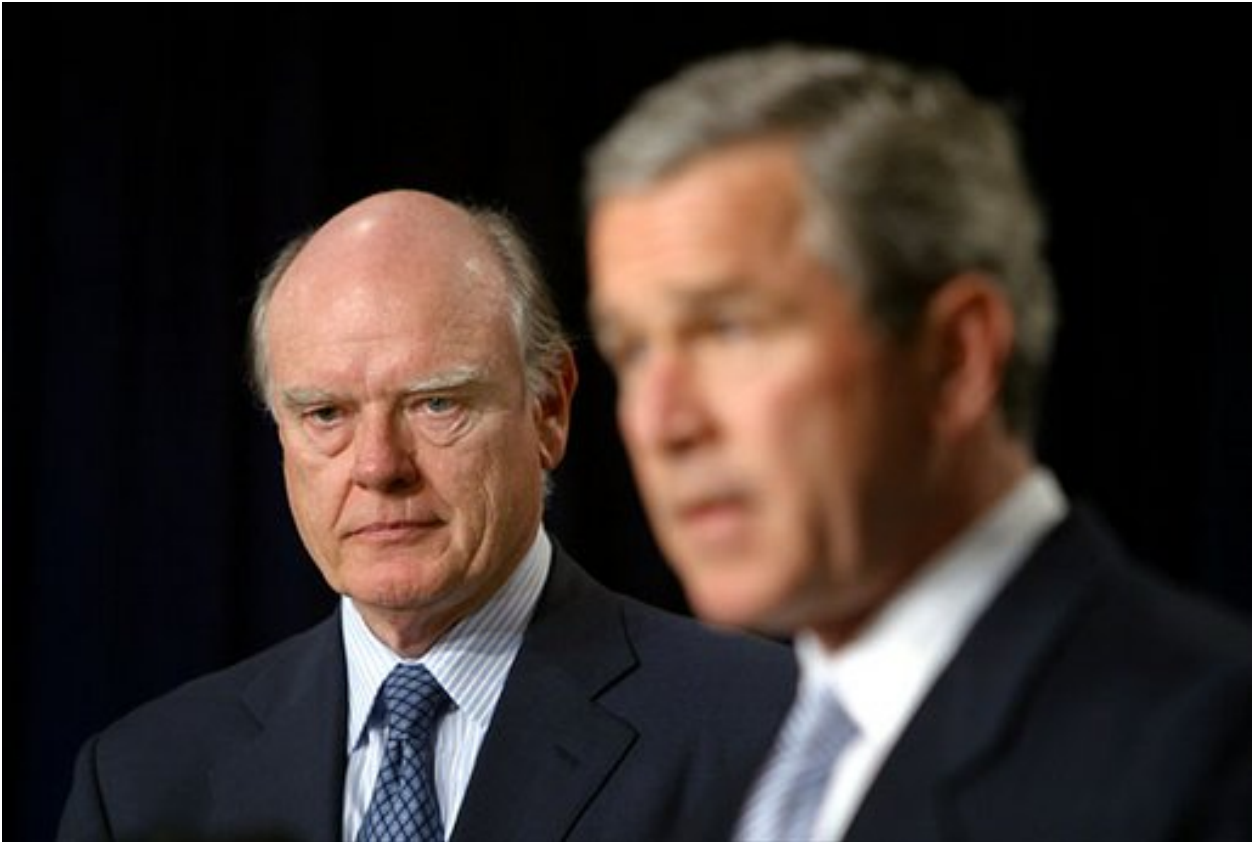
But is profit the *only* motive for spying?

*“ . . . the individual liberties preserved in the U.S. Constitution were no longer a consideration. It was at that time that the NSA began to implement the group of intelligence activities now known as the President’s Surveillance Program (“PSP”). While I was not personally read into the PSP, various members of my Thin Thread team were given the task of implementing various aspects of the PSP. They confided in me and told me that the PSP involved the collection of domestic electronic communications traffic without . . . privacy protections . . . . I resigned from the NSA in late 2001. I could not stay after the NSA began purposefully violating the Constitution.”*

**William Binney**  
*NSA whistleblower*



**Figure 11.** An aerial view of the NSA’s immense Utah Data Center for storing its secretly acquired electronic communications, June 6, 2013. (AP Photo/Rick Bowmer)



**Figure 12.** *George Bush speaks while Business Roundtable chairman (and American Enterprise Institute alumnus) John Snow looks on.*

### **The Plot Sickens: The CFR is Extensively Cross-Affiliated with the Business Roundtable – and Both Have Access to FBI Mass-Surveillance Program Data**

*“These [surveillance] programs were never about terrorism: they’re about economic spying, social control, and diplomatic manipulation.”*

**NSA Whistleblower Ed Snowden**

In December of 2012 the little-known civil liberties group, the Partnership for Civil Justice Fund [dropped a bomb](#).



They had obtained heavily redacted FBI documents revealing that the Bureau had been involved, from the very beginning, in the surveillance and policing of the Occupy Wall Street movement.

Not only that, but they discovered that the FBI was *also* coordinating its activities with a previously unknown “public-private partnership” organization known as the DSAC, or Domestic Security Alliance Council.

The Cross Affiliations of DSAC's Leadership Board Corporations		
<u>DSAC Leadership Board</u>	<u>BRT</u>	<u>CFR</u>
<a href="#">3M</a>	X	
<a href="#">American Express</a>	X	X
<a href="#">Archers Daniel Midland</a>	*	
<a href="#">Bank of America</a>	X	X
<a href="#">Barclays</a> (Note: this is a <b>British</b> multinational banking company headquartered in London.)	X	X
<a href="#">Boeing</a>	X	X
Bridgestone Firestone		
<a href="#">Bristol-Myers Squibb</a> +	X	
<a href="#">CIGNA</a>	X	X
<a href="#">Citigroup</a>	X	X
<a href="#">Coca-Cola</a> +	X	X
<a href="#">ConocoPhillips</a>	X	X
<a href="#">Ernst &amp; Young</a> (EY)	X	
<a href="#">FedEx</a>	X	X
<a href="#">DuPont</a>	X	
<a href="#">General Electric</a> (GE)	X	X
Jet Blue		
Kellogg's		
<a href="#">KPMG International</a>	X	
<a href="#">Mastercard</a>	X	
Medco Health Solutions		
<a href="#">Merck &amp; Co.</a> +	X	X
<a href="#">NextEra Energy</a>	X	
RBS/Citizens		
<a href="#">Time Warner</a> +	X	X
United Airlines		
USAA		
<a href="#">Walmart</a>	X	X
Walt Disney		
* Archers Daniel Midlands is indirectly affiliated with the BRT via its security officer Mark J. Chevron, who is a member of the BRT security task force. + <a href="#">Former</a> members.		

**Table 7.** *The CFR cross-affiliations of the DSAC's leadership board corporations.*

Mara Verheyden-Hilliard, the Executive Director of PCJF, remarked “These documents show that the FBI and the Department of Homeland Security are treating protests against the corporate and banking structure of America as potential criminal and terrorist activity. These documents also show these federal agencies functioning as a *de facto* intelligence arm of Wall Street and Corporate America.”

There’s no doubt that Verheyden-Hilliard got that right. The FBI met with the New York Stock Exchange concerning OWS protests a month in advance of their occurrence. And other coordinating activity took place in Indiana, Alaska, Florida, Virginia, Wisconsin, Alabama, Mississippi, Florida, Arizona and Colorado.

But she was even more right than she knew: the corporate composition of the DSAC leadership board isn’t comprised of some random assortment of corporations.

Rather, the board is effectively a front group for what is possibly the most powerful corporate lobbying group on the planet: the [Business Roundtable](#) (BRT). As Table 7 shows, 20 of 29 of the corporations on DSAC’s leadership board are, or were, BRT members. And many of these corporations are additionally cross-affiliated with the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR).



**Figure 13.** *Michelle Obama addresses the BRT.*

But the FBI wasn’t merely coordinating its activities with the BRT: it had long been providing DSAC’s member corporations with information gleaned from its own mass-surveillance program, which appears to completely dwarf the NSA program in terms of the number of governmental agencies involved.

The nationally coordinated FBI policing of OWS was in direct contradiction to what had been the official Executive branch narrative to that point. In [November of 2011](#), White House Press Secretary Jay Carney had responded to a question concerning the way the OWS protests were handled in this way:

Q: On another domestic matter, does the President have any reaction to the way the Occupy Wall Street protesters were removed, how that was handled?

MR. CARNEY: He's aware of it, obviously, from the reports. And our position and the President's position is that obviously *every municipality has to make its own decisions* about how to handle these issues . . . . [Our emphasis.]

But, more remarkably, the very existence of the DSAC went without mention in "mainstream" broadcast and print media even *after* The Guardian newspaper [broke the story](#). So far as most mass-media were concerned, the DSAC didn't even exist. (For example, through 4/22/2014, ABC, NBC, and CBS [never reported](#) on the DSAC or Domestic Security Alliance Council. And Reuters has [never reported](#) on it, either.)

We believe this provides an example of how the relationship between the CFR-affiliated media, the rest of the BRT/CFR nexus, and the executive branch functions in a domestic context.

Though never reported on in CFR-affiliated media, the DSAC had a [web site](#) of its own, dating back to at least 2010. And if anyone had dug deeply enough there, they would have discovered a listing of the member corporations of the DSAC leadership board, as well as a sort of "[sales brochure](#)" for the services offered by the DSAC. (Both of these have now been removed from the site.)

This "sales brochure" bragged of offering member corporations:

*"Centralized access to security information not only from the FBI, but from all federal government entities, including the Department of Homeland Security, FEMA, the IRS, U.S. Coast Guard, and the U.S. Secret Service . . . ." [Our emphasis.]*

To repeat: DSAC corporations were being given "centralized access" to "security information not only from the FBI, but *from all federal government entities.*"

When Verheyden-Hilliard said that the FBI and Department of security were "functioning as a *de facto* intelligence arm of Wall Street and Corporate America" she did, indeed, have it right – but the exact nature of the DSAC "public-private" relationships remains alarmingly murky. Only DSAC members and the FBI know what is implied by the phrase "centralized access", and exactly what sort of "security information" is made available via that access.

*"I define the success of a program by measuring it against one question: 'Was it worth my time?' I can say without a doubt DSAC is worth my time." — Michael Mason, Chief Security Officer, Verizon*

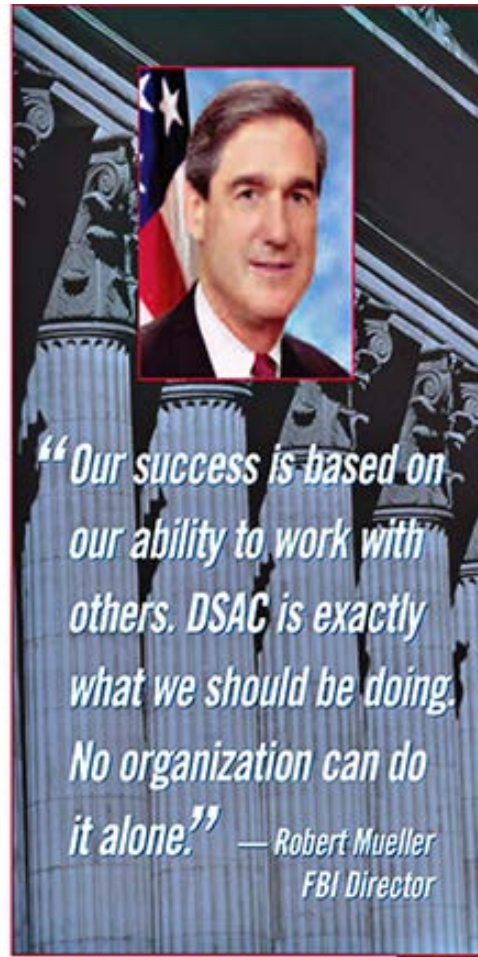
*"DSAC is more than information sharing. It is mission sharing."  
— Joseph Petro, Managing Director, Citigroup Security and Investigations*

### PARTNER BENEFITS

DSAC is the information clearinghouse for CSOs and security analysts. At no cost, our partners receive high-value benefits including:

## RICAN BUSINESSES

- Centralized access to security information not only from the FBI, but from all federal government entities, including the Department of Homeland Security, FEMA, the IRS, U.S. Coast Guard, and the U.S. Secret Service
- Ongoing access to a network of diverse security experts at the highest government and corporate levels
- Continuing education for CSOs through the semi-annual Domestic Security Executive Academy at the FBI Academy, Quantico, VA
- Continuing education for intelligence analysts through quarterly regional Intelligence Analyst Symposiums
- Additional opportunities through participation in DSAC's committees



To learn more or to fill out a DSAC application, visit [www.dsac.gov](http://www.dsac.gov). Or, if you have questions, e-mail us at [dsac@ic.fbi.gov](mailto:dsac@ic.fbi.gov).

**Figure 14.** An excerpt from the FBI's DSAC "sales brochure". The FBI falls under the management of the executive branch of government. The boxed area above refers to a DSAC partner "benefit": Centralized access to security information not only from the FBI, but from all federal government entities.

Reporting by journalist [Beau Hodai](#) subsequent to the PCJR revelations makes it clear that terrorism and protests are not all that DSAC officials and DSAC leadership board corporations are preoccupied with. The FBI/DHS are apparently helping out corporations with *anything* they might find alarming or embarrassing.

For example, redacted documents Hodai received in response to a FOIA included an email string with the subject line “Re: Call from [REDACTED][REDACTED] re Wikileaks and Anonymous”. The participants in the email exchange included Dawn Scalici, the DHS’ DSAC chairperson, Michael Potts, DHS Undersecretary for Enterprise and Mission Support, and unknown individuals apparently employed by DHS.

Wikileaks and Anonymous are, of course, renowned for the release of information that the government, and corporations, would have preferred never see disclosure.

And the “public” part of the DSAC “public-private” relationship turns out to be, in part, *also* private. Hodai discovered that [Booz Allen Hamilton](#) has done work in support of the DSAC. What sort of work isn’t made entirely explicit in the redacted FBI records, but Hodai remarks that it seems to have ranged from “coordinating day to day operations of the public-private intelligence partnership (per DSAC issue updates contained in available records), to work in support of the development of DSAC standard operating procedures, private sector ‘customer service’ and website technical support, in coordination with FBI personnel.”

The better-known Booz Allen Hamilton relationship is the one it has established with the NSA. As we’ve noted, Booz Allen Hamilton employee Ed Snowden was responsible for directly handling National Security Agency IT systems on their behalf, and blew the whistle on the NSA mass surveillance program that Booz Allen Hamilton was helping administer.

***"DSAC is more than information sharing. It is mission sharing."***  
**Joseph Petro, Citigroup (Business Roundtable member)**



**Figure 15.** *President Obama addresses CEOs of the Business Roundtable. BRT member corporations comprise two thirds of the DSAC Leadership Board. George W. Bush appears to have created the DSAC as a front for the BRT and the Council on Foreign Relations. Obama has used it to offer the many resources of the FBI and the DHS, both public institutions, to these private organizations for their private benefit – at public expense.*

## **The Mission of the Business Roundtable: Pressing the Corporate Viewpoint on Government**

We've seen that the DSAC leadership board is largely comprised of Business Roundtable (BRT) affiliated corporations. And we've seen that the BRT is a deep-pocketed business lobbying group. The BRT's pedigree can be traced to the older [Business Council](#), which was created in the 1930s as a corporate advisory group to the Federal government. The members of the BC were, and are, chairs or presidents of the largest US-based corporations. Some of the companies most represented historically have included the former Chase Manhattan and J. P. Morgan banks (now merged as Rockefeller affiliated [J. P. Morgan Chase](#)), General Electric (one of the parent companies of [NBC](#)), and General Motors.

The member corporations of the BC have also been extensively cross-affiliated with the [Council on Foreign Relations](#) (an association that has continued unabated with the Business Roundtable).

Creation of the Business Roundtable wasn't a formal project of the BC, but it *was* undertaken by the same member corporations. "In effect," says sociologist [G. William Domhoff](#), "the Business Roundtable is the lobbying extension of the Business Council. . . . The Business Roundtable has an activist profile."

What led the BC corporations to spin off the BRT? Domhoff again: "Corporate leaders came to the conclusion that the Business Council was not effective enough in pressing the corporate viewpoint on government."

The short version of the mission of both organizations, then, is precisely that: *to press the corporate viewpoint on government.*

The BRT, which detests consumer advocacy, began its political activity by [successfully opposing](#) a new governmental Agency for Consumer Advocacy in the mid-1970s. Subsequently it vigorously opposed clean air regulations, and moved on to lobby for [NAFTA](#), the [controversial](#) trade deal. It appears that the BRT is also one of the [principal forces](#) behind the similarly contentious trade deal known as the Trans-Pacific Partnership, which has been described by one critic as the "[most brazen corporate power grab in American history.](#)"



**Figure 16.** *Soon after his inauguration, President Obama met with BRT CEOs. The president of the BRT at that time was PhRMA lobbyist [John Castellani](#), whom Obama met with individually at the White House more often over the first nine months of his administration than any other individual except [Tom Donohue](#) of the US Chamber of Commerce.*



## The Uncertain Corporate Origins of the Nexus' DSAC

So, how did the DSAC program of the Nexus originate? It depends on who you ask, as there are at least two different accounts. The first account can be found in DSAC's "sales brochure":

DSAC was borne out of *chief security officers' (CSOs) call* for an FBI-led organization that would bridge the information divide between America's private and public sectors. The program is modeled after the Overseas Security Advisory Council (OSAC), a program under the U.S. Department of State. . . ." [Our emphasis.]

What is notable about this account is that the idea for the DSAC is described as originating with the chief security officers of the respective member *corporations*. The FBI is mentioned *only* as the organization these officers wanted to head up the DSAC.

However, there is another account at the [FBI DSAC](#) site:

DSAC was modeled after the Overseas Security Advisory Council—started pre-9/11 by the State Department to exchange information with U.S. private sector firms, many of whom operate overseas, concerning international security issues. *After 9/11*, it became clear that a similar initiative was needed to encourage the exchange of information on *domestic* security issues. *And the FBI took the lead in setting it up*, with DHS acting as a key partner today." [Our emphasis. It's perhaps worth noting that the State Department itself has been staffed heavily by CFR alumni.]

While these accounts aren't directly contradictory, the FBI account lays stress upon the events of 9/11 as somehow providing the rationale for the program, and leaves unstated just who decided that a *domestic* security initiative was needed.\*\* It's worth noting, incidentally, that the State Department has *also* long been heavily staffed with CFR alumni.

(\*\* *The fact that DSAC was modeled after the Overseas Advisory Council may tie the origins of the program closely to [Mark Cheviron](#), the chief security officer of Archer Daniels Midland (a DSAC leadership board corporation). Cheviron was the OSAC Private Sector co-chair in 2007 for the U.S. Department of State, is a member of the BRT security task force, and is a graduate of the FBI National Academy. His resume specifically states that "Mr. Cheviron is a founding member of the Domestic Security Alliance Council (DSAC)" And he is one of the individuals quoted in the DSAC "sales brochure". [Our emphasis.]*)



**Figure 17.** *President Obama addresses the BRT.*

### **A Murky Mission and Even Murkier Legal Framework**

Following the PCJF disclosures of the FBI/DSAC connection, Hodai filed a FOIA to obtain the DSAC mission statement. Although DHS’s FOIA officer acknowledged the existence of more than 4000 responsive documents, the FBI only produced 125 of these records, and even these were heavily redacted. Among the many documents that FBI flatly refused to produce was the DSAC charter. Whatever the mission of the DSAC is, therefore, the foregoing suggests that it’s an unusually sensitive one. *And it remains entirely secret.*

The legal framework for the DSAC is equally uncertain. What, for example, is the legal rationale for delegating *any* degree of Executive branch and FBI authority to corporate America? And what legal safeguards, if any, are in place to govern how personally identifying information can be shared between federal agencies and the nation’s largest corporations?

Insight into the latter question may possibly be gleaned from the information-sharing guidelines that the DOJ promulgated for the National Counter Terrorism Center (NCTC). The NCTC is the “primary organization in the United States Government for integrating and analyzing all intelligence pertaining to counterterrorism (except for information pertaining exclusively to domestic terrorism).”

In 2012, DOJ issued [guidelines](#) to govern the “access, use, retention, and dissemination” of information in NCTC’s databases. Notably, these NCTC guidelines provide that:

NCTC shall not access, acquire, retain, use, or disseminate United States person information ***solely*** [our emphasis] for the purpose of monitoring activities protected by the First Amendment or monitoring the lawful exercise of other rights secured by the Constitution or other laws of the United States.

By implication, therefore, it would appear that NCTC *can* access and disseminate information “for the purpose of monitoring activities protected by the First Amendment or monitoring the lawful exercise of other rights” just so long as this is not the *sole* purpose.

Significantly, the NCTC guidelines further provide that:

. . . *terrorism* information, including terrorism information concerning United States persons, properly acquired and retained by NCTC *may* be used for *all* authorized NCTC purposes. These include . . . appropriate dissemination to . . . federal *and other* counterterrorism *partners*.

[Our emphasis. Recall that the FBI regarded OWS as being “terrorist” in nature from its very inception. And a [similar approach](#) was adopted by the FBI with respect to the School of Americas Watch organization and, more recently, Black Lives Matter.] The NCTC goes on to say:

These Guidelines are not intended to alter or otherwise impact pre-existing information sharing relationships by federal agencies with state, local, or tribal authorities *or private-sector entities*, whether such relationships arise by law, Presidential Directive, MOU, or other formal agreements. . . .

[Our emphasis. The acronym 'MOU' refers to 'memoranda of understanding'. These appear to be *informal* agreements.]

So: does the DSAC mass surveillance program operate under the umbrella of the [ambiguous NCTC guidelines](#) – or instead under a pre-existing “information sharing relationship” to which these don’t apply? Only the FBI knows, and, as we’ve seen, it isn’t telling.

What the establishment of the DSAC makes clear is that the executive branch/BRT/CFR nexus is so entwined that some degree of governance by corporations has effectively been established at the federal law enforcement level; and, having been established, continues to evolve. Its director recently remarked in his column:

DSAC is endeavoring to *increase* coordination among FBIHQ Divisions and FBI Field Offices to improve collaboration. A significant part of that is helping to *strategically assess and re-align private sector points of contacts to elevate the value of both the internal and external partnerships*. DSAC will continue to partner with Special Agent in Charge (SAC)s and *DSAC member CSOs* to hold regional executive level meetings to encourage *greater collaboration*, understanding, and *alignment of local and national security priorities*.



**Figure 18.** *Still-active centenarian neo-fascist David Rockefeller heads up American Friends of Bilderberg, the Trilateral Commission and the Council on Foreign Relations, and also served 12 years as chairman of the board of JP Morgan Chase bank, the nation's largest. Alumni of the Rockefeller-founded University of Chicago include both President Obama, the founding figure of the neoconservatives, Leo Strauss, and the personification of trickle-down theory, Milton Friedman. Other alumni include: University of Chicago professor Richard Epstein and Michael Chertoff, former Secretary of the Department of Homeland security. The Federalist Society, which originated at the University of Chicago, Yale, and Harvard, includes among its alumni Supreme Court justices Antonin Scalia, Samuel Alito, and Clarence Thomas. The Rockefellers founded the University of Chicago, and David has long involved himself, and donated to, Harvard.*

## **End Game: The TPP is a Strategy to Curtail American Sovereignty and Establish Global Corporate Dominance**

### **The Business Roundtable, the Trans-Pacific Partnership, and Beyond**

*"It wouldn't matter if a substance was liquid plutonium destined for a child's breakfast cereal. If the government bans a product and a US based company loses profits, the company can claim damages under NAFTA."*

*An attorney working for Ethyl Corporation*

Let's continue now with an account of the activities of the Nexus in the context of the "Trans-Pacific Partnership, or TPP.

Up to this point we've seen that member corporations of the corporate lobbying group, the Business Roundtable, requested and received their own mass-surveillance program under the auspices of the FBI. Under this program, member corporations have access to the information concerning American citizens held by all non-intelligence Federal agencies.

It has also lobbied for legislation that would permit them to forward information concerning any American citizen to the NSA, where it could be used for purposes having nothing to do with cyber security. It's member corporations have also received permission to obtain information from the NSA and 16 other intelligence agencies without legal liability.

We've also seen grounds for believing that the BRT/CFR Nexus may have been the client the NSA mass surveillance programs were created for in the first place.

But the activities and ambitions of the Nexus reach far beyond destroying reform movements, and gathering the intimate details of the personal lives of Americans.

As we'll see, an already-existing corporate tribunal may award immense damages to any corporation that thinks its future earnings might be impacted by US laws. As almost any law might impact the future earnings of some corporation, and as the decisions of this tribunal may not be appealed by the US government, this gives the whip hand to those corporations, in direct opposition to the law-making authority of government. The Transpacific Partnership (TPP) would greatly extend the authority of that tribunal.

## A Bevy of Trojan Horse “Trade” Deals

On January 1, 1994, the North America Free Trade Agreement, or NAFTA, came into force. And along with it there sprang into existence a very strange legal entity indeed: an anonymous, offshore, unelected, and not even American World Bank/UN “tribunal”. This organization – it cannot be called a court – is nevertheless invested with the power of courts to award unlimited “damages”. It is entirely without the accountability that courts have to civil society, and there is no appellate “court” (court of appeal). All decisions are final.

Incredibly, under NAFTA, not only US law, but also the laws of Mexico and Canada, are drastically undermined.

The “damages” for which NAFTA pseudo-courts can award enormous amounts of money are themselves both peculiar and unprecedented: they can include “damage” to such wholly intangible “property” as a corporation’s *speculated* and as yet unearned future profits. And since nearly any law can impact a corporation’s speculated and unearned future profits, the [chilling effect](#) on legislation is enormous.

The full powers of this NAFTA pseudo-court, and the extent of the nearly unlimited harm it could inflict, weren’t fully appreciated until cases began to be heard.

One such was the 1997 Ethyl Corporation vs. Canada case.

Canada had outlawed the anti-knock gasoline additive MMT – which is carcinogenic, and which is also a neurotoxin. But Ethyl, a US-based corporation, objected that the law banning the additive was “tantamount to expropriation” of corporate profits. (For the details, see: [http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2015/05/14/trade-deal-food-safety- n\\_7287622.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2015/05/14/trade-deal-food-safety- n_7287622.html) .)

Absurd? Regardless, Ethyl won, and Canadian taxpayers were compelled to hand over \$13,000,000 to the company under the rules of NAFTA’s Chapter 11. As one Ethyl attorney remarked:

”It wouldn’t matter if a substance was liquid plutonium destined for a child’s breakfast cereal. If the government bans a product and a US based company loses profits, the company can claim damages under NAFTA.”

The number of NAFTA cases that have been brought have since rapidly multiplied. And the sums awarded by the NAFTA tribunal have proven enormous:

In the first seven years of NAFTA [which dates to 1994], with only a small number of cases filed, an astonishing \$13 billion has been claimed by corporations in their initial filings: \$1.8 billion from U.S. taxpayers, \$294 million from Mexican taxpayers and a whopping \$11 billion from Canadian taxpayers.

Yet these tribunals are not courts in any meaningful sense, and they are answerable to no one. According to journalist William Greider:

Such NAFTA investor-to-state cases are litigated in special [international commercial arbitration bodies](#) which are closed to public participation, observation and input. The decisions made in these bodies, which have no appeals process, are binding. Two arbitral bodies . . . are listed in NAFTA's Chapter 11 as venues for private enforcement of NAFTA's terms: the United Nations Commission on International Trade Law (UNCITRAL) and the World Bank's International Center for Settlement of Investment Disputes (ICSID). These two venues do not provide the basic due process or openness guarantees afforded in national courts. Rather, three-person panels composed of professional arbitrators meet behind closed doors to hear arguments in cases. Instead of acting as conciliators, the tribunal members become judge and jury and can rule that a NAFTA member nation must pay an unlimited amount of taxpayer dollars in compensation to the corporation whose NAFTA rights the three arbitrators concluded have been impaired.

As it turns out, the three-nation NAFTA Chapter 11 tribunals were only a trial balloon.

Strongly backed by David Rockefeller, something known as the Free Trade Area of the Americas was first proposed at the "Summit of the Americas" in Miami on December 11, 1994. It would have expanded NAFTA Chapter 11 provisions to 31 additional nations in the Western hemisphere. Negotiations were essentially secret: some 500 corporate representatives were given security clearances and access to FTAA documents, but only a handful of civil society representatives were given equivalent clearance. And the NAFTA provisions would have been further broadened to include provisions concerning services and procurements.

Just a few months later, the Paris-based Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (or OECD) tried to replicate, and indeed broaden, the NAFTA Chapter 11 provisions with its Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI). Since even nations which were not members of the OECD were intended to become participants, the MAI was a vehicle for extending the Chapter 11 legal regime to, in principle, the entire planet.

In the face of withering criticism, the FTAA bogged down. An attempt was then made to insert the corporate investment agenda into a so-called "Millennium Round" of talks hosted by the World Trade Organization, which led to the "Battle of Seattle," where it effectively foundered.

CAFTA (the Central America Free Trade Agreement) is an expansion of NAFTA to five Central American nations. It was signed May 28, 2004. On July 27, 2005, it was passed in the U. S. House of Representatives by a single [vote conducted in the middle of the night](#). Its Chapter 10 provisions were a mirror of the Chapter 11 provisions of NAFTA. But resistance by the parliaments of several

of the signatory countries led the Bush administration to delay the planned January 1, 2006 implementation.

But that still wasn't the end of attempts to impose a NAFTA Chapter 11 extra-legal regime.

Something called the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) is the most recent attempt to do much the same thing – except worse, and on a much larger scale than CAFTA. As with the FTAA, negotiations were conducted almost entirely in secret. So-called “Fast Track” authority was sought and won by the President, which curtails the ability of Congress to debate and amend the TPP. (Keep in mind that, per the Constitution, Congress has primary authority for conducting all trade accords.)

Like the NSA mass-surveillance program, and like the DSAC mass-surveillance program, nothing about the TPP was ever intended to be a matter of public awareness – or even Congressional awareness. Until *very* recently, everything that we knew about the TPP was leaked.

But how is it that this Chapter 11 legal regime keeps being resurrected time after time after time? And how did anything so bizarre originate in the first place?

### **The Strange, 12 Word Origin of Unelected, Unaccountable Corporate Tribunals**

To understand the origins of the TPP, we have to travel back in time to January 1, 1985, when the Harvard University Press published a tome called “Takings: Private Property and the Power of Eminent Domain”. It was authored by Richard Epstein, an employee of the Rockefeller-founded University of Chicago.

While the book is 376 pages in length, it's entirely concerned with 12 words found at the end of one sentence in the Fifth Amendment of the Constitution:

“. . . nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.”

The *very* brief Fifth Amendment states that:

- 1) In capital cases, where a person may stand to lose his or her life, there must be a Grand Jury
- 2) A person may not be placed in jeopardy for a crime more than once
- 3) A person may not be compelled to testify against himself or herself in his or her own trial
- 4) No person may be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law (there are, incidentally, no Presidential exceptions to this)
- 5) And the private property of a *person* (if this passage is taken in context) may not be taken for public use without just compensation.



On the basis of 5), Epstein concluded that redistribution of wealth in *any* form cannot be a constitutional function of US government. More generally still, he comments “It will be said that my position invalidates much of the 20th century legislation, and so it does.” Moreover, in his view, “Most of economic regulation is stupid. . . . What possible reason is there for regulating wages and hours? . . . If my takings doctrine prevails, you have no minimum-wage laws. That’s fine. You’d have an OSHA a tenth of the size. That’s fine too. You’d have no antidiscrimination laws for privileged employees, which would be a godsend.” (“Privileged” here would seem to refer to women and minorities.)

Whether Epstein’s views are ethical is arguable; certainly, they are neo-fascist in orientation. Whether they are constitutional is also open to serious doubt. From a legal perspective there are a number of problems with his ideas. The most obvious is that the 5<sup>th</sup> Amendment clause on which all of this is based concerns, specifically, property, not wealth more generally. Money, in particular, is not normally considered to be “property.” For example, when paying a bill, nobody considers the check they send to be a matter of sending their property to a creditor. (And virtually all creditors would return any actual property sent as payment for a bill.) The sort of case actually in question here is typified in situations such as those in which real estate is purchased from an individual in order to construct a highway for the common good.

Finally, the 5<sup>th</sup> Amendment, taken in context, is clearly speaking of the property of persons, not that of corporations. Implicit in Epstein’s views is, then, the extraordinarily strained idea that corporations are people.

The University of Chicago in some ways functions more like a think tank than a university. The Neocons (think Dick Cheney) originated there, as did the far-right Federalist Society (which can lay claim to alumni like Clarence Thomas, Antonin Scalia, Samuel Alito, and, indeed, Epstein himself), as did Milton Friedmann, the man who took the wholly-discredited notion of trickle-down economics and pyramided it into a career (and a Nobel prize). Many a corporate attorney looks to the U of C for legal inspiration. And one, in particular, may have found it there.

### **Meet Daniel M. Price, Master of the Revolving Door**

Dan Price currently serves (by Presidential appointment) as an arbitrator in NAFTA disputes. He concurrently serves as a managing director of Rock Creek Global Advisors where he “focuses on international regulatory and policy matters.” And earlier he was a partner with a corporate law firm, Sidley, Austin, et al.

Open Secrets, an organization that tries to curb governmental corruption, classifies Sidley, Austin as a lobbying firm, one with 16 attorneys (currently) that move back and forth between employment with the government, and employment with Sidley, Austin.

This has been the career trajectory of Dan Price. Price:

“. . . served in the Administration of George W. Bush as the senior White House official responsible for international economic issues, including international trade and investment. . . . He served in the Administration of George W. Bush as the senior White House official responsible for international economic issues, including international trade and investment . . . including NAFTA.”

Certainly, the worldview of Price dovetails very comfortably with that of Epstein’s. In particular, he has deployed Epstein’s neo-fascist idea that laws, as applied to the activities of corporations, are “takings” of “property” under the 5<sup>th</sup> Amendment because they can affect profits.

William Greider has [written](#):

The American multinational community initiated its first discussions on the investment problem in the mid-1980s, well before NAFTA negotiations began but at a time when overseas capital investment was beginning its great surge—dispersing production worldwide. The first seminars were attended by both business and government experts, including Dan Price, who would negotiate NAFTA under the US Trade Representative; the discussions were organized by the US Council for International Business (USCIB), a less prestigious group than the Business Roundtable *but with overlapping membership*. [Our emphasis.]

But just how much overlapping is involved in this “overlapping membership?” Let’s take a look.

DSAC Leadership Board	BRT	CFR	USCIB	USCTPP
<a href="#">3M</a>	X		X	X
<a href="#">American Express</a>	X	X		*
<a href="#">Bank of America</a>	X	X		*
<a href="#">Barclays</a> ( <b>Note:</b> this is a <b>British</b> multinational banking company headquartered in London.)	X	X		*
<a href="#">Boeing</a>	X	X	X	X
<a href="#">Bristol-Myers Squibb</a>	X			*
<a href="#">CIGNA</a>	X	X		*
<a href="#">Citigroup</a>	X	X	X	X
<a href="#">Coca-Cola</a>	X	X	X	X
<a href="#">ConocoPhillips</a>	X	X		X
<a href="#">Ernst &amp; Young</a>	X		X	*
<a href="#">FedEx</a>	X	X	X	X
<a href="#">DuPont</a>	X		X	*
<a href="#">General Electric</a>	X	X	X	X
<a href="#">KPMG International</a>	X		X	*
<a href="#">Mastercard</a>	X			*
<a href="#">Merck &amp; Co.</a>	X	X	X	*
<a href="#">NextEra Energy</a>	X			*
<a href="#">Time Warner</a>	X	X	X	X
<a href="#">Walmart</a>	X	X		X

**Table 8.** *11 DSAC/BRT corporations are cross-affiliated with the US Council for International Business (which had an important role in development of the investor-state dispute settlement mechanism of NAFTA, and which has now removed its membership list from its website). Via the BRT, all are cross-affiliated with the US Coalition for TPP, but nine corporations are also separately and directly affiliated.*

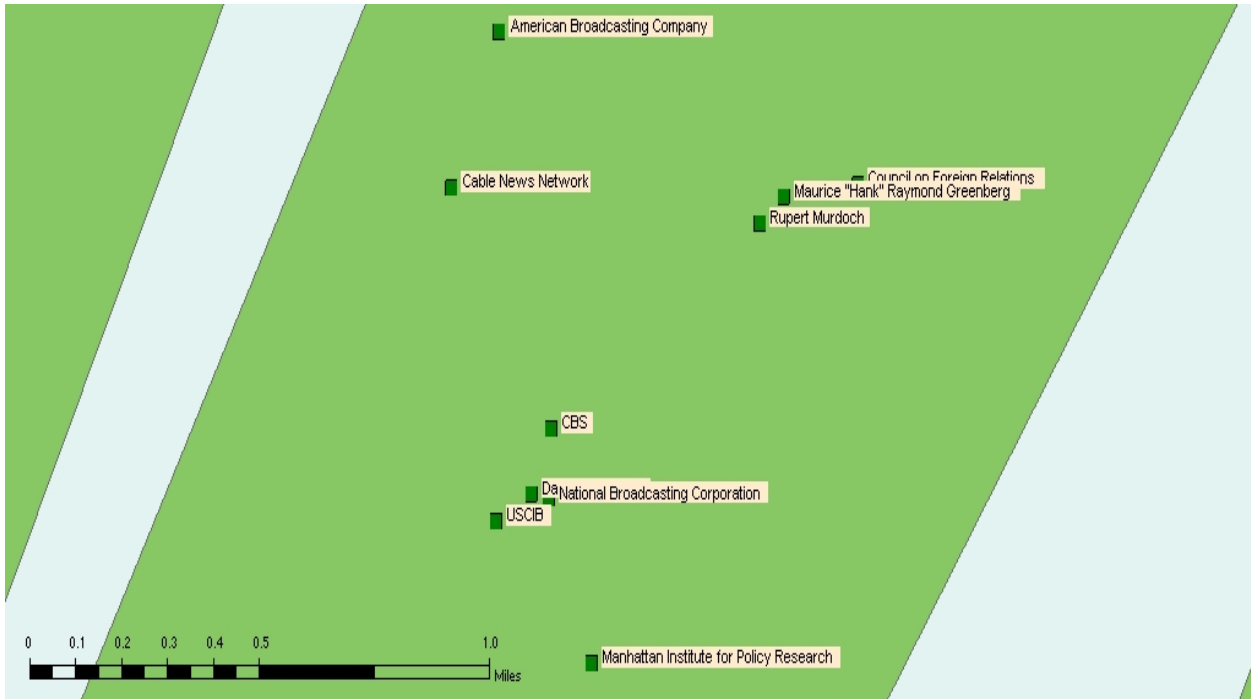
### **TPP: A “Trade Deal” of, by, and for the Business Roundtable?**

The US Business Coalition for the TPP describes itself as:

. . . a broad-based and cross-sectoral group of U.S. companies and associations representing the principal sectors of the U.S. economy including agriculture, manufacturing, merchandising, processing, publishing, retailing and services.

It includes among its members the Business Roundtable; however, nine Business Roundtable corporations are also separately and directly affiliated with the organization – and are, in addition, members of the DSAC leadership board.

Moreover, a substantial number of DSAC/BRT member corporations also cross-affiliated with both the CFR and the USCIB.



**Figure 19.** USCIB headquarters is located near NBC headquarters, and is less than half a mile from the Manhattan Institute for Policy Research. A mile and a half away sits the Council on Foreign Relations building.

This means that many of the corporations coordinating with the FBI, that sought passage of CISA legislation that gave them back channels to the NSA, and that may have been the corporations for which the NSA mass surveillance programs were originally undertaken, are also some of the very same corporations that pushed for the Chapter 11 provisions of NAFTA - and all of the other assorted “trade” accords.

Many other corporations have been involved, to be sure; and, certainly, not every DSAC leadership board member corporation is fully cross-affiliated. Nevertheless, these cross-affiliations figure as a common thread running throughout everything that has been under examination in this paper.

And, crucially, what corporate agenda would lead to both the imposition of supra-national tribunals *and* the imposition of secret mass surveillance programs? It can only be characterized as neo-fascist.

We close this account of the TPP with a quote from William Greider, [writing for The Nation](#):

“NAFTA checks the excesses of unilateral sovereignty,’ Washington lawyer Daniel Price told a scholarly forum in Cleveland. He ought to know, since he was the lead US negotiator

on Chapter 11 a decade ago. As for anyone troubled by the intrusions on US sovereignty, he said, 'My only advice is, get over it.' Price, who [headed] international practice at Powell, Goldstein, Frazer & Murphy, a premiere Washington firm, says that contrary to the widely held assumption that suits like Methanex's [concerning another gasoline additive] represent an unintended consequence of NAFTA, *the architects of NAFTA knew exactly what they were creating*. 'The parties did not stumble into this,' he said. 'This was a carefully crafted definition.'" [Our emphasis.]

## Conclusion, Part 1 of 2

### Some Compelling Reasons to Believe Things are Already Completely Out of Democratic Control

- Laurence W. Britt has identified [14 characteristics of fascist society](#). These characteristics map extraordinarily well on to those of contemporary America.
- Concentrated wealth and democracy are [entirely incompatible](#). Yet [Republicans push austerity](#). And the US has [the highest income inequality](#) in the developed world, a trend which is growing steadily worse.
- Public priorities and [Congressional priorities](#) are badly [out of synch](#).
- While rhetorically in favor of transparency, the Obama administration is, in reality, perhaps [the worst ever](#) on this issue. And it is [terrified](#) of [whistleblowers](#).
- Campaign contributions are [nothing more than bribes](#), and yet are never unambiguously characterized as what they actually are; and the Supreme Court has [drastically undermined](#) “honest services” fraud law.
- US military expenditure is [grossly disproportional](#) to that of the [rest of the civilized world](#).
- US growth in prisons and [levels of incarceration](#) are virtually [unparalleled](#), and place the country in company with pariah states.
- [Media concentration](#) places the information of Americans in the hands of a very few corporate CEOs (all of whose corporations, as we now know, are affiliated with a corporate think tank).
- [Corporate mergers](#), especially [in the finance sector](#), are producing virtual corporate monsters, through which more money flows than most nations. Some are so large that failure can bring the entire US economy to its knees.
- Corporate crime, again, especially in the [finance sector](#), is rampant, goes without [meaningful penalties](#), and almost never involves incarceration (despite the national trend).
- US election fraud has been so epidemic that [even the UN has taken note](#).
- There has been a total failure to penalize even rampant misconduct by intelligence agencies like [the CIA](#) and the NSA.



**Figure 20.** John Brennan, CIA director, addresses the CFR.

We close this section with the sworn testimony of James R. Clapper before Congress.



**Figure 21.** James Clapper, Director of National Intelligence, appears before Congress.

[Clapper](#) is the “Director of National Intelligence” and reports to Barack Obama.

This individual lied before a Congressional committee in March of 2013. Here’s the Wikipedia account of that event:



On March 12, 2013, during a [United States Senate Select Committee on Intelligence](#) hearing, Senator [Ron Wyden](#) quoted the keynote speech at the 2012 [DEF CON](#) by the director of the NSA, [Keith B. Alexander](#). Alexander had stated that "Our job is foreign intelligence" and that "Those who would want to weave the story that we have millions or hundreds of millions of dossiers on people, is absolutely false...From my perspective, this is absolute nonsense." Senator Wyden then asked Clapper, "Does the NSA collect any type of data *at all* on millions or hundreds of millions of Americans?" He responded "No, sir." Wyden asked "It does not?" and Clapper said "Not wittingly. There are cases where they could inadvertently, perhaps, collect, but not wittingly." [Our emphasis.]

Ed Snowden's revelations of the NSA mass surveillance program (which was triggered by Clapper's remarks before Congress) made it clear that Clapper was a liar. He subsequently offered various rationales for lying, but ultimately admitted that he had perjured himself.

Wikipedia again:

On June 7, 2013, Clapper was interviewed by [Andrea Mitchell](#) on [NBC](#). Clapper said that "I responded in what I thought was the most truthful, or least untruthful manner by saying no" when he testified.

Let's be clear: responding in the "least untruthful" manner is what everyone else, other than Clapper, calls a lie.

Wikipedia:

On June 11, Sen. [Wyden](#) accused Clapper of not giving a "straight answer", noting that Clapper's office had been provided with the question *a day in advance of the hearing* and was given the opportunity following Clapper's testimony to amend his response.

On June 12, 2013, [United States House of Representatives](#) member [Justin Amash](#) became the first Congressman to openly accuse Director Clapper of criminal perjury, and calling for his resignation. In a series of [tweets](#) he stated: "It now appears clear that the director of national intelligence, James Clapper, lied under oath to Congress and the American people," and "Perjury is a serious crime ... [and] Clapper should resign immediately," Senator [Rand Paul](#) said "The director of national intelligence, in March, did directly lie to Congress, which is against the law." Paul later suggested that Clapper might deserve prison time for his testimony.

On June 27, 2013 a group of 26 senators sent him a complaint letter opposing the use of a "body of secret law". On July 1, 2013, Clapper issued an apology, saying that "My response was clearly erroneous – for which I apologize." [Our emphasis.]

Subsequently:

[John Dean](#), former [White House Counsel](#) for President [Nixon](#), has claimed that it is unlikely Clapper would be charged with the three principal criminal statutes that address

false statements to Congress: perjury, [obstruction of Congress](#), and [making false statements](#). [David Sirota](#) of [Salon](#) said that if the U.S. government fails to treat Clapper and Alexander in the same way as it did [Roger Clemens](#), "the message from the government would be that lying to Congress about baseball is more of a felony than lying to Congress about Americans' Fourth Amendment rights" and that the "message would declare that when it comes to brazen law-breaking, as long as you are personally connected to the president, you get protection rather than the prosecution you deserve."

It's hard to argue with Sirota. Nevertheless:

In January 2014, six members of the House of Representatives wrote to President Obama urging him to dismiss Clapper for lying to Congress, but were rebuffed by the White House. Caitlin Hayden, a White House spokesperson, said in an e-mailed statement that Obama has "full faith in Director Clapper's leadership of the intelligence community."



**Figure 22.** *Clapper speaks to the Council on Foreign Relations.*

It's important to recall that the existence of this mass surveillance is itself flagrantly unconstitutional, and no legal rationale whatsoever could make it otherwise, including section 215 of the Patriot Act. All forms of surveillance must show probable cause – and there are *no* exemptions or qualifications to this requirement. Whistleblowers such as William Binney were absolutely clear about this from the very inception of the program, and neither George Bush nor Barack Obama could possibly have been in the least doubt about that fact. Binney:

“ . . . the individual liberties preserved in the U.S. Constitution were no longer a consideration. It was at that time that the NSA began to implement the group of intelligence activities now known as the President's Surveillance Program (“PSP”). While I was not personally read into the PSP, various members of my Thin Thread team were given the task of implementing various aspects of the PSP. They confided in me and told me that the PSP involved the collection of domestic electronic communications traffic

without . . . privacy protections . . . . I resigned from the NSA in late 2001. I could not stay after the NSA began purposefully violating the Constitution.”

Obama’s “full faith in Director Clapper’s leadership of the intelligence community” was, and to some extent remains, full faith in his ability to carry out a flagrantly unconstitutional surveillance program; and lying about its existence before Congress simply has no bearing on anything that matters to him.

If the United States was actually a functional democracy, James Clapper would be in jail – and both Bush *and* Obama would have been impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors.

Instead, the media created an *ad hominem* circus of derision around Ed Snowden.

## Conclusion: Part 2 of 2

### American Democracy in Extraordinary Peril

We've seen that a small nexus of individuals affiliated with the Business Roundtable and the Council of Foreign Relations are receiving FBI-compiled data via the DSAC front organization from every branch of the government. The extraordinarily extensive executive branch affiliations with the CFR provide one reason to believe they may even have been the originating force behind the NSA mass surveillance program.

We've also seen that many of these same individuals:

- 1) Wanted to obtain for their own use, legally, via CISA legislation, the far more extensive information currently being obtained by the NSA.
- 2) Are organized behind the FTAA, TPP (and other "trade accords") that undermine US national sovereignty.

We haven't probed the matter thus far in this paper, but they are well-positioned to have also been influential in the formation of NORTHCOM, and tasking the military with responsibility for [massive domestic policing of civilians](#). (See the appendix concerning the role of the Manhattan Institute in American policing.)

We note in passing that the President has been granted the authority to call out the military for domestic policing purposes at his sole discretion, simply by virtue of declaring an "emergency." (The most authoritative look at these matters to date can be found in William Arkin's oddly incomplete and strangely unhelpful book "American Coup.") To put the point bluntly, the President has been granted dictatorial authority without either checks and balances or oversight also being put into place.

In Appendix 3, the interested reader will discover that, because of its own fascist proclivities, the corporate press has already failed America once as a bulwark against fascist takeover; and there is no reason to be surprised that it has again failed so miserably (and beyond reasonable doubt intentionally) in reporting on the DSAC, and in noting the connection of the CFR with the NSA mass-surveillance program.

If the framework for a corporate takeover of the United States has been constructed, for the most part in secret, then intent to do so *must*, at a bare minimum, be suspected. We do otherwise at our extreme peril.

Of course, extraordinary claims require extraordinary evidence, *but only if they are to be proven beyond any reasonable shadow of a doubt*. This, however, is a legal standard for crimes such as murder. It has not been our aim here to prove anything beyond a reasonable shadow of a doubt, which is an unreasonably stringent requirement.

Although satisfying such a standard would be nearly impossible, it *is* possible to *far* more thoroughly document every statement made in this white paper, and to bring forward far more corroborative evidence. And much, much more *should* be said and done along those lines. Nevertheless, what the evidence assembled here does show, beyond any *reasonable* doubt, is that American democracy is in far more grave peril from within than it has ever been from without.

Of course, the peril referred to extends far beyond the boundaries of the NSA mass surveillance program to numerous other issues. For example, bankers and financiers such as Jamie Dimon have engaged in the greatest larcenies in all of human history, and have not only walked away completely unscathed, but have actually been consulted respectfully by the executive branch. To this day, they remain tethered in place, well-positioned to commit acts of like gravity another day. (Congress has failed to restore Glass-Steagall, and bankers have worked assiduously to weaken the already weak reforms that were put in place.)

This atmosphere of complete lawlessness (for bankers and financiers), and this double standard of “justice,” are undoubtedly contributory to our current crises. (The standard of complete lawlessness for bankers stands in the bleakest possible contrast to the arbitrary use of lethal force against American citizens by militarized police.) We’ve also seen not one, but three Supreme Court *coups d’etat*: the appointment of George Bush to the Presidency; the Citizen’s United v. FEC, decision, opening the door to nearly unlimited corporate bribery (euphemistically described as “corporate free speech”); and the more recent McCutcheon decision. A number of others high court decisions are also of extremely dubious intent, and of certainly pernicious consequences.

Nevertheless, the NSA program remains the most dangerous of the gauntlets that have been flung in the face of American democracy to date, and so far its challenge has been answered in only the most tentative, hesitant, timid, and preliminary way.

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## What *is* to be Done?

This is far and away the most difficult question to answer. Nevertheless, the broad answer is clear enough. What needs to be done, initially, is what always needs to be done when essentially criminal threats of this kind arise: the actors involved, their objectives, and their means must be identified and exposed. If, for political reasons, they can't be jailed, then they must at least be shamed and disgraced. If the corporate media won't take on this task (and they won't, for reasons that by now should be apparent), then smaller publications and citizens and their blogs and websites themselves must shoulder the burden. Once the threat has been clearly understood, and those responsible for the threat have been identified, reforms may be able to follow.

It is our hope that this white paper can help to begin the process of focusing greater scrutiny upon the individuals and organizations most clearly implicated and upon their anti-constitutional, anti-democratic, and wholly pernicious objectives before it is too late. Even if we are entirely wrong about everything that has been written here, it is certain that their influence is destructive of democracy from start to finish. Given the extreme risk to America that is entailed if the analysis here is even imperfectly correct, we must not be too insistent upon requiring unobtainably certain evidence before taking action, particularly as much truly extraordinary evidence *has* already been furnished, and at great personal cost, by Ed Snowden and others. The time to take such essential preliminary action is now. The action that the author requests is simply that readers consider forwarding this document to anyone they believe may be interested.

Today, if at all possible.

# The Appendices

The reader will find 6 appendices below, each of which either documents some aspect of the situation discussed above, or else enlarges upon the context for it.

## 1. Other Media Links to the Council on Foreign Relations

**What this is:** A more complete, and slightly more current roster of corporate media connections with the Council on Foreign Relations.

**Why it matters:** Americans have no concept at all how extensively organized among themselves the corporate media are. Their extensive networking via the CFR goes a long way to explain how information about the “elite” has been kept from the public for so long. Further networking – and planning – has undoubtedly gone on among NAB (National Association of Broadcasting) members.

## 2. The Broadcast Mass Media and its Additional Corporate Interlocks

**What this is:** These tables show the extensive interconnections between the corporate media and other large corporations, and also provide some idea who owns it all.

**Why it matters:** The extensive networking among the CEOs of the largest corporations, including media corporations, will come as a shock to most people, but goes a long way toward identifying an actual community – and community of interests. Some of this networking occurs via interlocking board memberships. Readers should be aware that networking it isn’t limited to CFR affiliated corporations. Other meetings where transnational CEOs network include those of the World Economic Forum, those of Bilderberg, and those of the Trilateral Commission.)

## 3. The Previous Corporate Attempt to Take Control: The Plot to Seize the White House

**What this is:** A previous attempt was made by CEOs to take control of the US government. This appendix describes what is known about it.

**Why it matters:** Despite the evidence marshaled here, many will still be inclined to doubt that corporations would be inclined to undertake anything so reprehensible as a takeover attempt. The information in this appendix should remove all doubt.

## 4. The Council on Foreign Relations, Neocons, the NSA and the Media

**What this is:** Social/organizational links among individuals don't prove a conspiracy, though they may suggest one, but they often do show a commonality, and a community, of shared interests and goals.

**Why it matters:** The Project for a New American Century (PNAC) was an organization that advocated total global US military dominance (including the military domination of space). This is a notion that can be traced back to the Rockefellers (in particular to Nelson Rockefeller), and has little to do with any concern with "defense". It suggests, rather, the development of muscle preparatory to the imposition of global corporate rule. The existence of a common community among the CFR, the PNAC, the NSA and the media demonstrates a community of individuals, and strongly suggest a commonality of motives and ideology.

#### 5. The Role of the Manhattan Institute in Mass Surveillance

**What this is:** Among other things, the Manhattan Institute (MI) serves as an advocate for domestic surveillance programs, the destruction of civil liberties, and for militarized domestic policing. This appendix provides a brief introduction.

**Why it matters:** The connections between the MI and the CFR, the funding of the MI by some corporations of the BRT/CFR/DSAC nexus, and its physical proximity to the CFR suggest that it is another arm of the nexus.

#### 6. The Annotated Text of the MI's "Safe" Cities Program

**What this is:** The MI is, minimally, closely aligned ideologically with neocons like Cheney, who was probably the architect of the secret NSA mass surveillance program. The MI's "Safe Cities" program advocates for the militarization of domestic police and their extensive utilization of domestic spying.

**Why it matters:** The mission of the MI is alarming enough in itself, but in the context of its funding by some nexus corporations, it may suggest what the CFR/BRT ultimately have in mind: a police state.



## Appendix 1

### Other Media Links to the Council on Foreign Relations

(Somewhat dated, but indicative of the extent of CFR influence)

Media Figures Serving on the Board of the CFR	
David G. Bradley	Atlantic Media Company
Tom Brokaw	NBC
Fareed Zakaria	Time Magazine
Media Organizations with CFR Corporate Membership	
McGraw-Hill	
AT&T	
Economist Magazine	
General Electric	
Google	
Microsoft Corporation	
News Corporation	
Sony Corporation	
Thomson Reuters	
Time Warner Inc.	
Some Representative Media Individuals with CFR Membership	
Roger Ailes	Fox News
Peter Bergen	CNN
Jeffrey Bewkes	Time Warner
Michael R. Bloomberg	Bloomberg L.P.
Erin Burnett	CNN Anchor
Juju Chang	ABC News
Katie Couric	CBS and NBC "journalist"
Thomas Friedman	New York Times
David Gergen	CNN

Warren Hoge	New York Times
Joe Klein	Time Magazine
Paul R. Krugman	New York Times
Charles Krauthammer	Washington Post, Fox News
Les Moonves	CBS CEO
Rupert Murdoch	News Corp/Fox News
Heather Nauert	Fox News
Kitty Pilgrim	CNN
Dan Rather	CBS
Diane Sawyer	ABC News
Amity Shlaes	Bloomberg News
Andrew Ross Sorking	New York Times, CNBC
Lesley Stahl	CBS
Barbara Walters	ABC News
Paula Zahn	Fox News, CNN
<b>90s-Era Affiliations (The TC here refers to the Trilateral Commission)</b>	
<p><b>Associated Press:</b>  Stanley Swinton – CFR  Harold Anderson – CFR  Katharine Graham – CFR, TC</p>	
<p><b>Reuters:</b>  Michael Posner – CFR</p>	
<p><b>Baltimore Sun:</b>  Henry Trehwitt – CFR</p>	
<p><b>Washington Times:</b>  Arnaud De Borchgrave – CFR</p>	
<p><b>Children's TV Workshop (Sesame Street):</b>  Joan Ganz Cooney, Pres. – CFR</p>	
<p><b>Cable News Network:</b>  W. Thomas Johnson, Pres. – TC  Daniel Schorr – CFR</p>	
<p><b>U.S. News &amp; World Report:</b>  David Gergen – TC</p>	
<p><b>New York Times Co.:</b></p>	

Richard Gelb – CFR  
William Scranton – CFR, TC  
John F. Akers, Dir. – CFR  
Louis V. Gerstner, Jr., Dir. – CFR  
George B. Munroe, Dir. – CFR  
Donald M. Stewart, Dir. – CFR  
Cyrus R. Vance, Dir. – CFR  
A.M. Rosenthal – CFR  
Seymour Topping – CFR  
James Greenfield – CFR  
Max Frankel – CFR  
Jack Rosenthal – CFR  
John Oakes – CFR  
Harrison Salisbury – CFR  
H.L. Smith – CFR  
Steven Rattner – CFR  
Richard Burt – CFR  
Flora Lewis – CFR

**Newsweek/Washington Post:**

Katharine Graham – CFR  
N. Deb. Katzenbach – CFR  
Robert Christopher – CFR  
Osborne Elliot – CFR  
Phillip Geyelin – CFR  
Murry Marder – CFR  
Maynard Parker – CFR  
George Will – CFR, TC  
Robert Kaiser – CFR  
Meg Greenfield – CFR  
Walter Pincus – CFR  
Murray Gatt – CFR  
Peter Osnos – CFR  
Don Oberdorfer – CFR

**Dow Jones & Co (Wall Street Journal, now owned by Fox):**

Richard Wood – CFR  
Robert Bartley – CFR, TC  
Karen House – CFR

**National Review:**

Wm. F. Buckley, Jr. – CFR

**Readers Digest:**

George V. Grune, CEO – CFR  
William G. Bowen, Dir. – CFR

**Syndicated Columnists**

Geogia Anne Geyer – CFR  
Ben J. Wattenberg – CFR

## Appendix 2

### The Broadcast Mass Media and its Additional Corporate Interlocks

In the foregoing material we've mentioned the existence of extensive ties between the CFR, the BRT, and the mass media. The table that follows identifies the interconnections between the six largest or most influential broadcasting companies and *other* major corporations.

In this table, corporations color coded in red are those that have connections with more than one broadcaster. Corporations coded in green *also* have connections to the top 28 most interconnected companies. (In addition, a few of the connections through social clubs for the wealthy and/or powerful are listed.) Thus, companies coded in red or green are in a position to exercise significant media influence; and companies coded both red *and* green, such as Chase Manhattan, are super offenders. Corporations identified here as being involved in the DSAC/Business Roundtable/Council on Foreign Relations nexus are highlighted in yellow, or are shown in yellow text. Rockefeller connections are highlighted in blue.

News Corporation	Owning Corporation	Has Interlocking Board Members With:
NBC	General Electric Co.	<p><b>Allied Signal Inc</b>, American Stores Co, Anheuser-Busch Co Inc, Baxter International Inc, <b>Bristol-Myers Squibb Co</b>, Champion International Corp, <b>Chase Manhattan Corp</b>, <b>Chubb Corp</b>, <b>Citicorp (or Citigroup)</b>, Exxon Corp, Goodyear Tire &amp; Rubber Co, <b>J. P. Morgan &amp; Co Inc</b>, Kellogg Co, <b>Kimberly-Clark Corp</b>, Mellon Foundation, <b>PepsiCo Inc</b>, <b>Philip Morris Inc</b>, <b>Quaker Oats Co</b>, Stanley Works, Textron Inc, Washington Post Co. (And for the obvious connections with Microsoft see the <a href="#">MSNBC web site.</a>)</p>
Viacom Inc.	Viacom Inc.	<p><b>AlliedSignal Inc</b>, Avnet Inc, Bear Stearns Co Inc, Duke Power Co, Melville Corp, Nynex Corp, Orange &amp; Rockland Utilities Inc</p>
ABC	The Walt Disney Co.	<p>America West Airlines Inc, <b>Bank America Corp</b>, <b>Federal Express Corp</b>, Florida Progress Corp. Hilton Hotels Corp. <b>K-Mart Corp.</b></p>

		Mitchell Energy & Development, Northwest Airlines Corp, Pacific Enterprises Inc, Unum Corp, Xerox Corp
CNN	AOL-Time Warner Inc.	Allstate Corp, America West Airlines Inc, American Express Co, American International Group Inc, Aon Corp, Becton, Dickinson & Co, Chevron Corp, Citicorp (see above), Colgate-Palmolive Co, Cummins Engine Co Inc, Dell Computer Corp, Foundation Health Corp, Genentech Inc, Illinova Corp, Inland Steel Industries Inc, Kellogg Co, K-Mart Corp, Mobil Corp (see above), Olsten Corp, Philip Morris Inc, Sears Roebuck & Co, Springs Industries, Sunbeam Corp, Triarc Co Inc, Turner Broadcasting System Inc, WHX Corp
CBS	Viacom (Was Westinghouse Electric Co.)	Aetna Life and Casualty Co, Ashland Inc, BDM International Inc, Banc One Corp, Bell Atlantic Corp, Campbell Soup Co, Cardinal Health Inc, Chase Manhattan Corp, Columbia HCA Healthcare Corp, Dell Computer Corp, Dow Jones & Co Inc, Duracell International Inc, General Dynamics Corp, Gillette Co, Harcourt General Inc, Kaman Corp, MBIA Inc, Melville Corp, Pharmacia & Upjohn Inc, Prudential Insurance Co of America, Quaker Oats Co, Phone-Poulenc Rorer Inc, Rockwell International Corp, Sun Co Inc, Union Pacific Corp, Wal-Mart Stores Inc, Warnaco Group Inc, Warner-Lambert Co, Westinghouse Foundation
Fox	The News Corporation, Ltd.	Bankers Trust New York Corp, Bayou Steel Corporation, Global Asset Management USA Inc, Hudson General Corporation, MCI Communications, News America Holdings Inc, News American Publishing Inc, News International PLC, Sesac Inc, Times Newspapers Holding Ltd, 20th Century Fox

Newspaper Corporation	Has Interlocking Board Members With:
Gannett Co. Inc.	Airborne Freight Corp, <b>American Express Co</b> , Bancorp Hawaii Inc, <b>Bank America Corp</b> , Continental Airlines, <b>E.I. du Pont De Nemours and Co</b> , FPL Group Inc, Ford Motor Corp, Frontier Corp, <b>Kellogg Co</b> , Navistar International Corp, PHH Corp, Union Pacific Corp (2 directors)
Knight-Ridder Inc.	ALCO Standard Corp, Champion International Corp, <b>Chubb Corp</b> , Delta Air Lines Inc, Digital Equipment Corp, Eli Lilly and Co, Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Co, <b>J.P. Morgan &amp; Co Inc</b> , <b>Kimberly-Clark Corp</b> , Phillips Petroleum Co, Raytheon Co (2 directors), State Street Boston Corp, Tandy Corp, Texas Instruments Inc
The New York Times Co.	<b>Bristol-Myers Squibb Co</b> , Campbell Soup Co, International Business Machines Co, Lehman Brothers Holding Inc, <b>PepsiCo Inc</b> , Springs Industries Inc, Texaco Inc, US Industries Inc
Times Mirror Co.	Amoco Corp, Black & Decker Corp, <b>Boeing Co</b> , Cox Communications Inc, Edison International (2directors), Marsh & McLennan Cos Inc, Nordstrom Inc, <b>Procter &amp; Gamble Co</b> , Rockwell International Corp, Ryder Systems Inc, Sun America Inc, Talbots Inc, Travelers Group Inc
Washington Post Co.	<b>American Express Co</b> , American Stores Co, Ashland Inc, Bank of New York Co. Inc, Berkshire Hathaway Inc, <b>Coca-Cola Co</b> , Conrail Inc, Darden Restaurants Inc, Geico Corp, <b>General Electric Co</b> , <b>Gillette Co</b> , H. J. Heinz Co, Home Depot Inc, <b>J. P. Morgan &amp; Co Inc</b> , Lexmark International Group Inc, McDonald's Corp, Morgan Stanley Group Inc, National Services Industry Inc, Polaroid Corp, Rohm and Haas Co, Salomon Inc, Textron Inc, Union Pacific Corp, <b>Wells Fargo &amp; Co.</b>

For a graphic representation of other linkages, see:

[http://reclaimdemocracy.org/media/ownership\\_partnership\\_among\\_largest\\_newspapers\\_2003.html](http://reclaimdemocracy.org/media/ownership_partnership_among_largest_newspapers_2003.html)

## . . .And How Many of Those Connections Conduct Themselves

The 28 most-interconnected corporations (via interlocking directorates), with media affiliations and other influential affiliations or practices are noted below. Please note the extensive cross-affiliations with the CFR and BRT.

Company	Number of interlocks	Ties to Media?	Other affiliations
Chase Manhattan Bank	45	Yes	Council on Foreign Relations, Business Roundtable, soft money/PAC contributor, engaged in secret FTAA negotiations
Wells Fargo Bank	41	No (Advertiser)	Business Roundtable, soft money/PAC contributor
American Express	40	Yes	Business Roundtable, soft money/PAC contributor, engaged in secret FTAA negotiations
Prudential Insurance	39	Yes	Business Roundtable, soft money/PAC contributor
Sara Lee Foods	39	No (Advertiser)	Business Roundtable, Council on Foreign Relations, soft money/PAC contributor, engaged in secret FTAA negotiations
Minnesota Mining and Mfg.	37	No (Advertiser)	Business Roundtable, soft money/PAC contributor, engaged in secret FTAA negotiations



General Motors	33	No (Advertiser)	Business Roundtable, Bohemian Club, soft money/PAC contributor, engaged in secret FTAA negotiations.
Kroger Stores	33	No (Advertiser)	Business Roundtable, soft money/PAC contributor
Ashland Oil	32	Yes	Business Roundtable, soft money/PAC contributor
Bank of America	32	Yes	Business Roundtable, Bohemian Club, soft money/PAC contributor
CSX	32	No	Business Roundtable, soft money/PAC contributor, engaged in secret FTAA negotiations
Bell Atlantic	31	No (Advertiser)	Business Roundtable, soft money/PAC contributor
Coca-Cola	31	Yes	Business Roundtable, soft money/PAC contributor, engaged in secret FTAA negotiations.
Procter and Gamble	31	No (Advertiser)	Business Roundtable, soft money/PAC contributor, engaged in secret FTAA negotiations, deceptive "front" organizations
Spring Industries	31	Yes	Business Roundtable, soft money/PAC contributor

AMR	30	No (Advertiser)	
Mobil Oil	30	Yes	Business Roundtable, soft money/PAC contributor, Council on Foreign Relations, deceptive "front" organizations
TRW	30	No	Business Roundtable, soft money/PAC contributor, engaged in secret FTAA negotiations
Xerox	30	Yes	Business Roundtable, soft money/PAC contributor, engaged in secret FTAA negotiations
Ameritech	29	No	Business Roundtable, soft money/PAC contributor
Bell South	29	No	Business Roundtable, soft money/PAC contributor
Union Pacific	29	No	Business Roundtable, soft money/PAC contributor
Westinghouse Electric	29	? (Former owner of CBS)	
Burlington Northern	28	No	Business Roundtable, soft money/PAC contributor

<b>Cummins Engine</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>Business Roundtable, soft money/PAC contributor</b>
<b>Kellogg</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>Business Roundtable, soft money/PAC contributor</b>
<b>Kmart</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>(Restructured)</b>
<b>AOL-Time Warner</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>Yes (media cartel)</b>	<b>Business Roundtable, Council on Foreign Relations, soft money/PAC contributor, involved in secret FTAA negotiations.</b>

Sources: *Censored 1998: The News that Didn't Make the News*, by Peter Phillips & [Project Censored](#), [The Center for Responsive Politics](#), stop-ftaa, [www.ita.doc.gov/td/icp/isac.html](http://www.ita.doc.gov/td/icp/isac.html), [Who Rules America?](#) by G. William Domhoff, [When Corporations Rule the World](#), by David C. Korten. Not that since this information was originally compiled there have been a few changes in corporate makeup.

## Appendix 3

### The Previous Corporate Attempt to Take Control: The Plot to Seize the White House

A little-known business/banking plot to overthrow the US government and bring bankers and businessmen secretly into complete control of the United States was put together in the summer of 1933, during the Roosevelt presidency. Some chief conspirators were J. P. Morgan (whose legacy continues today in the now Rockefeller-controlled JP Morgan Chase bank) and members of the DuPont chemical empire (which is also still around, and, indeed, active in the Business Roundtable).

J. P. Morgan was an international banker, with tentacles reaching deeply into the corporate mass media, both written and broadcast. (An attorney of his, [Owen D. Young](#), created and controlled RCA, [the company that eventually became](#) both ABC and NBC.) According to Erik Barnouw, Morgan's interest in broadcasting was first piqued in 1914, in the same time frame in which Morgan was buying up newspapers. (See Barnouw, *A Tower in Babel*, page 35.) RCA was created in 1919, and NBC followed in 1926.

Morgan also held the most important printing presses of America in his grasp: the *New York Times*, *New York Herald Tribune*, the *Christian Science Monitor*, the *Washington Post*, and the *Boston Evening Transcript* were all Morgan properties (Quigley, *Tragedy and Hope*, page 953). To little avail, Congressman Oscar Callaway tried to blow the whistle on Morgan's media domination, stating that:

In March, 1915, the J. P. Morgan interests, the steel, shipbuilding, and powder interests, and their subsidiary organizations, got together 12 men high up in the newspaper world, and employed them to select the most influential newspapers in the United States and sufficient number of them to control generally the policy of the daily press of the United States. . . . They found it was only necessary to purchase the control of 25 of the greatest papers. The 25 papers were agreed upon; emissaries were sent to purchase the policy, national and international, of these papers; . . . an editor was furnished for each paper to properly supervise and edit information regarding the questions of preparedness, militarism, financial politics, and other things of national and international nature considered vital to the interests of the purchasers [and to suppress] everything in opposition to the

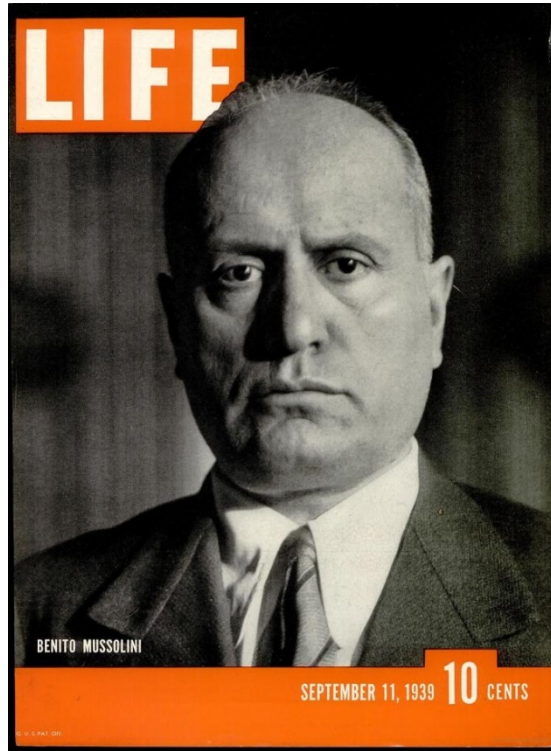
wishes of the interests served. (Congressional Record, Second Session, Sixty-Fourth Congress, Volume LIV, page 2947, "Remarks," Oscar Callaway (February 9, 1917.)

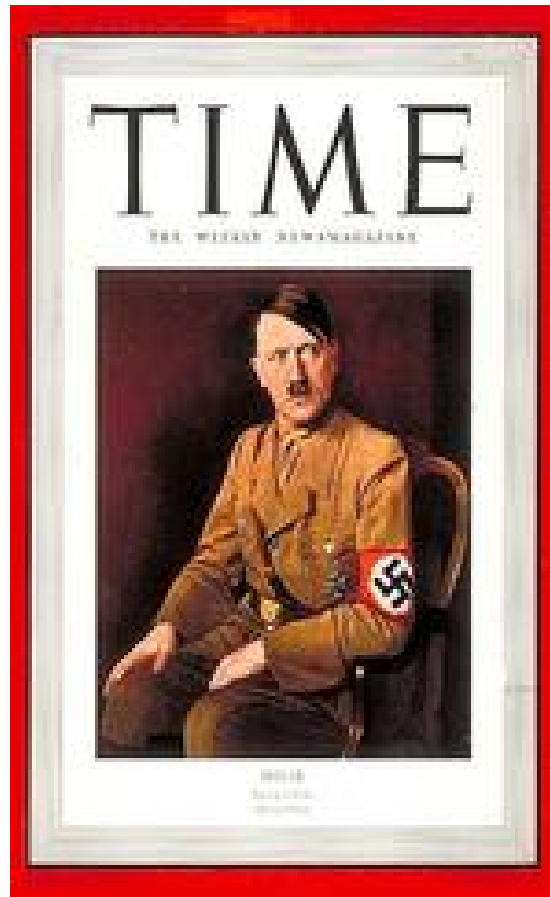
But Morgan's influence over the press was by no means limited to newspapers under his immediate personal control. He also financed the launch of the publishing empire of devoted fascist Henry R. Luce (who was also a close friend of the Rockefellers). Luce first published *Time* magazine, in the mid 1920s, bought *Fortune* magazine in 1929, and then, in 1936, launched *Life*. Luce frequently used all three magazines to editorialize on behalf of Italian fascism in general, and Benito Mussolini in particular. (One issue of *Fortune* was devoted entirely to Italy and Mussolini.) He was also a great early admirer of Hitler. A partial gallery of laudatory *Time* and *Life* Mussolini covers follows. (Mussolini appeared on the cover of *Time* alone 8 times through 1943. The August 6, 1923 cover, the first seen below, was published to wish him "happy birthday.")



**Time Magazine to Benito Mussolini in August, 1923: "Happy birthday!"**







**Time Magazine's 1938 Hitler "Man of the Year" cover.**

Morgan's special obsession with overthrowing FDR derived in part from the President taking the US dollar off the gold standard. As money is only a medium of exchange, there was not then, and there is not now, any true conceptual relationship between the two. But Morgan had a lock on the gold supply, and through it, also a lock on the money supply. Taking the dollar off the gold standard decreased demand for gold and in effect devalued Morgan's holdings. (Morgan first became a gold speculator during the Civil War through the offices of one of his father's business partners, who was later convicted for various criminal activities associated with the speculation.)

Morgan and other conspirators attempted to recruit General Smedley Butler, a nationally popular Marine Corps officer, to lead their coup. They wanted him to deliver an ultimatum to Roosevelt: create a new cabinet member designated "Secretary of General Affairs" and then, claiming incapacity to further govern owing to illness, step down. Or



else? Or else be forced out of office by an army of war veterans. The attempt failed when Butler blew the whistle on the group instead of joining (despite significant financial inducements).

Yet Americans never became fully aware of this coup, and still have not to this day. An obvious question in connection with this historical corporate/banking coup is how it has been kept nearly secret for the better part of a century, despite the involvement of perhaps the single most powerful international banker who has ever lived, as well as one of the chief US industrialist families. However, there's no mystery about this at all: media suppression was very much at work in covering up for the conspirators. As we mentioned, the *New York Times*, which took the lead in ridiculing and minimizing the significance of Butler's testimony to Congress at the time, was under J. P. Morgan control. And Luce's magazine *Time* chimed in with heavy-handed, fascism-fueled ridicule of its own.

To this day, the credibility and prestige of the *New York Times* and *Time* magazine would be severely compromised, if not demolished, if their disgraceful role in covering up the overthrow plot ever became generally known. And, of course, the DuPont empire would also take a serious demotion in stature.

The most authoritative look at this coup to date is that of author Jules Archer, in *The Plot to Seize the White House*. The full text may be found at:

[www.informationclearinghouse.info/article13906.htm](http://www.informationclearinghouse.info/article13906.htm) A briefer summary may be seen at this (far less authoritative) source: <http://www.huppi.com/kangaroo/Coup.htm>.) And a surprisingly good documentary, *The Fascist Plot to Overthrow FDR*, is available for free viewing at this link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hTdx6vEUtIA>

Now, throughout all of this conspiring, not only FDR, but the American public itself was regarded by Morgan, DuPont and the other conspirers as the ultimate enemy. Why? Apart from FDR abandoning the gold standard, he also talked about raising the taxes of the wealthy to help to pay for his programs to aid those hardest hit by the Depression. It was apparent to this cabal of businessmen and bankers that Roosevelt wanted a seat for American citizens at the table of democracy. For individuals as avaricious and egocentric as Morgan and the DuPonts the sort of threat posed by FDR was, of course, intolerable. (Even before the coup attempt, an almost successful attempt had been made to assassinate the President in Miami, a fact also rarely mentioned in the history books.)

For the purposes of this white paper, an especially interesting coup member was John J. Raskob, a DuPont official who would later become a "[Knight of Malta](#)," a fascist Catholic religious order that placed a high percentage of members into leadership roles in the CIA, including CIA directors William Casey, William Colby, and John McCone. Casey went on to establish the [Manhattan Institute](#), which claimed to believe, in the days following 9/11, that "domestic terrorists" (that is, US citizens) constitute a particularly dire threat (that is, are enemies).

See Appendix 6 for more concerning the Manhattan Institute.

## Appendix 4

### **The Council on Foreign Relations, Neocons, the NSA and the Media**

There are strong grounds for thinking that most or all of the intelligence gathered under the heading of "domestic terrorism" is actually being gathered on behalf of corporate and banking interests. We saw that this comes out, in part, in the close ties that exist between the Business Roundtable, the Council on Foreign Relations, and the Domestic Security Alliance Council, or DSAC, which exists to funnel secret FBI/DHS intelligence to private corporations. (And the evidence provided in Appendix 6 is even more compelling.)

In turn, *CFR ties to the neocon PNAC (Project for a New American Century) and the NSA are also extensive.* And other ties in the same small, intimate circle, all of fascist persuasion and influence, are also notable. Some representative organizational links follow below.

#### ***Institutional cross-affiliations tying members of the Council on Foreign Relations to the Project for a New American Century include:***

Max Boot: PNAC, CFR

Francis Fukuyama: PNAC, CFR

Mark Lagon: PNAC, CFR

Norman Podhoretz: PNAC, CFR

Henry S. Rowen: PNAC, CFR

George Schultz: PNAC, CFR

Arthur Waldron: PNAC, CFR

Dov S. Zakheim: PNAC, CFR

Robert Zoellick: PNAC, CFR

***Cross-affiliations tying members of the PNAC to the NSA include:***

E. C. Aldrige, Jr. : PNAC, NSA, CFR

William P. Barr: PNAC, NSA, CFR (Time Warner, Verizon EVP)

William J. Bennett: PNAC, NSA (Scalia speechwriter)

Stephen Cambone: PNAC, NSA

Aaron Friedberg: PNAC, NSA, CFR

Bruce Jackson: PNAC, NSA, CFR

John Lehman: PNAC, NSA, CFR (National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States)

Richard Perle: PNAC, NSA, Bilderberg

Peter W. Rodman: PNAC, NSA

***Cross-affiliations tying members of the CFR to the NSA include:***

Bobby Ray Inman: CFR, NSA

Jeane Kirkpatrick: CFR, NSA

***Cross-affiliations tying members of the PNAC to the Manhattan Institute include:***

Jeffrey Bell: PNAC, MI

Linda Chavez: PNAC, MI, CFR

William Kristol: PNAC, MI (Fox News, NYT)

***Cross-affiliations tying members of the PNAC to the media include:***

Ken Adelman: PNAC, Fox News

Richard V. Allen: PNAC, CNN

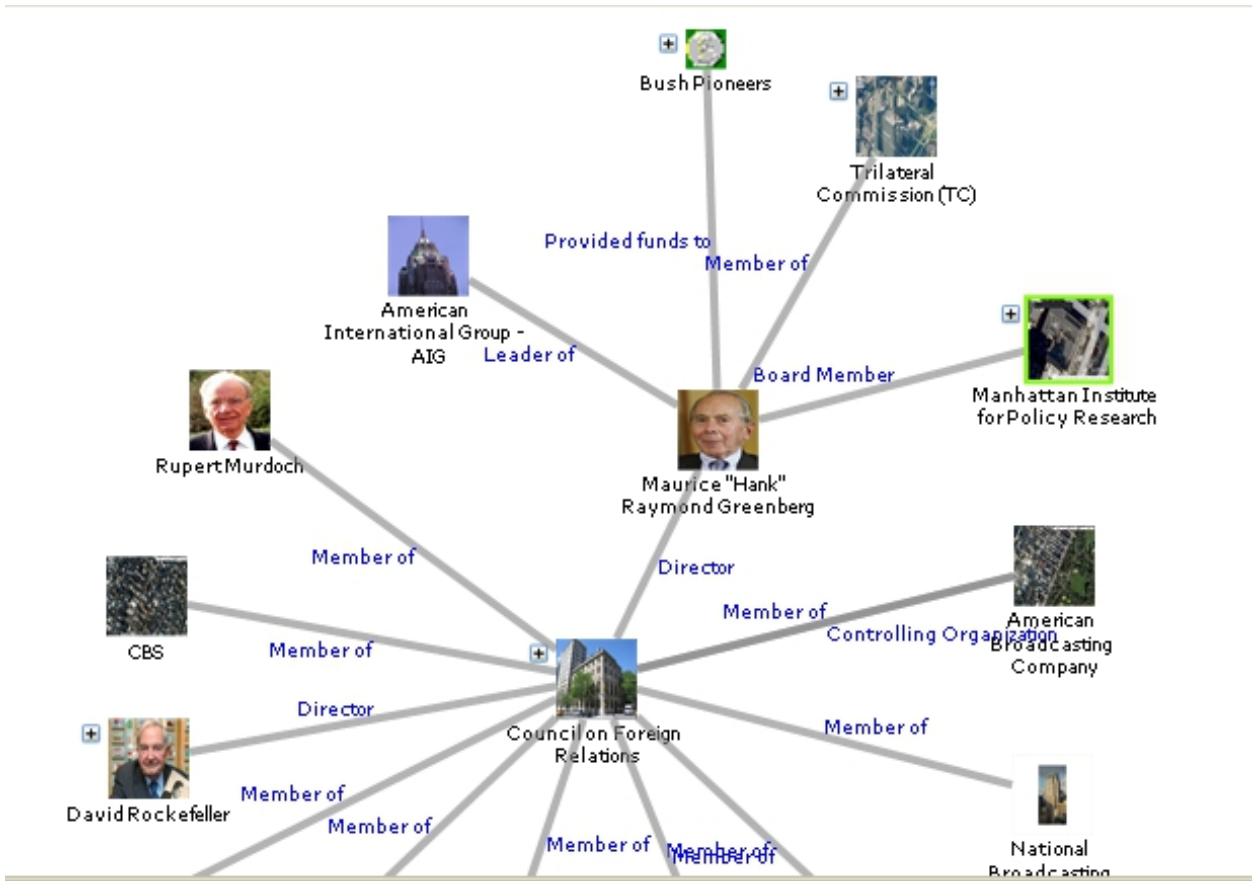
Reuel Marc Gerecht: PNAC, CBS

Robert Kagan: PNAC, CFR, Washington Post

John Vincent Weber: PNAC, NPR

## Appendix 5

### The Role of the Manhattan Institute in Mass Surveillance



*Former CFR leader, Maurice Greenberg, is cross-affiliated with the Manhattan Institute for Policy Research. MI is ground zero for the notion that American citizens are “enemies” who must be surveilled and suppressed by militarized police and NORTHCOM, but it is itself sponsored by numerous individuals of dubious intent.*

### Fellow Travelers: More Concerning the Manhattan Institute and “Domestic Terrorism”

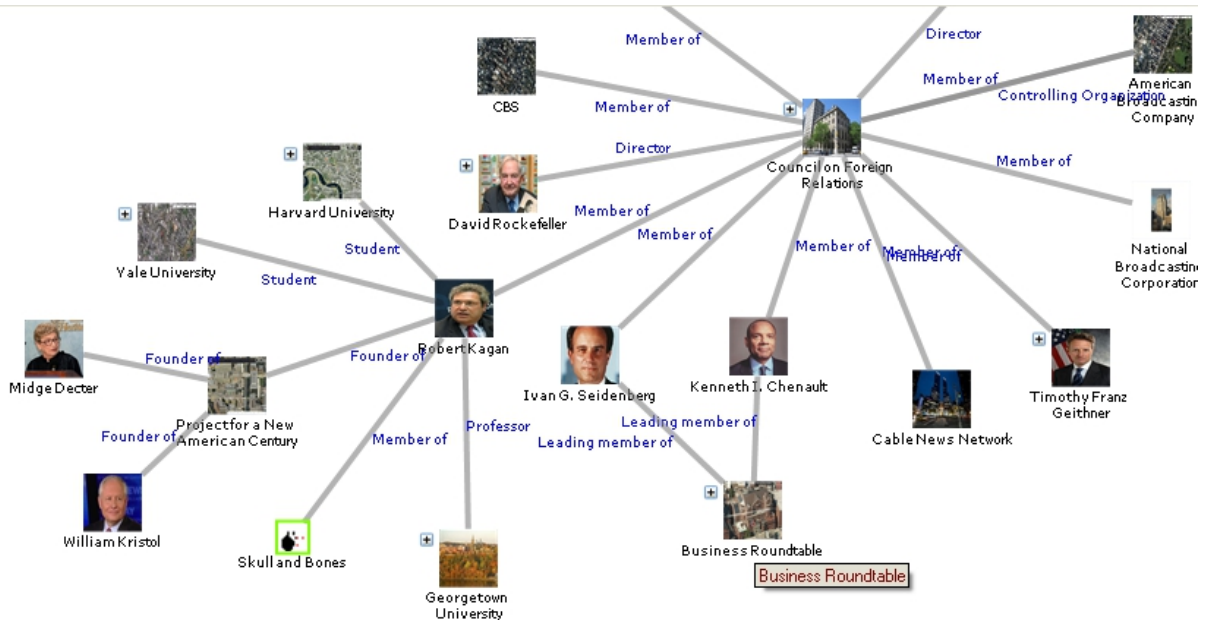
Former CFR leader Maurice Greenberg *also* serves on the board of the Manhattan Institute, along with individuals like William Kristol, chairman and co-founder of the neoconservative Project for a New American Century. The Institute was founded by the fascist Knights of Malta member William Casey, who went on to head up the CIA (which at one point was virtually a hive of Knights of Malta alumni) under the elder Bush.

It was the Manhattan Institute's [R. P. Eddy](#) who began the MI's "Center for *Policing* Terrorism." [Our emphasis.] Prior to joining the MI, Eddy had been Bush's counterterrorism director. And to this day it is Eddy and Project for a New American Century alumnus Dick Cheney who have been the primary drum beaters for the idea that policing so-called "domestic terrorism" is somehow a matter of earth-shattering urgency, even though the events of 9/11 were *carried out* by Saudis. (Could 9/11 have been *organized* by insiders? Ties back into the CFR are remarkably extensive.)



*Dick Cheney addresses the Manhattan Institute, January, 2006.*

What Eddy also represents is the idea of "proactive policing." As the MI explains: "This style of policing is executed by training street level officers to recognize signs of terror related activity, and by facilitating the timely *sharing and analysis of intelligence* between agencies at the *Federal*, state and local level." [Our emphasis.] To put this another way, Eddy and Cheney are the primary point men behind the idea that American citizens are somehow "the enemy." And behind Cheney and other neocons is David Rockefeller. And it is David Rockefeller who also stands behind the CFR.

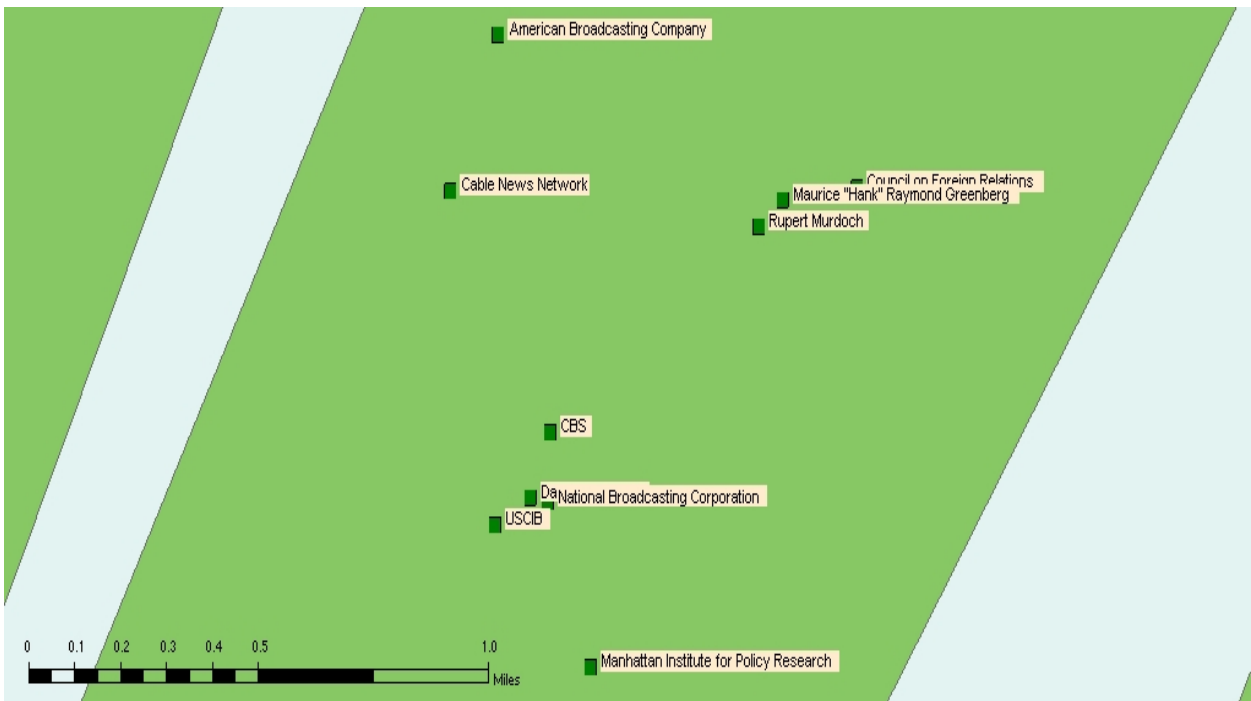


**The founders of the Project for a New American Century (PNAC) are tied to the CFR through neocon Robert Kagan. Dick Cheney was also a prominent PNAC member.**





*George Bush addresses the Manhattan Institute. "I thank the Manhattan Institute Board of Trustees and its Chairman Paul Singer for doing good work, being a good policy center."*



*MI headquarters (at bottom) are only a little more than a mile away from CFR headquarters (toward the upper right).*

## Appendix 6

### The Annotated Text of the MI's "Safe" Cities Program

As Americans have witnessed in recent months, police have essentially mutated into military. But that's not all: they've also mutated into spies. The template for all of this looks to have come from the Manhattan Institute. Given the pedigree of the Manhattan Institute, and given its physical presence in the same Manhattan neighborhood as the corporate mass media and the headquarters of the Council on Foreign Relations this should give us pause.



*However they may be labeled, these individuals are not police officers. They are, rather, an occupying military working on behalf of the transnational corporations of the CFR/BRT nexus. The military equipment that can be seen here speaks clearly to a military mission: confronting the enemy, that is American citizens, with overwhelming force.*

In reviewing material MI produced for its “Safe Cities Project” we were struck by just how ominous their vision is – and given its community of interest with the globalization-promoting BRT/CFR nexus, we were also struck by how revealing it is about the real nature of militarized policing (and spying). Accordingly, we’re reproducing below their “Hard Won Lessons” document in its entirety, along with annotations highlighting what it is that we find concerning.

Readers may wish to read the last two pages of the document first, as the admissions there almost completely undermine what is advocated for in the rest of the document.

HARD WON LESSONS:  
THE NEW PARADIGM—  
MERGING LAW  
ENFORCEMENT AND COUNTERTERRORISM  
STRATEGIES

*[This MI document is far less concerned with “lessons” than it is with demanding a sweeping new paradigm for domestic policing in America. Without any credible rationale ever being offered, this paradigm regards American citizens as globalization-maddened terrorists - hence the need to “merge” law enforcement with “intelligence-led” counterterrorism.]*

JANUARY 2006

## Safe Cities Editor

Mark Riebling is Editorial Director at the Manhattan Institute for Policy Research.

*[Riebling, raised Catholic, is probably best known for writing a revisionistic history of Pope Pius XII's relative inaction and passivity ([or much worse](#)) toward Hitler during World War II. As the MI was founded by fascist Knights of Malta member William Casey, this particular journalistic mission provides much food for thought. Riebling graduated from Columbia University, which has long been a bastion of Rockefeller influence. Neo-con [Dov Zakheim](#) is another alumnus, as are Barack Obama and Eric Holder, both of whom first met in the home of a relative of Vernon Jordan, who is a CFR and Bilderberg member.]*

## The Safe Cities Initiative

The tragedy of 9/11 demonstrated that globalization has changed our security as much as it has changed our economy. **In this new threat-environment, all of our domestic-security institutions must be transformed.**

*[At a high level, there is nothing new about globalization or about acts of terror. Globalization has been going on for as long as there has been trade, which is to say, for millennia. Nor does it follow from an attack conducted by foreign nationals that anything whatsoever needed to be "transformed" in domestic security institutions. Note that this wholly irrelevant rationale is the same one that was on offer for the creation of the DSAC.]*

It is especially vital that this transformation occur in America's cities, which are high-value targets for terrorists.

*[Nothing in the years following 9/11 has shown this to be especially true – however, it is worth nothing that virtually all corporate headquarters, such as that of du Pont, are sited in major cities.]*

The Manhattan Institute, reflecting its longstanding and unique policy focus on urban issues, is committed to developing and disseminating ideas which will make our cities more secure in this dangerous **new** world. Accordingly, the Institute's Safe Cities Initiative assists state and local law-enforcement in:

- Learning and applying the hard-won lessons of 9/11 and **the war on terrorism**, in order to deter, detect, and prevent future attacks. *[Attacks from whom? Domestic terrorists are extraordinarily rare, and had nothing to do with the events of 9/11.]*
- Assessing the current, evolving, and future dynamics of the threat

posed by **international** terrorist groups in particular police jurisdictions. *[The task of dealing with international terrorist groups properly falls to police organizations with an international, not a domestic, focus. Blurring this line results, intentionally, in treating American citizens as though they are international terrorists.]*

- Sharing intelligence between jurisdictions. *["Intelligence" is the product of spying. Here is the sort of thinking that results in the secret domestic NSA and FBI mass-surveillance programs.]*
- Enhancing and refining existing intelligence capabilities, and creating new ones.
- **Integrating private-sector capabilities, including industrial and corporate security assets.** *[As we've seen, this sort of "integration" results in corporations involved directly in domestic policing. This is undiluted fascism].*
- Operating with and in local communities, especially immigrant communities, both to effectively root out terrorists in this country, and to defend high-risk immigrant communities from crimes of bias. *[There has been little evidence of terrorists in immigrant communities, and even less evidence of any genuine interest in defending immigrant communities from "crimes of bias".]*
- **Administering the Counterterrorism Information Sharing Consortium, which includes representatives of over twenty northeast law enforcement agencies** *[The purely private and intensely partisan Manhattan Institute has no legitimate basis for involving itself in publicly funded domestic policing in any way whatsoever.]*

The findings of the Initiative are published periodically in variety of media. Working-group white-papers, and published conference-proceedings, provide policymakers, analysts, and security professionals with usable, durable knowledge.

*[What they most notably provide is cover for this "transformation" of American policing.]*

The Manhattan Institute would like to thank the Alfred P. Sloan and Bodman Foundations for their continued support of the Safe Cities Initiative.

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## Introduction: Hometown Security in an Age of Global Threats

State and local police operate today in a new and strangely dangerous world.

*[Despite the alarmist language here, the level of danger faced today by local law-enforcement officers from international terrorists is minimal, and in no way calls for sweeping changes. Domestic terrorism is even more minimal. And this is frankly admitted at the end of this paper. Moreover, as the conclusion of this paper makes clear, a counterterrorism mission for domestic police massively diverts time and resources away from legitimate policing.]*

Law-enforcement officers confront threats more technologically complex, and geographically diverse, than any they have ever faced. Although militant Islam is the most widely publicized new threat, it thrives within a wider dissatisfaction with American values, brought home to Main-Street America by globalization.

*[In this telling passage we see the real fear exposed: Americans dissatisfied with job losses and other problems brought about through globalization.]*

Globalization is a trend with many gurus; not all have been wise. Some, writing during the economic euphoria of the Clinton years, predicted that global trade would translate into global peace. In *The Lexus and the Olive Tree: Understanding Globalization*, Thomas Friedman even dismissed terrorists like Ramzi Youssef, architect of the 1993 World Trade Center bombing, as ineffectual "Yahoos" who were not the wave of the future. We know now that the Ramzi Youssefs of the world are not ineffectual; that they will threaten us for decades to come; and that they will seek to acquire weapons of mass destruction and use them against us.

*[It is characteristic of this paper that it alternates indiscriminately between international and domestic threats as though they are essentially the same thing, have the same causes, and require the same kind of response. But if this is an age of "global threats" then its focus shouldn't be with domestic policing at all, which is very largely focused on traffic violations and other mundane concerns. International threats can never be properly addressed by hometown police. If the threats are instead domestic, then the author should admit that "Main-Street America" is his real concern, not foreign terrorism. And if that is the real concern, then perhaps it is globalization itself, and not domestic terrorism, that is the actual problem that should be addressed. Note that globalizing trade accords have never been sought by ordinary American citizens, but rather by the CEOs of transnational corporations. When this is clearly understood, it becomes apparent that these CEOs are trying to re-purpose domestic police to deal with the economic problems that they are themselves responsible for creating.]*

We know too that globalization is a permanent fact.

*[As has often been pointed out, this "fact" isn't "known" at all. The trade accords responsible for the kind of globalization under consideration here are, as we have seen, primarily a creation of the BRT/CFR nexus. Globalization in the sense of, for example, German cars being sold in America is nothing new and hardly provides cause for changing anything about domestic policing.]*



The international economy is the engine of our nation, and the source of our wealth.

*[The international economy is primarily the source of wealth for transnational corporations and their CEOs, not “our” wealth, which is routinely siphoned off by what Occupy Wall Street referred to as the “1%”. What is entirely ignored here is the very real threat to the entire American standard of living that is posed by moving millions of jobs offshore. Readers will notice that this is the threat from “Main-Street America” that lurks constantly in the background here.]*

This means more for law enforcement than is generally realized, even now. It means more than just police working new beats like container security, seaport security, airport security. It means that all the physical and conceptual walls associated with the modern, sovereign state—the walls that divide domestic from international, the police from the military, intelligence from law enforcement, war from peace, and crime from war—are coming down.

*[This rather bizarre passage is critically important. Here we see the ambition of transnational corporations to destroy American sovereignty outright with “trade accords” like the TPP admitted. And the desired result also admitted: the merging of the police with the military, and policing based upon “intelligence” (spying). Domestic crime and warfare are entirely different things, as are war and peace.]*

It means, in short, that police response to the new threats must be shaped by globalization, as surely as are the threats themselves.

*[In other words, the “shaping” of police response by “globalization” is, precisely, the re-purposing of domestic police as spies and as a domestic military force in order to protect transnational corporations.]*

The realities of globalization can be seen in something as simple as the investigation of a car crash. If a patrolman investigated a fatal accident in the 1970s, the victims and the witnesses were both likely from the local community; and if the officer climbed into the wreckage, to look for some malfunction in the vehicle, he would probably see from the serial numbers that the car was made in the U.S. He could put all that together, and make his case.

But let's fast-forward to recent times, and consider the crash that killed Lady Diana. This accident involved an English princess, with an Egyptian boyfriend, crashed in a French tunnel, driving a German car with a Dutch engine, driven by a Belgian, who was drunk on Scotch whiskey, followed closely by Italian paparazzi, on Japanese motorcycles, and finally treated with Brazilian medicines by an American doctor. In this case, even leaving aside the fame of the victims, a mere neighborhood canvass would hardly have completed the forensic picture, as it might have a generation before.

*[While perhaps true in itself, this silly example is in no way an illustration of the kind of “trade accord” globalization being described above. And nothing about it entails in any way the need to merge police with the military, or conversion of domestic police work to spying. Nor does it mean that American sovereignty is somehow passe. Finally, does the “forensic picture” really require the police to know that Diana was with a man drunk on Scotch whiskey? Or that the car they were driving was German?]*

Yet the change runs deeper still. The very notion of a local community is being transformed. Thirty years ago, few police chiefs had to protect multinational corporations in their municipalities.

*[Note the concern with the need to protect multinational corporations.]*

Today, many chiefs must secure the underpinnings of the most sophisticated economy on earth. The vast majority of this economy is not only in private hands, but also protected by private hands. If the need for police to partner with the private sector is therefore clear *[It assuredly is not]*, the forms of these partnerships are still being forged. If sending a police cruiser to drive by DuPont headquarters won't do much to prevent a terrorist attack, then what exactly should police be doing to protect Dupont? How should they be working with DuPont's own security element? What questions should officers be asking to assess the new threats to this newly configured community? What methods should they be using to glean the answers?

*[Readers of the preceding material in this paper may note that the questions here all refer to a transnational corporation (DuPont) which is a member of the BRT, the DSAC, and both of the organizations driving forward the TPP.]*

The difficulty of meeting these new challenges underscores an old dynamic. **Police are really supposed to be doing one thing, protecting the public.** *[Transnational corporations like DuPont are not “the public”.]* But to do that one thing, police must actually do, and be, many things. The expectations placed on officers have never been closer to what August Vollmer, the early 20th-century police chief in Berkeley, California, famously said about what the citizenry expects of police: The patience of Job, the diplomacy of Lincoln, the tolerance of the Carpenter of Nazareth, and an intimate knowledge of every branch of natural, biological and social science. If an officer has all these things, the saying goes, he just might be a good policeman.

How does a **local** police officer get all these things and use them in an age of **global** threats? For three years, under the aegis of the **Safe Cities Initiative**, law enforcement leaders throughout the United States have been meeting to consider this question. This document distills what they have learned. It describes how state and local police are merging **crime-control and counterterrorism models in their daily work, creating a new paradigm for policing.** Ed Flynn, chief of the Massachusetts State Police, calls it “hometown security.”

*[This exercise, conducted by the MI, an entirely private organization, has taken place without any public input or awareness whatsoever so far as the author can tell. Calling it “hometown security”, when it is premised on threats to transnational corporations, is grossly misleading.]*

## The New Paradigm

**The causes of terrorism are certainly far beyond the capacity of American law enforcement to address.** The question is, what can state and local police do about terrorism in practice? What can they do to alter the environment that must exist in order for an act of terrorism to occur?

*[This passage highlights the fact police are being called in to address a problem that he argues arises with globalization. Again, the most appropriate action and most effective as well, would be to address the causes of terrorism, not try to fix “terrorism” “in practice”. But transnational corporations want to do anything but that. Recall that they are hell-bent on tearing down all the physical and conceptual walls around national sovereignty. And keep in mind that militarized police will be dealing almost all of the time with American citizens not guilty of any crime who do not pose a military threat.]*

Dr. George Kelling has persuasively argued that police can prevent terrorism with many of the same mechanisms they’ve developed over the last twenty years to prevent crime. Among these mechanisms are problem solving, **intelligence-led policing**, environmental design, community policing, and **public-private partnerships.** *[The DSAC, which receives FBI intelligence from all US governmental entities, is just such a so-called public-private partnership.]*

## Problem Solving

“Police prevention in counterterrorism, as in other areas, should be systemic,” says Major Timothy Connors, Director of the Center for Policing Terrorism. Terrorism should be viewed, not as

The New Paradigm—Merging Law Enforcement and Counterterrorism  
a set of isolated incidents to be responded to, but as a special class of problem, which police activity must be organized to prevent and pre-empt.

*[Pre-emption is a task that positions police to regard virtually all popular political action as potentially criminal. And what this signifies is that virtually all popular political action has now been criminalized. But, given the secret development and creation of the NSA and FBI mass-surveillance programs, who are the real criminals?]*

*[Once again, terrorism on American soil, whether domestic or foreign, is extraordinarily rare, and it should not be the task of domestic police to solve problems created by transnational corporations after the fact.]*

**Intelligence-Led Policing** *[This is a phrase that necessarily implies the desire for extensive police spying.]*

Israeli policing offers a useful case for emulation. Many U.S. police chiefs have sent officers to Israel, to ride on traffic stops and investigate crimes with the Israeli National Police in Tel Aviv. *[Why? Under what sponsorship? With what end in view?]* U.S. police observers have been impressed to find that "investigation of the incident" is secondary to the number one goal—which is gathering intelligence. For instance, when they raided a bordello, where the patrons were primarily Arabs from different parts of the region, Israeli police were less concerned about the criminal activity, than with preparing intelligence reports on who these people were, and how they got into Israel. "They put this all into a system and are able to collate it," notes an observing officer from the LAPD.

*[What is being advocated here is incredible. What is being said is that investigating the actual crime committed is much less important than spying. And this is the model MI is holding up for emulation by American police.]*

## Community Policing

Police must rededicate themselves to maintaining amicable relationships with immigrant communities, whose cooperation and trust are needed in fighting terrorists. To that end, state and

local police can receive training from authorities in other countries that have gained the trust of their Arab or Islamic communities. Within these communities, posits one expert in social research, are "substantial numbers of people who, if they knew somebody was really intending to blow up a building, would drop a dime pretty quickly." For that reason, as British prime minister Tony Blair has rightly said of Islamic terrorism, "In the end this can only be taken on and defeated by the community itself."

*[Here the author again confounds domestic and essentially foreign terrorism. The reason for this is by now obvious: there simply isn't enough domestic terrorism to justify radical changes in domestic policing.]*

### Partnerships with the Private Sector

The concept of a "community" must be conceived more broadly in preventing terrorism than in preventing ordinary crime. **In counterterrorism, the community includes private-sector infrastructure and multinational corporations.** *[It does not merely "include" private-sector infrastructure and multinational corporations – these are, clearly, the predominant figures and the actual community of citizens, not corporations, are the target of spying and militarized police.]* Security policymakers must encourage partnerships not only with private citizens, but with business leaders and corporate-security chiefs. [The "partnerships" desired with private citizens are citizens working as spies on behalf of corporations. The partnership with business leaders and their CSOs is an actual, privileged partnership of private interests with publicly-financed public institutions working to their, and not public, benefit.. The paradigm case is the *DSAC*, which provides transnational corporations with information concerning US citizens from all US government entities.]

As 9/11 and other major attacks have shown, terrorism is no longer merely a political and a media phenomenon, but an economic one. The potential economic impact of terrorism offers police an opening to engage the business community in conversations covering not only terrorism, but street crime and neighborhood security. *[This is not "an opening" - it is a flimsy rationale. We point out once again that neighborhood security and terrorism are, 99.99% of the time, entirely different things. Moreover, street crime and neighborhood security are not the concern of transnational corporations. They have no special expertise to offer, and, as their many attempts to avoid taxation demonstrate, they have only minimal concern with the communities in which they are located.]*

Atlanta is among the cities which have moved aggressively on this public-private, **dual-purpose** front. Once a month, the leadership of the Atlanta police meets at its headquarters to share homeland security information with the security directors of the city's hotels, universities, **and major corporations, such as CNN, Coca Cola, and Delta Airlines.** Police brief the attendees about what is happening in the world, and describe the kind of intelligence they're receiving. This dialogue has made the business community more conscious about the security of its buildings, and has helped reduce office burglaries and other crimes. *[Any increased policing would be likely to have some such effect. And omitted from this idyllic scenario is any mention of the DSAC, its secret charter, its concern to suppress dissent, and its receipt of information from a secret FBI mass surveillance program.]*

## Environmental Design

Many opportunities for partnership with the private sector are offered by critical infrastructure protection through environmental design. Although initiatives in this area have been well funded by government, video surveillance—for private infrastructure as well as public infrastructure—is among the techniques which can be used more effectively.

*[This is advocacy for public spying using government funds on behalf of transnational corporations. The cameras in question are not pointed into corporate or banking boardrooms, yet unlike office burglaries, corporate crimes can involve trillions of dollars and can affect the entire country.]*

The city of London offers a useful model. London has over 40,000 closed-circuit cameras on its public streets, and keeps the tapes from these cameras for 30 days. The cameras are owned by private merchants, but the tapes are made available to the police. If a crime occurs in a particular area, police will identify the grid, and examine the tapes from all the private merchants in it. Although the presence of cameras will not deter terrorists, cameras can certainly be vital in identifying and apprehending them, as the 7/7 investigations showed.

*[Advocacy for what is perhaps the most Orwellian city on the planet: London.]*

Police across many U.S. jurisdictions are already formulating protocols for the proactive use of video surveillance. Atlanta, for instance, has put cameras in and around some of its larger critical-infrastructure buildings and the more important public streets. *[Critical to whom?]* As in London, the cameras are owned by local businesses, but the monitors are placed in police substations. In Boston, similarly, the private sector security cameras are being catalogued for the Police Department, which will be able to control a database of imagery. In addition to deterring terrorist surveillance teams, the presence of cameras has discouraged ordinary crime. *[Given the scale and political influence of large corporations, why isn't the new type of policing that's needed precisely intelligence-led policing of these large corporations? What is instead being advocated is continuous government surveillance of the populace in this cities. And, as we've seen, even peaceful protest is a special target of police working on behalf of transnational corporations.]*

The installation of cameras in Atlanta also offers an example of how police can partner financially with the private sector. *[This is inherently a conflict of interest.]* The Atlanta Police didn't put the cameras in themselves, nor did they pay for them. Rather, police leaders engaged business leaders in a dialogue. When business leaders asked what they could do to make the community safer, police suggested that they put cameras up—and told them that if they did, police would emplace the monitors in their precincts. As a result, business leaders in one section of Atlanta raised \$1 million to install video surveillance; in another, they raised about \$400,000. *[Is it possible to even imagine community leaders asking what they can do to make their communities safe from corporate crime and corruption, and being told by police that they should put cameras in corporate boardrooms? After all, if they aren't breaking the law, they have nothing to hide. Instead the scenario here is one of business leaders partnering with the police to spy on American citizens.]*

## State and Local Tripwires

As vital as the machinery of surveillance is the human element of it. **Within a 30-mile radius of New York City, 150-plus law-enforcement agencies employ over 50,000 cops.** In other regions the numbers differ, but the principle remains. A potential wealth of information on the street must be specifically channeled for counter-terrorist purposes.

*[The examples provided by Occupy Wall Street, Black Lives Matter, and School of the Americas Watch belie the constant use of the phrase “counter-terrorist purposes”. This sort of “wealth of information” has already been used to suppress first and fourth-amendment protected activities by those not suspected of any criminal activity.]*

Despite the inherent difficulties in identifying terrorists before they act, **police are well positioned to “ask the next questions” about potential terrorists who, in preparation for their attacks, must navigate many potential “tripwires.” Training police to “ask the next question” in these cases will not only increase criminal interdiction, but it may in fact garnish a terrorist as well.**

*[This is sic, and meant to be “garner”. And it will also, in fact, “garner” any political activists in the area as well.]*

## Traffic Enforcement

Terrorists, like other criminals, are most vulnerable to apprehension while they are in transit. “They all have to drive - they have to get from point A to point B,” as one police chief says. One obvious point of likely contact with terrorists *[and everyone else]*, therefore, is traffic stops.

Roadways are, of course, a logical place for apprehension of terrorists fleeing the scene. Timothy McVeigh and Lee Harvey Oswald were both interdicted in this way (Oswald shot officer J.D. Tippitt before fleeing into a theater). But highways can also serve as a point of interdiction before terrorists strike. In Maryland the 9/11 terrorists were stopped and issued routine traffic citations. The 1993 World Trade Center bombers had also been stopped by police for traffic violations several times.

Increasing the amount of stop activity, using stealth cars or aggressive traffic enforcement, offers the chance for increased contact with terrorists and other criminals.

*[By now readers should be fully aware that extremely rare terrorist acts don't begin to justify practices like arbitrarily increasing the amount of "stop activity". As this article in effect confessed at the very beginning, Main-Street America, dissatisfied with the loss of jobs to globalization is the main focus of corporate concern. But this can hardly be admitted while speaking of practices like increasing use of surveillance cameras and stop activity. Hence the constant confounding of terrorism with domestic policing.]*

Police in some areas are not exploiting this mechanism fully, due to profiling scandals and resulting consent decrees. Yet traffic enforcement provides a golden opportunity for contact with bad actors *[and, nearly all the time, with the innocent]*. Once police have made a constitutional motor-vehicle stop, they should have the ability, through training, to ask the kinds of questions that will help pinpoint terrorists.

### Operation Shield

Pennsylvania gives its State Troopers special training **to collect intelligence and to aggressively look for criminal violations during simple traffic stops.** Operation Shield aims to help officers identify and interdict any fugitives, weapons contraband, and terrorists moving along Pennsylvania highways. *[In other words, these "traffic" stops are actually just a ruse for spying.]*



Operation Shield doesn't just focus on interstates, because the more troopers patrol on the interstate highway system, the more criminals use two-lane highways. On both interstates and smaller highways, officers are seizing more counterfeit property, ranging from bootleg CDs to knockoff designer handbags, "some of which may fund terrorist operations," a police official says. *[One thing is certain: police will play the terrorism card at any and every opportunity. The word "may" here is a tacit admission that the amount of terrorism that's being funded in this way on Pennsylvania highways is minimal or non-existent.]* In one recent two-day Shield operation, the Pennsylvania troopers netted \$12,000 in currency, 50 criminal arrests, 7 fugitives, 2 stolen loaded weapons, \$1.5 million worth of counterfeit property, and 52 illegal aliens, including one from the terrorist watch list. *[Note the disconnect between funding terrorist activity here, and the single example of something terrorism related that is provided. Everything else is just ordinary crime.]*

The weeklong Shield training includes modules on professional traffic stops, roadside-interview techniques, terrorist indicators, search-and-seizure law, and racial-profiling awareness. Troopers learn to focus on deceptive behavior. They also analyze recent seizures in which hidden compartments were used. On the third day of the training, officers receive instruction on terrorism, terrorist indicators, and false documents. This training has paid off: In Pennsylvania, virtually all of the domestic terrorism cases that have gone to the Joint Terrorist Task Force have come out of intelligence units within the state police. *[No mention of how many of these there were, or of how many resulted in actual cases, but it's virtually certain the number was small.]*

## Turnpike Inspections

Routine turnpike inspections offer an opportunity for police to sweep for bombs or radiological detonation devices. To this end, New Jersey state police operate commercial-vehicle and bus-inspection teams, with canine support and radiological monitors, on the state's main expressways. *[No mention of how many, if any, bombs or "radiological devices" were found, if any.]*

## Department of Motor Vehicles

Because most terrorists need to establish the ability to move within the country, they will come into contact with state departments of motor vehicles (DMV) to obtain a license. This provides an opportunity to apprehend potential terrorists who may be using false papers, or who may provide false information during the license-application process. State and local police can partner with the DMV in order to identify prospective terrorists at this point of contact. *[Without police ownership of a crystal ball, everyone is a "potential" or "prospective" terrorist – except, of course, the CEO of a transnational corporation.]* DMV personnel can be trained to spot false documents and to "ask the next questions" which can trigger further proactive investigation or watchlisting. Additionally, when input into to state and regional databases, DMV-collected intelligence can be exploited by analysts. *Though systematic efforts in these areas may raise legitimate civil-liberties issues, police-DMV cooperation is a potentially helpful mechanism that merits serious exploration.*

*[Proactive investigation and watchlisting of individuals not guilty of any crime is inherently a violation of civil liberties. The citizen is regarded as guilty until proven innocent – a case that can never be proved.]*

## Immigration Violations

Although the federal government should not push immigration enforcement as an unfunded mandate on state and local police, there is an intelligence value in being aware of the immigration status of persons within one's jurisdiction. In the same way that police will know who is on probation and parole, they should also know, or be able to learn, the immigration status of persons coming into their cities or towns. Among the questions which police should be able to address more easily than they currently can:

- When is a non-U.S. citizen going to be in my area?
- What type of car is the person driving?
- Where is the person living, studying or working?

*[If not being a US citizen is somehow criminal, then there are almost 7 billion criminals on Earth.]*

If federal immigration authorities provided this information, **police could possibly do home visits, as they do for persons on probation and parole.** Additionally, if someone were due to go back to the Sudan or Indonesia on July 1st, but remained in the U.S., the system should alert state or local police to investigate.

## Terrorist Support Facilities

Terrorist groups use various facilities to plan and execute their attacks. Parcel, package, delivery services, mass transportation, hotel, motel, storage locker, and vehicle rental companies and systems have all been vital to terrorists in their known attacks and plots. **Police need to cultivate informants in all of these entities.**

*[That is, the author is advocating for police spies at all post offices and like organizations, vehicle rental companies, places of mass transportation and so on, spying that would take place whether or not there was any actual terrorism taking place. Needless to say, there is no advocacy here for police cultivating informants in corporations.]*

The New Jersey and Delaware State Police are proactively involved in bus stations, train stations, rental car agencies, and marine terminals. Interaction with personnel in these locations gives police a chance to educate them on what to look for.

## Ordinary Crimes and Suspicious Behavior

Views vary on the extent to which terrorists will commit ordinary crimes to finance their activities. Although some terrorists have engaged in credit-card fraud and drug dealing to support themselves, many terrorist funds have also been raised by donations diverted through mosques and "charitable" organizations, and terrorist tactics frequently change.

In any case, terrorists will often come into contact with law enforcement, even for minor criminal offenses. For instance, two of the 7/7 London bombers were known to the police, despite initial reports that they were "clean skins." Shehzad Tanweer was arrested for disorderly behavior, and Hasib Hussain was questioned for shoplifting. **In short, no incident should be considered too minor for interaction with potential terrorists and for the collection of intelligence.** *[Can we imagine this passage reading: "no incident should be considered too minor for interaction with CEOs and bankers and for the collection of intelligence? What is being advocated here is using any and every offense, no matter how minor, as an excuse for spying, even though 99.99% of the time, the person in question will not be a terrorist.]*

**The incident need not be a criminal one. Police or private security may note what seems merely "suspicious" behavior on public, or in some cases, private property. Noncriminal loitering, for instance, may be an indicator of terrorist reconnaissance.** *[Again, given the rarity of terrorism, 99.99% of the time "suspicious" behavior will signify absolutely nothing, but innocent Americans will nevertheless be placed under police scrutiny, and these police will be looking for any excuse to "interact with potential terrorists".]* In **one** case, a terrorist operative sat for many hours in a Starbucks, in Newark, New Jersey, mapping out what would have been an attack against the Prudential building across the street.

## Regional Intelligence Centers

The collection of intelligence on potential terrorists is of little help unless it is collated and made available to those who can exploit it.

Although the need to share data is not new, exchanging information across jurisdictions and levels of government is more critical in the current threat environment than it ever was in the war on crime. Unless police were dealing with narcotics conspiracies or organized crime, what they previously needed to know about crime in their cities didn't depend upon federal and state partnerships. Integrating state and local police into a national antiterrorism strategy, by contrast, requires real connection between federal and local law enforcement.

Information must be shared not only vertically, between localities and federal government, but horizontally, between localities. An officer in the Rockland County, New York street-crimes desk, for instance, recently noticed an increase in the number of day laborers driving motor vehicles with Virginia license plates. Investigation revealed that the migrant workers had a contact in the Fairfax County, Virginia, Department of Motor Vehicles, from whom they were improperly receiving driver's licenses and vehicle registrations. Fairfax County pursued the case, which resulted in a number of convictions. This is exactly the kind of inter-jurisdictional cooperation required to interdict potential terrorists who engage in identification fraud.

*[Note that the example used here has nothing to do with terrorism. Presumably if the author was aware of even a single real instance where identification fraud was being carried out in connection with "terrorism" he would have been eager to cite it. What this example highlights, once again, is just how rare terrorism actually is.]*

The emerging mechanism for sharing intelligence of this kind is the "regional intelligence center." In many cases, state police are well positioned to manage these facilities, because they generally have more administrative functions than local police. Although state-police agencies once had a reputation of "standing alone behind the closed doors," the old walls are coming down and they are coming down quickly. Interlinked state (and in some cases, city or county) fusion centers are becoming indispensable components of a nationwide ability to deal with regional crime and terrorist trends.

*[There are at least two fusion centers per state. Their locations have been kept secret, as has their purpose, for the most part. Photos provided at the Public Intelligence site show them to be sizable, and in some cases enormous, facilities which were clearly extremely expensive to construct. To date there are no examples of these fusion centers actually preventing a single terrorist act. The rarity of terrorist activity means that their enormous expense has never yet been justified, and far better uses for this funding could easily be found.]*

### All-Programs Analysis

Although regional intelligence centers focus on terrorism, they also apply what the

FBI terms "all-programs intelligence analysis." Each fusion center has a criminal-analysis as well as a terrorism- analysis component. *[We know that these terrorism-analysis "components" are being used to spy on political activists.]* The objective is to merge the reporting from a variety of sources:

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- Intelligence-community information, i.e., from CIA, NSA, FBI, DHS.
- The results of various criminal investigations conducted throughout the country.
- Suspicious-activity reports.
- Tips from the general public.
- The private sector, especially from the financial sector.
- Policing throughout the state.

### Intelligence-Collection Requirements

To get these data, fusion centers must generate intelligence-collection requirements. These requirements typically take the form of bulletins to the various providers of intelligence.

A proactive stance is vital. *[This implies police activity even where there is no criminal activity, as there will not be almost all of the time.]* As intelligence consumers, state and local police must learn to ask for what they want. Equally importantly, as intelligence producers, they must think of what others need. Where a detective in the 1970s could discard information that wasn't relevant to a case, he must now think of who else might need to know about it.

### Technology for Intelligence-Led Policing

Disseminating intelligence in a timely way presents a challenge to all members of the law-enforcement community, but especially to managers of regional intelligence centers. Although the centers will ideally be linked to the Department of Homeland Security, the ability of state systems to "touch" federal systems is complicated by federal standards for "secure technical capabilities." The president and the United States Congress have directed that an information-sharing environment be developed in the next two years, under the National Criminal Intelligence Sharing Plan. In the meantime, getting information from fusion centers to officers on the street is an easier hurdle for many states to overcome.

#### Mobile Display Terminals

To push data from regional intelligence hubs to cops in the field, many police are equipping patrol cars with mobile data terminals (MDTs).

The New Jersey State Police have been among the leaders in this area. Any terrorist alert goes to every single New Jersey trooper in uniform in almost real time—"it actually flashes on their computer so they know they have to go into the information command and actually draw out information," one state police official says. Among the additional virtues of the MDTs, the official emphasizes, is that

you also have e-mail that comes right in from the MDTs. If you think something is unusual, if you have some ID and are not really sure who you're dealing with, you just punch it in and it goes right into the intelligence center, and it's given priority. If you're on a motor vehicle stop in Atlantic City, and you stop an individual who is acting suspicious, and you're looking at him perhaps for a burglary, but you don't have probable cause to move further, and you let him go, and then he pops up in Patterson the next week, and a police officer asks for a check, then they're going to link up that Atlantic City information with your Patterson information.

## Data Mining

The use of sophisticated computer software to make connections between suspects in different states offers both potentials and pitfalls. The Matrix program was abandoned by some states because of legal concerns about connectivity to other states. Yet one officer familiar with the software says:

It is an unbelievable tool. Using Matrix, an investigator could go to an analyst or a team of analysts and say, "Put this information together for me on this group of suspects." Within minutes the investigator would have that information, where previously it would have taken weeks or months. ... Ten years from now when they look back at data mining, they're going to say, Gosh, we had this capability ten years ago, with Matrix, and we got our eyes punched out, and now they're doing it across the country. We know that's the way it's going to happen. It's the wave of the future.

*[Not stated is whether any of these "suspects" were simply ordinary people without criminal records. But, if so, then this means that the information "put together" is available for everyone, including those not suspected of any crime, which would make this a mass surveillance program.]*

Although the Matrix pilot-program has been abandoned, many states are still tapping the same resources, but under a different name, "and not accessing certain things that the Matrix program did through connectivity to other states." The New Jersey State Police, for instance, are using their Memex system to query proprietary data and commercial databases.

## Growing Your Own Analysts

As great as technology is, the human factor is more important. Technology can put police over the top, if they're doing everything else right. But as one leader of the LAPD's counterterrorism effort has put it: "If we rely on the machines, we lose."

Making sense of intelligence requires personnel with a strong core of analytical skill. This skill requires more than putting together **link charts [note: this appears to refer to social network analysis graphics]**. It requires background investigation, proper attention to the surrounding environment, and in some cases, knowing the history and culture of the Middle East. In other words, intelligence cannot be interpreted in a vacuum. Just as police on the street need training to ask the right questions, so, too, analysts in fusion centers need training to identify and prioritize intelligence, so that it can be pushed to police on the street.

State and local police cannot wait for the FBI to impart this analytical expertise. Because this strategic analytical capability is not yet present in FBI field offices, state and local police must develop it themselves. Police leaders are, however, finding their own way to impart this expertise. New Jersey, for instance, is working with Rutgers University to its start own analytical training program. The training will cover not just terrorism, but street crime, narcotics, and other problems confronted by intelligence-led policing.

"We did this two years ago with DNA chemists after they got knocked off by the New York City Medical Examiner, who pilfered about 40 of our chemists," a New Jersey law-enforcement official explains. "We decided we had to start growing our own, and did so in conjunction with the College of New Jersey, where DNA chemists would do their three years in a classroom setting, and **in the last year we deputized these Ph.Ds in their DNA labs**, and they come out certified. With the intelligence analysts, we will start the [federal] **top secret** clearance process at the end of their junior year, when they are still carrying intern-type status." *[What is implied here by the need of a DNA analyst for a "top secret" clearance? And why are they deputized, instead of being ordinary employees?]*

## Centers of Excellence

Police agencies which are new to intelligence analysis can benefit from the knowledge of more experienced agencies.

- New York City has perhaps had more interactions with terrorists than any police department in the country. **The NYPD's Intelligence Division and Counter-Terrorism Bureau have begun offering limited training to police in other jurisdictions.**
- The New York State Police, which has a strong analytical corps, has opened its intelligence centers to visiting police from other areas.
- The LAPD has an experienced group of analysts, which includes Arabic-language specialists.
- **The Center for Policing Terrorism, at the Manhattan Institute for Policy Research, specializes in imparting counterterrorist expertise from the academic community and foreign governments to state and local police.**
- The government of Israel has welcomed police from all over the U.S. for training and exchange visits. Georgia, for instance, has a special program which sends **15 law enforcement executives to Israel for two weeks each year.** In return, Israel sends 15 high-ranking commanders to Georgia, where they have the chance to visit all the police

departments within the state. "It's proved very helpful to us," a senior police official in Atlanta says, "because we've learned a lot about how the Israelis deal with terrorism, how they protect their aircraft, how they protect their airports, how they use bomb dogs, and so many other things."

*[Israeli police are notoriously abusive, and confront a security situation, largely of their own making, completely unlike anything in the US. Yet this is the kind of policing that is being advocated for here.]*



## Case Study: Imparting Counter-Terrorist Expertise in Rhode Island

About five days after 9/11, then-Attorney General John Ashcroft launched an initiative to ensure that state and local law enforcement were receiving the best available information on counter-terrorism from the Department of Justice. *[A strange concern given this timing. The department should have been focused on finding the perpetrators and arresting them, and one that suggests eagerness to exploit this tragedy.]* The Department started hearing from the police departments that "we'd love to be involved in this terrorism thing but we don't know what to look for." As a result, the attorney general's office created Anti-Terrorism Advisory Councils, which made limited funds available to U.S. attorneys' offices for increasing terrorist awareness among state and local police.

The U.S. Attorney's office in Rhode Island used this money to sponsor training sessions, bringing in national experts to talk about terrorism prevention. "We started doing a two-hour training session for police departments around the state, whoever could send police officers," a member of the Rhode Island U.S. Attorney's office recalls. "Basically we were telling local street cops how to recognize suspicious activity while they're in their jurisdictions on patrol—from the videotaping, the casing, the types of things that they've been reading in the press, to the types of things experienced in Newark, New York City and Washington, D.C. We also started talking to them about recruitment issues, ideology, on how these things have happened. In other words, not just the terrorists coming into the community to case us, or recruiters and people from overseas looking for operatives in this country, but the terrorists living among us.

"Through this training and through bi-monthly meetings, we encouraged these police officers to go out to make contacts in their community, and to come back to us with anything that they found suspicious. And we've continued guiding them with indicators, through regular bulletins and incidents that we highlight each month."

*[This is the creation of a regime of continual spying, just as the "war or terrorism" is a perpetual war that is not intended to ever end.]*

The Providence Police Department became a principal player in this initiative. Providence police partnered with the U.S. Attorney's office and with the private *[for profit]* security industry, not just in Providence, but the entire state, to start running regular training sessions. Over 15 months, they trained 80% of the Providence Police Department in four-hour sessions. At the same time, they brought in all the private security departments that wanted to send people, including university police chiefs and their officers. *[A remarkably lucrative concession.]*

"What we found was happening at these training sessions was they weren't only training, but they became information-sharing sessions," a leader of the initiative says. "Because not only would we continually change the training as new information would come to us, but police officers would stand up in the training sessions and say, 'You know, we had something like that happen to us about six months ago and we had no idea or no clue that we should maybe connect that to a possible terrorist conspiracy.'"

"There was one specific stop in the City of West Warwick going back almost two years ago now, even before they really got ramped up in the training. A police officer did a normal traffic stop on two white males. At the end of the traffic stop, the police officers went above and beyond, because they noticed Arabic writings, and some indications of connections to the radical Muslim community, which seemed to link these individuals to an organization outside of Rhode Island that

had ties to a state penitentiary, and was part of a black Muslim group with associations to al-Qaeda. The officers took all the information they could get and they even downloaded all of the phone numbers in the possession of these two individuals.

"When the FBI was given that information, the phone records of these people allowed them to connect three previously unlinked terrorist investigations. The FBI in Providence admitted that without this tip from the police, this lead probably never would have been developed, and even if it could have been developed, it might have taken them three years of just continually working this case.

"Meanwhile, we've started targeting some of the industries and some of the private businesses in Rhode Island that might be compromised by terrorists or used by terrorists as fronts, or as fund raising operations. Through this training, we are uncovering some terrorist ties, and uncovering some possible fund raising schemes, and some very good money-laundering schemes being done by regular criminals."

## Conclusion: Blending Counterterrorism into Routine Police Work

Many police chiefs concede that counterterrorism is not a high priority in their jurisdictions. While terrorism is the top law-enforcement priority in New York City, Washington, D.C., and parts of New Jersey, in other areas the threat is less urgent and less defined. *[It is probably fair to say that in all other areas, the threat is minimal, and all but non-existent.]* In these lower-priority environments especially, but also in the higher-threat areas, police can gain "economies of preparedness" by building counterterrorism into their routine work. *[In these areas, there is no credible rationale for ordinary police being involved in the investigation of terrorism at all.]* Every citizen-police interaction is an opportunity to pursue anomalies by asking the next question. Every training session provides a way to impart awareness. Merging law enforcement and counterterrorism in this way can not only make our states and cities safer, but can also save them money. *[Very much to the contrary, the extensive apparatus for the investigation of "domestic terrorism" is enormously expensive, and steals funding from schools, hospitals, education, and a host of other real and urgent priorities.]*

The New Jersey State Police trains its police helicopter pilots, for instance, in a way that  
12 serves a counterterrorist purpose. The practice evolved from a need to economize. "We were going broke on homeland security issues in the State of New Jersey," a colonel in the state police explains.

It was costing us a quarter-million dollars a day every time Tom Ridge put us at level orange; and if you add the National Guard, it was \$300,000 a day. *[Note that his information all appears at the end of the paper. If governments are to prioritize properly, then it belongs at the beginning, instead of scare language about a "strangely dangerous" world, that here is admitted not to be so dangerous after all.]* More importantly, it dragged troopers away from assignments at our road stations, and we had a lot of territory to cover. *[In short, legitimate domestic policing and counterterrorism objectives are in direct conflict.]*

As a result of that, we did some reorganizing. We formed the Homeland Security branch, and we moved 1,000 people into it. Within this branch we put all the communication

elements of the organization, our SWAT unit, aviation, the marine police, bomb, arson— all of those type units are now located under one unified chain of command.

We wove counterterrorism into their day-to-day routine. Instead of doing training helicopter flights just anywhere, to obtain the hours required for certification, they fly their training maneuvers over critical infrastructure targets that might interest terrorists— railroad facilities, New Jersey Transit, and the stretch of nuclear facilities and tank farms that some have called "the two most dangerous miles in America." *[In short, over "targets" that have very little to do with the vast majority of local communities.]*

In other words, if we have to get the helicopters up in the air anyway, even if it's just in training, then we might as well do something that serves a larger preventive purpose.

Counterterrorism, under this model, is not necessarily a separate function, requiring separate new staff or creation of a unit that's going to do counterterrorism only. "It's about getting everybody involved at some level," Tim Connors explains. Maintaining that involvement is the key to maintaining our vigilance, in a world in where terrorism will, **we hope,** remain rare.

*[Of course, to remain rare, it has to presently be rare, and that suggests that the entire premise of this paper, that a drastic reorientation of domestic policing is needed, is quite false.]*

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*George Bush signs a [surveillance bill](#) reauthorizing wiretapping laws in the White House Rose Garden, and pivots to shake hands with John D. “Jay” Rockefeller, IV, July 10, 2008. Lieberman (far left) and Rockefeller are both CFR alumni, as is George H. W. Bush.*



*Domestic soldiers preparing to confront the enemy: American citizens.*

**“ . . .all the physical and conceptual walls associated with the modern, sovereign state—the walls that divide domestic from international, the police from the military, intelligence from law enforcement, war from peace, and crime from war—are coming down.”**

***The Manhattan Institute***

**A little concerning K. L. Roberts:** K. L. Roberts has worked as a teacher of science and technology, social worker, journalist, and IT professional for State and Federal governments, as well as corporations both large and small. His current interests center upon the erosion of civil liberties, globalization, and corruption.