

Rebuilding America's Inner Compass

The Overhaul of American Education From the Ground Up

The Perspective suggests that following America's War of Independence, the clique of families---partnering with the betraying Eastern Establishment of the wealthiest American families---stood behind and controlled a number of un-American universities and preparatory schools, all organized to reject the principles of the American Revolution, undermine the U.S. Constitution, the U.S. government, American education, and to groom its treasonous, morally-compromised, and incompetent clique minions to infiltrate and infest all key American institutions. These corrupting institutions of learning include Yale, Harvard, Princeton, Columbia, Brown, Cornell, Dartmouth and University of Pennsylvania. Later additions were John Hopkins, University of Chicago, University of Michigan, and Stanford, among others. (review pages 68-77 of Perspective). A sure "tell" of the clique grooming process at work was, and still is, American youth traveling to London for "education" at Oxford, the London School of Economics, and in the Rhodes Scholars program.

The Perspective suggests that the clique of families expanded its takeover and subversion of American education in the first decade of the 1900s through the machinations of the Carnegie Endowment, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the Guggenheim Foundation (review Chapter One---pages 4-81 of the Perspective). The clique of families has had one hundred years to completely infiltrate American education, alter and falsify American and world history, insert curricula and teaching methodologies that intentionally impede learning, and create a stultifying environment that sabotages the vision, creativity, and solidarity of the next American generations.

Running parallel to this concealed clique scheme to sabotage American education is the clique's concealed psychological warfare to disempower our next generations by saturating them with available and affordable heroin, cocaine, Ecstasy, and other substances, from the clique's global narcotics trade and subject them to sensory overload of ever-increasing, morally-disorienting and sociopathic "entertainment content". Clique-controlled American education, along with the clique-controlled American media and the clique-controlled American entertainment industry, became the clique's propaganda and psychological warfare branches that constructed and have maintained the high wall of false reality that surrounds the American people. In doing so, the clique attempted to create a mass psychosis in the minds of the American public; in effect, *a severe mental disorder in which thought and emotions are so impaired that contact is lost with external reality*. The net effect was to substantially damage the inner compass of the American people through the concealed, gradual infiltration of bribed and coerced clique minions who manage the high wall of false reality and, thereby, massively violate the American people.

Our U.S. military is the only reliable American institution to undertake the urgent task of identifying and purging all minions from these clique branches of propaganda and the psychological warfare waged on the American people. The top level of clique minions in American education are members of the clique's Israeli Trojan Horse apparatus. The next level to be purged are those individuals who maintain the clique-designed structural impediments to learning, including the corrupt, misdirecting faculty associations, accreditation agencies, associations representing curricula and teaching methodologies, and the entirely fraudulent research infrastructure and research publications that have marginalized and weakened the teaching function, now left primarily to disempowered adjunct faculty and teaching assistants who are treated like corporate temporary workers in terms of compensation and status.

Defining the Inner Compass of the American People and Its Connection with American Education

Institutions of education of any society, in the best cases, hold and project the inner compass of those societies; *becoming the repository of the ideals, the core beliefs that provide vital direction, and the sense of solidarity to sustain themselves under the most adverse conditions.* This inner compass of any society must have a shared narrative as its cornerstone, which reinforces the personal identity of its members.

Neil Postman, in his THE END OF EDUCATION (1996), provides an excellent insight into the importance of a "great narrative" as a fundamental necessity of any society, community, or group. All such narratives, according to Postman:

“.....tell of origins and envision a future, a story that constructs ideals, prescribes rules of conduct, provides a source of authority, and, above all, gives a sense of continuity and purpose.....one that has sufficient credibility, complexity, and symbolic power to enable one to organize one's life around it.....one that provides people with a sense of personal identity, a sense of a community life.....Our genius lies in our capacity to make meaning through the creation of narratives that give point to our labors, exalt our history, elucidate the present, and give direction to our future.”

[The last thing the clique wants is for America's next generations to have the solidarity that comes from a shared narrative of their origins and vision for their future.](#)

What existing school, college or university in the U.S. offers such a narrative that approaches the power described by Postman? Certainly, in an earlier era, there were many learning institutions in the U.S. that were founded on strong religious narratives, but in contemporary times, what shared narratives are left? And, if a narrative is missing, could this be a clue to the moribund condition of many educational institutions in America? Could this be a clue to the extraordinary drop out rate in American high schools? Could this be a clue to the unrequited spiritual yearnings of many students in contemporary higher education? And, could this be a clue to the entrenched self-absorption and conspicuous consumption that is the acknowledged trademark of

American society? When, for example, schools do not provide a shared narrative for their students, is it really a surprise to see alternative narratives emerge around gangs, MTV, the celebrity culture, trendy, brand-oriented, commercial advertising, as well as unauthentic narratives fabricated by the mainstream media and the entertainment industry? If gangs can have a perceived shared narrative; if MTV can project a shared narrative; if the celebrity culture can reflect a shared narrative; and if the corporate world, through massive annual advertising expenditures can generate alternative narratives that motivate their audiences, why is American education sitting on its hands with no narrative that grips the next generation? And, why does the academic community resist helping its students to develop their own authentic shared narratives?

A sad commentary about the American school system is the debate about character education. Some claim that character, ethics, morality, and the like, are missing in much of today's youth and must be taught in the schools as if these concepts can be transformed into academic subject matter. Following conventional logic, character education can then, in accordance with principles of the scientific method, be broken down into its "elements" and defined accordingly, in the hope of personal internalization. But, Postman would say that students have to be moved first by a shared narrative---from religious and other organizations, from parents, from mentors, from somewhere-----to provide *the foundation* for good character. And, absent a compelling narrative, no series of classroom presentations is going to suffice as a substitute. Why? Because only by developing his or her own shared narrative can each student acquire the internalized power to move to a higher purpose and let go of self-absorption and apathy.

There is little doubt that American society and American education in the early 21st century are adrift, disoriented and are in a state of ominous degeneration. For American education to become the inner compass of American society, it must take the lead in revitalizing and refining the original great narrative about America (see pages 449-457 and 855-864 of the Perspective). Within that original American great narrative, the American principles reflected in the Declaration of Independence and the U.S. Constitution embody an evolutionary advance of our species by rejecting the predatory and stultifying world of feudal life. We believe that American education must safeguard that advance and become our inner compass to expand that advance of a *global social intelligence* that deepens our spiritual bonds to each other and to our planet.

American education is capable of becoming an inner compass for our society when—at the middle, high school and college levels—it connects its distinct and unconnected academic disciplines to real-world settings where theory and application meet; where knowledge is deepened; where student perspective is broadened; and ultimately, where American education connects with our times, instead of succumbing to inward-looking, *intentionally distracting academic trends*. This inter-connectivity of American education to our times will make it possible for our American society, and particularly our next generations, to understand and reverse this deepening social and economic degeneration that marks our present circumstance. Such degeneration of American principles is exhibited by the clique-controlled New York Times, which attacks the

foundation of American principles and the cornerstone of our democratic ideals, <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/12/31/opinion/lets-give-up-on-the-constitution.html?pagewanted=all&r=3&> and from NYC Mayor Michael Bloomberg after the false flag Boston Marathon bombing: <http://politicker.com/2013/04/bloomberg-says-post-boston-interpretation-of-the-constitution-will-have-to-change/>

The term *inter-connectivity* is fitting because for American education to become the inner compass of American society it must leave its fraudulently ecclesiastic and cloistered existence and come out into the world. It must become an integral and knowledgeable participant of our times. Conversely, non-academic visionaries of our times must mesh with American education to provide the vital insights to help it to become that inner compass. When each side informs the other with equal intensity and urgency, that vital inter-connectivity will evolve.

And that inter-connectivity can reach its peak by the development of "thought communities" as described by Dr. Vera John-Steiner in her book, *Creative Collaboration* (2000) which was based on a study of successful collaboration of notable partners and groups, some in face-to-face interaction and others in distance interaction. The result of her examination is that:

“...humans come into being and mature in relation to others, new skills are acquired, participants develop previously unknown aspects of themselves, and they increase their repertory of cognitive and emotional expression.”

This requires “fully articulated and shared goals, a safe place for creative exploration, and unimpeded trust.”

And it thereby eliminates “uncertainty, competition, hierarchies, bureaucracies, intellectual ownership, financial dependence, inequity, separation and emotional disconnectedness.”

With these “relational dynamics” in place, "thought communities collaborate with an intensity that can lead to a change in their domain's dominant paradigm.....pressing each participant's perceived limits of human potential.”

In other words, Dr. John-Steiner is suggesting that the elimination of the above-stated impediments can help those participants working on American education's interconnectivity to our times to transcend and reshape its dominant paradigm.

An Insight Into Our Next Generation's View of American Education

One extraordinary examination of student learning outcomes came out of a student gathering, representing six colleges, in Olympia, Washington in October 2004. A composite group of thirteen students, with several days of preparation, were responding to a question posed by faculty members, namely:

“Is there anything missing from your academic education?”

The students presented six missing pieces that they believe reduce the effectiveness of their undergraduate education, as follows:

1. Construct field studies that connect with students' academic concentrations to deepen meaning and to make classroom-acquired knowledge relevant to the real world of the 21st century.
2. Reconnect with the natural world and indigenous cultures in order to internalize the urgency for safeguarding a sustainable future and have an undisturbed time to carry on the vital process of self-reflection to consider one's personal worldview and one's identity in this context.
3. Discover and expand one's unique creative spirit and range of creative expression.
4. Broaden one's perspective about real world interactivity, maintain a sense of responsibility to others and participate in the achievement of a just society.
5. Consider a variety of realistic life-pursuits that can make a difference in the world by immersion in real world work environments and by interfacing with men and women who bring intuitive understanding and good judgment from their long experience in non-academic, real world domains.
6. Develop a frame of mind and coping ability that allows one to address the realities of life with equanimity and good judgment, rather than succumb to uncertainty, anxiety and depression.

This student commentary was insightful and also troubling because these perceived gaps in their education, in fact, constitute the crucially important learning that prepares students for creative, productive and responsible participation in our global society.

It is no wonder that these elementary building blocks of learning are missing. We know that the clique of families, partnering with the betraying Eastern Establishment, began the concealed subversion of American education after the American War of Independence (see pages 70-77 of the Perspective). We know that the Carnegie, Rockefeller, and Guggenheim families conspired in the early 1900s to take over and

subvert all of American education to support the clique's one-world government objective (see Chapter One of the Perspective). We know the sabotage has continued at many levels as the infiltration of American education by clique minions has mounted.

But first we must look at the deep, long-term impact on America's next generations from the powerful psychological warfare waged by the clique's media, education, and "entertainment" branches.

Ex-NFL player Brian Holloway's upstate NY home trashed by hundreds of partying teens

Holloway, who played offensive tackle for the New England Patriots and Los Angeles Raiders in the 1980s, had his rural vacation home trashed during a Labor Day weekend party that was attended by an estimated 200 to 400 teenagers. The retired football player said the teens caused at least \$20,000 in damage. Police are investigating the party.

BY [LARRY MCSHANE](#) / NEW YORK DAILY NEWS

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NFL VIDEOS

Brian Holloway, a former NFL lineman who went away for a weekend and returned to find teenagers had trashed his home.



Ex-NFL player Brian Holloway had his upstate New York house turned into a massive teen party over Labor Day weekend.

The word went out on Twitter — and hundreds of hard-partying characters turned out to trash the upstate New York home of a former NFL All-Pro.

Brian Holloway, who played for the Patriots in Super Bowl XX, watched the Labor Day debauchery via photos and text messages sent from inside his vacant house by the malicious merry-makers.

He's now using social media to assemble a list of the remorseless revelers who trespassed on his 200-acre property — and inflicted more than \$20,000 in damage.



“THE LIST is growing,” Holloway wrote in an Internet posting about tracking down the punks who smashed 10 windows and glass doors, urinated on carpets and punched holes in ceilings. Holloway was alerted to the party as it was in progress because his son saw people tweeting images. “It’s being turned over to the sheriff’s department to assist them to verify and identify the facts,” he said. No arrests have been made, although some brazen partiers spray-painted their names on the walls and others sent tweets about the blowout using their real names and photos.

 **Ricky Roden** @ricky_roden23

Hit me up if your looking for something to do tonight, dm me if u need my number, s...s gonna be crazy

8/31/13, 10:44 AM

1 RETWEET 2 FAVORITES

 **KIDD SWANK** @mhart7 1d

“@ricky_roden23: Hit me up if your looking for something to do tonight, dm me if u need my number, s...s gonna be crazy”

 518 was the place to be. Busted or not, #f...g legit

 **Phil Derrico™** @DFresh518 21h

I'm about to just pass the f...k out

 Phil Derrico™ retweeted

 **Maddie Kennedy ∞** @MaddieKe... 21h

I wish the first party didnt get busted. Cause that s...t coulda got so much bigger! It was live though

 Phil Derrico™ retweeted

 **ChrisWarren™** @_cwarren2546 21h

tonight was a blur.

 Phil Derrico™ retweeted

 **♥ | Ricky Nelson |™** @RickNeis 22h

that party was f...g amazing.

TWITTER

 **Anthony zotto** @BigTone5621

Tonight's bout to be crazZzZyYy

8/31/13, 12:09 PM

5 RETWEETS 3 FAVORITES

 **Aleigha Skaarup** @Aleigha_Ska... 1d

@BigTone5621 stephenstown?

 **Anthony zotto** @BigTone5621 1d

@Aleigha_Skaarup s...s about to be insane lol

 **Aleigha Skaarup** @Aleigha_Ska... 1d

@BigTone5621 omfg i knowww, seee ya theree:)

 **ChrisWarren™** @_cwarren2546 9h

so glad my parents don't give a f...k what I do 🤔👉👎

 **ChrisWarren™** @_cwarren2546 10h

@taylorthorntonx haha yeah and course when I'm f...d up 🤔

 **ChrisWarren™** @_cwarren2546 10h

great way to end summer

 **ChrisWarren™** @_cwarren2546 10h

I remember having a thirty minute conversation with some kid idek last night about life. why...

 **ChrisWarren™** @_cwarren2546 10h

last night I let the party get the best of me 🤔👉👎

 **ChrisWarren™** @_cwarren2546 21h

tonight was a blur.

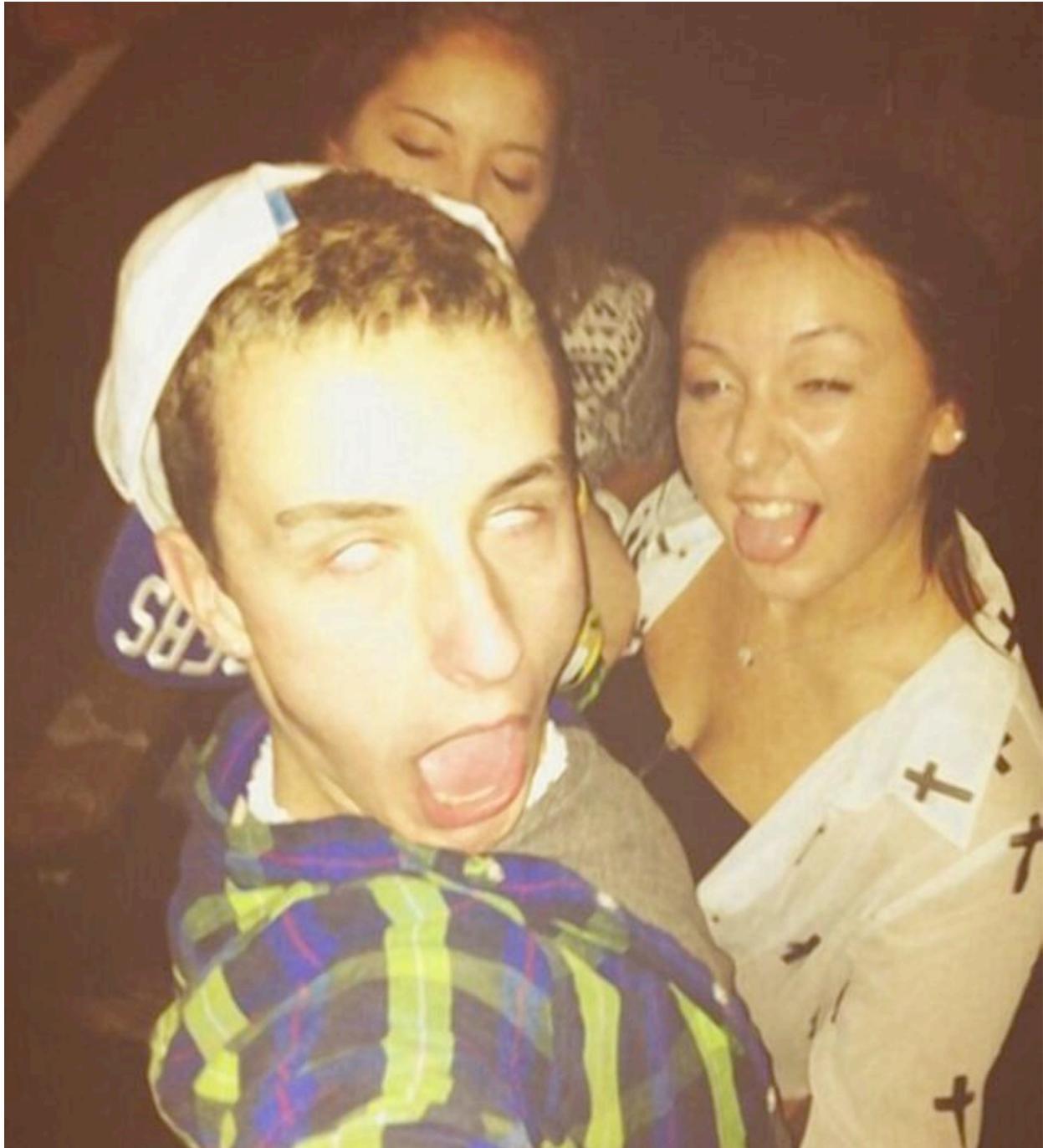
It was not immediately clear how Holloway's vacation residence in the Taconic Mountains was targeted for the home invasion.

But tweets collected by Holloway showed people were promoting the illicit party a full five days before the drunken destruction of Aug. 31.



Holloway, a five-time All-Pro offensive lineman with New England and the Oakland Raiders, was at his home in Lutz, Fla., when he learned of the damage at his sprawling home.

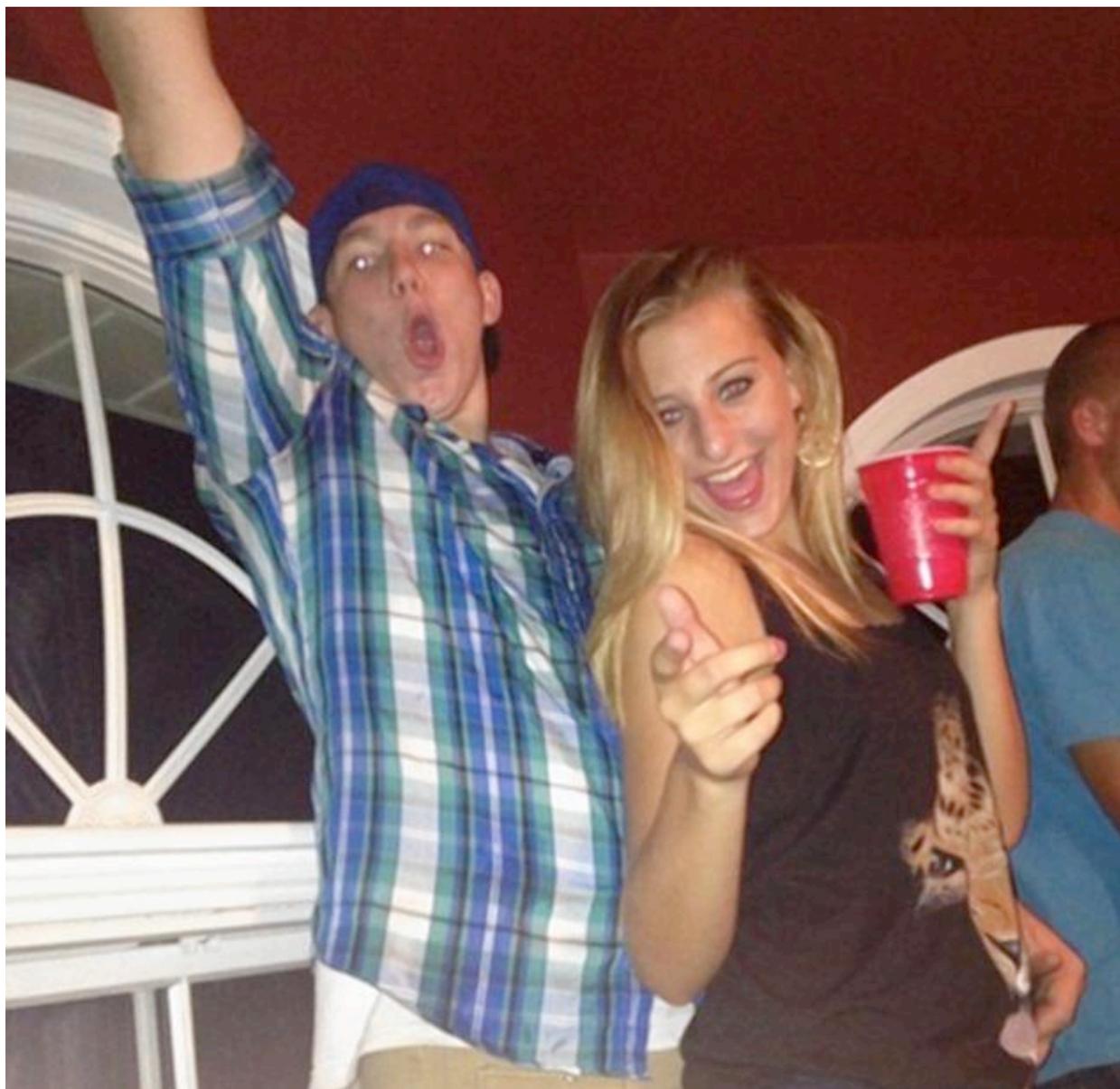
His 19-year-old son spotted Twitter reports about the bash at the house in Stephentown, near the Massachusetts border.



TWITTER

A stunned Holloway was soon staring at a series of mind-blowing pictures — a young man clutching a drink and strolling across his kitchen table. Three kids partying in his bathroom. A boozy couple dancing and carousing.

“We couldn’t believe what was going down,” Holloway recounted. The table holding the drunken teen was purchased with money from the lineman’s Super Bowl share.



TWITTER

The ex-player says he watched the party play out live via social media while he was in Florida.

State troopers responded to the home, but the teens managed to flee without any arrests made.

“Busted or not, it was still the best party in the 518 (area code) of the summer,” tweeted one reveler.



TWITTER

“If you didn’t go last night I feel bad for you #bestpartyever,” wrote another. Holloway said he was utterly disgusted. “What is even more dangerous and shocking beyond the crimes, drugs and alcohol was reading the tweets and hearing them celebrate their destruction and documenting their crimes,” he said.

Brian Holloway’s website (<http://helpmesave300.com>) served as the platform for his effort to give the party-goers a second chance to reconcile their behavior. When only four students came forward to help clean up, and certain parents--instead of being apologetic---threatened to bring legal action against Holloway for putting their children’s photography and Twitter text on his website, Holloway decided to file charges on all the party-goers who could be identified.

What has so damaged the inner compass of these members of America's next generation? And where will it lead?

This story is from the September 26th, 2013 issue of Rolling Stone.

CULTURE

Sexting, Shame and Suicide

By **NINA BURLEIGH** | Sep 17, 2013 AT 02:20PM

Photo: Illustration by Jesse Lenz

On the last day of her life, Audrie Pott walked through a crucible of teenage torment.



A curvaceous sophomore at Saratoga High School, dressed in the cool-girl's uniform of a low-cut top and supershort skirt, she looked the same as always, but inside she was quivering with humiliation.

In the week since school had started, girls had been giving her looks, and guys had congregated around phones, smirking. On Facebook, messages were pinging into her inbox, each one delivering another gut punch: *"shit went down ahah jk i bet u already got enough ppl talking about it so ill keep it to myself haha. . . ."*

"honestly like really no joke everyone knows. . . ."

"u were one horny mofo."

An adult monitor handed her a dress-code violation – her skirt was too short – even though all the girls in her class dressed that way and monitors rarely objected. She cut what classes she could, blowing off chemistry for two days in a row, hoping to avoid confrontations with disapproving girlfriends. Then Kathy Atabakhsh, one of her best friends, tore into her on the school quad, accusing her of drinking, of forgetting who she was, of becoming a different person. "She had been, literally, the best person you could meet – always honest and trustworthy," Kathy says, recalling the episode almost a year later. "And I was so upset that she had changed. It was hard for her to hear that from a close friend." She remembers the last words she said to Audrie. "You need to come back to reality," Kathy told her.

At lunchtime, Audrie texted her mom at work: "Mom, please pick me up." Sheila Pott, a mortgage-loan officer, asked why and whether Audrie couldn't wait for her to finish a business meeting. Audrie was insistent, and then stopped answering texts. When Sheila pulled up in her car later that Monday afternoon on September 10th, 2012, Audrie jumped in but remained silent on the short drive home. Sheila was used to her 15-year-old daughter's moods and stopped pressing her. When they got to their ranch-style home, where they had been living alone together since Sheila had split with her boyfriend the year before, Audrie retreated to her bedroom, with its Audrey Hepburn poster and silk-upholstered window seat. Around 20 minutes passed before Sheila decided to check on her daughter. She walked across the kitchen and down the long carpeted hall to the bathroom door adjoining Audrie's room. The door was locked. Audrie didn't answer.

Sheila knocked and knocked again. Something about the silence pushed a panic button inside her. She grabbed the first thing she could find to jimmy the lock – the tiny metal rod at the end of her phone's earplug – and jammed it into the doorknob. Flinging the door open, she confronted a sight now permanently etched in her memory. In the pale-peach bathroom, with its shell-shaped sink, gold fixtures and narrow bathtub, her only child was dangling from a belt attached to the shower head, mascara streaking her face.

Sheila sprinted down the hall, back into the kitchen, grabbed a knife and cut her daughter down, trying to remember how to perform CPR while dialing 911. Paramedics arrived within a few minutes. They restarted Audrie's heart, but it was too late. The brown-eyed girl who loved horses, art and pranks would never breathe on her own again.

There was no note, nothing to explain why her popular and pretty daughter had done it. In the hospital, Sheila began retracing recent events, looking for some clue as to what could have pushed her daughter to take her own life. She thought about Audrie's strange silence on the day after a sleepover the weekend before. And she remembered the green ink she'd noticed around her daughter's cleavage, weird markings that Audrie had refused to explain.

Saratoga High School, with its country-club-worthy-quad, Olympic-size swimming pool and plush tennis courts, is one of those affluent California schools American teens recognize from movies and TV. Located in the heart of Silicon Valley, the school is home to high-achieving children of parents working at Apple, eBay, Netflix and other tech corporations headquartered within 50 miles. If the Saratoga Falcons did not regularly field a winning football team, there's consolation in the fact that each graduating class has propelled dozens of kids into Harvard, Yale, Stanford and Berkeley.

The summer before her death, Audrie had started to change, moving away from the kids she'd hung out with since middle school. She had started to drink a little and had dated a slightly older guy. When she

drank, the self-consciousness that had afflicted her since junior high melted away. She loosened up. Sometimes, she loosened up a lot.

On Labor Day weekend of the new school year, Audrie's friend, let's call her "Sara" (many of the kids' names in this story have been changed to protect their identities), said her parents were away, leaving their white cottage-style house with its long green lawn in her care. Sara – 15, pretty, slim and blond – and Audrie had become close that summer and were exploring a new realm of boys, bottles and small parties, preferably at parent-free houses, that the Saratoga kids call "kickbacks."

That Sunday, Sara told her parents that she was going to be sleeping over at Audrie's, and Audrie told her mother that she'd be sleeping over at Sara's. When Sheila drove Audrie to Sara's, she assumed the girls would be spending the evening in their jammies in front of the television, or giggling over ice cream and Facebook. But Sara had already texted around a dozen friends to drop in for her kickback.

Eventually, 11 kids showed up, many of them to sip vodka and Gatorade cocktails. They all belonged to their class's popular clique, the girls dressed as provocatively as possible, even by the loose standards of California high schools. "See-through shorts and thongs pulled up, shorts pulled down," recalls an older girl. "That's what the 'cool girls' wore." The boys they hung out with favored a uniform locally dubbed "swagfag" – snapback hat, PacSun tank tops, knee-length chino shorts and Vans.

A few kids had brought some bottles of liquor – rum stolen from Safeway, vodka bought for them by an adult at a liquor store. They eventually guzzled a bottle of tequila that Sara's parents kept in their own cabinet. The mixer of choice was Gatorade, or downed straight. Audrie drank hardest of all.

When Audrie's old middle-school friends, Kathy, Amanda Le and another girl, arrived around 9 p.m., there was no music, just the sound of sloppy-drunk talk. Audrie was already stumbling and incoherent,

taking shots and making out with different boys on the living-room couch. Her friends were appalled. "I never saw, I had just heard about times she had gotten drunk," says Kathy. "She was so different than how I knew her to be. Because we were sober, we noticed everything that was going on, and they didn't know what they were doing."

Sara seemed so trashed when she greeted them at the door that Kathy doesn't think her classmate even recognized her. "There was stuff all over the tables," Kathy says. "Superdirty. They had food and a whole bunch of crap everywhere. People falling over, walking around. At some point, I was like, 'I feel superuncomfortable, everyone's so trashed and we are just sitting here.' So we left."

Police interviews with the partyers pieced together what allegedly happened next. One of the boys Audrie made out with was so drunk he started crying and screaming. He threw up in the kitchen sink – into which someone had already tossed Audrie's iPhone. Audrie was too blitzed to notice.

Then three boys she'd known since middle school – Bill, Joe and Ron – and one of their friends, Mary, helped her upstairs into a bedroom (the names of these four have been changed because of the boys' status in a juvenile case). Mary appears to have left the room when the boys started pulling off Audrie's clothes and drawing on her with Sharpies. In interviews with police later, they admitted, to varying degrees, coloring half of her face black, then pulling down her bra, taking off her shorts and drawing scribbles, lines and circles on her breasts and nipples. Bill wrote "anal" above her ass with an arrow pointing down.

At some point, Mary returned to find Audrie in her underwear and put a blanket over her, then left the room again. With Audrie still sprawled out on the bed and unresponsive, the boys allegedly fingered her and took pictures on their phones.

When she woke up the next morning, Audrie didn't know how she'd gotten into the bedroom or where her clothes were. Then she looked down and saw drawings all over her body, even near her genital area.

She stumbled into the bathroom and ferociously scrubbed away the ink on her face. Since her iPhone was drowned in vomit in the kitchen sink, she had to borrow a friend's phone to call her mother.

"She called me to come get her, and I was surprised because it was earlier than usual," Sheila recalls. In the car and all that day, Audrie was pensive and quiet. They went to lunch at a restaurant and Audrie wouldn't eat. That afternoon, she locked herself in her bathroom for a long time, and then huddled with her computer in her bedroom. At dinnertime, Sheila stood beside her and noticed a green strip of ink on her daughter's cleavage.

"What's that?" she asked. Audrie brushed her off.

Back in her room, Audrie wasn't so nonchalant. She was engaged in a frantic attempt to discover what had happened to her body. She talked to Amanda on the phone and told her friend about waking up stripped and graffitied. Amanda couldn't give her any clues, other than to say she'd seemed very bombed.

Throughout the evening, she became more and more desperate, her agitation and the callousness of her friends evident in Facebook transcripts. At around 5 p.m., Audrie and one of the boys had the following exchange:

AUDRIE: *joe i need to talk to u.*

JOE: *What*

AUDRIE: *one word*

AUDRIE: *marker*

JOE: *What about marker*

AUDRIE: *u know what im talking about.*

JOE: *Fucking Henry*

AUDRIE: *i dont remeber anything about that.*

AUDRIE: *Mary had to tell me everything*

AUDRIE: *i swear to god if u still have those pictures ill kill u*

JOE: *They are deleted and I didn't take them I promise it wasn't me*

JOE: *And I'm sorry about the marker*

Audrie then messaged with another boy who'd been at the party, "Sam." He asked her, "Does he [Joe] still have any photos?"

AUDRIE: *he said no but I think its BS*

SAM: *ur fine. . . ill make sure nothing goes around*

AUDRIE: *it's gonna get out. Shit always does. Especially with the people who were there.*

She was also on Facebook with "Josh." The news from him was not good.

JOSH: *lol that shit gets around haha everyone knows mostly everything hahaah*

AUDRIE: *oh my god. . . i fucking hate people.*

That night, Audrie again confronted Joe on Facebook, accusing him of sharing the photos. Audrie wrote that the "whole school knows. . . . Do you know how people view me now? I fucked up and I can't do anything to fix it. . . . One of my best friends hates me. And I now have a reputation I can never get rid of."

Writing to another boy on Facebook, she said, "My life is over. . . . I ruined my life and I don't even remember how."

There have been a number of high-profile cases similar to Audrie Pott's across the U.S. and Canada in recent years. Steubenville, Ohio, spent months in the national headlines last summer after two football players raped a drunk high school girl at a party. In Louisville, Kentucky, in 2011, Savannah Dietrich, 16, got drunk, passed out and woke up to later learn two male acquaintances had stripped and sexually abused her, capturing the action on their phones and then sharing the pictures with pals. Savannah gathered evidence and went to the police herself. The boys confessed and were initially granted a plea deal that involved the felony charge being expunged from their records before they turned 20. Savannah went public with their names after that, nearly earning herself a contempt-of-court citation because

of the juvenile-court privacy regulations, but ultimately influenced the court to rule for the boys to have a misdemeanor on their records for life. The local DA said that penalty was "the most severe" available in Kentucky juvenile court.

In Nova Scotia, Rehtaeh Parsons, 17, was taken off life support and died this April, three days after her mother discovered her hanging in the bathroom of their Halifax home. According to her mother, the teen got drunk at a party in 2011 and was gang-raped by four boys, who snapped a picture of the scene and posted it online. Her mom said Rehtaeh was mercilessly bullied by classmates for the next two years, even after the family moved to a new town to get her away from the abuse. In early August, Canadian authorities charged two 18-year-old boys with disseminating child pornography.

Diane Rosenfeld, director of the Gender Violence Program at Harvard Law School, says such incidents are far more common than just those that wind up in court or involve suicide. Most, she says, don't make the local news or even reach school administrators because the girls are too embarrassed to do anything. Rosenfeld and her students work with girls, sometimes filing civil suits and encouraging them to graduate. Many are too humiliated to stay in school.

Rape stats may be no higher than in years past, but the numbers are as shocking as ever. Every two minutes, a sexual assault happens in the U.S., and nearly 50 percent of the victims are under the age of 18, according to Katherine Hull, a spokeswoman for the Rape, Abuse and Incest National Network: "The demographic of high school- and college-age women is at highest risk for sexual assault." More than half of the incidents go unreported, advocates say. The ability to record and communicate gang-sex assaults has added a new enhancement to an old and ugly crime against women. From Instagram to Snapchat to texting, young people with raging hormones and low impulse control are passing around what amounts to child pornography. And the bodies most frequently watched and passed around are female.

"It's a perfect storm of technology and hormones," says lawyer Lori Andrews, director of the Institute for Science, Law and Technology in Chicago. "Teen sexting is all a way of magnifying girls' fantasies of being a star of their own movies, and boys locked in a room bragging about sexual conquest."

But as of yet the law provides little protection to the rights of those violated. Section 230 of the Communications Decency Act effectively means that no Internet provider can be forced to take down content for invading a person's privacy or even defaming them. "I could sue The New York Times for invading my privacy or Rolling Stone for defaming me," Andrews says. "But I couldn't sue and get my picture off a website called sluttyseventhgraders.com."

The flip side of this ugly trend is that when gang-rape participants and bystanders record and disseminate pictures of an assault, public outrage is inflamed and cops and prosecutors have evidence they can take to court. This can mean rape victims get more justice than in years past. Arguably, the Steubenville rape would never have been prosecuted without the video. However, since so many of the incidents involve juveniles, punishment is neither swift nor certain.

Prosecutors all over the nation are facing the same social and legal quandary: How do you protect young women from not just sexual assault but the magnification of those assaults via the Internet? How much punishment can they mete out to boys, who in many cases are only a year or two removed from childhood, who seem to think they are committing pranks with phones and passed-out girls, and for whom the ultimate charge – rape – means the end of their lives before they start? Finally, how do you instill in impulse-driven teens of both sexes the knowledge that whatever they record on their phones and send can reach the entire world and stay public forever?

Audrie Pott was born on May 27th, 1997. Her parents split before she was five, and Larry Pott, an entrepreneur who ran a commercial-security business, married a younger Canadian woman, became a Jehovah's Witness and had three more children. For most of her life,

Audrie shuttled between her father's sprawling hillside home and her mother's smaller house. Her father and stepmother, Lisa, thought she was basically a happy kid, but Audrie's friends got earfuls about how she fought with her stepmom. Lisa says she was a disciplinarian who put a tracking app on Audrie's phone and wouldn't let her miss school, whereas her mother was more lenient.

During Audrie's freshman year at Saratoga, she became unhappy in a way that confounded her parents. She began missing school so much that she flunked a class. But Sheila couldn't pry the cause of the academic struggles out of her daughter. It certainly wasn't her intellect – Audrie attended summer school for the class she had failed and got A's. Sheila began to suspect that bullying played a role and called a meeting with Audrie and school officials because she began to worry Saratoga wasn't doing enough to help her daughter. "I asked if they thought she was being bullied," says Sheila. "A counselor came in, a young woman, and actually said to Audrie, 'Get a different group of friends.'"

On top of that, for the past few years, Audrie had a particularly tortured relationship with her body. By the time she was 13, she'd sprouted 34DD breasts. Though this won her attention from boys, it also made her morbidly self-conscious. During freshman year, she became obsessed with the shape of her stomach and liked to wear too-small clothes to be more like her friends. "She wanted," says her mother, "to be just like the superskinny Asian girls in her circle."

Her friends knew Audrie had body-image issues. She refused to eat in public. "She wouldn't eat anything for breakfast," says Amanda, one of Audrie's closest friends. "She would eat an orange at lunch and then wait for dinner. If she felt hungry, when no one was looking she would eat. Or I would make her eat."

Looking back on it, her friends think that these problems developed in middle school, during several years of sexually tinged bullying. Most people can recall their own nightmarish junior-high humiliations, but even by those standards, the Redwood Middle School Class of 2011 set

a new bar. "This is a mean group of kids," Sheila recalls one teacher telling her. Audrie belonged to the dominant group, but that offered little protection. One boy – who later left school – made a "hot list" of girls and had admitted to dreams about killing Audrie, prompting school administrators to separate him from her.

The boys in her class would ridicule the girls about their bodies, while at the same time pressuring them to expose themselves for the camera. According to friends of Audrie's, sexting was epidemic. By seventh grade, boys were daring girls to send them photos: "bra or no bra." The girls, not understanding the lasting consequences, more often than not complied. "They want the boys to like them," says Amanda. "And they don't want them to think they're not cool."

"It started without bras," Kathy says. "There were some girls that sent pictures to any guys that asked. They wanted the attention so much that they would do anything for it and they didn't think what the consequences would be." Audrie, another friend said, might have sent one once. Her choice: bra.

According to Audrie's friends, one of the three boys eventually arrested for the assault, Joe, was a leader of the teasing pack in middle school and especially sadistic. "He would pick one person to make fun of for a few weeks, then move on to another," Amanda says. Bill had a reputation as a troublemaker, while Ron was more of a "sweet" guy.

Audrie started her sophomore year at Saratoga High two days after the assault, with the knowledge that photos of her naked and luridly decorated body were circulating around school. She cut chemistry to avoid talking to Kathy. Then Amanda told her she had seen a group of boys huddled around Joe and his phone and assumed they were looking at pictures of Audrie on the night of the party.

Audrie persevered. She missed only one day of school that week and put on a brave face. But her friends noticed cuts on her arm, which she claimed were due to a broken vase on her mother's couch. In math

class, one of Audrie's friends teased her about the wounds. "I heard you cut yourself," the girl said loudly. Audrie started to cry.

She went out the following weekend and joined a posse of girls, even stopping in at the home of one of the three boys who had allegedly abused her the weekend before. Audrie kept smiling.

Two days later she hanged herself.

In the wake of Audrie's death, Saratoga police agreed with school administrators to wait until the following week, September 17th, to initiate an investigation to "allow students, friends and staff to mourn and grieve."

But on September 13th, Kathy went to talk to school administrators and describe what she knew about the party at Sara's house and how kids at school had pictures of Audrie. While Audrie's parents were arranging for her funeral, her organs already transplanted, a sheriff's deputy met with a school official who provided a letter summarizing Kathy's statements. No one from the school contacted the family, though.

By the time police arrived to interview students, word had already started to spread through campus and students were sharing rumors about who was getting hauled into an administrative office and why. One of Audrie's friends from middle school was overheard telling another student, "Shut down your Facebooks, cops are looking." Another friend had even acknowledged in a Facebook message to Audrie before she died that he didn't want to discuss it further on Facebook – presumably because there would be a record.

A Pott family member in a nearby town heard the rumors of the police investigation from a student and called Larry the night of Sunday, September 16th, urging him not to cremate his daughter's body – which was scheduled for the next day – because a crime might have occurred.

On September 14th, the police pulled Bill out of class and interviewed him at school, then criminally cited him with a misdemeanor, handing him over to his father's custody. They interviewed the other two boys and also cited them, but continued their investigation. According to sources, when the police executed a search warrant on the boys, on September 21st, they discovered that Ron's phone was broken and one of Bill's phones had gone missing. The Pott family believes the damaged and missing devices delayed the investigation for up to seven months while the police tried to recover enough evidence to charge the teens with sexual battery and possession of child pornography.

Bill's parents soon took him out of Saratoga High and enrolled him in a school in another city, where he was allowed to play football. Joe and Ron remained at Saratoga.

A year later, it's almost impossible to gauge exactly how far the pictures of Audrie got – and how many people saw them. One senior says that he knew from "casual conversation" that "a clique of friends" had passed around the pictures. A senior connected with the football team would tell a reporter that he was among a number of boys who had looked at a photo of Audrie on Joe's phone. The *Saratoga Falcon* student newspaper reported approximately 10 students saw an image of her defiled body.

Attorneys representing the boys have claimed that their clients had nothing to do with Audrie's suicide and work to portray Audrie as a desperate, troubled young woman. "Much of what has been reported . . . is inaccurate," said a statement jointly issued by the teens' lawyers in April. "Most disturbing is the attempt to link (Audrie's) suicide to the specific actions of these three boys. We are hopeful that everyone understands that these boys, none of whom have ever been in trouble with the law, are to be regarded as innocent."

Santa Clara County District Attorney Jeffrey Rosen declined to comment on the specifics of Audrie's case. But his office is pushing the California Assembly to write a law making cyberbullying an aggravating element in sexual-assault cases. "This piece of legislation

is meant to give us an opening to tell young people in middle school and high school that this is a crime," says Rosen. The law is still in the writing stages, though, and the local legislator hasn't even introduced it.

"What's really changed is that before the Internet you could do something really stupid and maybe someone would take a picture of it, so there's the picture and the film, and you could physically capture that," says Rosen. "You can't capture things on the Internet. What's very clear to me from this Pott case, and other cases around the country, is that for raped or sexually assaulted young girls, it's one thing that people are gossiping about you in school, but when you add images that they can keep forwarding, it really can seem like the whole world knows."

With Saratoga High in communication--lockdown mode because of the threat of a lawsuit, and administrators refusing to speak even to the community, parents are on their own as far as what they are supposed to do or say to their kids. One Saratoga mother of a teen boy and girl, Selena Kellinger, says she's talking to both her kids about the issue.

"When my daughter was in high school, girls were taking pictures of themselves topless, and of course that goes around," says Kellinger. "I had a conversation, a week before Audrie committed suicide, with my son. I said, 'Please don't send sexts – if you get caught, it's pornography. Delete it. It's not funny.' And a week later, this happened. The boys are just so stupid. They think it's funny writing on a girl's vagina. They don't respect personal-space boundaries."

Adding another layer of tragedy to Audrie Pott's death is that virtually the same thing had happened in the town three years earlier. In 2009, Jill Naber, a freshman at Saratoga's sister school, Los Gatos High School, committed suicide. The popular cheerleader hanged herself after a topless selfie circulated. The photo went viral – apparently shared electronically all the way down to schools in Fresno that played against the Los Gatos teams.

In the aftermath of that tragedy, Los Gatos took steps to address the issue by launching counseling and educational outreach services for the problems teens run into with sexual images and technology. "A lot of what happens on campus starts online the night before," Los Gatos principal Markus Autrey told a local newspaper reporter after Naber's death.

But Saratoga school officials would not make that link, publicly denying that Audrie's suicide had anything to do with events that occurred at the school. Days after the suicide, responding to questions from a *San Jose Mercury News* reporter about rumors of school bullying, principal Paul Robinson said that the rumor was "as far from the truth as it can be." Administrators have since refused to respond to questions, citing the ongoing police investigation.

In the little dry cleaners, boutiques, delis and coffee shops along Saratoga's curving main street, Big Basin Way, and in the mansions up on the purple, piney mountainsides that shade the town long before sunset, two camps formed. There are those who think the boys involved should be severely punished and whose anger has sometimes reached vigilante-threat proportions. On the other side, there are people who think the boys are guilty of a stupid but basically innocent prank and that Audrie's suicide had other causes.

Only one parent of the accused boys returned a call to *Rolling Stone*. He asked that we not name his son and said the story has been wildly misreported. "We are extremely saddened about what happened to Audrie," he says. "But the story that things went viral, that the picture went up on Facebook, it is flat untrue. This was not Steubenville. It was a prank by a few kids, and it's blown out of proportion. Audrie had a lot of other problems in her life, and everybody in Saratoga knows that."

It's a sentiment shared by many parents around town. "These boys are not bad boys!" says the mother of a friend of one of the boys at the party. "They are goofy and silly. If there is a sleepover, one of the boys might put whipped cream on someone's hand. They are not malicious,

mean criminals. This is costing their families thousands and thousands of dollars, and we are not all rich."

The students who talked to *Rolling Stone* were – much like the parents – divided into two factions about the boys' relative guilt. Many were eager to protect Saratoga's otherwise sterling reputation. The student-newspaper editor Sam Liu said there is a lot of sympathy for the Potts, but also "tons of rumors" that Audrie had family problems that provoked her suicide.

But recent Saratoga High graduate Jessica Hayes describes a school environment where disrespecting girls is neither rare nor effectively addressed. Hayes recalled two ugly incidents with football players that occurred during her own freshman year. A boy from the team unzipped her sweater in the middle of the quad, exposing her bra. When she kneed him, she was disciplined. Months later, a group of four or five boys surrounded her at a football game and tried to intimidate her into going under the bleachers with them. She punched one boy and ran, and then endured "20 to 30 harassing texts a day" for months. During her freshman year, she ate lunch in her mother's car, rather than with the other students.

"If you feel disrespected, the office staff doesn't do much to help you," Hayes says. "If something does happen, the girls feel you have to deal with it on your own. It would have been so hard for Audrie to go back to school. Half the people have seen her naked, half the people think she's a whore, and judge and bully her. Teachers know. They can't not. They hear about it."

To cope with the shock of Audrie's death, Saratoga students arranged a memorial day on which everyone was supposed to wear teal, Audrie's favorite color. Grief counselors were brought in. An art teacher organized a girls-leadership group to facilitate discussion among girls about self-respect. Then things went quiet. The accused boys kept going to school, whispers died down.

On April 11th, seven months after Audrie's suicide, the Santa Clara County sheriff arrested the three boys on charges of misdemeanor sexual battery, felony possession of child pornography and felony sexual penetration. When they arrested the boys, police seized new phones and other electronic gadgetry their parents had bought to replace what authorities took in the fall. Police found new pictures of other nude teen girls on some of their phones, prompting them to add on new charges in July. Sources close to the case tell *Rolling Stone* that police discovered one of the boys was trying to make money selling the pictures.

Two of the boys have admitted that the felony charges against them are true, according to sources close to the case, and they are awaiting sentencing – which could range from community service or time in a juvenile-detention center. Their records will be sealed when they turn 18. The third boy may be upgraded to adult court, where the sentence is harsher and a sexual-assault charge would remain on his file for life. California prosecutors are limited by a statute requiring a sexual assault committed by a minor age 14 and over to be "forcible" in order to directly qualify for adult court. A sexual assault on an unconscious victim is not considered forcible.

On April 15th, the Pott family held a press conference announcing they were filing a civil suit against the boys and their families (the parents who own the party house settled in August), and filed an administrative claim against the Los Gatos-Saratoga Union High School District, alleging that administrators were lax in responding to bullying against Audrie – bullying that the school claims was never discussed.

In response to Audrie's death and the arrests, Saratoga's teachers opened discussions with students about the case that had fractured the affluent suburban veneer of the high school. "In every single class, somebody raised their hand and said, 'Well, wasn't she drunk?'" says Hayes. "And 'I thought she was drunk.' And 'She made out with two boys.' 'She was drunk and I'm sure she liked it.'"

Hayes decided some of her fellow students misunderstand rape. "Most people know rape is not OK," she says. "But it is never talked about in class."

Writer Laurie Halse Anderson published an influential book in 1999 called *Speak*, about a high school rape and its effects on a victim. Since then, she has spoken at high schools and middle schools around the U.S., and estimates she has talked to a million kids about rape. "What really strikes me is that, when it comes to recording sexual assaults and wanting to show it off, the young men committing them are not seeing them as crimes, they see them as pranks. And there's no point in pulling a prank unless you share it." Anderson said parents and educators need to talk to younger boys about informed consent. "When I speak to students, I tell boys that if a young woman isn't of age, she isn't capable of giving informed consent, and if she's drunk or high, there's no informed consent. And those cases, if you have sex, you can go to jail. And the jaws drop, because right away, they think of the sex they had at a party last weekend, where everybody was wasted."

Alone in the house she once shared with her only child, Sheila Pott pours herself another glass of chardonnay and wipes away tears that still well up regularly, eight months after Audrie's death. She gives a tour of Audrie's bedroom, where she hasn't moved a thing. On Audrie's dresser, under an earring tree draped with the sparkly baubles her daughter favored, Sheila has placed a simple, hand-tooled metal rose wrapped in a piece of notebook paper. She found it among the flowers at the memorial. It was from a fellow student who scribbled, "I didn't have time to buy you flowers, so I made you one in shop class." He signed it "Matt P."

In the end, whether the pictures really went "viral" or not is irrelevant. Audrie Pott reasonably believed images of her nearly naked body being fondled and abused without her consent were embedded in phones all over school, and that it was only a matter of time before everyone she knew either saw them or knew what had happened to her body.

"With no assault, with no cyberbullying, Audrie is in art class right now," Larry Pott said at the April news conference, choking back tears. The family divulged some of the Facebook messages their very private daughter sent in her last days, deciding it was better, in the wake of her suicide, to reveal the details of what happened than to hide. The messages show her pleading with Joe to delete the pictures. Among her last words were, "You have no idea what it's like to be a girl."

Is this a "tell?"-----Facebook founder Mark Zuckerberg's sister, Randi, writes a children's picture book suggesting that kids unplug because "life's a little bit richer when you look up from the screen." Pull up: http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/10/17/randi-zuckerberg-childrens-book_n_4119131.html

Now it's time to start connecting dots between the clique's "entertainment" industry and the damaged inner compass of a disturbing number of America's next generation.

Rolling Stone

Miley Cyrus: Confessions of Pop's Wildest Child

She knows what you think about her – and she totally doesn't care

by JOSH EELLS

SEPTEMBER 24, 2013

In the backroom of a tattoo parlor on North La Brea Avenue in L.A., Miley Cyrus is about to get some new ink. "All right, face down," says the tattoo artist, a bald guy named Mojo. Miley flips onto her stomach and sticks her

ass in the air. On the bottom of her dirty feet, in ballpoint pen, are written the words ROLLING (right foot) and \$TONE (left).

EXCLUSIVE: Outtakes from Miley's Wild Cover Shoot

After reading about the behavior of the 300 young party-goers who broke into Brian Holloway's home in Stephentown, New York in September 2013, and the behavior surrounding the suicide of Audrie Pott in Saratoga, California a year before, the connection of certain dots should be considered.

America's public high school system is so damaged that its efforts to create a shared narrative among its students is easily overshadowed by the clique-controlled American "entertainment" industry. An extreme example is the grooming of Miley Cyrus from seemingly clean-cut Disney movie figure to her newest image, which projects the same mindset of the teens from Stephentown, New York, on the East Coast, to Saratoga, California, on the West Coast. You might chalk up this mindset and behavior to "the current times," as if it were just a random weather phenomenon, but this is the time to reflect---to think twice---and consider that the American people, and particularly our next generations are the target of the clique's psychological warfare that has been waged for the past 100 years in a long concealed scheme to disorient and disempower American society. And it's working, isn't it? What are we really seeing at Stephentown and Saratoga? A segment of American youth and their parents who have no inner compass; no sense of fundamental right and wrong; no sense of fairness or respect for others. Kurt Lewin would say: a forced change in identity in which thought and emotions are so impaired that contact is lost with external reality. This clique-orchestrated psychological warfare led by members the Israeli Trojan Horse who head and deeply infest our "entertainment" industry is accomplishing its purpose. Isn't it? Look above at Miley's manufactured image vs. Will Smith and his family's angst, below.



"People get tattoos of the most fucked-up shit," Miley says. "Did you know Alec Baldwin has Hannah Montana's initials tattooed on him? No, wait – Stephen Baldwin. He said he was my biggest fan, and I told him my biggest fans have tattoos. So he got hm tattooed on his shoulder." She shakes her head. "People do fucked-up shit."

For her first *Rolling Stone* cover story, Miley wanted to do something fun. "I thought about going to play laser tag," she says. "But laser tag sucks. And we could have gone bowling, but what are we, 90?" Naturally, the next idea was getting a tattoo.

"All right, darlin'," says Mojo. "You ready?"

"Ready," she says. Mojo fires up the needle, which begins buzzing extremely loudly. "I hate seeing the needle," says Miley. She cranes her neck backward. "Does it hurt? It hurts, right?"

Mojo: "Yeah, it hurts."

These are the 20-year-old pop star's first tattoos on her feet, but she has lots of others: a peace sign, an equal sign, a heart and a cross (all on her fingers); the words love inside her right ear and just breathe over her rib cage; a Leonardo da Vinci sketch on her right forearm, and above it, the Roman numerals VIIICI, for 7/91, the month and year her parents first met. And on the inside of her left forearm, the words so THAT HIS PLACE SHALL NEVER BE WITH THOSE COLD AND TIMID SOULS WHO NEITHER KNOW VICTORY NOR DEFEAT. "It's from a Teddy Roosevelt speech," she says. "It's about how people judge who wins and who loses, but they're not the ones in there fighting." In other words, "It's about critics."

Four days earlier, **Miley performed at the VMAs.**

[Go to YouTube](#) to observe the intentional destruction of yet another American social standard of decency aimed directly at America's next generation. Also observe the reaction of Will Smith and his family, who were sitting in the audience:

Will Smith & his family reacting to Miley Cyrus on stage at [#VMAs](#) just won the Internet. pic.twitter.com/op4yiULrNI



From left to right, every family member, his son, daughter, Smith and his wife show their reaction, which means the effort by the Miley Cyrus entourage had a deep impact on the audience---it shifted what remains of American standards of decency downward yet another notch, causing *shock and disorientation*. Miley Cyrus' assault went viral on the Internet and she is now the subject of follow-up articles from the clique-owned global media to insure the deepest possible mind penetration of our increasingly vulnerable youth in America and across the world.

[The Rolling Stone article about Miley Cyrus continues below:](#)

Maybe you heard about it. A lot of people got mad. Miley did things with a foam finger that made the inventor of the foam finger accuse her of having "degraded" an "icon." Most people thought it was Miley's fault, but Miley didn't care. That's what the Teddy Roosevelt quote is about. Haters gonna hate.

Mojo leans in with the needle. On the stereo, "Apache," by the Incredible Bongo Band, is playing. He writes the r, then the o. "How you doing?" he asks.

"Good," Miley says, gritting her teeth.

Then he does the 1. "*Motherfucker!*"

Over on the couch, a guy named Cheyne is cracking up. Cheyne, 22, is Miley's assistant, and also her best friend. They've known each other for a long time, but Miley hired him only last year, before she went to Philadelphia and Miami to record her new album. Cheyne was working at Starbucks at the time. "And I was like, 'Fuck that,'" Miley says. "My best friend can't work at Starbucks! We've been working ever since."

Mojo, on the g, hits a nerve. "Owwww!" Miley screams.

"You hanging in there?" Mojo asks.

"I'm alive," she says.

"OK. We're almost done."

Mojo takes a quick break while Miley collects herself, and then finishes the job. "Easy!" Miley says. After, Mojo asks if she'll do him a favor. He takes out his phone and calls his 10-year-old daughter, Josie, who just started fifth grade.

"What a cool dad!" says Miley. "Face-Timing from the tattoo shop."

Josie's face pops up onscreen. "Hi, Daddy!" she says.

"Hi, sweet angel!" says Mojo.

Miley leans in. "Hey! I hear you make a face like me!" Josie smiles and sticks her tongue out, and Miley does the same. "Yay!" Miley says.

"OK, say good night," says Mojo.

"Good night!" says Josie.

"Adios!" Miley says. Mojo hangs up, and Miley hops down off the table and lands on her feet.

"Motherfucker!" she says.

In this era of deep national polarization, there's one thing on which we can pretty much all agree: It's an interesting time to be Miley Cyrus. She's been dealing with fame in varying degrees for her entire life, first as the daughter of country star Billy Ray Cyrus, whose "Achy Breaky Heart" was to 1992 what "Blurred Lines" is to 2013, then as the insanely popular Disney tween icon Hannah Montana. But all that was just a prelude to Miley 3.0, a tongue-wagging, hard-twerking, all-grown-up pop star, like it or not.

Follow Miley Cyrus' Rapid Transformation From Disney Kid to Dirty Girl



Miley has been planting the seeds for her big transition to adulthood for the past five years. She was 15 when she weathered her first scandal, when she posed for *Vanity Fair* wearing a sheet that made her look topless. ("I feel so embarrassed," she said in a statement. "And I apologize to my fans, who I care so deeply about.") A year later came a pole-dancing stunt at the Teen Choice Awards (the "pole" was on an ice cream cart; the dancing was PG at most). The following year she was photographed in Spain drinking a beer at age 17, and a month after that, TMZ posted a video of her taking a rip from a bong. (Miley claimed it was legal salvia.) And yet, in millions of people's eyes, she's still Hannah Montana – which may be part of the problem.

The morning after the tattoo shop, Miley sends a text: "What up, it's Miley." She wants to know if I can come to the house. "Maybe around 5? We could order some food and shit! Hang at the crib!"

Watch Miley Cyrus Twerk at the VMAs

Miley's crib is in Toluca Lake, halfway between Burbank and Studio City. It's the same crib the Cyruses moved into around the time Miley started working on *Hannah Montana*. She lived at home until she turned 18, and then bought her own place in the Hollywood Hills, with lots of glass and cool furniture and an aquarium in the fireplace. But she didn't really feel safe there by herself, and after a deranged fan jumped her fence wearing her dog's chew toy around his neck, Miley decided it was time to go. She moved back to her old house, and her parents moved a block down the street. Now she lives here with her four adopted dogs (Happy, Bean, Floyd and Mary Jane). But Miley says she still won't sleep in the master bedroom: "That's my parents' room!"

There are also two racks of clothes in one of her living rooms that belong to Liam Hemsworth, 23, the Australian actor she met on a movie set in 2010. The couple had been engaged, but in mid-September, they announced that they had split up.

The neighborhood isn't what you'd expect: very suburban, very Valley, very Old Hollywood. Bob Hope lived in the house behind theirs. Miley never met him, but she did meet his widow, who lived there until she passed away in

2011. "Miss Dolores," Miley says. "She was party-rocking till the end! Sometimes I'd walk by and see all these people in there dressed up like old-time flappers. I was like, 'Is this real – or are you guys all ghosts?'"

Her neighbors now are a little more contemporary. "Diddy's baby mama lives right there," Miley says, pointing over the fence behind her pool. And down the street is Steve Carell, who has two preteen kids and doesn't sound like the biggest Miley fan. "He always gives me the stank-eye because I drive so fast," Miley says. "The other day I was trying to reverse and I almost hit a thousand things, and I was getting nervous because I could see him going" – she crosses her arms and lets out a big, annoyed sigh. "I'm like, oh, my God, Dan in Real Life is watching me right now!"

She just got back from New York, where she stayed for a few days after the VMAs. She didn't realize how big a deal her performance had been until she saw the news. Her instantly infamous medley of her single "We Can't Stop" and Robin Thicke's "Blurred Lines" owned cable TV for the next week, launched a million GIFs and prompted 161 complaints to the FCC. (Spring, Texas: "She groped a woman's posterior – without hesitation." West St. Paul, Minnesota: "Multiple very indecent sexual poses and gestures, from grabbing her crotch, using a foam finger like a dildo and licking the butt of a stuff bear." Dallas: "Pornographic dance by Miley Cyrus. Yuck! Will not list details. TOO GROSS.") "I think," says Miley, "it's an important time not to Google myself."

Miley thought there was a chance the network might pull the plug on her mid-performance, but she didn't expect so much shock and vitriol. "Honestly, that was our MTV version," she says. "We could have even gone further, but we didn't. I thought that's what the VMAs were all about! It's not the Grammys or the Oscars. You're not supposed to show up in a gown, Vanna White-style" – a little dig at Taylor Swift. "It's supposed to be fun!"

Miley admits that her performance with Thicke got a little – her word – "handsy." But she makes a good point: "No one is talking about the man behind the ass. It was a lot of 'Miley twerks on Robin Thicke,' but never, 'Robin Thicke grinds up on Miley.' They're only talking about the one that

bent over. So obviously there's a double standard." She was especially amused by the criticism from Brooke Shields, who played Miley's mom on *Hannah Montana* and called the VMA performance "desperate." "Brooke Shields was in a movie where she was a prostitute at age 12!" Miley says with a laugh.

"America is just so weird in what they think is right and wrong," she continues. "Like, I was watching *Breaking Bad* the other day, and they were cooking meth. I could literally cook meth because of that show. It's a how-to. And then they bleeped out the word 'fuck.' And I'm like, really? They killed a guy, and disintegrated his body in acid, but you're not allowed to say 'fuck'? It's like when they bleeped 'molly' at the VMAs. Look what I'm doing up here right now, and you're going to bleep out 'molly'? Whatever."

Miley admits that before the telecast, she was feeling a little nervous. But then she got a visit in her dressing room that made her feel better. Kanye West had seen her rehearsals and wanted to talk to her before she went onstage. "He came in and goes, 'There are not a lot of artists I believe in more than you right now,'" she recalls. "The whole room went quiet. I was like, 'Yo – can you say that again?!'" She laughs. "I just kept repeating that over and over in my mind, and it made me not nervous."

After the show, Miley and Kanye met up at a Manhattan recording studio to work on a remix for his song "Black Skinhead." The next day he sent a text: "He said, 'I still can't quit thinking about your performance,'" Miley says. She also happened to mention that a pair of fur Céline slippers she'd bought were falling apart, and Kanye bought her five more pairs. "Kanye is the shit," she says. "I kind of have a good relationship with him now. It's good to have someone you can call and be like, 'Yo, do you think I should wear this?' 'Do you think I should go in the studio with this guy?' 'Do you think this is cool?' That's what homies are supposed to do."

Miley isn't bothered by people who called her performance a disaster. "I wasn't trying to be sexy," she says. "If I was trying to be sexy, I could have been sexy. I can dance a lot better than I was dancing." She knows sticking her tongue out isn't hot and that those weird stubby pigtails aren't flattering

("I look like a little creature"). And she even knows it's ridiculous for her to twerk. "People are like, 'Miley thinks she's a black girl, but she's got the flattest ass ever,'" she says. "I'm like, I'm 108 pounds! I know! Now people expect me to come out and twerk with my tongue out all the time. I'll probably never do that shit again."

If there's one thing that bothered her about the fallout, it was the idea that her performance was racist, or a "minstrel show," because, critics argued, she appropriated a dance style common in black culture and used black backup dancers like props. "I don't keep my producers or dancers around 'cause it makes me look cool," she says. "Those aren't my 'accessories.' They're my homies." Meanwhile, she argues, the idea that she's somehow playing black is absurd. "I'm from one of the wealthiest counties in America," she says. "I know what I am. But I also know what I like to listen to. Look at any 20-year-old white girl right now – that's what they're listening to at the club. It's 2013. The gays are getting married, we're all collaborating. I would never think about the color of my dancers, like, 'Ooh, that might be controversial.' What do you mean?" she says with a laugh. "Times are changing. I think there's a generation or two left, and then it's gonna be a whole new world."

After a while, Miley gets hungry, so Cheyne orders some sushi from a nearby spot, and we all hop in the car to go pick it up. Her main ride these days is a cream-colored 2014 Maserati Quattroporte, which Miley bought a few weeks ago. The back seat feels like an airport lounge on wheels. We pull out of her gate, and three paparazzi camped out on her street follow in pursuit. At the sushi place, the valet keeps them at bay while Miley waits in the car.

Parked next to us is a black Range Rover. "I'm not gonna lie," she says. "I think that might be Bieber's." I ask her if she hangs out with him. "A little bit," she says. "But not really. I'm not much older than him, so I never want it to feel like I'm mentoring him. But I do mentor him in a way. Because I've been doing this shit for a long time, and I already transitioned, and I don't think he's quite done it yet.

"He's trying really hard," she adds. "People don't take him seriously, but he really can play the drums, he really can play guitar, he really can sing. I just

don't want to see him fuck that up, to where people think he's Vanilla Ice. I tell him that. Like, 'You don't want to become a joke. When you go out, don't start shit. Don't come in shirtless.' But the thing is," she says with a laugh, "I think boys are, like, seven years behind. So in his head, he's really, like, 12."

After a few minutes Cheyne comes back with the food, and we head out. On the way home, Miley bumps a few tracks from her new album, *Bangerz*, including one with Britney Spears and producer Mike WiLL Made It (who did eight songs) and one produced by Pharrell (who did four).

Back at the crib, Miley inhales some spicy tuna in front of her laptop. She wants to see the video for her new single "Wrecking Ball," which at that point had yet to be released. On the screen, Naked Miley appears, licking a sledgehammer and writhing around a demolition site. On one close-up shot of her face, she sheds a tear. "That was real," Miley says proudly. "My dog just passed away."

Miley thinks people will be shocked when the video comes out, because it's the last thing they expect from her: real art. She wants very much to be taken seriously as an artist, not just in the musical sense, but overall. Lately she's been getting into fashion – mostly vintage Versace and Dolce from 1992, the year she was born.

We graze on the sushi for a while and then Miley brings out a tin of vegan brownies that her chef made, and everyone dives in. "You know," she says after a bit, "when they asked me what I wanted to do with you, my other suggestion was sky diving. But you declined."

I tell her that's the first I've heard of it. Should we go sky diving?

"Should we?" she says. "It'd be fun. . ."

Cheyne shakes his head. "Hell, no."

"I've always wanted to," she says. "It would be so scary. We should do it."

The first time Miley stole the show, she was two years old. It was November 1994 – a week after her second birthday. Her dad was on a Nashville talk show called Music City Tonight. He's on the downslope of his fame, but not by much. His mullet looks magnificent.

He's getting interviewed when one of the hosts asks him a mildly pointed question about how, before he was married, he'd fathered two babies. (In fact, the moms were two different women who were pregnant at the same time.) Blindsided, he squirms for a second, trying to come up with something positive. Just then, as if to save him, out toddles Miley, one of said babies (Billy Ray married her mom, Tish, in 1993), wheeling a tiny pink stroller with a Willie Nelson doll tucked inside.

The crowd *awwwws*. Billy Ray hops up and runs over to her. She's wearing a gingham dress with a polka-dot collar, and her strawberry-blond hair is up in a bow. The audience applauds, and Miley starts to clap too. The cameras don't faze her at all. She climbs into one of the host's laps, and her dad tells her to "look at the camera and do your eyes one time." Miley looks straight into the lens and rolls her eyes theatrically. Two years old and she's already a star. "This is very dangerous!" says the host, eating it up. "You're gonna be in big trouble when she's, what, 12 or 13?"

Billy Ray named his daughter Destiny Hope because he thought it was her destiny to bring hope to the world. (She legally changed it to Miley, a childhood nickname, in 2008.) She grew up on a 500-acre farm outside Nashville, near a town called Thompson's Station. "There wasn't even a streetlight," she says. "My dad put up all the streetlights and stop signs because there was nothing around. He's kind of like the mayor, because the city wouldn't even have lights if it wasn't for him. Now they have a Starbucks, and it's so weird."

As a kid, Miley was always outside. "I'm still kind of a semi-nudist, because I never had clothes on," she says. She grew up riding 4x4s (which she loved) and horses (which she was less crazy about). She was a funny, outgoing, slightly strange kid who liked cheerleading, Limp Bizkit and Hilary Duff. Sometimes she would go on tour with her dad, and her job would be to go onstage after the show and pick up all the bras and underwear. "I'd get a

really big one and be like, 'Dad! I found your biggest fan!'" she says, laughing. He paid her \$10.

Miley went to a private evangelical school for a year, until she got kicked out for either a) stealing her teacher's motorized scooter or b) telling the rest of the class what "French kissing" was. (She's not quite sure.) She was 11 when she first auditioned for *Hannah Montana*. Her dad didn't want her to do it, but she eventually wore him down. "I think he just didn't want me to feel any kind of rejection," she says. "He didn't want me to be hurt by the industry."

Miley's transformation from America's sweetheart into whatever the hell she is now kicked into high gear three years ago, when she went to Detroit to shoot a movie called *LOL*. "Detroit's where I felt like I really grew up," she says. "It was only for a summer, but that's where I started going to clubs, where I got my first tattoo. Well, not my first tattoo, but my first without my mom's consent. I got it on 8 Mile! I lied to the guy and told him I was 18. I got a heart on my finger and wore a Band-Aid for two months so my mom wouldn't find out." She also bonded with her co-star, Demi Moore, whose rocky relationship with Ashton Kutcher was becoming a major tabloid story. "That was dope, because I think we needed each other at that point," Miley says. "We both needed to get out of L.A."

But it was last summer, in Philadelphia, where she really found her new style. She was living there with Hemsworth, who was filming a movie with Harrison Ford. "Best summer ever," Miley says. "Have you ever been to South Street in Philly? That's where I got my first chain. Sixteen bucks – not real," she says, laughing. "I was away from people for a minute, and I just started feeling my own vibe. I bought a pair of Doc Martens. I shaved my head. Driving a fucking Ford Explorer around. Just blending in."

Shortly after she started to record *Bangerz*, Miley cleaned house. "I basically cut off all ties," she says. "I got rid of my manager, I got rid of my label. I just started over. I really wanted to stay with my manager, but I feel like this" – her recent evolution – "would have scared them. I just don't think they would've had as much faith in what I'm doing."

Read Rob Sheffield's Review of Miley Cyrus' VMAs Performance

Miley has since hired Britney Spears' manager, Larry Rudolph, but she's still the one in control. Her life is remarkably handler-free – no publicists hanging around, no minders telling her what she can and can't do. "I hung out with way too many adults when I was a kid," she says. "So now I don't want to hang out with any adults. I've already done all the hard work. Now I can kind of fuck off." Her video for "We Can't Stop" was inspired by just such fun – an epic two-day house party with a bunch of the homies that moved from a friend's home in the Hills to the beach in Malibu and back. At one point, Miley fell asleep in front of a fireplace and melted her Docs. Around dawn, everyone went up to the roof to watch the sun rise, and Miley kept singing the "We Can't Stop" line that goes, "This is our house, this is our rules," but rewriting it as, "This is our house, this is our roof."

These days Miley is pretty close to her parents. She sees them about once a week. "My dad's always home," she says. "He's like, 'There's nothing for me to do out here.' So he chills at the house all day, and I go see him." One time she went out to her backyard and saw a shadowy figure in the bushes. "I thought I was gonna get murdered," she says, "and then I see my dad climbing my fence. He's like, 'Sissy! I found a secret path where I can get from my house to your house without having to go on the street!' I'm like, 'Dad, you definitely just trespassed through someone's yard.'"

Was Miley Cyrus' VMA Performance a Parody?

She spends more time with her mom, Tish, whom Miley says dreamed of being a performer herself, but couldn't because of bad anxiety. "She danced ballet from the time she was three till she was 30, but she was very shy," Miley says. "She could never do this, so she wanted it for me. I get anxiety too, and she didn't want my anxiety to ever stop me from doing it the way it stopped her." Her mom often travels with her, but she can still make Miley cringe. "When she's being embarrassing, she'll call me 'sweet girl,'" Miley says. "When we were getting ready for the VMAs, I was about to put on my teddy-bear costume and she's like, 'Sweet girl, do you need to potty before you put your costume on?' I'm like, 'Mom! Kanye is standing right here!'"

For a while, Miley's dad was pretty upset with her partying ways. In 2011, he gave an interview to *GQ* where he said if he could go back in time and stop her from being Hannah Montana, he would. But Miley says they've gotten to a better place. "We have a different relationship now," she says. "Now I hear all these crazy stories from him. Like, I never knew my dad smoked weed. I thought my dad was a freak. Now I know he was just stoned."

The next morning, Cheyne is down in the kitchen getting ready for the trip. Up in her bedroom, Miley sends him a text: "I think I'm having a panic attack."

We've decided to go sky diving. Everybody is pretty scared, but nobody wants to be the one to back out. "I can't believe we're doing this," Miley says when she comes down. She's wearing a white tank top and red track pants, with her hair in her little-creature pigtails. She grabs a couple of Gatorades and we hit the road.

We're driving to a town called Perris, out in the desert on the way to Palm Springs. It's home to Skydive Perris, supposedly one of the best sky-diving spots in the country. The plan was to leave early enough that the paparazzi wouldn't be there yet, but two of them are already waiting. "Should I tell them I'll give them a picture and then fuck off?" Miley asks.

Cheyne nods and pulls over. "Yo, we're gonna give you a picture right now if you don't follow us around all day long," he says. The paps agree.

"And then you're gonna fuck off?" says Miley.

"Yeah."

"Promise?"

"Yeah."

"OK," Miley says. She hops out of the car and poses for 30 seconds in front of a Dumpster, then hops back in and we're on our way. ("I'll usually give them a picture and they're pretty cool," she says. "I actually don't really get

the point of paparazzi anymore. It's not like back in the day where they sold pictures to magazines. Now they just put them online. I don't really know how they make money.")

Cheyne does 90 on the 210, driving past Pomona, Chino, Riverside. Pretty soon we're deep into the Inland Empire, surrounded by broken-down cars and yucca trees. "The desert is so weird," Miley says. "This is where all the tweakers live. It's like *Breaking Bad* for real. They go down to the local taco shop and sell meth. Meth country. Meth town."

She turns to Cheyne. "You think we might be able to see the ocean?"

"If it's clear," he says.

"We gotta keep doing stuff that's really crazy," Miley says. "I need my own *Rolling Stone* column where every issue it's just something crazy I do."

We're about 15 minutes away when she starts pointing at something through the windshield. "Oh, my God," Miley says. "You can see people falling from the sky right now!" Up ahead, a few thousand feet above the horizon, some black dots are drifting down to Earth. "Oh, my God," she says. "Why is homeboy spinning around? He's upside down! He just went upside down!"

We pull into the parking lot, and Miley meets Scott Smith, her instructor for the day. Scott has been parachuting since 1978; he's made more than 12,000 jumps. "I trust you," she says. "But I'm scared."

"Good," says Scott. "There's two kinds of people who make their first jump – those who are scared, and those who lie." He takes her to sign a bunch of release forms, and Miley has a laugh about the line that says, "Parachutes do not always work." For her emergency contact, she puts her mom; for her job, she puts "unemployed." "If I die," she tells Scott, "you guys are so fucked."

While we wait for our turn, Miley stands outside chain-smoking cigarettes as a few dozen fans take turns coming up to get pictures with her. Most of them

compliment her on the VMAs. "Stick your tongue out!" one grandmother tells her. Then it's time to suit up.

As we wedge ourselves into the plane, Miley and Cheyne grip each other's hands tight. We climb for about 15 minutes – rising to 8,000 feet, 9,000, 10,000. "We're seriously about to jump out of this plane right now," Miley says. Finally, at 12,500 feet, the plane levels off. The door opens, and Miley and Scott scoot over to it. She hangs her toes over the edge, as the desert races by below. Cheyne, who does not seem to be having fun, grits his teeth and glares. "Miley fucking Cyrus!" But she's already out the door.

See Miley Cyrus Bare It All for *Wrecking Ball*

Six minutes later, everyone is safe on the ground. "Holy shit!" Miley says. "That was awesome!" She calls her mom and tells her she's alive. "One thing about sky diving," she says, "you really know who you love, based on who you call." I ask her if she talked to Liam already. "Oh, shit!" she says, and takes her phone back out. (Two weeks later, the couple will announce their split.)

Back in the car, Cheyne opens his GPS and plots a course for one of their favorite fast-food spots, a SoCal-only chain called Baker's Drive-Thru. "It's like a Mexican White Castle," Cheyne says. "It's so good," says Miley. She orders a taco burger with everything and a giant soda. "We just jumped out of a motherfuckin' plane!" she says. "You can't tell me nothin'!"

Miley Cyrus Gets Naked for 'Bangerz' Alternative Cover

On the way back to L.A., Miley's phone buzzes. "This is why I love Pharrell so much," she says, then reads a text that he sent her out loud. It's at least 1,000 characters long; she scrolls forever. "The VMAs was nothing more than God or the Universe showing you how powerful anything you do is," he says at one point. "It's like uranium – it has the power to take over lives or power entire countries. Now that you've seen your power, master it."

"You're not a train wreck," he says later. "You're the train pulling everyone else along."

Back at the crib, Miley, drained from all the adrenaline, goes upstairs to take a nap. When she comes back down a few hours later, she still feels funny. "Have you been having any shakiness?" she asks. "I just started getting dizzy – I had to sit for a second." She takes a deep breath. "My heart is going a thousand miles per hour. I think maybe it gave me a little vertigo!" In the kitchen, Cheyne makes her a drink – Gatorade and Malibu – and Miley gets her bearings. She checks her phone and reads a text from Lil' Kim out loud: "My little pumpkin, I just had to tell you you're so fucking smart. I love you and all the press you are getting. Sad I didn't run into you at the VMAs. Keep killing it, boo." Miley laughs. "My little pumpkin!"

Miley goes back upstairs to change. When she comes back down, in a punky black-leather miniskirt and big black Chanel boots, two of her friends have shown up: Thom, a young Australian actor on an NBC summer show (he's also Cheyne's roommate), and Janelle, his jewelry-designer girlfriend.

Miley doesn't actually go out very much. ("I call myself Rapunzel with a mohawk. Standing by my window, looking at the paparazzi, just wanting to leave the crib.") But tonight we're going to what she promises is the best club in L.A.: Beacher's Madhouse, at the Hollywood Roosevelt Hotel.

Everyone piles into an SUV, with Miley checking her lipstick in the passenger seat. Cheyne leads the way, and our whole crew blows past the line in the lobby and gets escorted to a prime corner booth, which Miley calls "the birdcage." The promoter gives her a hug and sends over a bottle of vodka. The club, which features a twisted, live-action roving variety show, feels like something out of Stefon's wet dreams: There's an old male stripper in leather hot pants, fishnet-wearing go-go dancers, a miniature Psy dancing to "Gangnam Style." Amazon Ashley, the six-foot-seven burlesque dancer whom Miley mimed anilingus on at the VMAs, comes over, topless, except for pasties, and gives her a massive hug. "I Believe I Can Fly" plays on the PA, and a bummed-looking Oompa-Loompa, who is attached to a cable via a

hook on the back of his overalls, gets hoisted up to the ceiling and dropped down to a table of girls, where he delivers a bottle of liquor.

How Miley Cyrus Knew Her VMA Twerk Would Cause Controversy

We stay until the club shuts down, and then some. Miley spends the whole night dancing on a banquette and drinking Malibu. Afterward, Cheyne orders a couple of Uber cars, and about a dozen of Miley's friends pile in and head to their friend Ryan's house in the Hollywood Hills. The afterparty feels like something out of Miley's "We Can't Stop" video: a bunch of hip, pretty young people partying in a house that's way too nice. Suddenly, Miley gets excited. "This is actually the house!" she says. "The 'This is our house, this is our roof' house – this is the place! And these are the homies!" She can't stop smiling. "We're really living that life!"

Billy Ray Cyrus Says 'Hannah Montana' Destroyed His Family http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hannah_Montana

Singer says that he is worried about his daughter Miley Cyrus

US WEEKLY

FEBRUARY 15, 2011 2:15 PM ET
Danielle Levitt/GQ

In an emotional new interview in **GQ** magazine, Billy Ray Cryus sadly expounds at length about his very serious regrets and concerns for his famous daughter Miley, 18. (Billy Ray and Tish Cyrus, Miley's mom, also filed for divorce last year after 17 years of marriage.)

PHOTOS: Miley's wild 18 years

"I'm scared for [Miley]," says Billy Ray, who expressed feelings of helplessness as his little girl -- who became a Disney star in her tweens -- became the center of one controversy after another.

"She's got a lot of people around her that's putting her in a great deal of danger. I know she's 18, but I still feel like as her daddy I'd like to try to help," he says. "At least get her out of danger. I want to get her sheltered from the storm. Stop the insanity just for a minute."

But the "Achy Breaky Heart" singer says he's probably been given too much of the blame for Miley's endless antics -- from her topless *Vanity Fair* cover to her pole dancing routine at the 2009 Teen Choice Awards to a recent bong-smoking incident- "Well, I took it, because I'm her daddy, and that's what daddies do. 'Okay, nail me to the cross, I'll take it....'" he tells *GQ*. But he drew the line at attending her 18th birthday party -- which was held at a bar, just a few weeks after Miley's salvia-bong scandal. "It was wrong. It was for 21 years old and up... I said, 'This whole thing's falling apart up there and they just want to blame all of this stuff on you again.' I'm staying out of it." Billy Ray then spoke about Hollywood tragedies Kurt Cobain, Michael Jackson and Anna Nicole Smith -- drawing vague parallels to his own daughter's wild life. "I'm concerned about Miley. I think that [Cobain's] world was just spinning so fast and he had so many people around him that didn't help him. Like Anna Nicole Smith--you could see that train wreck coming...Michael Jackson—I was trying to reach out to Michael Jackson." Among his mistakes? Being a "friend" to his daughter versus a parent."I should have been a better parent," he says. "I should have said, 'Enough is enough--it's getting dangerous and somebody's going to get hurt.' I should have, but I didn't... Honestly, I didn't know the ball was out of bounds until it was way up in the stands somewhere." And the show that made his daughter a superstar has become a dirty word for Billy Ray, he said. *Hannah Montana*, he tells *GQ*, "destroyed my family...the damn show destroyed my family...It's all sad." Does he wish Miley had never been cast in the show? "I hate to say it, but yes, I do. Yeah. I'd take it back in a second. For my family to be here and just everybody be okay, safe and sound and happy and normal, would have been fantastic. Heck, yeah. I'd erase it all in a second if I could."

There has never been a greater contrast between the classless values of those who presume to judge talent shows and the authentic values of the talent candidates as exemplified by this performance. Watch Simon Cowell make his disparaging comments and observe his fake, "made-over" female co-judges of no talent whatever vs. two unpretentious teens who possess an inner compass: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZsNlcr4frs4>

The "Entertainment" Industry Targets Teens To Show Even Lower Ethical Standards



"Based on a series of crimes committed by celeb-obsessed teens from Calabasas, Calif., Sofia Coppola's lightly fictionalized "[The Bling Ring](#)" chronicles how the culprits used social media and basic, Internet-derived intel to break into homes owned by Paris Hilton, Lindsay Lohan, Audrina Patridge and other reality TV/tabloid regulars. Like "[Alpha Dog](#)," another unsupervised teen melodrama based on real Los Angeles events, "The Bling Ring" boasts some convincing performances but comes across as getting high off its own luridness, never letting the viewers forget that what they are seeing is both an indictment of modern, shallow, media-soaked life and a cynical celebration of the same...They use paparazzi and entertainment websites to track when stars would be out of town, then steal their clothes and jewelry and post photos on Facebook. When police finally descend on the group...their reactions: 'I've been watching TMZ. They say I'm a person of interest in these burglaries,' Rebecca says, impressed with the fact that she is sharing soul-sucking tabloid space with (Paris) Hilton and (Lindsay) Lohan. Being a person of interest was all she really wanted." (*G. Lang*)

REBUILDING AMERICAN EDUCATION FROM THE GROUND UP

There are a number of elementary steps to rebuilding American education that recognize the layers and layers of clique sabotage designed specifically to disempower our next generations, break down their “seriousness of purpose” and maturing process, impede their learning, impede their development of critical thinking, impede the formation of a shared narrative of solidarity among the American people, and impede a global shared narrative that insures the natural evolutionary advance of our species to a higher social consciousness, spirituality, and collaborative creativity.

This requires the reader to stand back from existing American education and to identify one malignant element after another that must be removed---starting with the psychological warfare waged on our next generations from clique sources and then moving on to cut out the malignant elements imbedded within American education by the clique and its Israeli Trojan Horse minions.

Step #1: Pull the Plug on the Clique’s Psychological Warfare Apparatus

Identify and bring to justice all the clique minions who populate, (i) the Tavistock Institute in London and its affiliates, particularly in the United States (see pages 772-792 of Perspective), (ii) the dominant corporations that own core elements of the “entertainment” industry (page 217 of Afterword), and (iii) the Israeli Trojan Horse (pages 796-805 of the Perspective and pages 218-219 of the Afterword)

Step # 2: Elimination of Narcotics

Narcotics are one of the most malignant elements in the learning environment at all levels of education. Narcotics represent the deepest corruption of education as students, faculty, and administrators surrender essential characteristics such as integrity, seriousness of purpose, creativity, innovation, concentration, introspection, and critical thinking. The clique has monopoly control of the global narcotics trade. Starting with the Opium Wars of the mid-1800 in China, the clique set out to ruin the solidarity, productivity, and national security of entire populations, but with a particular emphasis on the American people and our future generations. Accordingly, eradicating narcotics from the educational domain requires the destruction of the clique of families by our U.S. military. All institutions of learning must create drug therapy units for students, faculty, and administrators suffering from narcotics addiction. If such therapy is unsuccessful, expulsion of the permanently addicted members of institutions of learning must follow. The brain-restructuring impact of cocaine, for example, is just now becoming understood by the public. It is now clear that from the first intake of cocaine, the mind’s decision-making process, concentration, and memory are permanently impaired. In other words, the use of cocaine, from the first intake, works to permanently impair the mind’s learning process, which requires unimpeded decision-making, concentration and memory.

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Cocaine Rewires Brain, Overrides Decision-Making After Just One Use, Says Study

Posted: 08/26/2013 6:10 pm EDT | Updated: 08/29/2013 6:27 pm EDT

A new study at UC San Francisco's Ernest Gallo Clinic and Research Center has revealed that [cocaine may rewire the brain](#) and drastically affect decision-making after just one use.

While [similar studies](#) have revealed such rewiring in long-term use, the new study's results are especially alarming, showing that the brain can be altered after one dose.

Using live mice, researchers from both UC San Francisco and UC Berkeley studied the frontal lobe -- the area of the brain that handles decision-making and memory -- when cocaine was introduced to the body.

After one dose, researchers found substantial growth of new dendritic spines, which are "tiny, twig-like structures that connect neurons and form the nodes of the brain's circuit wiring."

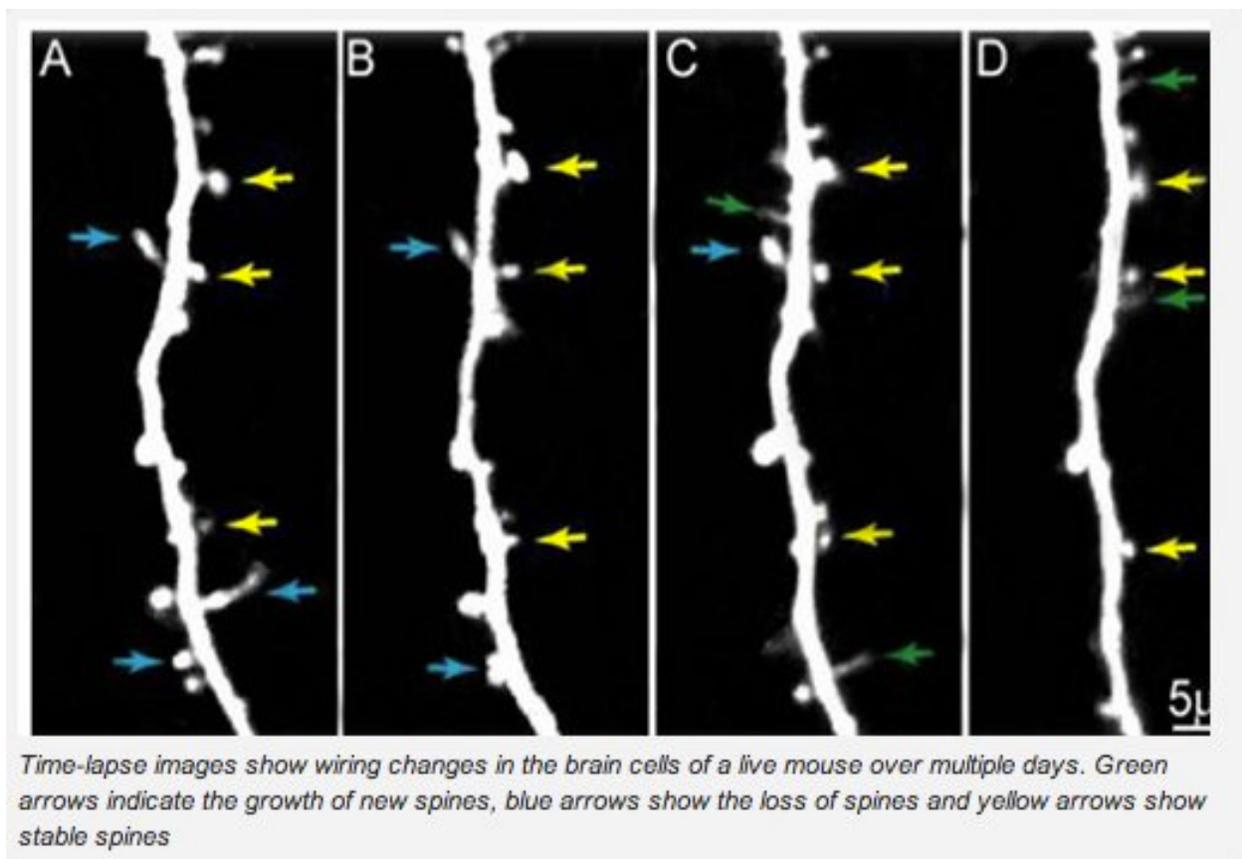
According to researchers, these new spines rewired the brain to seek cocaine, explaining why the search for the drug might override other priorities in human users.

"We've long known that when you become a repeated drug user, the search for more drugs tends to dominate your attention and decision-making,"

Linda Wilbrecht, an assistant professor of psychology and neuroscience at UC Berkeley and the lead author of the study, explained to The Huffington Post.

"But it's quite shocking that these neurological changes happened after just one use."

A series of brain scans exhibited how the spines changed over several days after exposure to cocaine:



The changes were evident not just in the mice's brain scans, but in the animals' behavior.

Before exposure to cocaine, the mice explored two chambers, differentiated by scent and design, and selected a preference. They were then given cocaine and placed in the chamber they did not prefer. Once put back in the chambers without the drug, the mice overwhelmingly selected the chamber they did not prefer, presumably seeking more cocaine.

"The ones that developed the biggest change in preference for the cocaine side were also the ones that grew the most spines," [Wilbrecht told the LA Times](#).

"We have limited real estate in the brain, and this shows how drugs dominate what its users think about," she told HuffPost. "Drug exposure fuels drug use, potentially at the expense of other priorities."

However, Wilbrecht explained, because our brains regularly grow and lose new spines, she is hopeful.

"The frontal cortex regulates decision-making and, as we grow up, we make decisions in an increasingly habitual manner," she said. "But the brain can rewire, and it is rewired by lots of experiences. So even though it was so much more rewired by the exposure to cocaine than it usually is, it can return to normal. I see this as evidence that recovery is possible."

Heroin use in the U.S. is soaring, especially in rural areas, amid ample supply and a shift away from costlier prescription narcotics that are becoming tougher to acquire. The number of people who say they have used heroin in the past year jumped 53.5% to 620,000 between 2002 to 2011, according to the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration. There were 3,094 overdose deaths in 2010, a 55% increase from 2000, according to the federal Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. This is where the U.S. military must step up and protect the security of the American people and its next generations, as well as the global population, by waging a real war to eradicate the clique of families and the clique's global narcotics trade and reverse the resurgence of the sale and use of narcotics in America. This is a key component of the clique's psychological warfare designed to disempower America's next generations.

Step #3 Elimination of Binge Drinking

Binge drinking within the learning environment must be addressed in the same manner as narcotics use. If therapy is unsuccessful, expulsion from the educational domain must follow.

Binge Drinking Defined By The Center for Disease Control and Prevention

Binge drinking is the most common pattern of [excessive alcohol use](#) in the United States.

The [National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism](#)¹ defines binge drinking as a pattern of drinking that brings a person's blood alcohol concentration (BAC) to 0.08 grams percent or above. This typically happens when men consume 5 or more drinks, and when women consume 4 or more drinks, in about 2 hours.¹

Most people who binge drink are not [alcohol dependent](#).
According to national surveys

- One in six U.S. adults binge drinks about four times a month, consuming about eight drinks per binge.²
- While binge drinking is more common among young adults aged 18–34 years, binge drinkers aged 65 years and older report binge drinking more often—an average of five to six times a month.²
- Binge drinking is more common among those with household incomes of \$75,000 or more than among those with lower incomes.²
- Approximately 92% of U.S. adults who drink excessively report binge drinking in the past 30 days.³
- Although college students commonly binge drink, 70% of binge drinking episodes involve adults age 26 years and older.⁴
- The prevalence of binge drinking among men is twice the prevalence among women.²
- Binge drinkers are 14 times more likely to report alcohol-impaired driving than non-binge drinkers.⁴
- About 90% of the alcohol consumed by youth under the age of 21 in the United States is in the form of binge drinks.⁵

- More than half of the alcohol consumed by adults in the United States is in the form of binge drinks.⁵

Binge drinking is associated with many health problems, including—

- **Unintentional injuries (e.g., car crashes, falls, burns, drowning)**
- **Intentional injuries (e.g., firearm injuries, sexual assault, domestic violence)**
- **Alcohol poisoning**
- **Sexually transmitted diseases**
- **Unintended pregnancy**
- **Children born with [Fetal Alcohol Spectrum Disorders](#)**
- **High blood pressure, stroke, and other cardiovascular diseases**
- **Liver disease**
- **Neurological damage**
- **Sexual dysfunction, and**
- **Poor control of diabetes.**

Binge drinking costs everyone.

- Drinking too much, including binge drinking, cost the United States \$223.5 billion in 2006, or \$1.90 a drink, from losses in productivity, health care, crime, and other expenses.⁶
- Binge drinking cost federal, state, and local governments about 62 cents per drink in 2006, while federal and state income from taxes on alcohol totaled only about 12 cents per drink.⁶

Evidence-based interventions to prevent binge drinking and related harms⁷⁻¹¹ include

- Increasing alcoholic beverage costs and excise taxes.
- Limiting the number of retail alcohol outlets that sell alcoholic beverages in a given area.
- Holding alcohol retailers responsible for the harms caused by their underage or intoxicated patrons (dram shop liability).

- Restricting access to alcohol by maintaining limits on the days and hours of alcohol retail sales.
- Consistent enforcement of laws against underage drinking and alcohol-impaired driving.
- Maintaining government controls on alcohol sales (avoiding privatization).
- Screening and counseling for alcohol misuse.

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Step #4: Elimination of Live-In Fraternities and Sororities

Of course, all kinds of social groups are encouraged in American education, but not to the extent that such groups hinder or interfere with the learning process. In particular, *live-in* fraternities and sororities have no place in the learning environment because they serve to shift the focus of students to shallow distractions---exclusivity, popularity, inequality, privilege, and herd instincts, to name a few---and perpetuate the worst influences of the prior high school experience, just when the students need the time and space to acquire a seriousness of purpose and an unimpeded maturation process.

An interesting perspective of the learning process is described by Dr. Vera John-Steiner in her *Collaborative Creativity* (2000), which involves the formation of “thought communities” of students and faculty members, as described on page 4 above. Thought communities require “fully articulated and shared goals, a safe place for creative exploration, and unimpeded trust,” thereby eliminating “uncertainty, competition, hierarchies, bureaucracies, intellectual ownership, financial dependence, inequity, separation and emotional disconnectedness.” A superior learning environment may evolve from the relational dynamics that are arranged in this manner.

Furthermore, the formation of “thought communities” focused on specific topics may very well be the way to bring the teaching function back to center-stage from its intentionally marginalized position. And it may very well require a different type of rapport between student and teaching faculty members, including the elimination of the questionable “professional distance” that is the trademark of today’s interrelationship between students and faculty members.

Dr. John-Steiner’s insights have applicability beyond American education, namely, that for America to recapture a sense of trust and creativity and productiveness, two specific malignancies must be removed from American society: *secret societies* and *political parties*. Both are highly corrosive because they contain impediments to trust that break down the crucial relational dynamic needed for open communities to function well.

Step #5: Termination of Clique-Orchestrated Schemes to Further Weaken American Education

Two of the most recent clique schemes to significantly weaken American education and America's next generations are its "No Child Left Behind" and "Common Core" subversions.

A critique of "No Child Left Behind" by Dianne Ravitch, once a leading advocate of this Federal initiative to control American education.

Ravitch was the U.S. Assistant Secretary of Education under President George H.W. Bush and was a member of the National Assessment Governing Board under the President Bill Clinton. She wrote:

"I came to the conclusion...that No Child Left Behind has turned into a timetable for the destruction of American public education," she tells *Fresh Air's* Terry Gross. "I had never imagined that the (standardized) test would someday be turned into a blunt instrument to close schools---or to say whether teachers are good teachers or not---because I always knew children's test scores are far more complicated than the way they're being received today."

In her book *The Death and Life of the Great American School System*, NPR stated: "Ravitch criticizes the emphasis on standardized testing and closing schools as well as the practice to replace public schools with charter schools. One reason, she says, is the increasing emphasis on privatization."

"What has happened...is that (charter schools have) become an enormous entrepreneurial activity and the private sector has moved in," she says. "So there are now charter chains where the heads are paying themselves \$300,000 \$400,000, \$500,000 a year. They compete with regular public schools. They do not see themselves as collaborators with public schools but business competitors and in some cases, they actually want to take away the public school space and take away the public school business....Regular public school parents are angry because they no longer have an art room, they no longer have a computer room---whatever space they had for extra activities gets given to the charters and then they have better facilities. They have a lot of philanthropic money behind them---Wall Street hedge fund managers have made this their favorite cause. So at least in (New York City) they are better-funded...so they have better everything."

Remarking on President Obama's "Race to the Top" program, Ravitch states:

"Race to the Top" is an extension of No Child Left Behind. It contains all of the punitive features. It encourages states to have more charter schools. It said, when it invited proposals from states, that you needed to have more charter schools, you needed to have

merit pay---which is a terrible idea---you needed to judge teachers by test scores, which is even a worse idea. And you need to be prepared to turn around low-performing schools. So this is what many state legislators adopted hoping to get money from ‘Race to the Top.’ Only 11 states and the District of Columbia did get that money. These were all bad ideas. They were terrible ideas that won’t help schools. They’re all schools that work on the free-market model that with more incentives and competition, schools will somehow get better. And the turnaround idea is a particularly noxious idea because it usually means close the school, fire the principal, fire the staff, and then it sets off a game of musical chairs where teachers from one low-performing school are hired at another low-performing school.” Pull up: <http://www.npr.org/2011/04/28/135142895/ravitch-standardized-testing-undermines-teaching>

The Perspective---which you can consider, reject, or modify---is that the clique of families covertly engineered “No Child Left Behind” to accomplish several of their objectives, using the Israeli Trojan Horse’s spies, operatives, NeoCons, and bribed and coerced American clique minions who have become imbedded in all of America’s institutions of learning:

- To further disrupt the American school system with public school closings, privatization through launching charter schools that divert limited and waste financial resources, instead of focusing those limited resources on our public school system, and further derailing learning by trying to shift teaching that promotes learning to “teaching to the test.”
- To continue the clique’s long effort to further “dumb down” America’s next generations.
- To demoralize and disempower the students, teachers, and administrators of the American school system in order to set up a later series of disruptions leading to a totalitarian school system to serve the objectives of the clique’s one-world government,
- To further weaken the solidarity of the American people and their future generations by further weakening the focus and understanding of American principles and the U.S. Constitution.
- To obliterate the inner compass of American society.
- To waste billions of dollars of America’s dwindling financial resources on another clique-created boondoggle as a part of its long plan of controlled disintegration of the American solidarity and the American economy.
- To add to the many concealed elements of the clique’s psychological warfare waged on the American people to deepen its mass psychosis in which thought and emotion are so impaired that contact is lost with external reality.

None of these impacts are accidental. “No Child Left Behind” is simply another of the many fraudulent clique actions that profoundly violate the inner compass, national security and best interests of the American people.

HUFF POST EDUCATION

No Child Left Behind Worsened Education, 48 Percent Of Americans 'Very Familiar' With The Law Say In Gallup Poll

Posted: 08/21/2012 5:18 pm Updated: 08/21/2012 5:18 pm

More Americans think No Child Left Behind has made education in the U.S. worse rather than better, according to results from a Gallup poll released Monday.

Of those surveyed, [29 percent believe the Bush-era education law has worsened education in America](#), compared with just 16 percent who said it has improved the system. Another 38 percent said NCLB hasn't made much of a difference, while 17 percent are not familiar enough with the policy to rate its effectiveness.

Of those who say they are "very familiar" with the law, *28 percent say it has made education better and 48 percent worse.*

The Gallup report points out the lack of "meaningful difference" in the public's view of NCLB by political party, as Democrats and Republicans rated the law similarly across categories of effectiveness,

"perhaps reflecting the broad bipartisan support" for the law when it passed through Congress in 2002.

U.S. Views on No Child Left Behind Act -- by Key Subgroups

From what you have may have heard or read, do you think the No Child Left Behind Act has generally made the education received by public school students in the United States -- [better, has it not made much difference, (or has it made it) worse]?

	Made education better	Not made much difference	Made education worse	Not familiar with law/ No opinion
	%	%	%	%
Have K-12 student	18	38	29	16
No K-12 student	16	38	28	19
Republican	18	39	28	16
Independent	14	35	32	18
Democrat	17	43	26	13
\$75,000 and over	15	43	32	10
\$30,000-\$74,999	15	40	30	15
Less than \$30,000	22	31	21	26

Aug. 9-12, 2012

GALLUP

Gallup

Still, [those very party lines have shaped Congress' failure to rewrite the law](#). No Child Left Behind, which reauthorized the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act, has been due for another reauthorization since 2007. The law is a signature initiative of the George W. Bush administration, requiring standardized testing of students and a system of school penalties for low test scores. The law also called for making all students proficient in math and reading by 2014.

But the rewrite has stalled in Congress as Democratic and Republican bills [have failed to pass following a months-long series of partisan pyrotechnics](#). Senators Tom Harkin's (D-Iowa) and Mike Enzi (R-Wyo.) unveiled a bill of "compromise" last October [that would pull back the federal government's role in school accountability](#), preserve President Obama's Race to the Top grant competition and would not require rigorous teacher evaluations. After that proposal stalled, Rep. John Kline (R-Minn.) came out with his version in January, [heavily rolling back federal sanctions against poor performing schools](#) and offering states flexibility in funding distribution.

His plan also pushes a number of accountability and reform points down to the responsibility of schools and localities, no longer requires student testing in science and mandates test-score-based teacher evaluations.

Meanwhile, Obama has held to his 2008 campaign promise of releasing states from No Child Left Behind, [having waived 32 states and Washington, D.C. from the sweeping law](#). Eight of the waivers granted are, however, conditional as part of their plans are under review.

The Gallup poll also found that lower-income Americans show the most support for the law, as 22 percent of adults in households earning less than \$30,000 annually believe the law has improved public education, compared with 15 percent of those in higher-income households.

The results from this survey are in line with a January Gallup poll, which found that Americans tended to favor [either eliminating the law or keeping it with heavy revisions](#). Just 21 percent of those surveyed said the law should be kept in its original form.

When the Clique’s “*No Child Left Behind*” Subversion Was Finally Rejected By the American Public, a New Clique Scheme Is Already Underway: the “*Common Core Initiative*”

The Obama Administration has introduced “The Common Core State Standards” as a new set of national education standards as described herein:

Here is the fraudulent description of this new wrecking ball to our educational system. This description is a massive deception, using misstatements, lies and the usual Tavistock Institute gobbledygook misuse of language (see pages 772-784 of presentation)



Mission Statement

The Common Core State Standards provide a consistent, clear understanding of what students are expected to learn, so teachers and parents know what they need to do to help them. The standards are designed to be robust and relevant to the real world, reflecting the knowledge and skills that our young people need for success in college and careers. With American students fully prepared for the future, our communities will be best positioned to compete successfully in the global economy.

Common Standards

Building on the excellent foundation of standards states have laid, the Common Core State Standards are the first step in providing our young people with a high-quality education. It should be clear to every student, parent, and teacher what the standards of success are in every school.

English Language Arts Standards » Home » English Language Arts Standards

The Common Core State Standards for English Language Arts & Literacy in History/Social Studies, Science, and Technical Subjects (“the Standards”) are the culmination of an extended, broad-based effort to fulfill the charge issued by the states to create the next generation of K–12 standards in order to help ensure that all students are college and career ready in literacy no later than the end of high school.

The present work, led by the Council of Chief State School Officers (CCSSO) and the National Governors Association (NGA), builds on the foundation laid by states in their decades-long work on crafting high-quality education standards. The Standards also draw on the most important international models as well as research and input from numerous sources, including state departments of education, scholars, assessment developers, professional organizations, educators from kindergarten through college, and parents, students, and other members of the public. In their design and content, refined through successive drafts and numerous rounds of feedback, the Standards represent a synthesis of the best elements of standards-related work to date and an important advance over that previous work.

As specified by CCSSO and NGA, the Standards are (1) research and evidence based, (2) aligned with college and work expectations, (3) rigorous, and (4) internationally benchmarked. A particular standard was included in the document only when the best available evidence indicated that its mastery was essential for college and career readiness in a twenty-first-century, globally competitive society. The Standards are intended to be a living work: as new and better evidence emerges, the Standards will be revised accordingly.

The Standards are an extension of a prior initiative led by CCSSO and NGA to develop College and Career Readiness (CCR) standards in reading, writing, speaking, listening, and language as well as in mathematics. The CCR Reading, Writing, and Speaking and Listening Standards, released in draft form in September 2009, serve, in revised form, as the backbone for the present document. Grade-specific K–12 standards in reading, writing, speaking, listening, and language translate the broad (and, for the earliest grades, seemingly distant) aims of the CCR standards into age- and attainment-appropriate terms.

The Standards set requirements not only for English language arts (ELA) but also for literacy in history/social studies, science, and technical subjects. Just as students must learn to read, write, speak, listen, and use language effectively in a variety of content areas, so too must the Standards specify the literacy skills and understandings required for college and career readiness in multiple disciplines. Literacy standards for grade 6 and above are predicated on teachers of ELA, history/social studies, science, and technical subjects using their content area expertise to help students meet the particular challenges of reading, writing, speaking, listening, and language in their respective fields. It is important to note that the 6–12 literacy standards in history/social studies, science, and technical subjects are not meant to replace content standards in those areas but rather to supplement them. States may incorporate these standards into their standards for those subjects or adopt them as content area literacy standards.

As a natural outgrowth of meeting the charge to define college and career readiness, the Standards also lay out a vision of what it means to be a literate person in the twenty-first century. Indeed, the skills and understandings students are expected to demonstrate have wide applicability outside the classroom or workplace. Students who meet the Standards readily undertake the close, attentive reading that is at the heart of understanding and enjoying complex works of literature. They habitually perform the critical reading necessary to pick carefully through the staggering amount of information available today in print and digitally. They actively seek the wide, deep, and thoughtful engagement with high-quality literary and informational texts that builds knowledge, enlarges experience, and broadens worldviews. They reflexively demonstrate the cogent reasoning and use of evidence that is essential to both private deliberation and responsible citizenship in a democratic republic. In short, students who meet the Standards develop the skills in reading, writing, speaking, and listening that are the foundation for any creative and purposeful expression in language.

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Mathematics » Home » Mathematics

Toward greater focus and coherence

Mathematics experiences in early childhood settings should concentrate on (1) number (which includes whole number, operations, and relations) and (2) geometry, spatial relations, and measurement, with more mathematics learning time devoted to number than to other topics. Mathematical process goals should be integrated in these content areas.

—Mathematics Learning in Early Childhood, National Research Council, 2009

The composite standards [of Hong Kong, Korea and Singapore] have a number of features that can inform an international benchmarking process for the development of K–6 mathematics standards in the U.S. First, the composite standards concentrate the early learning of mathematics on the number, measurement, and geometry strands with less emphasis on data analysis and little exposure to algebra. The Hong Kong standards for grades 1–3 devote approximately half the targeted time to numbers and almost all the time remaining to geometry and measurement.

— Ginsburg, Leinwand and Decker, 2009

Because the mathematics concepts in [U.S.] textbooks are often weak, the presentation becomes more mechanical than is ideal. We looked at both traditional and non-traditional textbooks used in the US and found this conceptual weakness in both.

— Ginsburg et al., 2005

There are many ways to organize curricula. The challenge, now rarely met, is to avoid those that distort mathematics and turn off students.

— Steen, 2007

For over a decade, research studies of mathematics education in high-performing countries have pointed to the conclusion that the mathematics curriculum in the United States must become substantially more focused and coherent in order to improve mathematics achievement in this country. To deliver on the promise of common standards, the standards must address the problem of a curriculum that is “a mile wide and an inch deep.” These Standards are a substantial answer to that challenge.

It is important to recognize that “fewer standards” are no substitute for focused standards. Achieving “fewer standards” would be easy to do by resorting to broad, general statements. Instead, these Standards aim for clarity and specificity.

Assessing the coherence of a set of standards is more difficult than assessing their focus. William Schmidt and Richard Houang (2002) have said that content standards and curricula are coherent if they are:

articulated over time as a sequence of topics and performances that are logical and reflect, where appropriate, the sequential or hierarchical nature of the

disciplinary content from which the subject matter derives. That is, what and how students are taught should reflect not only the topics that fall within a certain academic discipline, but also the key ideas that determine how knowledge is organized and generated within that discipline. This implies that “to be coherent,” a set of content standards must evolve from particulars (e.g., the meaning and operations of whole numbers, including simple math facts and routine computational procedures associated with whole numbers and fractions) to deeper structures inherent in the discipline. These deeper structures then serve as a means for connecting the particulars (such as an understanding of the rational number system and its properties). (emphasis added)

These Standards endeavor to follow such a design, not only by stressing conceptual understanding of key ideas, but also by continually returning to organizing principles such as place value or the laws of arithmetic to structure those ideas.

In addition, the “sequence of topics and performances” that is outlined in a body of mathematics standards must also respect what is known about how students learn. As Confrey (2007) points out, developing “sequenced obstacles and challenges for students...absent the insights about meaning that derive from careful study of learning, would be unfortunate and unwise.” In recognition of this, the development of these Standards began with research-based learning progressions detailing what is known today about how students’ mathematical knowledge, skill, and understanding develop over time.

Understanding mathematics

These Standards define what students should understand and be able to do in their study of mathematics. Asking a student to understand something means asking a teacher to assess whether the student has understood it. But what does mathematical understanding look like? One hallmark of mathematical understanding is the ability to justify, in a way appropriate to the student’s mathematical maturity, why a particular mathematical statement is true or where a mathematical rule comes from. There is a world of difference between a student who can summon a mnemonic device to expand a product such as $(a + b)(x + y)$ and a student who can explain where the mnemonic comes from. The student who can explain the rule understands the mathematics, and may have a better chance to succeed at a less familiar task such as expanding $(a + b + c)(x + y)$. Mathematical understanding and procedural skill are equally important, and both are assessable using mathematical tasks of sufficient richness.

The Standards set grade-specific standards but do not define the intervention methods or materials necessary to support students who are well below or well above grade-level expectations. It is also beyond the scope of the Standards to define the full range of supports appropriate for English language learners and for students with special needs. At the same time, all students must have the opportunity to learn and meet the same high standards if they are to access the knowledge and skills necessary in their post-school lives. The Standards should be read as allowing for the widest possible range of students to participate fully from the outset, along with appropriate accommodations to ensure maximum participation of students with special education needs. For example, for students with disabilities reading should allow for use of Braille, screen reader technology, or other assistive devices, while writing should include the use of a scribe, computer, or speech-to-text technology. In a similar vein, speaking and listening should be interpreted broadly to include sign language. No set of grade-specific standards can fully reflect the great variety in abilities, needs, learning rates, and achievement levels of students in any given classroom. However, the Standards do provide clear signposts along the way to the goal of college and career readiness for all students.

The Standards begin [here](#) with eight Standards for Mathematical Practice.

Coming Right Out of the Clique's Playbook: *Stealth and Massive Fraud*



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Education Poll Finds Common Core Standards Remain A Mystery To Most Americans

Posted: 08/21/2013 12:01 am EDT | Updated: 08/21/2013 9:25 am EDT

Have you heard of the Common Core State Standards?

If not, you're in good company. Neither have most Americans, according to a [PDK/Gallup poll released Wednesday](#).

Almost two-thirds of Americans don't know what the Common Core State Standards are -- a statistic that is sure to vex educators and policymakers as the standards begin to hit the classroom. Among those who have heard of the standards, 64 percent indicated wrongly that the federal government "insists" they be implemented.

For those wondering, the [Common Core is a huge U.S. education initiative](#): a set of [learning standards](#) that are supposed to prepare students for a 21st-century economy by emphasizing critical thinking skills and informational texts in reading, and depth in important math concepts. The standards were voluntarily adopted by states, with some incentives from the federal government: The Education Department's Race to the Top competition gave states who took on higher standards more cash.

Forty-five states and the District of Columbia are revamping their curricula to line up with the Core. Recently, the politics of the Core even spilled into the national limelight, with the tea party making anti-Core efforts its next frontier.

"BEFORE TODAY, HAVE YOU EVER HEARD OF THE COMMON CORE STATE STANDARDS?"

So why is the public nearly clueless?

"You have policy elites dancing on the top of a pin," said Andy Rotherham, a former Clinton education official who now heads the Washington-based consulting firm Bellwether Education Partners.

Which is to say, the public generally isn't aware of the details of even the most important public policy initiatives, he explained.

Parents are generally more clued in to tests, but in most states, tests haven't reflected the Common Core standards, said Ben Riley, who oversees policy for the NewSchools Venture Fund. "It's time for the folks who support the Common Core to get more vocal in promoting it," Riley said. "No one has taken a serious effort to get grassroots support."

The Core was designed to make American students competitive, but according to the PDK/Gallup poll, only four in 10 of those familiar with the initiative think that it could accomplish that goal.

"People haven't learned about the substance of the Common Core, what new expectations look like," said Sandra Boyd, chief operating officer of Achieve, the organization contracted to write the standards. "Sixty percent of the public doesn't know what the Core is -- I can almost guarantee you that 100 percent of the public didn't know what their previous standards were or that there even were standards."

Wednesday's release marks the 45th administration of the PDK/Gallup Poll of the Public's Attitudes Toward the Public Schools, the longest-running such survey. Produced by Phi Delta Kappa International, an educators association, and Gallup, the well-known polling firm, the survey questioned a nationally representative group of 1,001 American adults in May 2013. The results have a margin of error of plus or minus 3.8 percent.

Another poll released this week, conducted by the Harvard journal [Education Next](#), found somewhat different results. It showed that 65 percent of Americans support the Core, compared to 63 percent in 2012.

But Education Next asked about support after explaining the Common Core in a question: "All states are currently deciding whether or not to adopt the Common Core standards. ... If adopted, these standards

would be used to hold the state's schools accountable." The survey spoke to 1,138 adults and had a margin of error of 3 percent.

As in previous years, the PDK/Gallup survey found high levels of trust in teachers and principals, as well as major dissonance in public opinion on education: While most parents gave their own children's school an A or B, most gave the nation's schools a disappointing C.

The poll also asked a series of questions on the use of standardized tests. "Three-quarters of Americans believe that the increase in student testing had made no difference or hurt the schools," said Bill Bushaw, executive director of PDK. "That's not a good omen for introducing new, more rigorous standards that will result in lower student results," he added, referring to the adoption of Common Core standards.

Fifty-eight percent of the PDK/Gallup respondents opposed requiring teacher evaluations that "include how well a teacher's students perform on standardized tests," compared to 47 percent in 2012. When asked whether a "significant increase in standardized testing" has "helped, hurt or made no difference" in local school performance, 22 percent said that it has helped. Thirty-six percent said it has hurt, and 41 percent said it has made no difference. Back in 2007 -- just six years after passage of No Child Left Behind, a law credited with encouraging the testing surge -- 28 percent thought the rise in standardized testing had helped.

These results seem to run counter to another poll released earlier this week. On Monday, the Associated Press and the NORC Center for Public Affairs Research published a [major survey of American parents](#) with children enrolled in grades K-12. It found that 61 percent "think their children take an appropriate number of standardized tests," while 26 percent think they take too many. Seventy-five percent of parents indicated that "standardized tests are a solid measure of their children's abilities."

When asked about the dissimilar results, Bushaw noted that the polls took the pulse of different populations: the general public vs. parents with schoolchildren. He also pointed out that the questions in the two surveys were phrased differently.

"Ours asked about, did it help, hurt or make no difference," Bushaw said. "Theirs asked was there too much, too little or just the right amount."

According to the PDK/Gallup poll, 60 percent of Americans think that teachers' performance reviews should be released to the public, and 52 percent think that teachers should be allowed to go on strike, compared to 40 percent in 1980.

The Blizzard of Analysis and Commentary Critical of Common Core

One of the most comprehensive critiques of Common Core comes from Orlean Koehle, author and former teacher:

Common Core - a Trojan Horse for Education Reform

**By Orlean Koehle,
State President Eagle Forum of
California, author, former teacher**

Common Core Deception

Common Core pretends to be an innocent, voluntary, State Initiative, but it is a Trojan Horse, a national, top-down, socialized education system in disguise.

(It was not voluntary. The State governors were coerced with bribes and threats to sign on.)



Common Core State Standards Initiative

The golden colored States are the ones who have joined CC. The darker colored States are still holding out – Alaska, Texas, Virginia, Nebraska and Minnesota (partly). (Minnesota has accepted the language arts but not the math standards.)



The Stealth of Common Core

How was Obama Able to Keep Common Core So Quiet?



- Obama bypassed Congress since he already had the stimulus money to finance it.
- He went straight to the governors – already strapped financially - with a bribe of \$4.35 billion.
- The governors had to compete for the money - making it appear like a badge of honor if they won.
- They only had 2 months to sign on during a time when most State legislatures were not in session.

Other Incentives or Threats for Governors to Sign on to CC

Waiver to get out of NCLB rigid requirements

- Most States are having a very difficult time meeting the rigid requirements of the education law passed by President Bush – No Child Left Behind.
- President Obama promised the governors that they could receive a waiver to get out of those requirements if they would sign on to CC.

Threat to drop Title One funding for non-compliance

- Title One money is a huge \$14.5 billion federal pot of grant money that is divided up among the individual States to help in the education of poor and needy children. Most States rely heavily on the federal government for this money. Rather than lose that money, the governors signed on to Common Core.

Race to the Top = Race to the Trough?

RTTP-D is an Obama program for individual school districts that want to apply for federal grant money all on their own and are willing to go along with Common Core and all the strings attached.



How many school districts have applied?

- As of September, 2012, 893 districts have applied for the RTTP money that will only be given out to 15-20 districts.
- Some of the districts are in States that have refused to sign on with Common Core such as Texas.

Criteria on Which Grants were Rewarded and the Winning 11 States:

States Won on their Stated Plans for “Comprehensive Reform”

- Adopting CC standards and assessments [sight unseen].
- Building data systems on students, teachers, and principles -“measure student growth and success, and inform teachers and principals how to improve.” [Constant evaluations]
- Recruiting, developing, rewarding, and retaining effective teachers and principals, [Salaries tied to test results, teachers teach to the tests each and every day]
- Turning around lowest-performing schools.

<http://abcnews.go.com/WN/education-funding-delaware-tennessee-win-stimulus-money-schools/story?id=10232553>

How much were the Grants Received by the Winning States?

- Delaware - \$300 million
- Tennessee - \$300 million
- District of Columbia - \$75 million
- Florida - \$700 million
- Georgia - \$400 million
- Hawaii - \$75 million
- Maryland - \$250 million
- Massachusetts - \$250 million
- New York - \$700 million
- North Carolina - \$400 million
- Ohio - \$400 million
- Rhode Island - \$75 million

<http://www.ed.gov/news/press-releases/nine-states-and-district-columbia-win-second-round-race-top-grant>

Enormous Costs to the States

whether or not they won grant money

Overall Costs for all States is \$16 – 30 billion. Individual Costs to States is in the millions.

Estimated Costs to California –

- *\$800 million for new curriculum,*
- *\$765 million for teacher training*
- *\$20 million for principal training plus assorted minor costs,*
- *\$1.6 billion – total costs.*

Estimated Cost for Washington State:

Around \$300 million, at a time when Washington already faces a \$2 billion deficit.

School Districts will be Left Holding the Bag:

- Local school districts will be required to pay for at least half of the costs. In Washington - \$165.5 million of the new spending.
- the cost of new textbooks alone is expected to top \$122 million
- The expense is mainly for the computers, the software, e-books, and teacher training.

Nationalized Education is Contrary to States Rights and the U.S. Constitution:

- **Three Education Laws Against National Standards, Curriculum and Control:**
- 1) The Department of Education Organizational Act (1979),
- 2) The General Education Provisions Act and
- 3) The Elementary and Secondary Act (1965) most recently amended by the No Child Left Behind Act of 2002.
- Each of these laws essentially says the same thing that “The Federal Department of Education shall not be involved in developing, supervising or controlling instructional materials or curriculum.”

Parents and Local School Boards are to be in Charge of Education

“The insight of competitive federalism is that the 51 State school boards are better than a single federal executive branch office, and 15,000 local school boards are better than either 51 State school boards or a single federal office.” Bill Evers, a Research Fellow of the Hoover Institute, Stanford University , spoken July 10, 2012, Public Forum on Common Core at SLC, Utah, www.UtahnsAgainstCommonCore.org.

FERPA Amended - Increased Data Collection on Students and Teachers:

Obama and the FDOE, Dec., 2011, (by executive order) amended the Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act (FERPA) to exceed the agency’s statutory authority and thus allows them to collect invasive data on students and teachers.

This includes biometrics, health records, personal data, such as religion, political persuasion, etc.

How National, Socialist, Top-Down Education Works

Donna Garner, a Texas educator and blogger designed the Formula for How Top Down Education Works:



National standards → national assessments → national curriculum → teachers' salaries tied to students' test scores → teachers teaching to the test each and every day → national indoctrination of our public school children → national database of students and teachers

Example of National, Socialist Education at its Worse – NAZISM:

Similarities to Common Core

- Powerful teacher union that the majority of teachers belong to promoting new system.
- Teachers weeded out who could not accept new system.
- Curriculum rewritten to reflect new ideology; history rewritten.
- Anti-intellectual teaching. Standards dumbed down.
- Master teachers (MTs) to train other teachers - really "master spies." (Obama wants 10,000 MTs – paid by federal dollars)
- Data collected on students and teachers.
- Some students (Hitler's Youth) trained to spy on teachers and fellow students.
- "Children belong to the state" – *Parens Patria* (The state is the parent)

"German Youth Belong to the *Fuhrer!*" – the title of the article on the cover of a popular women's magazine in 1932 in Nazi Germany



CC Standards are Lowered

- **Math:** Common Core postpones algebra from 8th grade to 9th grade, leaving no room for calculus to be taught in high school.
Little memorization is asked for, and a confusing form of Geometry is taught that was thrown out of the Soviet Union 50 years ago.
- **English, Language Arts:** Common Core teaches only 50% classical literature. The other 50 % is just informational text. Why is that so bad?
Many great works of art won't be taught. Moral truths, right and wrong, skills in making wise decisions, how to be responsible citizens, the value of liberty are taught in classical literature.

“Stunted, Utilitarian Mis-Education”

“What appalls me the most about the Common Core Standards is the cavalier contempt for great works of human art, thought and literary form...We are not programming machines; we are teaching children. We are not producing functionaries, factory like. We are to be forming the minds and hearts of men and women. Frankly, I do not wish to be governed by people whose minds and hearts have been stunted by a strictly utilitarian mis-education.” [Anthony Esolen](#)

professor of Renaissance English Literature at Providence College in Rhode Island

National Tests Tied to CC Standards

Common Core is preparing the States for a national assessment, which students can only do well on if they have the common core curriculum.

“High-stakes testing:” Teachers salaries depend on how well the students do on the tests.

The future of the school is dependent on how well students do on the tests. Three bad years and the school is taken over by a private corporation and becomes a charter school.

“Education without Representation”:

Written at the top of the website of the Three Moms Against Common Core: Christel Lane Swasey, Renee Brady, Alisa Ellis



- If your own State-elected legislators never had a vote about this, how can CC be by representation, and how can it be called a State initiative?
- When public schools are forced to become privately-run charter schools, they are no longer represented by an elected school board.

Teachers are Being Forced to Use CC Standards at Peril of their Jobs:

- Teachers are being told they can no longer use any of their old files or their “tried and true” materials and methods or their jobs are in jeopardy.
- Their reaction: “a maelstrom of pent-up resentment over being forced to do what's wrong for kids, and being afraid of losing gainful employment by speaking out.” Diane Ravitch, professor of ed at NY University

Much Money to be Made from E-Books and Computers:

Special interests and billions of dollars are driving the push to Common Core by people like Bill Gates, founder of Microsoft Computers and the Pearson Foundation, the biggest publishers of e-books.

The e-learning market in the U.S. is expected to grow to \$6.8 billion by 2015, up from \$2.9 billion from 2010.



Most of the learning will be done on computers with e-books. Tests will be given on computers including the big assessment test coming in 2014. How easy students can be programmed and reprogrammed. Teachers will essentially become facilitators.

Who really wrote Common Core—a Cartel of “the Chiefs”

It consisted of: members of the CCSSO, Council of Chief State School Officers, the NGA, National Governor’s Association, and a chief education policy group part of the NGA. These groups were joined by members of the Obama Administration and a progressive group called Achieve, the teacher labor unions - FTA, NEA, and ACT and the College Board.

The Influence of Left-leaning Linda Darling-Hammond (LDH):

Stanford Education Professor and author of many far-left progressive education books



Bill Ayers considers Darling-Hammond his “favorite education expert.”

- She was Obama’s education advisor in his campaign and is a primary player and writer behind Common Core and Race to the Top Assessments.
- She is essentially the leader for the Smarter-Balanced Assessment Consortium, one of two groups writing the test.

The SAT, ACT, and GED Tests Will Be “Aligned” to Common Core Standards

- David Coleman, one of the chief architects of the CCSS, took over as the College Board’s president October 15. He stated that he plans to rework the SAT and ACT to align with CCSS:
- Pearson, the foremost publishing company of e-books for the Common Core Standards, has formed a partnership with the American Council on Education (ACE), and together they will be aligning the GED to the Common Core standards.

Effect on Home Schools?

- Home-schooled students have been some of the top scholars taking the GED , the SAT and the ACT college entrance tests and winning many scholarships to some of the top Ivy League universities.
- Of course, if they are to do well on the revised GED tests and the college entrance tests, they will have to be taught the Common Core dumbed-down standards. This is how Common Core will come creeping into the home school curriculum.

Bill and Malinda Gates Foundation – Backers and Promoters of Common Core



Gates stands to make billions with the use of his computers with Common Core curriculum and testing in schools

- The Gates have given \$100,000 million to fund Common Core in the USA but have also given millions to the International Benchmark group (a UN NGO) to promote Common Core worldwide.

The Power and Influence of Pearson

A Pearson logo advertising a conference to train teachers



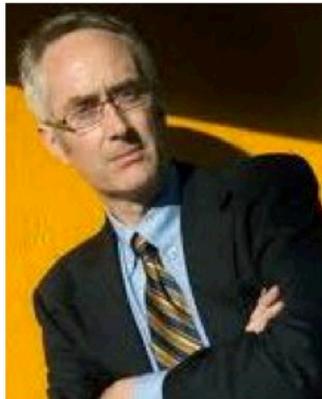
Pearson is “the world’s leading learning company.”

- In 1988 Pearson began acquiring education publishing companies.
- It now owns 100 education brands including Scott Foresman, Prentice Hall, Allyn & Bacon, Addison-Wesley, Silver, Burdette and Ginn, Longman, Benjamin Cummings and Macmillan Publishing.
- During the years, Pearson has also branched out to companies abroad with interests in 70 countries and 36,000 employees.

Sir Michael Barber – How Common Core is Being Promoted Globally

Left-leaning Sir Barber is Chief Education Advisor at Pearson PLC.

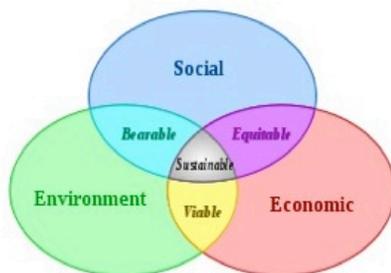
Barber was knighted by Queen Elizabeth for education reform



- *Deliverology 101* – written by Sir Barber. It tells how to “deliver” education reform, the “global phenomenon” - no longer to be managed by individuals or sovereign countries; it has “no more frontiers, no more barriers.”
- Of course, Sir Barber totally supports UN Agenda 21 and top-down world government.

Common Core Teaches the “Three Es” of Agenda 21/Sustainable Development

The Three Es: Equity, Economy and Environment - all integrated and should be taught in every subject – even math.



The Real Meaning of the Three Es

- **Equity** = Social equity or social justice - not equal justice. “Common Good” - not individual rights.
- **Economy** = redistribution of wealth, global trade, and Public / Private Partnerships (PPPs.)
- **Environment** = animals have equal rights or even more rights than humans. “*Nature or the environment is the central organizing principle for our economy and society.*” Michael Shaw

How the Three Es are Being Implemented

Phil Caro, co-lead author of the CC math standards said:

*"The reason we have standards is for the **social justice agenda** - to make sure that all kids get enough math to have a decent opportunity."*

Math textbooks are teaching such environmental pseudo-science as global warming.

Obama has an "Equity and Excellence Commission"

It is charged with finding "ways to restructure school finance systems to achieve **equity** in the distribution of educational resources and further student achievement and attainment."

Obama's "Three Es" Agenda of Common Core

Stanley Kurtz, author of *Spreading the Wealth*, CC has three Objectives:

- 1) **a politicized curriculum** that promotes leftist notions of "social justice," [and the other two Es of economy and environment]
- 2) **reducing "disparate outcomes"** between students in different districts by undercutting standards
- 3) **a redistribution of suburban education funding** to less-well-off urban schools.

CC will End the American Dream

- If Obama's education plan goes through, it will shut of the American vision of "self-government and personal liberty."
- It will end the American dream of most young couples to educate their children as they see fit, to work hard and save so they can move to a home in the suburbs with just the sort of schools they want.

Sir Barber Teaches “Citizens of the World” and “Earth-Oneness”

Barber teaches “every child is a citizen of the world,” and the following formula:

E(K+T+L)

(Knowledge + Thinking + Leadership)
multiplied by “Ethical Underpinnings.”

What are “Ethical Underpinnings?”

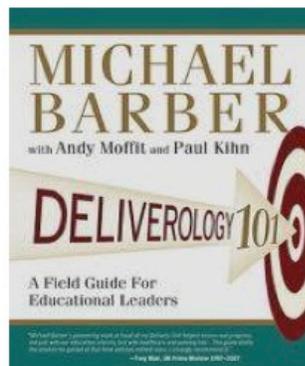
Barber states, “Ethics is ‘shared understanding’ of earth and ‘sustainability’ that every child in every school around the world will learn.”

“Ethics, to Barber, have nothing to do with the supreme sanctity of human life, the idea of God, of individual liberty or the Golden Rule. Nope, it’s about the collective, the earth-oneness.”

Christel Lane Swasey of “Three Moms Against Common Core”

“Whole System Revolution” - Collectivist, Globally Controlled Ed

Sir Barber’s Blue Print Book



His Formula for Revolution

Sir Barber spoke at a British education summit in August, 2012 and showed the following chart that reveals his mindset:

systemic innovation
+ sameness of standards
+ structure
+ human capital =
“whole system revolution.”

Who is Promoting Sir Barber and his Globalist Common Core?

The Council on Foreign Relations, CFR, has long promoted global government



Barber spoke before the CFR

- He praised Common Core calling it “internationally benchmarked” and praised the CFR for their support of it:
- *“Can I congratulate the CFR for getting into this issue? I think it’s great to see education as an issue of national security and foreign policy as well as economic and domestic policy.”*

Public/Private Partnerships – What the Gates and Pearson Foundations are all About:

Cornering the Market in Common Core Standards

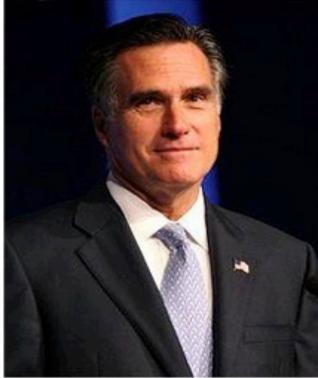
- In May of 2011, the Gates and Pearson Foundations formed a partnership to produce on-line curriculum for the Common Core standards. They also are providing the training for the teachers to go along with the curriculum.

Pearson and Gates “invest” in schools by Forming a PPP

- They buy cheap schools in developing countries in partnership with governments and then run the schools using Pearson’s e-book, Gates computers and government funding.
- They are doing the same with charter schools in the USA.

There is Still Hope – Prominent People are Speaking out Against Common Core

Mitt Romney: *“I don’t subscribe to the idea of the federal government trying to push a common core on various states.”*



... *“there may be a time when the government has an agenda that it wants to promote.*

- *And I’m not wild about the federal government having some kind of agenda that it then compensates States to teach their kids. I’d rather let education and what is taught State by State be determined State by State, not by the federal government.”*

Other Prominent Voices Oppose CC

Governor Nikki Haley S. Carolina

- *... “challenges in education cannot be solved by increasing our dependence on federal dollars and the mandates that come with them.”*
- **The Virginia State Board of Education Refuses to Adopt Common Core** – *“It does not meet the high standards Virginia already has, and it is cost prohibitive.”*

Governor Rick Perry of Texas

- *“I will not commit Texas taxpayers to unfunded federal obligations or to the adoption of unproven, cost-prohibitive national standards and tests.”* (Letter written to Arne Duncan, January 13, 2010)
- *“It would be foolish and irresponsible to place our children’s future in the hands of unelected bureaucrats and special interest groups thousands of miles away in Washington.”*

There is Still Hope!

Groups are Organizing to Fight Common Core in Various States

- Utahns Against Common Core have made progress and success in Utah. The state board voted in August to no longer be part of the consortia working on the assessments, and they will not allow the assessment test to come into the state.
- A pro-CC state superintendent of schools resigned.

Teachers are speaking out – the Teacher Strike in Chicago

- They mainly were on strike against Common Core and RTTT national standards that had already been tried and failed in Chicago when Duncan was in charge of Schools
- They revealed the “high stakes” testing that seem to be designed to have the students fail. Teachers salaries can be lowered and the school can be privatized.

Other States Fighting Common Core

Bills or Resolutions in Legislation

- **Indiana** — enacted a resolution to urge a state board review of the CCSS.
- **Kansas**—requires a cost analysis and formal review before implementation.
- **South Dakota**— implemented a requirement of four public hearings before enactment of the standards.
- Four other states have required a formal review of the curriculum or cost analysis: California, Iowa, Maryland, and New Mexico.

- Other states had bills disapproving or rejecting the Common Core or future adoption but they failed to pass in the legislature. They are: Alaska, Alabama, Georgia, Missouri, South Carolina, Oklahoma, and Washington.
- **In total 26 out of the 46 States that had originally accepted Common Core are not happy with it.**

What Can We Do?

Become informed/ Take Action

- Read *Common Core, A Trojan Horse for Education Reform*, pass it on to others.
- Download evidence from suggested websites, print copies and send the download links out to others,
- Counter misleading information that promotes CCSS and related issues.
- Call, write and meet with elected local, state, and national representatives and candidates.
- Contact Congress through the Capitol switchboard at 202-224-3121.
- Write letters to the editors of newspapers and websites.
- Start a letter-writing campaign with others of like mind.
- Establish a group to speak at events and on the radio.
- If you can get nothing printed in your local newspapers, then be your own newspaper. Hand out flyers to your neighbors and ask them to join your efforts in stopping Common Core.
- Pray fervently! We need the Lord's help in fighting this huge battle!

For the Power Point presentation of this Orlean Koehle critique, pull up:
<http://cuacc.org/Common%20Core%20-%20power%20point.pdf>

Californians United Against Common Core, Wednesday, September 18, 2013

Common Core Overview

Talking Points for Common Core: A Trojan Horse For Education Reform

Common Core is "One Size Fits All" Education: Even National Public Radio agrees that "One-Size Fits All" Education is not good. They were speaking about universal pre-school which Obama is asking for, but just substitute the words Common Core and the same statement applies.

NPR actually had a radio statement challenging Obama's claim that "Every dollar we invest in high quality early childhood education can save more than seven dollars later on."

"Scientifically though, what seems to have the biggest benefit is when you target your limited dollars at the people most in need" rather than try to make it universal reported NPR science correspondent Shankar Vedantam. "I want to emphasize that the studies in the states [universal programs in Oklahoma and Georgia] have found that the programs do have benefits. They just don't have benefits of the same magnitude as the highly-targeted programs."

<http://www.npr.org/2013/02/18/172298073/is-the-call-for-universal-pre-kindergaren-warranted>

I think a good argument against Universal preschool might just be pointing out that most students wouldn't benefit from these programs and poor children wouldn't benefit either--- because they need highly-targeted and high-quality programs not one-size-fits all universal programs.

The Common Core Logo—shows a map of the USA with the States that have signed onto Common Core (CC) colored gold. The five States that have not yet adopted CC are shown in a darker color. They are Texas, Alaska, Nebraska, Virginia and half of Minnesota. [Minnesota accepted just half of the standards, those of English and reading, but not the math.]

Why the dark color for the non-compliant States?
Does that mean those States have not yet reached the state of
'enlightenment' of the other "brighter" States?

"Why did the creators of the logo choose the symbol of an incomplete dizzy-looking circle that can't quite get it together? After doing the months of research that I have done on Common Core, I think the logo is a good choice. It shows the effect this curriculum is going to have on the students of our nation. Their education is going to be dumbed down, "incomplete." They are going to be left in a dizzy, confused state, and won't be able to get it together well enough to have a bright future."

Orlean Koehle, State President Eagle Forum of California

What is Common Core? "The Common Core State Standards Initiative" is the official name for the new education program coming down from the Obama administration, preparing the way for "Race to the Top Assessments," which will take place in 2014 when all the computer software is in place to test the minds of the nation's children to see how well Common Core (CC) has been sufficiently taught.

CC pretends to be a benign "State" program, State-written and controlled. It is touted as being "more rigorous" [whatever that means] and that it will "better prepare students for college and the workplace."

However, CC is really a deceptive Trojan Horse, a national program, written by a national team, supported by President Obama and the Federal Department of Education, and it is

imposing national, top-down standards and curriculum on all of the 46 States that have signed onto it.

- What is so Bad about Nationalized, Top-Down Education? Those in support of CC say that it will make education standardized across the nation, so that if a student moves from one state to another, he will not miss anything. All education will be the same at the same grade level. That doesn't sound so bad, does it?

Yes, it does sound bad if one looks at other countries that have nationalized education, and we see nationalized propaganda. When education is top-down, with the federal government having so much control and power over education, it is very easy to promote a certain agenda and indoctrination is so much easier.

- Nationalization Disempowers the People: When there is a national education program in place, it is almost impossible to have any influence on changing policy or programs. Your local school board, state school board, state legislators, and the governor will be powerless to change it. As Lance Izumi, of the Pacific Research Institute states, *“The further policy making is seated away from ordinary citizens, the less powerful and influential those citizens are.”*

Jay Greene, professor at the University of Arkansas, testified before the U.S. House of Representatives Subcommittee on Early Childhood, Elementary, and Secondary Education, and left this warning about the dangers of a national education system:

If we discover a mistake or wish to try a new and possibly better approach, we can't switch. We are stuck with whatever national choices we make for a very long time. And if we make a mistake, we will impose it on the entire country. Izumi adds, “The most affected will be parents and their children.”

Example of National, Socialist Education at its Worst – NAZISM: Over the entrance to the NAZI concentration camp in Dachau, Germany, are the famous words: *“Those who cannot remember the past, are condemned to repeat it,”* written by the Spanish philosopher George Santayana. This is a warning to all of us that if we do not learn from history, it could very well happen again.

One would think that we could remember and learn from the history of what happened in Germany. It was not that long ago, still during many of our lifetimes. From 1933 to 1945 Hitler rose to power and took over as the *Fuhrer*, supreme leader or dictator.

There are many similarities going on today to what happened back then as Hitler took over and nationalized and socialized the education of a nation. One of the first similarities one sees is how teachers' freedoms were taken away. They could no longer teach their own tried and true methods. They could only teach the new Hitler prescribed methods, and if they could not conform, they lost their jobs. That is also what is happening with Common Core. Here are some of the steps that were taken under Nazism as education and schools were transformed into

national centers for indoctrination. I list them as a warning of where we could be headed? Some of them sound very familiar to Common Core all ready:

- A law was passed that helped promote the formation of a teachers' union that became so powerful, no one could teach without belonging to it. The union was the National Socialist Teachers League (NSTL) and by the 1940s, 97% of all teachers belonged to it.
- Teachers were Weeded out who Could not Go Along with the New System. Those who were openly hostile to Nazism faced arrest and concentration camps. Teachers who wanted to keep their jobs were forced into silent acquiescence. Older teachers were replaced with younger ones who were more easily indoctrinated.
- Teachers who were Enthusiastic Supporters of Nazism Got Promoted. "Thus over time the NAZIS steadily increase their hold on German schools and by the 1940s had an increasingly compliant cadre of teachers."
- The Curriculum was Rewritten to Provide a NAZI-Approved Curriculum. Teachers had much less leeway in the design of their lessons. The NAZI Party, in effect, instructed teachers as to what they could and could not teach.
- Anti-Intellectual Training: The focus of education became centered on physical development, party indoctrination, moral or character training [with a whole new concept of "morality" and "character," nothing to do with religious faith]. It was an "education of the will," rather than "a training of the mind." A quote from a book written by two scholars about Hitler's life describes this very well: "We cannot fight our way out of this deep crisis through intellectualism...The school for character ...which is a practical test of true comradeship in work and living is irreplaceable."³
- The NSTL was Established for NAZI Ideological Training: Leaders of it were to ensure that teachers conformed to National Socialist doctrine.
- Leaders and Master Teachers in the NSTL Visited the Schools and Kept Data Files on Teachers: One of their main functions was to determine the political reliability of teachers and their loyalty to the NAZI Party in order to ensure proper placements and promotions.
- The NSTL Leaders Operated Through Both Propaganda and Intimidation: It was responsible for the ideological indoctrination of its members.
- Teachers were Encouraged to Join the NAZI Party Itself: Some did so out of party sympathies; others did so as a smart career choice. By 1936, 32 per cent of all teachers were NAZI Party members. This was reportedly twice as high as in most other professions.
- Racism and Data Collection by Teachers: Teachers were asked to play an active role in the NAZI racial program and applied the "principles" of racial science. They measured

students' physical characteristics, including skull size and nose length, and recorded the color of hair and eyes to determine whether they belonged to the true "Aryan race." This data was gathered and given to German officials. Jewish and *Mischling* (mixed Jewish-Aryan children) as well as *Romani* (Gypsy) students were often humiliated in the process.

Is this what is known as "differentiated recognition" in the Common Core Program, where teachers and schools have to report on students' different socio-economic, racial, political background?

- True History Distorted and Right and Wrong Determined by NAZISM: "Munich Professors were warned: From now on it is not up to you to decide whether or not something is true, but whether it is in the interest of the national Socialist Revolution."
- Students Taught to Spy on the Teachers: NAZI party officials taught children to spy and report back any discrepancies between what their teachers taught and Party doctrine.
- Hitler Youth Were Arrogant and Disrespectful: Teachers were concerned at the contempt for intellect held by the Hitler Youth and the arrogance they displayed to the teachers and to other students.⁴
- Children Belong to the State: "Parens Patria" is the Latin term for Hitler's philosophy; literally translated—"the Fatherland is the parent." The following quote from Adolf Hitler and picture below illustrate that philosophy even more:

When an opponent declares, 'I will not come over to your side,' I calmly say, 'Your child belongs to us already... What are you? You will pass on. Your descendants, however, now stand in the new camp. In a short time they will know nothing else but this new community.

Hitler 5

"German Youth Belong to the *Fuhrer!*"

This happy, smiling blue-eyed blond "Aryan" boy, dressed in the Hitler Youth uniform, is shown on the cover of a popular women's magazine published during Hitler's regime, 1936.

In the bottom left corner, appear the words, "*Deutschland Jugend Gehort dem Fuhrer,*"

"German Youth Belong to the Leader!"

The name of the main article inside written for the women of Germany is "The Educational Principles of the New Germany," *Frauen-Warte*, #22 (1936/37), pp. 692-693.

1 Lance T. Izumi, *Obama's Education Takeover*, Pacific Research Institute, Encounter Books, 2012 (from the back cover.)

2 Izumi, p. 41.

3 J. Noakes and G. Pridham, *Nazism: A History in Documents and Eyewitness Accounts*,

1919-1945, 1983, in cooperation with the Department of History and Archaeology at the University of Exeter, UK., p. 441. <http://www.crossroad.to/text/articles/tnmfobe1196.html>
4“The Educational Theory of Adolph Hitler,” <http://www.newfoundations.com/GALLERY/Hitler.html>.

5 Adolf Hitler, Speech November 1933, quoted in The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich by William Shirer.

Obama’s Dream Come True-Nationalizing Education

Anita B. Hogue, August 3, 2013

[ABOLISHING REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT, COMMON CORE STATE STANDARDS, ESEA, TITLE I, HR 5](#)

H.R. 5 -Power, Control, Funding, and Enforcement Aligned to Common Core Standards, Identifies the Student, Nationalizing Education

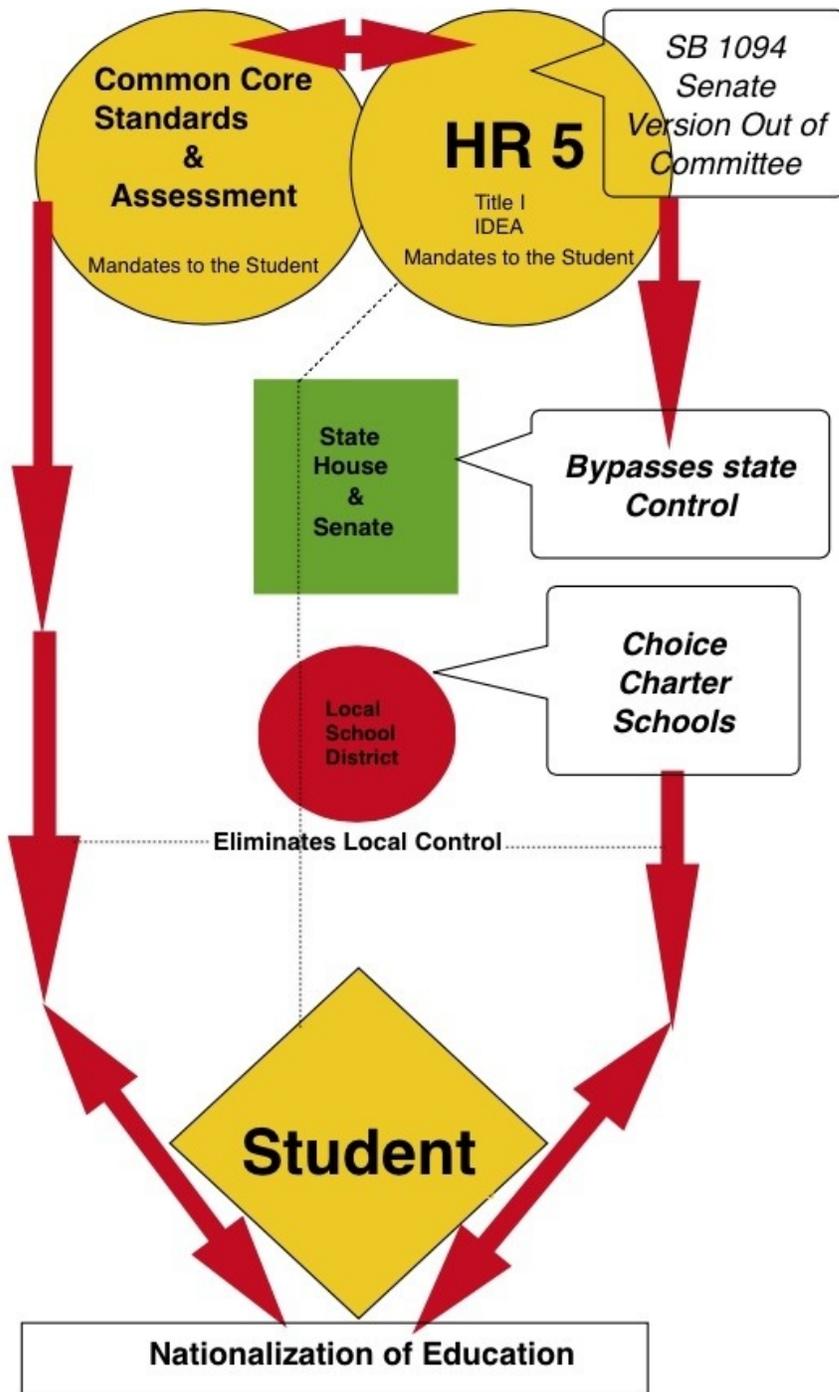
Obama’s Dream Come True-Nationalizing Education

Obamacare was first to mandate to the individual. Now, education! Is this really what the American people want? Nationalizing education? HR 5, the re-authorization of ESEA, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, passed the House without a whimper. Two remarkable turns of events:

First, on July 19, 2013, the Republican held House of Representatives gives Obama the socialist agenda that he dreams of-federalizing all of education and contributing to the loss of representative government.

Second, the Common Core State Standards being passed in every state closed that loop. If this legislation passes this fall in combination with SB 1094, the federal government will be able to dictate what is taught in the classroom by fiat.

Local and state control will erode when federal funds go directly to the individual student bypassing all local & state authority.



attached in HR 5.

When HR 5 is combined to SB 1094, the companion bill in the Senate that was voted out of committee, the compromise will be disastrous for the Republic destroying public education, private education, and how local government functions.

Let's explain how the Common Core Standards identifies 'Johnny' in the classroom for the federal government. But, keep in mind, the Common Core Standard's key component is standardization in all 50 states.

Background

The standards are copyrighted by the National Governors Association, NGA Center for Best Practices and the Council of Chief State School Officers (CCSSO.) The copyright ensures that the standards will be the same throughout the nation, creating a de-facto national curriculum. The standards also carry a public license which waives the copyright notice for State Departments of Education to use the standards. Two conditions apply. First, the use of the standards must be "in support" of the standards and the waiver only applies if the state has adopted the standards "in whole." This use of a copyright for public policy document is unprecedented in U.S. political history. The effect of the copyright and public license is standardization across the United States; the standards cannot be changed or modified, creating in effect, a national curriculum.

Overview of the Common Core Standards:

In 2009 the National Governors Association hired David Coleman and Student Achievement to write curriculum standards in literacy and mathematics. Announced on June 1, 2009, the standards were supposedly designed to be "relevant to the real world, reflecting the knowledge and skills for success in college and careers to compete in a global economy." What is missing here is that a standards based system totally changes how we educate students in the United States. This is the same outcome based education debate that was feverishly fought in the 90's. Parents moved the clock back then on compliance, but not the continual research funded by the federal government, non-profits, corporations, and business. Obama also unlocked FERPA, Family Education Rights and Privacy Act, opening the research on individual students to meet the Common Core Standards. This is a defunct, sorry, recurring, failed education model being duplicated again, and again, and again.

Older names for Common Core Standards are: OBE, Outcome Based Education, Competency Based Education, Performance Based Education, Mastery Learning Model, and Student Centered Learning. The key to this model deals with the individual meeting learning outcomes or standards. This model is an un-natural process and does not identify individual differences in people. The focus is removed from a teacher teaching the curriculum with curriculum

objectives to a group of students with varying intellectual differences. The Common Core Standards transforms education with each student with varying intellectual differences meeting the same specific controlled outcomes. Traditional education is turned upside down. This system removes the Carnegie Unit (ABCD or failure). Students no longer go to school 180 days or seat time, now there is no time limit for meeting standards. There are no more grade delineations like freshman, sophomore, junior, senior. And, most important, there is a transformation away from teaching content toward teaching 'standards only' driven by constant assessments and testing.

Think about that. Everyone will meet the SAME standard. Hello, America! Everyone is not the same. This is a socialistic-communistic system....equitable education. This system does not identify differences in individuals. Those students who move faster through the standards, will be the 20% selected for higher education, the global children selected for Advanced Placement or International Baccalaureate, (Franken Amendment) but with the right attitudes. The other 80% will be trained for work. And yes, attitudes and values are part of the standards and part of the workforce skills for jobs aligned to the SCANS, Secretaries Commission on Achieving Necessary Skills. Values and attitudes are a part of the College and Career Ready Standards. Senate Bill 1094 blatantly includes "across domain" testing for the social and emotional development of students. Parents be prepared for the psychoanalyzing of your student.

The Remarkable Carrot and Stick Routine

Forty-five of the fifty states in the United States are members of the Common Core State Standards Initiative. States were given an incentive to adopt the Common Core Standards through the competitive federal Race to the Top grants to the tune of \$4.35 billion from the Recovery Act. President Obama and Secretary of Education Arne Duncan announced Race to the Top competitive grants on July 24, 2009, as the carrot. To be eligible, states had to adopt "internationally benchmarked standards and assessments that prepare students for success in college and the work place." This meant that in order for a state to be eligible for these grants, the states had to adopt the Common Core State Standards or something similar. The rush to accept federal dollars provided a major push for states to adopt the standards. The Common Core Standards are funded by the governors and state school chiefs, with grants from the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, and others. States are planning to implement this initiative by 2015 by basing at least 85% of their state curricula on the Standards. Last year Obama also provided the states with Flexibility Waivers for No Child Left Behind. With this funding coup, states would have to also entertain College and Career Ready Standards, workforce skills in the affective domain, moving away from an academic curriculum toward a standards based system.

With the implementation of new standards, states are also required to adopt new assessments. The two consortiums surfaced with two different approaches to test the standards. 26 states formed the PARCC RttT Assessment Consortium, (Partnership for Assessment of Readiness for College and Careers, Race to the Top.) The approach focuses on computer-based ‘through-course assessments’ in each grade combined with streamlined end of year tests, including performance tasks. The second consortium, the SMARTER Balanced Consortium, consists of 31 states for adaptive online exams. The decision to use which assessment is determined by state education agencies.

Work is in the planning stage to create a common, universal assessment system based on the common core state standards. Of course. If you have a national curriculum, you must have a national test. This unprecedented move changes the Standardized Testing most students are currently taking, because standardized testing measures content and does not measure attitudes. The “Universal Assessment System” is assuredly NAEP, the National Assessment of Educational Progress and has always been the prototype for all state assessments that experimented with testing in the affective domain.

The clever plan to standardize the standards was actually passed by individual states or state boards of education. This removed the legal violation of the federal government directing and supervising curriculum which is against federal law. In summary, once your state accepts the Common Core Standards, power is removed from your neighborhood school and the teacher in the classroom. Common Core removes the old system based on content and replaces it with individual Common Core Standards that each individual student must meet and every individual teacher must teach. The Common Core lowers the bar of academics with a “dumbing down” approach in order for all children to meet them. Feedback loop control is initiated to force compliance on the school, the teacher, the student with data tracking creating a Total Quality Managed system. Individual education plans, career pathways, small letter iep’s, whatever you want to call forcing the individual student to comply to ONLY the Common Core, will be developed for EACH and every student creating a system of interventions if the student does NOT meet each standard through federal Special Ed funds, IDEA. HR 5 and SB1094 refer to the interventions as “Specialized Student Support.”

HR 5, the Dollar and the Force Behind the Common Core. SB 1094 Out of Committee

The legislation passed by the Republican held House of Representatives sold our country out with this piece of legislation. The funding, Title I, “follows the child.” What does this mean? This means that the money will fund each student wherever they want to go to school. This funding bypasses the state government

and the local district. Interesting enough, the amendments attached by key Republican Congressmen, and a few other Democrats, have an assortment of issues that contribute to ensuring that representative government is erased.

Eric Cantor, (VA) R, and Rob Bishop (UT) R, allows Title I funds to follow the student to other public or charters schools upon the state opting to allow it. Rob Bishop also makes Title I portable to public (including charter) schools and private schools. Matt Salmon, (AZ) R, provides States with the flexibility to allocate Title I grant funds in a manner that follows the child. States may allocate these funds based on the number of eligible children enrolled in the public and private schools served. John Tierney (MA) D, ensures a state's accountability system is applied to charter schools in the same manner as to other public schools. Jeff Duncan (SC) R, states would be able to direct block grant funding to any education purpose under state law.

In Summary: Creating Choice, Diminishing Public Schools, Grooming Charter Schools.

Under the House Bill, HR 5, a student is “given” Title I federal dollars to go to the school of their choice. Which school will they go to? The public school across the district? across the state? to a private school? Catholic school? homeschool? across state lines? Your tax money is traveling everywhere blurring tax bases. What will this do to your local school district? What will this do to a locally elected school board who will no longer have control over the tax base with students moving everywhere? The funds must be divided to each student in an equitable way.

Under the Senate Bill, SB 1094, funding establishes or expands inter- or intra-district public school choice programs that follow the child starting at birth to age 21, mandates workforce skills, and testing across ALL domains, attitudes and values included. It also establishes a NATIONAL SCHOOL BOARD. (This bill does not extend the choice funds to private schools, Senators Tim Scott (R-S.C.) and Paul Rand (R-Ky.) amendment to allow Title I dollars to follow a student to any school, public or private, was defeated.) The meshing of the two bills gives us the entire agenda. The writing is on the wall.

Eventually, there will no longer be “better” schools, only equal schools. It is only fair, there shouldn't be wealthy school districts and poor school districts. Right? This ensures that your local school district will struggle. If a local district survives, they must be in-tune and in compliance with the common core agenda with perhaps minor functions like hiring, firing, maintenance of buildings, and managing federal accountability guidelines. Many states have already gone to court over equitable school finance and alternatives to property taxes. The trend is a regional tax base, pooling tax money, and this legislation lays the groundwork

to do just that. Schools will close because of less funding to operate, and so called “academic bankruptcy” for not meeting standards. This also sets the stage for charter school take over, which is a public school without an elected board. Local and state representative government will continue to be gradually diminished. Follow the money.

Sending Federal ‘Choice Children’ to Private Schools

Will a private school be forced to accept a choice student? Will this choice money force private schools into “equal opportunity” and “an equitable resource implementation plan” for the choice students enrolled? Will choice students force the national curriculum and national testing on the private schools? Yes, Yes, and Yes. Particularly if your state passed the Common Core Standards.

Charter schools will be the norm, the future for all public schools. Charter schools are the model for taxation without representation. Specialized Student Support, Continuous Improvement, Teacher Evaluations, and Data Tracking Oversight with testing, testing, testing for accountability are all packed into HR 5 along with the choice amendments. Will the Democrat Senate pass this legislation this fall? Combined with SB 1094 introduced by Senator Harkin, which is the Democrat version of HR 5, we can count on it. We will have federalized all of education in the United States of America-Obama’s Dream.

Action:

Stop the Common Core Standards.

Stop HR 5.

Stop SB 1094.

[Republican Leadership Falls For Obama’s Carrot-The Next Generation Schools Part 1](#)

Anita Hogue, AUGUST 2, 2013

[ABOLISHING REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT](#), [CHARTER SCHOOLS](#), [CHOICE](#), [COMMON CORE STATE STANDARDS](#), [FERPA](#), [PRIVACY](#)

[\(NO COMMENTS\)](#)

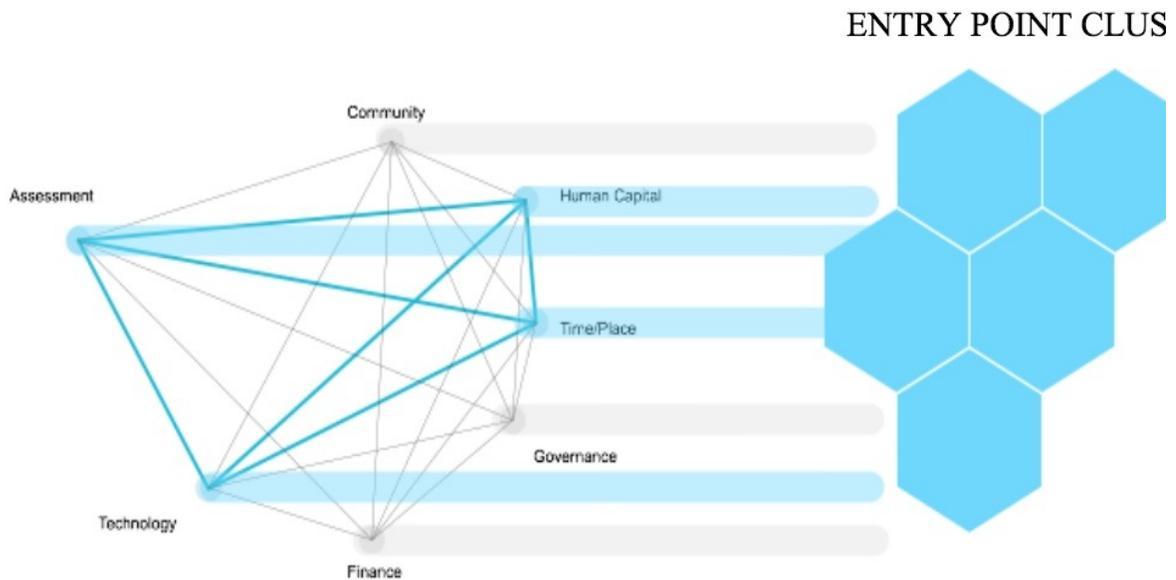
‘Obama’s, Race to the Top Agenda’ – States Under Republican Leadership Fall For the Carrot: Children Sold-Out for a Profit

The Next Generation Schools.

It’s easier to understand an agenda with a picture. A picture is worth a thousand words. The following graph was used in a power point presentation about how the Innovation Lab Network will change and redesign how American schools will

function in the future. This is a ‘Race to the Top’ education model. The graph was taken from a power point presentation from the Stupski Foundation, the OECD, the international Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development, with a grant from the Chief State School Officers, CCSSO, about the Next Generation Schools, called the Innovation Lab Network.

To generate *systemic* solutions, we will work with entry point *clusters*, not point solutions



These are the original states that are included in this pilot research project from Obama’s ‘Race to the Top’ -Maine, West Virginia, Wisconsin, New York, Kentucky, and Ohio. Race to the Top was funded from the Recovery Act with \$400 billion dollars. Since that time waivers have been given to states that need flexibility in using their ESEA funding in the “No Child Left Behind” legislation to move toward this model since the current Congress has not passed a budget. More states are involved at this time. The most profound concept in this graph shows how the next generation school will eliminate representative government. Notice that the new system bypasses the community, governance, and finance. Draw your attention to the blue lines that are most important to this agenda. They are: your child, called human capital, assessment which is testing, technology, and any time and any place. Testing and technology become the most

important part of this agenda to create the human capital of the future for the international global workforce.

How will abolishing representative government work? In order for this graph to become a reality, there are three barriers that must be removed. Community; families, parents, and churches must have no options or legal authority, only a choice of which school to send their children; Governance; your locally elected school board or other elected local or state officials that could become a hindrance will be eliminated or reduced to minor functions: parents will not have any voting power over a for-profit charter school; Finance; the neighborhood school no longer depends on your local tax base to fund schools under equality or leveling the field. The mantra that will be quoted is, under fairness and equity there should not be rich school districts or poor school districts, only schools. Your tax money will be pooled regionally or toward a county base to be distributed equally for each child. Federal funds will now fund individual students. Your elected school boards will no longer have the tax base from which to run their school. Your local neighborhood school will eventually be pushed out through academic bankruptcy and/or taken over by charter schools.

This is the new model for school choice. Federal monies, ESEA Title I, is being changed in new laws being proposed that will follow the individual child & IDEA will change the definitions of who can receive funds to include any child not meeting Common Core Standards (CCS) in an IEP, individual education plan similar to the special education plans for handicapped children. This will mean ANY & EVERY child can receive choice money to go to the school of their choice. The entry point solutions are the end results or the child meeting government Common Core Standards & what must be done to achieve these goals. This is a design down program, start with what the government wants & work backwards...what a child will know, do & be like, or beliefs, values & actions....Blooms taxonomy, the whole child theory.

This graph from the Next Generation Schools, Race to the Top agenda, spells out how to mold the child toward those objectives. It shows how representative government, as well as parents, will be erased from any authority in educating their children or how the schools of the future will function through a computerized monopoly of selected profit making corporations, otherwise known as corporate fascism.

This is the model for for-profit Charter Schools that use public tax payer funds with no elected school boards or taxpayer accountability and this is the model for the takeover of all education in America including private schools. Private schools are included because, when these stipends are given to each child under Choice from Title I which is being proposed in the new ESEA legislation in the federal budget supported by Republican Congressmen and Senators, Republican

governors and unknowingly by many conservative groups, any child accepting that federal stipend to go to a charter, private, Catholic, Christian, home school, or other school, will be mandated under accountability, to take federal testing to meet the federal standards. Many tests are being aligned to the Common Core Standards using federal objectives from NAEP test item banks already validated to meet government goals. Inevitably this will control all education in the United States if you take the money. The CCSSO has had model legislation waiting in the wings for years. Perhaps we can ask why Governor Jeb Bush is in Maine pushing his Charter school agenda with his Foundation for Excellence in Education that is widespread in Florida? Legislation in Michigan, under Republican leadership, House Bill 6004 and Senate Bill 1358 would expand a separate and statewide school district (the EAA) overseen by a governor-appointed chancellor and functioning outside the authority of the State Board of Education or state school superintendent. These schools are exempt from the same laws and quality measures of community-governed public schools. The EAA can seize unused school buildings (built and financed by local taxpayers) and force sale or lease to charter, non-public or EAA schools. This is proof that there is some truth to an agenda of eliminating representative government.

Look at the corporations that are flooding into these states to get contracts and compare them to who has access to the personal data explained below. Research to create these individual models for individual children with individual needs to meet Common Core Standards has attracted big business. Big money is being made and businesses are lining up at the door to get their share. But at what price? PARCC, The Partnership for Assessment of Readiness for College and Careers, a testing organization just applied for 501(c)(3) non-profit status which allows easy access to individual data under FERPA, Family Education Rights and Privacy Act. Smarter Balanced is another through Educational Testing Service,ETS. American College Testing, ACT, Pearson Foundation, Gates Foundation, & Wireless Generation already are feeding at the federal data trough. Republican governors have been hoodwinked into an agenda that is racing toward ending representative government & school as we know it.

Notes

Historical documentation from, ‘The Deliberate Dumbing Down of America’ by Charlotte Iserbyt, mentor & friend.

For information about testing attitudes & values, see “Getting Inside the EQA Inventory,” Pennsylvania Department of Education.

Stupski workshop presentation: [Stupski PowerPoint Presentation](#)

Republican Leadership-Part 2 FERPA Unleashed-It's Not About Academics

Anita Hogue, AUGUST 1, 2013

[ABOLISHING REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT](#), [COMMON CORE STATE STANDARDS](#), [FERPA](#), [PRIVACY](#)

[\(NO COMMENTS\)](#)

Obama unlocks data, FERPA is unleashed, and opens Pandoras Box of privacy invasion, psychological manipulation, giving data for free to organizations to make a profit, and falsely using children in research unknowingly to parents, school boards, & legislators. The "learning genome," which means testing and teaching the whole child, is not just about academics

This is top news yesterday out of New York: Experts, Parents, Lawmakers Blast Database Providing Personal Student Information To Vendors March 14, 2013 1:45

NEW YORK (CBSNewYork/AP) –" A new national database that compiles personal student information for educational companies that contract with public schools is being blasted by privacy experts:

“In turn, inBloom reportedly plans to put this private information on a data cloud and share it with for-profit vendors. The information will include personally identifiable information, including student names, test scores, grades, home addresses, email addresses, linked to grades, test scores, disciplinary and arrest records, special education status, race, economic status and health conditions, according to Class Size Matters, a non-profit organization that advocates for class size reduction in NYC’s public schools.”

This is only the beginning.

Obama “unlocks” data by issuing FERPA’s new regulations that were promulgated without congressional authority, now allowing written agreements with outside vendors to access personal data from the US Department of Education so that a plan can be developed. Each child will be evaluated as to their learning style and personality, strengths and weaknesses, not for the child to do the best of their ability, but do their best to meet government standards. This is for EACH and every child....no child left behind has new meaning. No child will escape the threat of big brother forced on them through computer compliance programming. In January, 2012, in an Office of Science and Technology Assessment meeting, Obama names private corporate businesses that he has contracted with to make this government agenda become a reality. These

corporations and businesses are developing systems, assessments, software, and curriculum that will be sold back to the schools and states when in effect, they get the data for free. Some of those corporations are ETS, Pearson & Microsoft to name a few. (I have requested a FOIA request for all written agreements that FERPA has entered into, to specifically attain a list of all organizations, foundations, and businesses that are receiving PII for free to do research, testing, & curriculum development. I have not received a reply as of today.)

This next graph at the end of this page explains how the system will work. Its not about academics, its about control. The Next Generation indicators and diagnostics are: equity based, higher order/deeper learning, authentic affective engagement, leading to narrow accountability and system redesign. The indicators and diagnostics are important toward creating a profile that will force human capital to mold to a prescribed agenda. What is higher order and deep thinking? Most higher order questions on a test will measure "beyond text". Beyond text means you cannot get the answer from information provided in the story. You have to give your opinion or value judgment. Affective testing is measuring attitudes and values. This is critical thinking which sounds good to the parents or legislators. These value questions are scored to a criterion or standard set by the state. Higher order and deeper thinking & learning will be psychological intervention toward prescribed government attitudes and beliefs. Authentic affective engagement will be the psychological techniques used & needed to force the student to change their attitudes and behavior toward workforce objectives. This is the re-design of your neighborhood school.

The Next Generation School agenda will use personally identifiable information, PII, to create this "learning genome" or the IEP for the individual child. Data has been UNLOCKED by Obama, so that, any foundation, business, corporation, non-profit, etc, can access data for free from personal micro-records collected by the government through testing and record keeping, to align software and curriculum for children to meet these government Common Core Standards. A customized, individual education plan, or IEP will be developed for every child & technology will help the system accomplish their goals.

Families will be drawn into this agenda by stroking them into believing this IEP is for the good of their child. They will use words like learning styles, citizenship, character, career paths, civic learning and engagement. Here is the point, these attributes sound good, but they cannot be tested and scored in a pluralistic society. Do you want your child to be taught to the best of their abilities, or do you want them to be stymied toward only attaining government standards? One is a ceiling, the other is a floor. Remember the design down approach. You will design down from a ceiling, the only content that will be taught are Common Core Standards: you design up from the floor where the sky is the limit. The United States never had a ceiling on knowledge & we can confirm

& document that there is a “Deliberate Dumbing Down of America” (author, Charlotte Iserbyt). We are talking about functional literacy, but with the right attitudes & values.

Ask yourself this question? How do you measure character, or honesty, and integrity? What is measured in Citizenship? How will these standards be scored? The answer is psychological testing and probing, writing about argumentation and challenging the students point of view or fixed beliefs. The National Assessment of Educational Progress, NAEP, researched the testing of attitudes & values in Pennsylvania. Documents show that the Department of Education said it depended on the sophistication of your school district as whether you told parents about the testing. Citizenship tested thresholds, self esteem tested locus of control. They came under the umbrella of Quality Goals of Education, all scored to a minimum positive attitude according to reward and punishment, all according to the government group goals & group efforts...collectivism. Pennsylvania had to withdraw this controversial test. Is it appearing again in computerized IEP's?

Notice that the assessments, which are most important to collecting data on the individual, are linked to a new kind of credentialing. This new diploma will determine who is college bound or career bound in workforce training. The 20-80 percent agenda applies, those selected for college, those selected for workforce training. The agenda for teaching careers, starting in Kindergarten, or before in pre-school, will direct the child's learning path. ACT reported this past summer that testing will begin in Kindergarten to test the whole child to direct them toward a career. Work Keys, also an ACT credentialing program for the workforce also tests students in the affective domain, the testing of attitudes. These workforce standards were all spelled out in SCANS, Secretaries Commission on Achieving Necessary Skills from the Department of Labor. School to Work accomplishes the goal through direct intervention and guidance toward a new caste system of work that is being designed for Americans. At the State of the Union address the President also talked about a Race to the Top for high schools: “The President will call on Congress to consider value, affordability, and student outcomes in making determinations about which colleges and universities receive access to federal student aid, either by incorporating measures of value and affordability into the existing accreditation system; or by establishing a new, alternative system of accreditation that would provide pathways for higher education models and colleges to receive federal student aid based on performance and results.” A Degree Qualification Profile is also being developed for college students by the Lumina Foundation documented in The Crucible Moment, Civic Learning & Engagement for global citizenship. Same standards, same objectives, testing college students in the affective domain, no one escapes having the ‘right attitudes.

Teacher training must also change to the new agenda. Differentiated roles, new career pathways, modular use of people & resources, redefined preparation, selection, licensing, & development.

In summary, this is a synopsis of current developments with questions that should be answered.

Data is "unlocked" by President Obama. He awards specific private partnerships to develop systems, technology, software, and curriculum toward individual students meeting common core standards. These partnerships have been experimenting in Race to the Top school districts.

http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/microsites/ostp/ed_data_commitments_1-19-12.pdf

FERPA is expanded January, 2012, without Congressional oversight. New regulations permits any organization, business, non profit, foundation, etc to be a "school official" that can access individual records of individual students for research. This expansion will include the private partnerships who will gain to make huge profits alluded to in unlocking the data.

The individualized packages become "learning genomes" that test & teach to the whole child. The whole child includes a psychological component of attitudes, emotions, values, and beliefs. What values will be taught? Who controls the standards? Can a computerized model teach attitudes and values? Will social justice and economic democracy be taught? Will the subject matter have a conservative or liberal bent? Who decides what the standards will be?

Do these contractors pay for the data on our children? Are they using the data to make a profit? Example, are contractors developing testing, software, or curriculum that must be paid for by the taxpayer when they get our children's data for free? Most businesses PAY for lists of people & are very expensive. Who are the contractors? Are these businesses just vendors out to make a profit?

Experts in tax law say that non-profit organizations like ACT, a testing contractor, the Pearson Foundation, as well as, their partnership with the Gates Foundation who are creating "a full series of digital instruction resources," appear to be using their tax exempt foundations to push its business interests. Is this a violation of the federal tax code? How many other non-profit organizations are using this data for profit?

Once data was unlocked by Obama, FERPA was relaxed, the issue of longitudinal data collection that follows an individual from birth to career has a huge new privacy concern. The "unlocked" data on an individual is now allowed to be accessed by "others" deemed school officials other than the Strict guidelines

that was proposed under the Hanson Memorandum which required that under the “audit or evaluation exception,” only an authorized representative of a State educational authority must be a party under the direct control of that authority, e.g., an employee or a contractor to access the data. FERPA rescinds the Hanson Memorandum which open the flood gates of data flowing to outside contractors now called school officials. The issue becomes, who has direct access?

The new direction in education is that the money funded through Title I will “follow the child”. This in effect will have curriculum & software that would directly “affect” the individual child in a customized, or personalized education plan to meet government standards. In other words, particular organizations will have direct access to each students’ profile to test and prepare instructional programs toward government goals on the computer. Nothing will come between the child and the computer.

Is the datum on individuals, which will assuredly be used for the personalized education modules in the new ESEA Title I regulations & new IDEA regulations being proposed, paid for as Intellectual Property to that individual, since a profit will be made on their information that is collected without their consent or the consent of the parent?

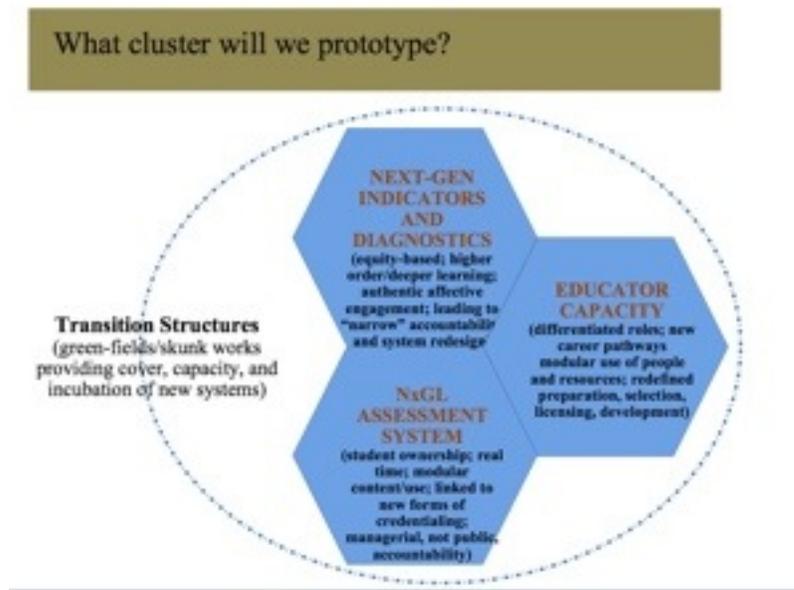
Is your child a commodity for their personal data to be sold without your permission and without reasonable compensation? These proposed regulations will have federal dollars “follow the child”, are there not federal protections?

Data trafficking between the Department of Education and other outside contractors may contribute to violations of Cyber Security Laws when redisclosure of personally identifiable data is shared and does NOT request informed written parental permission of uses. Is the DOE taking chances that security will not be breached on data that is so personal and private? Is it legal to allow outside contractors access to children’s records? Is this safe? Where are the federal protections for children?

It’s NOT about academics. What type of data is being collected by the testing contractors? ACT, a testing contractor, states that it is testing the “whole child”. Is psychological information being collected to produce curriculum for “behavior change” ? This is a quote directly from the testing contractor, “The assessment would look beyond academics to get a complete picture of the whole student,” stated Jon Erickson of ACT. “There would be interest inventories for students, as well as assessment of behavioral skills for students and teachers to evaluate.” Are these tests legally allowed to use psychological tests without informed parental consent? Is this a revisiting from the old EQA/NAEP from Pennsylvania?

Demand an investigation into the illegal dissemination of personally identifiable information from the Department of Education regarding these possible violations of privacy. Carbon copy everyone. Newspapers, privacy organizations, everyone.

These questions MUST be answered by your Congressman & Senator once they understand the violations of privacy, freedom, and other violations of law. Investigate FERPA. Stop Choice and the ESEA Title I stipends for individual students with federal strings attached. Stop psychological testing without informed written consent. Stop unconstitutional Charter Schools. Dismantle the Department of Education.



Notes

Historical documentation from, 'The Deliberate Dumbing Down of America' by Charlotte Iserbyt, mentor & friend.

For information about testing attitudes & values, see "Getting Inside the EQA Inventory," Pennsylvania Department of Education.

Stupski workshop presentation: [Stupski PowerPoint Presentation](#)

David Coleman, Common Core Writer, Gears Up For SAT Rewrite

Posted: 08/30/2013 7:33 am EDT | Updated: 08/30/2013 8:19 am EDT

[Joy Resmovits](#)

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President of the College Board David Coleman attends the 2013 Time 100 Gala at Frederick P. Rose Hall, Jazz at Lincoln Center on April 23, 2013 in New York City. (Photo by Jennifer Graylock/Getty Images)

NEW YORK -- Growing up in downtown Manhattan as the son of a psychiatrist and a college president, David Coleman never wanted for stimulation. At the dinner table, his parents repeatedly told him that it wasn't his exam scores that mattered, but rather the quality of his ideas and inquiry.

"They cared more about the quality of what I did and the engagement with ideas than they did about other measures of success," he said, speaking in his brightly-lit Columbus Circle office, where a black-and-white Martin Luther King Jr. photograph hangs on the wall.

When Coleman heard stories of other parents who paid their kids to get high exam scores, he said, "I just thought how lucky I was."

Now, Coleman is in charge of the most important test score a student can receive. As president of the College Board, a national education company, he is [redesigning the SAT](#), the standardized test taken by many high school seniors as a part of the college application process. He is also expanding the [Advanced Placement program](#), which offers college-level classes and tests for high school students.

Coleman, a playful 43-year-old man who speaks at an urgent clip, is the most influential education figure you've never heard of.

He is perhaps best known as the architect of the [Common Core State Standards Initiative](#), meant to bring divergent state learning goals into alignment. Public schools in 47 states will begin teaching the Common Core in English language fields this fall. But as standardized testing comes increasingly under attack, and as teachers and politicians from both the left and right try to roll back the Common Core, Coleman's [legacy](#) is a bit up in the air.

The controversy over [Common Core](#) has become particularly fraught as states adopt its learning goals. In Alabama, for instance, a Republican political activist recently compared adoption of the core to Adolf Hitler's indoctrination of German citizens. Although few states have dropped the Core entirely, several have distanced themselves from the program by withdrawing from the [consortia charged with developing assessments](#) to measure student achievement under its rubric.

Coleman said he hopes the standards can succeed without full national participation in the consortia, but many Core proponents

disagree. "You're going to end up with a bunch of states doing different things," said Andy Rotherham, a friend of Coleman's who worked in the Clinton administration and now leads Bellwether Education Partners, a Washington, D.C.-based consulting firm. "Some of the same issues will persist, which undermines the premise of Common Core."

How did Coleman wind up in the middle of the 21st century's curriculum wars?

His path started at his parents' dinner table and wended through selective New York public school Stuyvesant High, making an important pit stop at his bar mitzvah. After being asked to perform a deep exegesis of his Torah portion, Coleman extracted a lesson that would guide his career: "The idea that kids can do more than we think they can," he said. Asking 13-year-olds to give a speech is a bold charge, not unlike recommending AP courses to disadvantaged kids who don't see academic aptitude in themselves. "I wish kids could encounter more stretched opportunities like that in school -- all kids," Coleman said.

After graduating from Stuyvesant, Coleman attended Yale and was awarded a Rhodes Scholarship to the University of Oxford, where he studied English literature. He also met Jason Zimba, a Common Core co-writer and lifelong friend who later taught mathematics at Bennington College, where Coleman's [mother, Elizabeth](#), served as president. Zimba remembers hanging out in pubs and playing Risk with Coleman, who spent the rest of his time studying for exams. Coleman had a competitive streak and often won at Risk. "He's an astute observer of characters, so if he thinks you can handle it, he might celebrate [his victory over you]," he said.

Upon returning to New York, Coleman applied for a high school teaching position and was turned down. Instead, he worked for consulting firm McKinsey & Company, where he advised public schools and became a fixture at New York City Department of

Education meetings. That's where he met David Sherman, then a vice president at the United Federation of Teachers.

After one meeting, Coleman, then in his 20s, approached Sherman. "I don't know you, but I want to introduce myself, because you seem to be the only person who knew what he was talking about," Sherman remembers Coleman saying. They stayed in touch. In 1999, when Zimba and Coleman developed their education startup, the Grow Network, Coleman turned to Sherman to tap into the grassroots involvement of teachers.

Sherman became a mentor to Coleman. "I always told him he was too nice, that you need to stand up for what you believe in," Sherman said. And when Coleman began speaking to national audiences, Sherman chided Coleman for treating Washington crowds as if they were New Yorkers. "I said, 'David, you can't curse in front of a national audience, they get offended.'"

While working on the Grow Network, Coleman tried to "fill the promise that assessment results could actually improve kids' lives," he said. But he found that educational problems ran deeper: The standards being measured by the tests "were so vast and vague, it's hard to make high-quality assessments." Coleman sold the Grow Network to McGraw-Hill and formed Student Achievement Partners, a not-for-profit that now helps states implement the Common Core. In 2008, he and Zimba co-wrote a [seminal paper](#) calling for "math and science standards that are fewer, clearer, higher."

Before Coleman and Zimba published their paper, in 2008, the National Governors Association convened a group to create a set of unified national education standards. Because states write their own standards and exams, students who move across state lines might find themselves passing math in one state and failing in another. The governors sought to address this problem by creating common standards. Attracted to Coleman's idea of "fewer, clearer, higher," they tapped Student Achievement Partners to write those standards.

"While sometimes I've been called an architect of their standards, I think their true architecture is [evidence](#)," Coleman said. "That's the binding secret of the standards." Coleman, Zimba and Sue Pimentel, an education consultant, made sure the standards reflect the skills students need to succeed after high school. While the standards were developed by state representatives, with help from the Gates Foundation, they received a new, powerful -- but in retrospect, potentially detrimental -- boost in 2009. That year, the Obama administration incentivized higher learning standards with billions of dollars in its Race to the Top competition, and recession-stunned states signed on to the [Core](#). "The states were so desperate for money they were willing to just do it," said Andy Smarick, a Republican education policy expert who previously worked for the U.S. Department of Education. "So many states signed on so fast with a push from the federal government and there wasn't a fuss -- until now."

As schools begin to implement the Core, far-right and far-left advocates are trying to roll it back. People like Ron Paul, the former libertarian-leaning Republican U.S. congressman from Texas, are waging campaigns against the Core, making the fight a tea party priority. Reached by phone, Paul said that he sees the Core as an "encroachment" that increases the federal government's control. "This is just another step, putting pressure on states to have a one-system, universal curriculum," he said. "This is the kind of thing that should not be permitted." Paul said he had not read "all of the standards, but that's in some ways irrelevant, because the principle is so bad."

On the left, advocates such as Diane Ravitch, a former George H.W. Bush education official who is now a leading figure in opposition to the so-called education reform movement, say that the Core could lead to more assessments when students are already overburdened by excessive testing.

"The conservative right is using it as an example of government control, a break with states' rights -- but it's voluntary," said Sherman,

who now works as a special assistant to Randi Weingarten, president of the American Federation of Teachers. "People like Ravitch are saying it has all of the testing and blah blah blah. I don't go along with that, either."

Ravitch and other critics, though, also worry about the Core's contents. "There is no evidence that those who study these standards will be prepared for careers, because there is nothing in them that bears any relationship to careers," Ravitch recently wrote [on The Huffington Post's blog](#).

A major component of that evidence, according to the Common Core appendix, relies on the ACT's [benchmark reports on college and career readiness](#). To define college and career readiness, the ACT surveyed U.S. colleges and determined how much a student has to know in a given subject to have a 50 percent or higher likelihood of earning a B, or a 75 percent or higher chance of earning a C. The reports follow students who take the ACT's through college. But even the ACT's education director has conceded that the reports are limited because they don't tie the students being studied to data about their life outcomes or careers.

"It's like pointing a shotgun at a football field," said Anthony Carnevale, a Georgetown University professor who oversees the school's Center on Education and the Workforce, in an earlier interview. "The things mentioned in the ACT subject exams don't show up in tasks and activities of jobs -- any jobs." That limitation leads Carnevale to believe that the Core's academic focus could ultimately deepen rifts between students who are already on a path to college and those who plan to pursue a career straight out of high school. Those students, he says, could lose interest in more abstract subjects, like higher algebra, and drop out. "[Core proponents] can argue much more persuasively that the standards make you college ready, but not career ready," he said. To rebut arguments such as Carnevale's, [Coleman has said](#) that the Core will teach students how to think critically, a crucial skill in an ever-changing economy.

Coleman said he thinks that when people like Paul do read the standards, they will support them. It's the substance, he said, that's brought Republicans such as Mike Huckabee and former Florida Gov. Jeb Bush on board. "Whatever missteps were made in the past with the administration and Race to the Top, the secretary has made very clear, this is and remains state led," Coleman said. "And any state can withdraw at any time, which is being demonstrated."

But if more states drop out, the effort could lose momentum. "If it's adopted by a tiny number of states, it ceases to have the meaning it once had," said Tim Daly, president of the teacher placement firm [TNTP](#). As the fight over the Core plays out, Coleman has taken a broader view on education. Last summer, the College Board announced that it would hire him to lead the organization. Since then, he has engaged the organization's members in redesigning the SAT, whose newest iteration will be unveiled in 2015. He's heard from organization members, who have said they want the SAT to test things that are relevant to college success. They've told him that students should be able to read and write clearly, and also have mastered a core set of mathematical concepts. "The core aspiration is to build an exam that much more clearly focuses on the skills that matter most," he said. Instead of obscure vocabulary words, students should be expected to show deep understanding of academic terms such as "synthesis" and "transform." Overall, Coleman hopes the exam will be more relevant to high school learning. "It has to engage teachers more deeply," he said. As students go back to school and stress over college applications this year, they probably don't know about the man with the funny socks in the Columbus Circle office who, in a sense, influences their future. "He's in this position to tie what kids are learning to what colleges are expecting," Smarick said. "Very few people in America today are having a bigger influence on what kids are learning than David Coleman."

This story (above) was written in partnership with the [Jewish Daily Forward](#).

As you give consideration to the national Common Core program, it may be helpful to use the Perspective as one reference point among many. Several “tells” surface immediately that suggest that Common Core is another advance by the clique’s Israeli Trojan Horse to further impair American education.

For example, how did David Coleman become “the architect of Common Core State Standards Initiative?” One of the basic objectives of this initiative is “Preparing America’s Students for College & Career.”

Tell #1: Coleman was turned down for a teaching position in the NY City Public School System. He never became a teacher in any school system. He has had no experience working within any American school system.

Tell #2: Coleman has had no training or experience in career counseling nor has he had any experience in the American workforce other than forming several non-profit organizations in the field of education. So, how was he propelled to become the architect of a national educational standards initiative to help our next generations transition from school to career?

Tell #3: Notwithstanding this clear lack of experience and training, how did Coleman advance to become the head of the College Board, which describes itself as follows:

In 1900, 12 colleges and universities came together to form the College Board. Our purpose was to expand access to higher education and to democratize the application process for students — and for the admission offices. With our development of the common entrance exam (later known as the SAT), students could apply to many institutions without having to sit for multiple tests. More than a century after evaluating those first few test-takers, we’re helping more than seven million students prepare for a successful transition to college each year, and we continue to serve the education community through research and advocacy on behalf of students, educators and schools.

The College Board makes no mention of the founding colleges and universities, but they, in all likelihood, include the betraying Eastern Establishment’s corrupting institutions of learning listed on page 76 of the Perspective.

Tell #4: Coleman attended Yale University and was awarded a Rhodes Scholarship to the University of Oxford, the central pathway for the grooming and strategic positioning of clique minions. Incompetence of clique minions has never been an issue with the clique of families because these minions receive detailed instructions, are trained in public speaking, and have their material written for them by the clique support structure.

Tell #5: The history of the Common Core initiative has the earmarks of a concealed fraudulent scheme of the clique's Israeli Trojan Horse. (please read the next articles)

Tell #6: A large funder of the Common Core initiative is the Bill and Malinda Gates Foundation. One of the recent disclosures about NSA's illegal, un-American and unconstitutional surveillance of Americans is that Gates' firm, Microsoft, helped NSA to bypass encryption and compromise the privacy rights of Microsoft's customers. Furthermore, Craig J. Mundie, Microsoft's Chief Research and Strategy Officer has attended Bilderberg conferences from 2009 through 2012 and Gates attended in 2010. Gates and Mundie should be added to the list of "persons of interest" in upcoming investigations of the clique members and their minions.

Tell #7: The Common Core Initiative is not solely an American initiative; it is already a global initiative and supported by the clique-controlled Council for Foreign Relations.

Education by Stealth and Deception - Why the Secrecy Behind Common Core?

A Sample Letter Being Sent to Local Newspapers

To: "Press Democrat Newspaper" <letters@pressdemocrat.com>

Date: Wednesday, March 20, 2013, 1:17 AM

Education by Stealth and Deception - Why the Secrecy Behind Common Core?

Slowly, a few more parents across our nation are beginning to hear about Common Core, the new education program that seeks to "reform education" and supposedly make their children's learning experience more "robust" and "rigorous." Parents are being told that their children will be better able to use "critical thinking" and "higher order thinking skills" [whatever that is] and will be "better prepared for college and careers."

Forty-six governors supposedly "voluntarily" signed onto Common Core two years ago in August of 2010. Could it be that the governors did not volunteer, but were actually coerced to sign on with a bribe of winning part of \$4.35 billion, with a waiver to get out of the rigorous requirements of the old Bush program "No Child Left Behind," and with a threat that if they did not sign on, they might lose their "Title One" money that helps with the funding of poverty stricken children.

If Common Core is so wonderful, why has it taken two years for parents to finally hear something about it? Why the secrecy? Could it actually be not as wonderful as we are being

told? Will it actually be lowering standards and test scores - not raising them? Will our children once again be used as guinea pigs for yet another untested fad and “innovative” new program? Were those behind Common Core hoping to have it so entrenched in the schools that there would be no stopping it before the parents could find out about it?

Why was Congress bypassed and knows nothing about Common Core? Why were our state legislators bypassed and our own local school boards? None of them had the opportunity to actually vote on whether or not they wanted to implement a new, federal, top-down program that seeks to so radically transform education. Some are referring to Common Core as “education without representation” since none of our representatives had the chance to vote on it.

Common Core could also be called “taxation without representation,” since much of it will have to be funded by tax paying dollars, yet we, as tax payers and our representatives, have had no vote concerning this either. How many dollars are we talking about? This is no small sum. It is estimated it will cost \$16 billion or higher to implement it across the nation and here in California, the cost will be \$1.6 billion, in a state that is already close to \$20 billion in debt.

Common Core could also be called “education by corporation.” The Bill Gates Foundation gave \$100 million towards Common Core, and has given \$75 million to promoting it worldwide. Why? Is Gates just one special, sweet guy who wants to improve education? Or could it be that he will now be getting \$billions in return – for part of the CC program is for every child to be learning digitally from computers in the classroom? There will eventually be no more textbooks. The children will be learning from e-books on line. All tests will also be given on the computer, including the big assessment system coming at the end of 2014.

The other added feature of Common Core that parents should find most disturbing – there is going to be intrusive data being collected on your children that will follow them from kindergarten until the age of 20. With all assignments and tests being done on the computer, how much easier will it be to collect that data especially when so many of the tests are going to be open-ended essays asking for the child’s opinion on various subjects. As one sees, there are many unanswered questions about Common Core. That was also by design. Those behind it did not want the light of day shining upon it. I would recommend parents doing their own research. There are many different websites with people speaking out against it. There are even several states with legislation going through trying to get it stopped in their States. I recommend Californians United Against Common Core, www.cuacc.org.

Orlean Koehle

[Orlean Koehle is a retired English and Journalism teacher, the author of five books, the most recently published one is *Common Core, a Trojan Horse for Education Reform*]

Video: Dad Charged with 2nd Degree Assault on Cop After He Questioned Common Core Curriculum

Posted By [jwilson](#) On September 23, 2013 @ 9:44 am

"He was not rude but they had security come in to take him out," says one parent

Julie Wilson

Infowars.com

September 23, 2013

A parent trying to get answers regarding the curriculum his children are learning, was aggressively thrown out, arrested and charged with second-degree assault on a police officer during a school board meeting in Maryland last week.

The father, Robert Small, challenged school officials arguing the Common Core curriculum is preparing kids for 'community college, not Harvard.'

[According to Michelle Malkin.com](#), the confrontation took place during a question-and-answer meeting in which questions were censored by only allowing submitted written questions, which prohibited parents from standing up and speaking.

"In a nutshell, it was an hour and a half long and the first hour was Dallas Dance, [county superintendent] Lillian Lowery, a PTA leader, and a teacher from Cantonsville High School basically tell us how great this was going to be," said an email from a Baltimore County parent.

"Finally, a frustrated parent [Robert Small] got up and interrupted Lillian Lowery [state superintendent] and was challenging one of her pre-planned answers, reports Malkin.

"He was not rude but they had security come in to take him out."

"He was just a dad trying to get some information about his children's education and ended up in jail for not sitting down and shutting up," said the email.

[Last week Fox News](#) ran a report about 4th grade students in La., who were given assignments that included the words "Po Pimp" and "mobstaz."

The lesson was an initiative from the [Common Core State Standards](#) program, which happens to be backed by the Obama administration and enacted in 45 states, the District of Columbia and four territories.

Brittney Badeaux was horrified when she heard her 9-year son say the words "Po Pimp" and "mobstaz;" the whole assignment was reportedly filled with "Ebonics."

The superintendent of this La. school defended the program saying children need to know how to read "real world texts," and "Po Pimp" and "mobstaz" are words children are going to learn in the real world.

Fortunately communities are beginning to stand up against the Common Core program. The controversy has caused multiple states to yank the curriculum from their schools.

"The math program does not demand correct answers, just justification of answers, and the English program emphasizes 'informational texts' (which at best are more suited for social studies courses, and at worst are outright propaganda) rather than classic literature and analysis. Even the literature is sexually explicit and comes with ideologically biased questions," [reported Freedom Outpost](#).

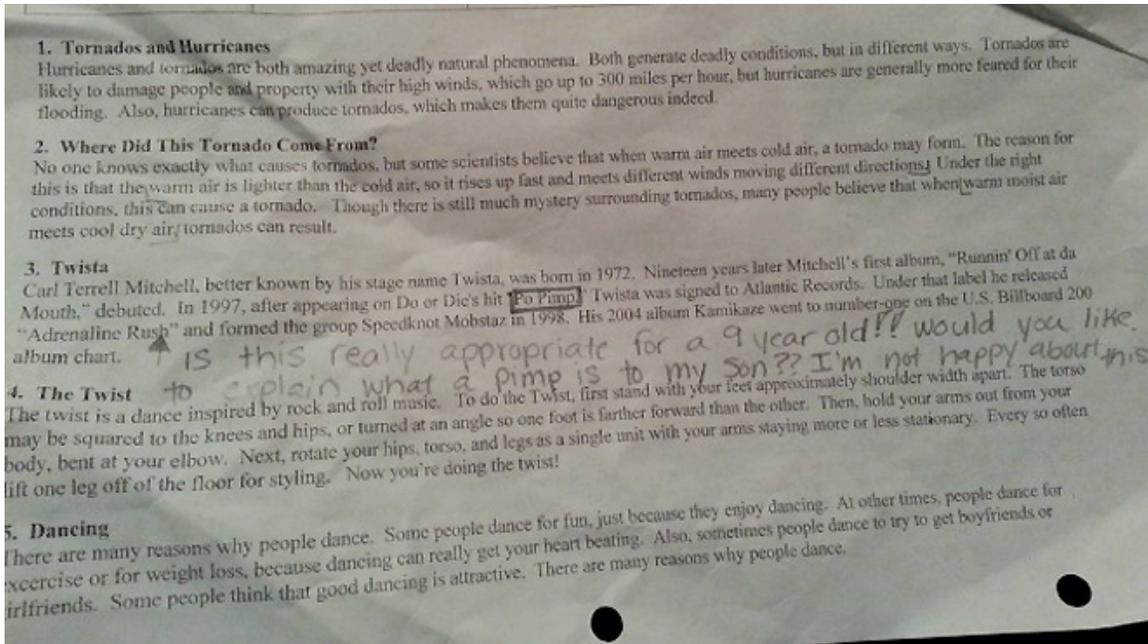
"The text of the Constitution has even been altered in textbooks adhering to the program's standards, and in textbooks written by the College Board, which administers SAT and AP exams, and which will revise its own exams to adhere to the standards even in states in which they are not accepted," states the report.

Also, data-mining is allegedly being used to document children's disciplinary actions and their personal beliefs.

Pull up video: <http://www.infowars.com/parent-charged-with-second-degree-assault-on-cop-after-he-questioned-common-core-curriculum/>

Fourth graders taught about 'pimps' and 'mobstaz' in Louisiana

By [Todd Starnes](#) *Todd's American Dispatch* Published September 19, 2013 [FoxNews.com](#)



1
2

Photo of homework worksheet listing contextual examples of the word "twist." Example 3 reads, "Carl Terrell Mitchell, better known by his stage name Twista, was born in 1972. Nineteen years later Mitchell's first album, "Runnin' Off at da Mouth," debuted. In 1997, after appearing on Do or Die's hit "Po Pimp," Twista was signed to Atlantic Records. Under that label he released "Adrenaline Rush" and formed the group Speedknot Mobstaz in 1998. His 2004 album Kamikaze went to number-one on the U.S. Billboard 200 album chart."

Fourth grade students in Vermilion Parish, La. were given a homework assignment that included words like "Po Pimp" and "mobstaz," but school officials said the worksheet was age appropriate based on an education website affiliated with Common Core education standards.

"I try to instill values in my son," parent Brittney Badeaux told Fox News. "My goal is for him to ultimately to become a great man, a family man, a well-rounded man. And now my son wants to know what a pimp is."

Badeaux was helping her 9-year-old son with his homework when she heard him say the words "Po Pimp" and "mobstaz."

“I couldn’t believe it at first – hearing him read it to me,” she told Fox News. “So I looked at the paper and read the entire article. It was filled with Ebonics.”

Superintendent Puyau stressed that Vermilion Parish teachers review the content distributed to students and it’s consistently in alignment with Common Core standards.

The worksheet, obtained by Fox Radio affiliate KPEL provided contextual examples of the word “twist.” It included references to tornadoes and the 1950’s dance craze – the “Twist.”

But it also included a paragraph about “Twista” – a rapper with the group Speedknot Mobstaz who performs a single titled, “Po-Pimp.”

“It was really inappropriate for my child,” Badeaux said. “He doesn’t know what a pimp or mobster is.”

She also took issue with the school sending home a worksheet that intentionally misspelled words.

“I try to teach him morals and respect and to speak correctly,” she said. “It’s hard for a fourth grader to understand Ebonics when you’re trying to teach him how to spell and write correctly.”

Vermilion Parish School Superintendent Jerome Puyau told Fox News the “po-pimp” assignment was aligned to a fourth grade English Language Arts standard for Common Core.

“Out of context, this word is inappropriate,” Puyau said. “However, within the Common Core standards, they do want us to discuss real world texts.”

[The Common Core State Standards](#) ⇨ initiative is a plan devised by the nation’s governors and backed by the Obama administration to set a uniform standard for grades K-12. In practice, it will ensure that every child in the nation reaches the same level of learning. So far, 45 states have agreed to use Common Core – including Louisiana.

“The Common Core curriculum, like it or not – we have to make our students successful,” the superintendent said. “We know that in New York proficiency in state testing was very low. We foresee that our students will not be successful unless with align everything to the common core standards.”

And that’s why fourth graders were learning about pimps and mobstaz.

“We want them to read real world texts,” he said. “We know they will go into a department store and see an album with that language on it. We know that will happen. But is that something they should be reading in the schools?”

Puyau conceded the actual paragraph in the assignment was not appropriate for 9-year-olds – even though Common Core-affiliated education site said it was.

“We are going to edit and audit everything that comes through,” he said. “In southwest Louisiana we do have high morals. We’re going to utilize everything that we have to ensure our parents that what they are reading is appropriate to grade level.”

Puyau said he takes full responsibility as the superintendent for what happened – but stressed that according to the Common Core standards – the material was age appropriate.

He said there is even more material out there that would cause parents to raise eyebrows and Badeaux said she heard something similar from her son’s teacher.

“The teacher told me this was the best of the worst of the curriculum that was provided to her,” she said. “We’re not even two months into school. What are they trying to teach him?”

Regardless, the superintendent said the pimp lesson provides a teachable moment for parents and teachers.

“These teachable moments are great to have,” he said.

But try telling that to the mom who had to explain what a pimp is to her 9-year-old son.

“My son doesn’t know what pimps and mobstaz are!” wrote concerned mother Brittney Badeaux in an email to Hot 107.9’s DJ Digital. “I don’t condone ebonics at his young age.”

“I try to teach my son respect and morals,” Badeaux said. “My goal everyday (sic) is for him to become better for tomorrow and ultimately grow into a great man!”

Vermilion Parish School Superintendent Jerome Puyau said the worksheet is in accordance with Common Core standards adopted by Louisiana.

“Part of the Common Core is what they call ‘real-world text,’” Puyau explained. “What are our students reading?”

“Are these students going to see this on the shelves in our department stores?” he continued. “And the answer is yes. If you search it, the first thing that comes up is the actual song [“Po Pimp”]. This is real-world.”

Puyau said the worksheet was pulled from an education website that aligns itself with Common Core standards.

“The Twist” was controversial in the 50s, Puyau noted, and even the Harry Potter books once raised controversy in his district when a librarian wouldn’t stock the series because of its focus on witchcraft.

The album “Kamikaze,” also mentioned under the rapper’s description, refers to suicide pilots, Puyau said, but this word is taught in history classes.

Badeaux also raised concerns about a similar text exercise that included a detailed description of how a machine gun works. But Puyau stressed that Vermilion Parish teachers review the content distributed to students, and it’s consistently in alignment with Common Core standards.

“We want to make sure that our students have an understanding and teaching of real-world life experiences through words, but there are teachable moments for parents, and there are teachable moments for us as educators.”

Todd Starnes is host of Fox News & Commentary heard on hundreds of radio stations and in [his weekly podcast](#). Sign up for his [American Dispatch newsletter](#) → and be sure to join his [Facebook](#)

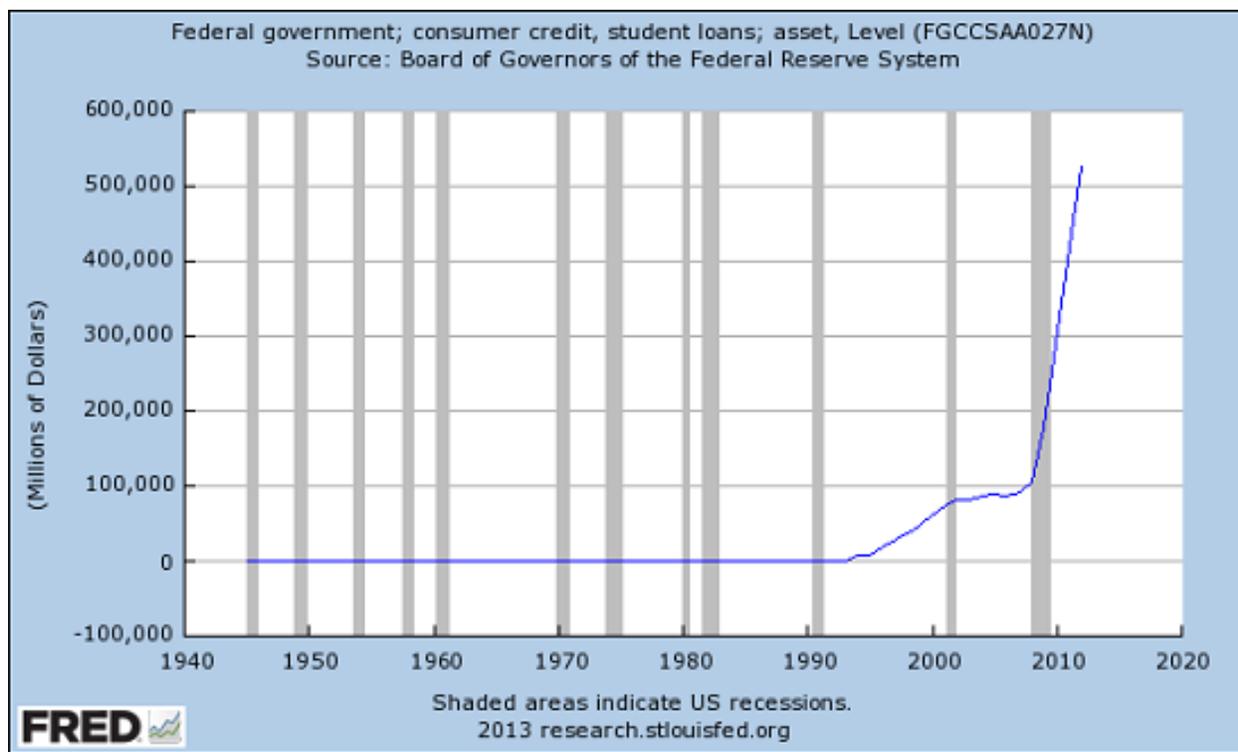
Step #6: Examine and Rebuild the Economic Model and Physical Structure of American Education To Achieve Affordability, Access, and Equality

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 18, 2013

Why the Higher Education System Is Unsustainable (i.e. Doomed)

Higher education is a self-serving cartel that is failing students, the economy and the nation.

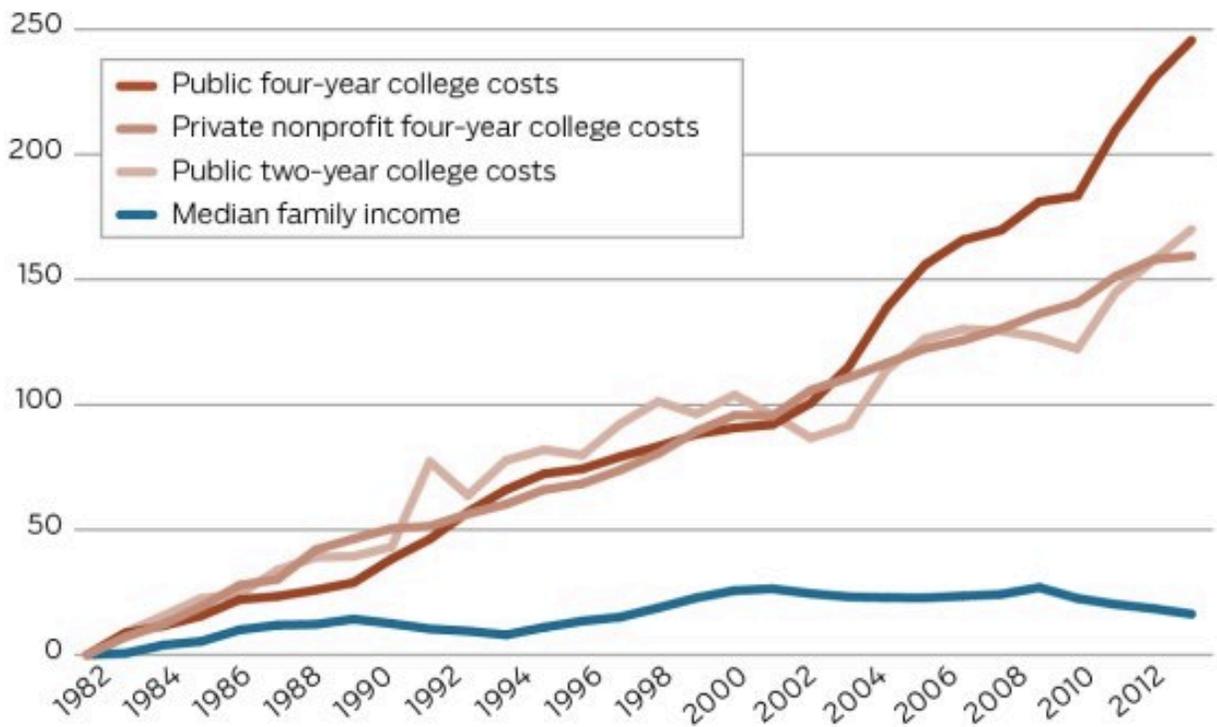
That which is unaffordable is unsustainable and will go away. The current system of higher education is profoundly unaffordable: it exists on an immoral foundation of student debt--\$560 billion of which is Federal. Enormous expansions of student debt are required to keep the current system of higher education afloat. This chart shows the insane trajectory of Federal student debt:



[Our Huge, Stinking Mountain of Debt: Student Loans](#) (September 11, 2013)

College costs and median family income, 1982 to 2012

Inflation-adjusted increases



Sources: The College Board, Annual Survey of Colleges; National Center for Education Statistics, Integrated Postsecondary Education and Data System.

Center for American Progress



CAP

But unaffordability is only one reason why the present system of higher education is unsustainable.

Before we start, it's important to stipulate that the industry's failings are systemic, and do not reflect the positive intentions and efforts of those working in higher education, any more than the systemic failures of U.S. healthcare reflect the good intentions and efforts of those

employed in that industry. Despite the good intentions and hard work of individuals, these systems are broken.

Due to their size and structure, large systems such as national defense, healthcare and education limit the impact of individual initiative. This has several consequences. One is that individuals feel powerless to change the system and so they relinquish responsibility for changing it. As Voltaire observed, "No snowflake in an avalanche ever feels responsible." A second consequence is psychological. Even if the system is visibly flawed or failing, insiders feel obligated to defend the system and their role in it, for two compelling reasons: self-preservation and the psychological need to believe in the value of one's place in the institution.

Let's start with what is self-evident about the basic structure of higher education:

1. As my colleague Mark G. described in [Higher Education Cartel, Meet Creative Destruction](#), higher education is a legacy system based on the scarcity of recorded knowledge (printed and other media) and informed lectures. Both recorded knowledge and informed lectures are now essentially free and readily available. This is the material basis of the alternative system outlined in this book, the Nearly Free University (NFU), whose core is an open-enrollment, universally accessible, individually accredited curriculum designed for the emerging economy and the individual student.

2. The current higher education model is a factory composed of broadcast lectures and mass-distributed reading/coursework/tests. The student moves down the assembly line, attending the same lectures as other students, reading the same materials and taking the same tests. When the student receives a passing grade in a quasi-arbitrary number of courses, he or she is issued a diploma.

This factory model of education is fundamentally unchanged from the era of World War II, when the government expanded higher education from its traditional elitist function to serve the nation's war production. While factories churned out war materiel with low-skill labor, behind the scenes the war effort demanded a vast increase in engineering and scientific skills. This began the transformation into a knowledge-based economy. The difference between an industrial economy that requires

massive numbers of low-skill factory workers and a knowledge-based (often referred to a post-industrial) economy is the knowledge of its workers.

The factory model is obsolete in an era where a variety of nearly-free instructional materials and methodologies enable the student to select the most appropriate approach for his aptitudes and needs.

3. In terms of its financial structure, higher education is a cartel-like system that limits its product (accredited instruction) and restricts its output (credentials, diplomas). (A cartel is an organization of nominally competing enterprises that fixes prices and production to benefit its members. Cartels may be formal, such as the Organization of Oil Exporting Nations (OPEC) or informal like the higher education cartel. Informal cartels often rely on government regulations to restrict competitors' entry into their market and on government spending or loans to fund their operations. To mask the uncompetitive nature of their cartel, they devote enormous resources to public relations.)

The cartel's basic mechanism of maintaining non-competitive pricing is to enforce an artificial scarcity of credentials. The cartel's control of a product that is in high demand (college diploma) frees it from outside competition and free-market price discovery, enabling it to charge customers (students) an extraordinary premium for a product whose value is entirely scarcity-based.

This is the very definition of a rent-seeking cartel, a cartel that extracts premiums solely on the basis of an artificial scarcity. By their very nature, rent-seeking cartels are exploitive and parasitic, drawing resources from those who can least afford to pay high premiums and misallocating capital that could have been invested in productive social investments. The term rents in this context means that the cartel collects a premium without providing any corresponding additional value. The rentier class includes landed aristocracy, who collect rents while adding no value to the production of their tenant farmers.

4. Since the higher education cartel is the sole provider of accreditation (college diplomas), it is unaccountable for its failure to prepare its customers (students) for productive employment in the emerging economy. If a diploma is portrayed

as essential, students must pay the cartel even if the cartel's product (education) is ineffective and obsolete.

5. The four-year college system is profoundly disconnected from the economy. That the cartel's product has little practical application is not considered a factor in the value of the product (diploma), whose primary purpose is to act as a higher education passport that enables passage to a more expansive territory of employment.

6. The present system of higher education is unaffordable for all but the wealthy. The cartel's solution to its high prices, \$1 trillion in student loan debt (exceeding both credit card debt and vehicle loans), is a crushing burden on both individuals and society at large.

7. The higher education cartel is intrinsically elitist, as its survival as a rent-seeking cartel is based on limiting what is now essentially free: knowledge and instruction. In other words, the higher education cartel charges an extraordinary premium for a free product.

8. The only way the Higher Education cartel can continue to charge a premium for nearly-free products is to actively mystify its product (by attributing secular sanctity and civic value to its diplomas) and promote an artificial value for this product using public relations and political lobbying. In other words, the higher education cartel operates on the same principles as other informal cartels: it depends on the state to fund its operations, and it uses public relations to mask its cartel structure and systemic failure to fulfill its original purpose.

The higher education cartel's dependence on federal funding and enforcement of student loans is readily visible in the Federal Reserve's Flow of Funds report, Table L.105, which shows the Federal Government's assets and liabilities. Direct Federal loans to students have exploded higher, from \$93 billion in 2007 to \$560 billion in early 2013. This gargantuan sum exceeds the gross domestic product (GDP) of entire nations—for example, Sweden (\$538 billion) and Iran (\$521 billion). Non-Federal student loans total another \$500 billion, bringing the total to \$1 trillion.

A variety of cultural traditions have effectively obscured these self-evident truths, even as the system's diminishing returns and rising costs have rendered it unsustainable.

The alternative is equally self-evident: knowledge and instruction should be nearly free, and students should be accredited directly, dissolving the monopoly on accreditation that gives higher education its cartel-like power to extract artificial premiums.

I am fully aware that this critique is exceedingly unwelcome to those whose livelihood depends on the higher education cartel. I am also aware that this critique upends most or all of the secularly sacred cultural traditions that the higher education system nurtures to justify its premium.

This is the key question: does the current higher education system exist to serve students, or does it exist to serve those employed by the system? Those with vested interests in the system will naturally answer "both," but to answer this question fairly, we must ask if an alternative system that accredits each student could serve students more effectively than the current system of accrediting schools.

Let's imagine another system, one in which the Nearly Free University and the existing higher education cartel compete to prepare students for individual third-party accreditation of the critical skills and knowledge base needed to establish and maintain a livelihood in the emerging economy.

If the Nearly Free University costs \$4,000 for a four-year program (not including room and board) and the higher education cartel charges between ten and 25 times more for the same number of courses, then the higher education cartel had better be 25 times better at preparing students to establish and maintain a livelihood in the emerging economy, or it will lose its customers.

Limiting access to accreditation to skim enormous premiums based on scarcity is not just unethical; it is intellectually dishonest. Cartels are intrinsically extractive, exploitive and parasitic, and no amount of vested-interest justification changes this reality. Creating an artificial

scarcity is financial manipulation, and all financial manipulation is ultimately a form of theft. Progressives, by the very definition of their creed, must support the dissolution of all cartels. Those within the higher education system must choose between financial allegiance to their cartel or refusal to support cartels.

This essay was drawn from my new book [The Nearly Free University and The Emerging Economy \(Kindle eBook\)](#) which is available at a 20% discount (\$7.95, list \$9.95) this week.

Correspondent Mark G. succinctly summarizes why higher education is ripe for the creative destruction of its cartel model. His brief account captures the essential dynamics so well that I made it the foreword of my book [The Nearly Free University and The Emerging Economy: The Revolution in Higher Education](#).

Here is Mark's essay:

Developments in education and information media have always impacted each other. Below is a brief review of the history of each for the past 2,500 years. The aim is to open minds as to how the asymptotic expansion of the information media technology known as the Internet is expanding education beyond its previous boundaries.

Brief History of Educational Media

Archimedes independently derived the Fundamental Theorem of Calculus over 2,300 years ago. This theorem did not become widely known until recently because of the scarcity of media, specifically papyrus and vellum parchments. During the time of the Roman Empire, the Library of Alexandria and the Roman imperial bureaucracy consumed almost the entire annual production of papyrus in Egypt. In fact, the competing library at Pergamum in Anatolia developed the use of vellum parchment specifically because of a lack of papyrus.

The extreme shortage of written media caused learning to become focused on two customs. One was the primacy of the oral lecture, such as Hero's lectures on mechanisms. The other was the requirement to concentrate students in one small geographic area to hear these lectures. Due to the concentration of all this academic information in one place with limited access, the libraries tended to become centers

of academic study and scientific research. Thus ancient colleges and universities first developed in parallel with the ancient libraries, for obvious reasons.

Development of the Oral Lecture

Many surviving ancient books began as sets of written lecture notes. Many other books, such as the New Testament, began as letters addressed from one person or group to another. An especially well-endowed library might have as many as 500 books, each produced by scribes, by hand, a single copy at a time. Due to the lack of time and papyrus/vellum, it was impossible to provide every student with their own set of textbooks. Instead, students were assembled in a room to hear a professor read to them from the school's single book copy. It is notable that one of the most ancient of present-day universities, Cambridge University in England, to this day preserves the memory of this practice with the formal academic rank of "Reader."

The ancient oral lecture method of delivering information is still in use at most universities, but is now subject to what I call the Johnny Carson Principle, which states "there is and can be only one Johnny Carson." Within a talented, diverse field of talk-show hosts, only one host occupies the top spot. Applying this principle to the education field, in any given field there will only be a handful of truly A-list lecturers, but with one clearly at the head of the pack. In my view, Dr. Walter Lewin of MIT is clearly the Johnny Carson of Physics I & II. His Physics lectures--which are theatrical-grade productions--are readily available on YouTube. Note that unrivaled genius in theoretical research is no guarantee of being an excellent physics lecturer and educator.

Where We Are Today

Two thousand years later the modern college and university is clearly still structured around the ancient principles. Even the appearance and spread of Gutenberg's printing press in the 15th century simply served to multiply the numbers of schools organized on this ancient pattern. Currently two primary elements of the old style system, written media and oral lectures, are already widely available at greatly reduced cost.

The Nearly Free University (NFU) already exists in a practical sense. One example of open-access curriculum will suffice: the study of physics for science and engineering majors. Free, professional-level materials for Newtonian mechanics and subsequent developments in electrical, optical and nuclear physics are available online.

Yet science and engineering continue to be taught using the ancient system, using well-paid professors and expensive university classrooms to teach physically present students.

Despite major advances in media technology and the accompanying reduction and sometimes outright elimination of cost, the ancient model of organizing schools has persisted to modern times, with education costs and student debts now spiraling out of control.

One reason for this persistence may be that tenured professor jobs with six-figure salaries, excellent health insurance, and generous pensions are increasingly rare in the private sector. The academic priesthoods that benefit from the current system have a vast self-interest in perpetuating it no matter what. The ancient practices of oral lectures and costly texts are actively blocking lower cost superior methods. The organizational imperatives of this ancient system are clearly obsolete.

Why does the old style system still persist even though it is already demonstrably inferior? In addition to the financial disincentives, there is another reason: **the current system retains a monopoly on assessing student learning and granting credit for demonstrated accomplishment. The schools are able to do this because they have arranged a monopoly on accreditation.** This is ultimately a grant of state power.

As a result, modern colleges and universities have collectively become a rent-seeking cartel, an alliance of nominally competitive institutions that maintains a highly profitable monopoly of accreditation. To grasp the power of the cartel, consider a typical Physics I course even at MIT is almost entirely based on Newtonian mechanics, and the subject matter is entirely in the public domain. Only a cartel could arrange to charge \$1,500 and more per student for tuition and texts, in the face of far lower cost and

superior quality materials, for subject matter that is no more recent than the 19th Century.

Breaking down this system means developing alternate methods to accredit what already exists. This is individual learning. **Rather than accrediting institutions, the NFU must aim at accrediting individuals directly.**

In the course of rebuilding the economic model and physical structure of American education, it would be productive to consider the missing elements of education described in the Olympia, Washington student gathering:

The students presented six missing pieces that they believe reduce the effectiveness of their undergraduate education, as follows:

1. Construct field studies that connect with students' academic concentrations to deepen meaning and to make classroom-acquired knowledge relevant to the real world of the 21st century.
2. Reconnect with the natural world and indigenous cultures in order to internalize the urgency for safeguarding a sustainable future and have an undisturbed time to carry on the vital process of self-reflection to consider one's personal worldview and one's identity in this context.
3. Discover and expand one's unique creative spirit and range of creative expression.
4. Broaden one's perspective about real world interactivity, maintain a sense of responsibility to others and participate in the achievement of a just society.
5. Consider a variety of realistic life-pursuits that can make a difference in the world by immersion in real world work environments and by interfacing with men and women who bring intuitive understanding and good judgment from their long experience in non-academic, real world domains.
6. Develop a frame of mind and coping ability that allows one to address the realities of life with equanimity and good judgment, rather than succumb to uncertainty, anxiety and depression.

This student commentary was insightful and also troubling because these perceived gaps in their education, in fact, constitute the crucially important learning that prepares students for creative, productive and responsible participation in our global society.

These insights about gaps in their education are, in fact, clues of how to rebuild both the economic model and physical structure of American education. The students are calling for much more time in their college years to be spent off-campus and in the real world. Ironically, the availability of reading material and faculty presentations (lectures) on the

Internet now make it unnecessary to assemble students on high-cost campuses. Instead, tomorrow's students can access the Internet from anywhere and spend much more time "in the field" in much smaller groups, where the six missing pieces of their education can be brought into focus. Such "field semesters" would be located within real world communities here and abroad. Part of such off-campus semesters would take the form of apprenticeship experiences. Other such semesters would take the form of very low-cost settlements in wilderness areas in America's Four Corners, where New Mexico, Utah, Arizona and Colorado come together. Other such areas would be in the southeast region of Alaska referred to as the *Inside Passage*, to where humpback whales migrate each season and the location of *Le Conte*, the largest glacier in North America. One additional benefit of dramatically reducing the costly use of existing college campuses would be to use that time to connect students to work/study projects in joint ventures between university/college environments and the national and international business community, thereby enhancing each student's ability to give greater consideration to his or her life-pursuit. Accordingly, the entire educational model (applied to public schools and higher education) encompassed by the term "curricula" would be replaced. Unfortunately, "curricula" today suggests a learning environment consisting of on-campus, semester-length "courses" that fall into one of hundreds of "academic disciplines" or another, broken into "classes" held three days a week, which each consisting of a 45-minute lecture and discussion. The "academic disciplines" are rarely connected to one another, except for relatively few "interdisciplinary studies." In reality, this is an intentional arrangement designed by the clique to impede learning, and it does it well; hence the presentation by the students showing six missing pieces from their education, pieces to be integrated into public school and higher education.

In other words, part of the rebuilding of the economic model and physical structure of American higher education might be to phase out of the high-cost campus infrastructure of each university/college in favor of moving education into the living environment of the real world, as well as its work environments that are of interest to the students. And, in turn, real world living communities would welcome the economic boost from answering the living needs of the students at a much lower cost basis.

Furthermore, the appalling, clique-orchestrated arrangement of turning teaching in higher education into a third-class function populated by teaching assistants and adjunct faculty who are treated as low-cost "temporary" workers, must be overturned. The current teaching function is corrupt to the core because it "frees up" tenured faculty to concentrate on a completely useless and fraudulent "research" function that keeps them busy chasing grant money supplied by the clique-controlled foundations. The learning process is sabotaged at every level of the current educational model, whether it be teaching, "curricula," or collecting students on campuses where psychological warfare can be waged upon them to intentionally diminish their sense of solidarity, their morale, their self-esteem, their knowledge, their creativity, and their productivity.

More on the Impact of Clique Subversion of American Education

The ongoing critique of American education seems to be quickening and changing shape. Just a few assessments have been listed below. Primarily they have been written by highly reputable individuals at the top rungs of the U.S. academic community:

Moral Principles in Education (Dewey, 1909)

Democracy and Education (Dewey, 1919)

A Nation At Risk (Commission of the U.S. Department of Education, 1983);

The End of Education (Postman, 1996)

Wise Moves In Hard Times (Leslie & Fretwell, 1996)

Escape From The Ivory Tower (Lempert, 1996)

A Nation Still At Risk (Heritage Foundation, 1998);

Reinventing Ourselves (Ed. Smith & McCann, 2001);

Greater Expectations (AAC&U, 2002);

Declining By Degrees (Ed. Hersh & Merrow, 2005);

A Larger Sense Of Purpose (Shapiro, 2005);

Our Underachieving Colleges (Bok, 2006);

Excellence Without A Soul (Lewis, 2006).

The Shame of the Nation (Kozol, 2006).

Only Connect: The Way To Save Our Schools (Crew, 2007).

How America's Universities Become Hedge Funds (Samuels 2010).

The Death and Life of the Great American School System (Ravitch, 2011).

Punctuating this ever-rising concern about American higher education, was the U.S. Department of Education's September 2005 formation of a "Commission for the Future of Higher Education." An August 2006 draft of its report states:

"Our year-long examination of the challenges facing higher education has brought us to the uneasy conclusion that the sector's past attainments have led our nation to unseemly complacency about its future."

Subsequently, the National Center for Public Policy and Higher Education issued a "Report Card" on U.S. higher education in the context of global competitiveness. It reported a downward trend in U.S. college completion rates, as tuitions across the country are climbing. Center president, Peter Callan warned:

"Other nations have approached the need for higher rates of college participation and completion with a real sense of urgency we haven't yet seen in the U.S."

In addition, there are factors at play that signal a potential sea change in public opinion concerning higher education reform. Specifically, Deborah Wadsworth, former president of Public Agenda, a nonpartisan, nationally respected organization that measures public thinking in complex issues, stated:

"If college is increasingly viewed as absolutely essential and simultaneously less available, American society is approaching a much more unstable situation. Our society is predicated on an ideology of social mobility. At the heart of that tenet is the belief that hard work will pay off and that people can pull themselves up by their own bootstraps. It follows, then, that if higher education becomes the only path to success and, at the same time, less available to significant numbers of individuals, that sense of mobility will be threatened....if access to decent jobs or entree to lucrative careers narrows, people who are now scrambling to address the cost of higher education may begin to feel that this ticket to a middle-class life is being priced out of their reach and respond with real hostility. I have few doubts that emergence of such a scenario would lead to more public support for higher education reform."

Among the many evaluations, five are particular illuminating:

1. The extraordinary two-year study by the American Association of Colleges and Universities (AAC&U) culminating in a 2002 report: "*Greater Expectations: A New Vision for Learning as a Nation Goes to College.*"
2. The body of work by the late Ernest Boyer-----a natural fit with the vision of *Greater Expectations*.

3. The critical analysis---*The End of Education* (1995)---by the late Neil Postman, which illuminates a possible connection between (i) student engagement, empowerment and "character development", on the one hand, and (ii) the prerequisite of each student developing his or her own personal "shared narrative" to serve as one's foundation and inner compass.
4. The extensive inquiry that resulted in *Declining By Degrees* (2005) and its complementary PBS documentary of the same name. Edited by Richard H. Hersh and John Merrow, the inquiry culminated with fifteen essays from distinguished individuals with considerable insight about the workings of contemporary education.
5. An eloquent and penetrating presentation by thirteen students from six colleges at Evergreen State College in Olympia, Washington in October 2004. These students described what they believed to be missing in their four-year undergraduate education and outlined the desired outcomes of an off-campus integrative and experiential learning environment anchored in powerful creative collaboration.

The fundamental concern expressed by these critiques is the lack of relevance of American education to the difficult realities of the times. But, in spite of an extraordinary level of heavily researched critique from all sides, the permanent gridlock of American education continues to withstand the heaviest broadsides and resist vitally needed change.

In reading all the critiques on American education, there was never a mention that the gridlock was orchestrated and maintained by a concealed foreign power with its many minions imbedded in American education.

The elements of this gridlock are as follows:

American education is imploding: the student dropout rate has reached epidemic proportions

An ominous and unacceptable student dropout rate exists and must be reversed. Current research indicates that the student dropout rate is 59.5% in public institutions of higher education and 42.7% for private institutions of higher education (*2007 American College Testing Report on Student Retention*). For the nation's public high schools, The Gates Foundation published *The Silent Epidemic: Perspectives of High School Dropouts* in 2006 which stated:

“Each year, almost one third of all public high school students---and nearly one half of all blacks, Hispanics and Native Americans---fail to graduate from public high school with their class. Many of these students abandon school with less than two years to complete their high school education.”

American education does not prepare its students for the American workforce

Across the board, American employers, who face mounting global competition, are extraordinarily unhappy with the lack of preparedness of high school and college graduates as entry-level employees. The complaints include deficiencies in critical thinking, writing, reading, math skills, problem-solving, and social skills.

From an HR executive of Coca-Cola Company:

“A surprising number of our new management hires don’t seem to be able to ‘connect the dots’; they don’t seem to understand the ramifications of what they say or do. They just come into a situation without having given any thought to the dynamics of the environment they have entered. And this is in a global economy in which all the multinationals are downscaling, which means that our new hires have to work harder and be even faster on their feet.”

From an HR executive at Intel:

“We have found that most of our new employees, including, in particular, the MBAs, don’t know how to write a concise, coherent report. We have had to develop an internal school that we put them all through to develop this elementary skill. Furthermore, while it used to be that we could hire the average college graduate and work them up through our ranks, we have experienced such growth and the competitive environment has become so intense, that we have to be much more selective. And, even then, our new employees are lacking in such fundamental things as work ethic, socialization in the collaborative work environment, adapting to the competitive pace, multi-tasking as a way of life, and being congenial and team-oriented, instead of being just out for themselves.”

From an HR executive at a large non-profit organization:

“As our organization grows, we realize that it wasn’t enough for our new hires to be enthusiastic and hard-working. We need individuals who can jump into project management, marketing and fund-raising activities, accounting and reporting problems, and situations presenting complicated coordination issues. We need people with more organizational savvy, and an ability to get things done without getting bogged down in the bureaucracy.”

American education does not prepare its students to participate in or protect America's democratic processes

The traditional ends of American education, namely, preparing students for creative, productive and responsible participation in society, have been greatly marginalized in favor of specialization with none of these objectives addressed.

In its present state, American education threatens a key American ideal: The American Dream

In failing to prepare students for a creative, productive and responsible participation in our global society, American education contributes to the deterioration of The American Dream and may thus invite potential future social instability. In other words, colleges and universities that shortchange their students also contribute to a deteriorating American job market.

American education ignores its crucial societal purposes and has become corrupted by governmental intervention

In September 2006, after masterminding the No Child Left Behind legislation, the U.S. Department of Education announced that it was initiating "long-overdue reform" in higher education to increase U.S. competitiveness in the global economy. (see *Inside HigherEd*, The Spellings Plan, September 26, 2006). How much more governmental redirection and interference with curricula can American education suffer as it turns all attention to buttressing market economy competitiveness, rather than safeguarding an education that broadens student perspective and sense of responsibility, develops personal creativity and expands personal capacity for innovation? Governmental intervention has clearly marginalized the traditional ends of education that historically have served a vital societal purpose. In doing so, it has, in a ham-handed manner, suppressed the very education that, by its nature, can potentially create the illuminating learning environment within which innovation is spawned and, if nurtured, could become the uniquely American cornerstone of our economic competitiveness in the global economy. Instead, we have a further stultification of American education that could not come at a worse time. In other words, not only is American education not addressing the problems of our times, but it is being transformed by rising governmental interference into a institutional force in our society that is making matters significantly worse.

Much of American education has abandoned the values of the commons for the values of the market economy---and the inner compass of American education is shattered

The standard complaint about undergraduate education used to be "publish or perish," the overriding focus of faculty members of colleges and universities on their research, a

reflection of the reward system of higher education and the intense institutional need for a steady stream of grant income to augment tuition, endowments and, in public higher education, public funding.

But, now this inattention to the teaching function at the undergraduate level has taken a more ominous turn, which has fundamentally altered the institutional value system that is, in itself, a part of their undergraduate learning environment. Dr. David L. Kirp, Professor Public Policy at University of California, Berkeley:

"Now there are signs of another seismic shift in loyalty among the academic elite---toward the individuals themselves (before, faculty loyalty as to their institution, then it shifted to their academic disciplines). Mirroring the aspirations of their own on-the-make institutions, these superstars see themselves as academic entrepreneurs....When a university lands one of these public intellectuals or a professor who is widely esteemed by fellow scholars or someone who attracts large research grants, the result is buzz and prestige---valuable intellectual capital for the institution."

Instead of American education occupying a separate domain from the market economy, many institutions have joined it and have shifted away from the values of the commons. Market economy forces appear to be all but irresistible and no one within American education has come forward to effectively confront this phenomenon. Dr. Kirp:

"Is there anyone who can convincingly make the case that.....there need to be spheres where 'money is not the coin of the realm'? Lacking such a principled defense of non-market values, higher education may degenerate into something far less palatable than a house of learning that---as a prophetic report on undergraduate education put it nearly two centuries ago---is 'attuned to the business character of the nation' (Yale College report 1828). It may degenerate into just another business, the metaphor of the higher education 'industry' brought fully to life. But if there is to be a less dystopian future, one that revives the soul of this old institution, who is to advance it---and if not now, then when?...In years past, academic statesmen such as Clark Kerr at Berkeley, Derek Bok at Harvard and Theodore Hesburgh at Notre Dame could influence public opinion....That is unimaginable now----because university presidents are constantly seeking money from power, they can hardly speak truth to power. It is interesting to note that the paradigm is about to shift from identifying public opinion as the source of power to affect educational reform. It appears that the U.S. Department of Education will soon be so identified, and, by default, academic statesmen will have had their day."

And with the rising dominance of the U.S. Department of Education, the value system of all of American education, not just higher education, is being pulled away from its tradition focus on the values of the commons and toward the values of the market economy.

American education does not address the marked change in the way that our next generation is being socialized-----a way vastly different from that of their parents

Equally troubling are research findings in neuroscience, social psychology and related fields that indicate our next generation is being socialized in a way vastly different from that of their parents and that the consequences of this phenomenon are not clear. The thinking processes of our youth have evolved significantly under the combined impact of unprecedented communication technology advances and the sensory barrage of the American media and entertainment industries: (i) our next generation, since birth, has been immersed in a massive barrage of television programming, film industry productions, video games, and endless advertising driven by sophisticated market research; (ii) they have entered a cyberspace unknown to earlier generations, where new ways of learning and socializing are unknown to traditional American education that may make the old ways of learning appear to be irrelevant; and (iii) in their meaning-making process, our next generation, since early age, has been massively proselytized by powerful, competing narratives from the celebrity culture, the MTV culture, the fashion industry, the video game culture and gang cultures. And, if that were not enough to contend with, all of the foregoing influences are overlaid with a dominant culture that reflects a consumerist market economy worldview and value system that many believe have marginalized the values of the commons.

The potential of American education becoming “attuned to the business character of the nation’---degenerating into just another business”---is upon us. The degeneration of American education into just another business model is the worst cut of all, a profound 21st century reality-to-be that we must reverse. From the PBS-sponsored *Declining By Degrees* (2005), which was well-researched and containing comprehensive commentary from insightful members of the academic community, we hear more than enough to know we must take action immediately. Julie Johnson Kidd, the former President of Christian A. Johnson Endeavor Foundation and well-recognized educational foundation:

"As I reflect on this quarter century of involvement with higher education, I feel compelled to express my belief that American higher education has lost its bearings and is falling short in its vital educational mission.... to develop in our young people the depth of critical thinking, intellectual curiosity, and human understanding so essential for dealing with the problems in our world today.....There is an ongoing failure of vision, imagination, and boldness when we evaluate ways to improve our institutions of higher learning. Faculties must realize that their first responsibility is to their students and that they must make the classroom experience more relevant to the "outside world".....Without the changes that such a challenge can bring, we will relegate our students to the role of commodities in a huge game of marketplace economics. The healthy, emotional, ethical, and intellectual development of our young people should be our first priority."

Richard H. Hersh and John Merrow, editors of *Declining By Degrees*, about their investigation of American education:

"As we began our early planning for the documentary and book project in the year 2000, we met with dozens of thoughtful observers and asked their help in identifying the most salient issues facing higher education. From those conversations we developed a potential list of authors for this volume. Later as we criss-crossed the country filming on campuses, *it became increasingly clear that something in undergraduate education was seriously amiss. We found an insidious erosion of quality that we now believe places this nation at risk.* The threat, it seems to us, is more serious today that it was in 1983, when the famous 'A Nation at Risk' report *warned that our schools were 'drowning in a rising tide of mediocrity.'* Our K-12 system, although somewhat improved from that time, continues to wallow in mediocrity, and now higher education is suffering from the same condition. *The tide continues to rise, the rot is creeping upward, and time is running out.*"

The Clique Destroys American Education Capacity To Become America's Inner Compass By Reshaping It In Corporate Form For Better Control

One of the best critiques of American education came from Bob Samuels, President, University Council – American Federation of Teachers:



How America's Universities Became Hedge Funds

In August 2009, just one month after the state of California cut over a billion dollars from its higher education budget, the University of California (UC) turned around and lent the state \$200 million. When journalists asked the UC president, Mark Yudof, how the university could lend millions of dollars to the state, while the school was raising student fees (tuition), furloughing employees, canceling classes, and laying off teachers, Yudof responded that when the university lends money to the state, it turns a profit, but when it spends money on salaries for teachers, the money is lost.

Welcome to the university as hedge fund world. In this strange new world, institutions of higher learning care more about interest rates than educational quality. In fact, Harvard cared so much about reducing the cost of borrowing money that it made several expensive credit default swaps, which resulted in a loss of hundreds of millions of dollars and the halting of an ambitious expansion plan. Not only did Harvard gamble on interest rates to support future construction plans, but it moved much of its endowment into high risk investments, and the result is that the world's wealthiest education institution is now claiming poverty.

Risky Businesses

Like Harvard, the University of California was seduced by the Yale endowment manager, David Swenson, who inspired universities throughout the country to shift their investments from secure bonds and treasury notes to volatile equities and commodities. At first, schools were showing high rates of return in their investment and pension portfolios, but when these investments turned south, the universities lost billions of dollars of savings. In fact, the UC lost over \$23 billion dollars in its combined pension and endowment funds, and this loss will take years to recover. Of course, universities will say that everyone lost money in the global financial meltdown, but schools like Harvard, Yale, and the University California lost so much more than everyone else because they followed Swensen's model of shifting funds into supposedly low-risk, high-yield assets. Moreover, these schools were pushed to gamble big in their investments in order to keep up

with their expensive spending habits. For the fact of the matter is that when these universities were getting double-digit returns on their investments, they continued to jack up tuition, borrow more money, and increase compensation to the top earners, but now that bottom has fallen out of their investments, they are left with no choice but to eliminate the non-tenured faculty who currently teach a majority of the students. Since it is very difficult to lay off tenured faculty, and administrators are resistant to get rid of other administrators, the only thing left to cut is the instructors without tenure, and this means courses will be cancelled and class sizes will be expanded. In short, students will be paying more and getting less because big bets did not pay off.

To understand how both public and private research universities have gotten themselves into this mess, one needs to understand five inter-related factors: the state de-funding of public education, the emphasis on research over instruction, the move to high-risk investments, the development of a free market academic labor system, and the marketing of college admissions. These different forces have combined to turn universities into corporations centered on pleasing bond raters in order to get lower interest rates so that they can borrow more money to fund their unending expansion and escalating expenses.

The Defunding of Higher Ed

Starting in 1980, as part of the Reagan revolution and the desire to cut the taxes of the wealthiest Americans, states began to reduce their funding for public universities. In order to counter this loss of funds, public research universities had to look for other revenue streams, and not only did they raise tuition to make up for the reduction of state support, but they also expanded the research parts of their budget. This move to find new revenue through research activities was enabled in 1980 by the passage of the Bayh-Dole Act, which allowed universities for the first time to buy and sell research produced at federally funded labs. Not only did this law push universities to seek profits by selling the results of their research, but the move to increase research triggered a major expansion of administration and staff. It

turns out that in order to perform high-level research, schools need to hire an army of lawyers, accountants, regulators, and staff. After all, they have to have administrators and staff to run compliance offices, regulate research centers, oversee venture capital enterprises, and to administer fund-raising activities. They also need administrators to watch over the other administrators, and then they need staff to collect the information so that administrators can watch over other administrators, and of course, these institutions need computer staff to compile the data to give to the staff so they can give it to the administrator who gives it to another administrator, and once one gets to this level of complication, one needs a whole set of other people to see if everyone is following the state and federal guidelines, and the expansion continues to infinity.

A result then of the growing emphasis on research is that the number of administrators has expanded, while the number of faculty has remained flat. For instance, during the last decade, the number of administrators in the UC system has doubled, while the number of faculty has increased 25%; in fact, *nationally, there is now one higher ed administrator for every faculty member. Moreover, many administrators pull in huge salaries, and they often bring with them a purely corporate mentality that is in conflict with the stated missions of educational institutions.*

Pleasing the Bond Raters

To support the expansion of research and the increased cost of bureaucracy, universities have to borrow huge sums of money. For example, during its recent financial crisis, the University of California applied for over a billion dollars for construction bonds, and almost all of this debt will go to build new research facilities. In response to these bond applications, Moody's gave the UC system a high bond rating, which will result in low interest rates, further fueling more borrowing. Moreover, as UC Santa Cruz Professor Bob Meister has revealed, the UC is using student fees and tuition as collateral for its construction bonds. *In this modified credit swap, students are forced to take out subprime students loans, often charging 6% interest, so that the university can borrow money at a reduced rate.*

Not only do the bond raters help to determine the cost of borrowing, but they also tell universities what they should do in order to attain a clean bill of fiscal health. For instance, Moody's slipped into its bond rating for the UC system, the need for the institution to restrain labor costs, increase tuition, diversify revenue streams, feed the money-making sectors, and resist the further unionization of its employees. Like the IMF or World Bank, the bond raters tie access to credit to the dismantling of the public sector and the adoption of free market fundamentalism.

In the case of the UC system, it appears that the President Yudof is taking his marching orders from the bond raters and is doing everything in his expanded powers to feed money into the privatized profitable sectors, while starving the non-revenue generating public areas, like instruction. Yudof's core values were revealed when he described the fiscal status of the UC system on the PBS News Hour:

"Many of our, if I can put it this way, businesses are in good shape. We're doing very well there. Our hospitals are full, our medical business, our medical research, the patient care?---so we have this core problem, who's gonna pay the salary of the English Department? We have to have it. Who's gonna pay it, and Sociology, and the humanities, and that's where we're running into trouble."

For many people inside and outside of higher education, Yudof's statement may seem jarring, but for bond raters, his argument makes perfect sense. *From a purely financial perspective, there are profitable ventures and unprofitable ones, and only the areas bringing in money should be nourished.*

In the course of organizing investigations that focus on American education, Mark Yudof should be added as a "person of interest" in terms of his possible connection with the clique's Israeli Trojan Horse. His "stewardship" of the University of California suggests a long pattern of subversion of American education. Mark Yudof is retiring and will be replaced by [Janet Napolitano](#) former U.S. Secretary of the Department Homeland Security.

Of course, lately, bond raters have been proven to be questionable experts when it comes to predicting the financial health of institutions, and in the case of judging universities, not only do the raters seem to have the wrong values, but they also have the wrong numbers. In contrast to Yudof's statement, the reality is that it is the humanities and the social sciences that actually subsidize the research centers and not the other way around. Studies have shown that humanities' programs often educate most of the undergraduate students, and they do this with relatively inexpensive teachers and low overhead. In fact, most humanities' departments turn a huge profit that is then distributed to support the supposedly profit-making sectors. Since federal and corporate-sponsored grants often fail to cover the full cost of buildings, administration, labs, staff, maintenance, and utilities, money has to be taken from undergraduates and humanities programs to subsidize the research sectors.

Marketing Academic Labor

The twin engines of increased debt and an emphasis on research have fueled a third new market force, which is the academic free agent system. In order for universities to remain highly ranked, they feel that they must compete for the best faculty, and the best faculty are often defined by how much other schools are willing to pay them. In the UC system, for example, there is an official salary scale, but over 85% of the faculty are now off the scale, and this means that many of them have negotiated private deals with a dean. Not only does this system turn everyone into competitive individualists, but it also circumvents the peer review process that is supposed to be at the heart of the modern democratic university.

In elite private and public universities, many faculty members search for outside offers from competing institutions every year so that professors can renegotiate their deals, and these deals not only include higher compensation but also less time in the classroom. One of the results of this system is that the more universities pay star professors, the less teaching they do, and the less loyal they are to the institution. In turn, star faculty, administrators, and coaches hold universities hostage by threatening to go to a competitor. This

compensation system has gotten so out-of-hand that in 2008, there were over 3,600 employees in the UC system making more than \$200,000.

Marketing Enrollment

Mirroring the free market star economy is the market-based enrollment system. Universities now believe that to get the "best" students, they have to offer the best aid packages, and what has happened is that many top universities have moved much of their financial aid from need to merit. One of the problems with this structure is that merit is often based on SAT scores, and SAT scores have been shown to be heavily correlated with wealth. The end result of switching from a need-based to a merit-based financial aid system is that lower- and middle-class students end up subsidizing the wealthiest students because in order to give the top students large aid packages, the universities have to raise the tuition on everyone else.

In his book *Tearing Down the Gates*, Peter Sacks has shown that not only do SAT scores predict the wealth of the students' parents, and not the success the students will have in college, but SAT scores also determine a school's ranking in the all-powerful U.S. News & World Report college guidebook. Therefore, by accepting students with high SAT scores, universities not only increase their rankings, but they also bring in wealthy students who will help build the schools' endowments in the future.

The speculative market-based system that universities use to recruit students is coupled with the way these institutions spend lavishly on new facilities to attract potential enrollees. It seems that universities believe that is easier to please students outside of the classroom rather than inside, so they pour money into new fitness centers, entertainment complexes, sports arenas, restaurants, and shopping malls. Of course, all of these extracurricular activities require expensive new buildings, which require more debt, and more efforts to please the bond raters.

The expansion and revenue diversification of American universities has gotten so out of hand that research universities, like UCLA, now spend less than 5% of their total budget on undergraduate instruction. No wonder universities feel free to expand class sizes and hire people off of the street to teach required courses; instruction is just a small part of what these institutions now do, and since there are no accepted methods to judge the quality of undergraduate instruction or learning, there is no incentive for schools to put their resources into educational activities.

The lack of educational quality control in higher education results in a continual increase in tuition costs because universities have no incentive to concentrate their efforts and budgets on instruction. Since no one is rating or ranking these schools on what students are learning or how effective the professors are at teaching, these institutions feel free to spend student tuition dollars and state funding on expensive research and bloated bureaucracy. In fact, while most schools insist that students are not paying the full cost of their education, UC Berkeley professor, Charles Schwartz has shown that virtually every university inflates the advertised cost of education so that they can constantly raise tuition and use the added income to support profit-making ventures and risky financial investments.

Possible Solutions

To make the spending habits of universities more transparent and to make them prioritize undergraduate education, the first thing that has to be done is that the federal government needs to insist on a shared system for assessing instruction at American universities. Rather than basing a school's reputation on the SAT scores and the high school grade point averages of the incoming students, the new system of assessment should actually look at how much the students are learning in their classes and how effective the teachers are in promoting quality education. It is important to stress that this type of national quality control already exists, but universities refuse to publish the findings of the National Survey of Student Engagement (NSSE) and The Collegiate Learning Assessment (CLA). Instead of using these scientific methods of assessments, schools, students, and

parents rely on highly questionable rating guides like The U.S News & World Report.

If education, and not just research and SAT scores, became the key to a school's reputation, these institutions would be forced to put money into instruction, and this process would reverse the current practice of using student tuition dollars to subsidize research and administration. Furthermore, once there is an accepted method for rating the quality of instruction, we can begin to drive down the costs. After all, what often makes tuition go up is that students and taxpayers are forced to fund the escalating salaries of professors and administrators who often have no connection to undergraduate instruction.

The next essential change for universities is to admit that some researchers should only research, and some teachers should only teach. Therefore, universities need to establish three types of professors: Teaching Professors, Research Professors, and Hybrid Professors. This model will help to clear up many problems because if we stop forcing all research professors into the classroom, we will be able to allow them to concentrate on what they do best and avoid what they sometimes do in an ineffective manner. In fact, the common practice of states and students paying for expensive research professors to teach ends up driving up the cost of instruction and allows people who have a proven record of being ineffective teachers to continue to lower the quality of instruction. Furthermore, the entire incentive system at research universities privileges research over teaching, and so for many research professors, we should simply make the research priority the rule and get rid of the false myth that research and teaching go hand-and-hand.

If we allow researchers to be rewarded for what they do best, we should also provide incentives for teachers to concentrate on instruction. By providing tenure for the people who do most of the teaching at research universities, undergraduate instruction can become an important priority. While some professors may say that by splitting research off from instruction, we are losing the whole point of going to a research university, studies show that the research mission often robs the instructional budget, and there is no proof that a good

researcher will make a good teacher; in fact, the opposite is often the case. Once teaching becomes a priority and schools stop robbing their instructional budgets to pay for other things, it will be possible to teach students in small, interactive classes. Moreover, if we create a third class of professors, the hybrids, who would be judged equally for their research and their teaching, we can reward the people who do bring together new knowledge with effective instruction.

To help motivate research universities to make some of these changes, parents and students should sue schools for false advertising. The simple fact of the matter is that many universities present false information concerning class size and who really does the teaching at their institutions. Also, schools make inaccurate claims concerning the cost of undergraduate education, and by inflating budgets, tuition is driven up. Universities have to clearly state how they spend their money, and the federal government, which provides financial aid and research dollars to both private and public institutions, should be able to hold these institutions accountable. The government can also step in and stop guidebooks from using false and misleading information. After all, a college education is one of the most important and expensive purchases in a person's life, and accurate and truthful information should be provided.

Finally, the federal government must insist on budget transparency and a careful monitoring of how grants and endowment funds are managed. Currently, Senator Grassley is investigating how the UC medical schools are using NIH grants, and his office is trying to determine how billions of dollars of federal money are being allocated. His staff has insisted on an external audit of the medical schools' budgets, and so far the senator's office has been unable to determine if federal grants are being used for their intended use. This lack of budget transparency and clarity shows why we need to force universities to provide clear and reliable information. Without increased regulation and oversight, these institutions will continue to function as volatile hedge funds that ignore their central mission, which is after all instruction and not construction.



THE
DAILY NEXUS
UC Santa Barbara's independent student-run newspaper

Yudof Receives Criticism for Salary, Near-Doubled Tuition During Tenure

Posted by [Jimmy Chang](#) on May 16, 2013 at 5:00 am

Last week, UC President Mark Yudof was placed eighth on The Chronicle of Higher Education's list of the highest paid public college leaders in America. The list is based on figures from the 2012 fiscal year, and ranks Yudof, with a salary of \$847,149, seven spots below former Pennsylvania State University System President Graham Spanier, who tops the list with a salary of \$2,906,721. Yudof will be resigning from office this August amid heavy criticism for the monetary issues that have plagued the UC during his five-year tenure, including a near doubling of student tuition from \$6,636 to \$12,192. ([Graham Spanier was terminated and is facing felony charges for allegedly participating, along with two subordinates, in a "conspiracy of silence" in the Jerry Sandusky child abuse case](#))

According to Steve Montiel, UC Office of the President media relations director and spokesperson, the level of pay Yudof receives in salary is necessary in order to ensure that the UC system thrives under solid leadership.

"The Chronicle of Higher Education survey confirms that while the University of California pays as much as it can to attract the kind of leadership talent that has made it the best public research university system in the nation, there are several public universities — and many private universities — that pay more," Montiel said.

A.S. President-Elect and third-year political science major Jonathan Abboud said the main controversy concerning Yudof's high salary revolves around the fact that students have little control over the financial budget of the UC system.

"The Board of Regents is the body that is given money from the state to formulate the UC budget," Abboud said. "Right now, we only have one Student Regent, and they historically have been grad students, not undergrads."

However, Abboud also said the May revision of the governor's budget provides an opportunity for students to have their voices heard.

"One of the major lines in it is a proposal to fund the UC enough through 2017 to effectively freeze tuition," Abboud said. "We need to hold the state accountable to this and use this as a window of opportunity to lobby for a fee rollback, a.k.a. reduce tuition."

According to Montiel, Yudof's high salary is an economic strategy used to obtain the highest quality professionals in a system that harbors some of the most prestigious public universities in the country.

"The University of California is competing for talent with public and private universities that pay more," Montiel said. "What we have going for us is our public mission and the fact that this is the University of California."

According to Abboud, however, the rising cost of higher education is the result of negligence by the state of California, not the UC Regents.

"[The cost of tuition] is an egregious amount at a time when other staff is suffering," Abboud said. "However, it is always important to be cognizant of the fact that while the administrative salaries are high, cutting them in any way will not affect tuition. The real reason behind tuition increases is the state of California's divestment from higher education. It is only right for people like Mark Yudof to take part of the brunt alongside students."

Third-year biology major and captain of the UCSB ski team Andrew Peterson said he understands the UC Office of the President's justification for Yudof's high salary but maintains that Yudof should make a symbolic gesture to empathize with students who are struggling financially.

“If he wanted to leave on a good note, he should maybe put down some of his salary for bettering the universities before he resigns as the president,” Peterson said. “He should really try to leave on a good note.”

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THE DAVIS enterprise

Tuesday, October 1, 2013

YOLO COUNTY NEWS

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Yudof pension a sweet deal

By [Letters to the Editor](#)

[From page A6](#) | January 23, 2013 | [Leave Comment](#)

Thank you to the University of California Office of the President for providing information about UC President Mark Yudof's salary and his expected annual pension, and The Davis Enterprise for publishing this information in your Jan. 20 article announcing Yudof's retirement as UC president.

A closer look at Yudof's numbers, and the UC retirement plan benefit percentages that apply to almost all UC employees, shows that UC has once again made a sweetheart deal for a high-ranking administrator. California taxpayers and UC tuition-paying students and their families should take note.

Yudof will retire with 5.25 years of service, barely above the five years required to “vest” in the retirement plan.

Almost all UC employees (except those with special sweetheart deals) who retire at 60 years of age or older multiply the average of their three highest years of salary times their years of service times 2.5 percent to calculate their annual pension.

According to the numbers in the Jan. 20 article, here is the way that would work out for Yudof: \$591,000 times 5.25 years of service times 2.5 percent equals \$77,568.75.

The article states Yudof will receive an annual pension of “at least \$230,000.”

This is 296.5 percent more than a typical UC employee would receive who is of the same age, with the same number of years of service!

I would imagine that Yudof is also drawing pensions from the University of Minnesota where he spent a little over five years and the University of Texas, where he spent about six.

The article also points out that his salary for his upcoming faculty appointment at UC Berkeley’s Boalt School of Law is not yet determined.

However, such appointments do not come at less than at least \$150,000 per year.

I would expect his UC pension will not be affected by his law school salary, nor, of course, would any other non-UC pensions he is drawing.

The beat goes on!

Clyde W. Froehlich
Davis

September 27, 2009

QUESTIONS FOR MARK YUDOF

Big Man on Campus

By DEBORAH SOLOMON

As president of the [University of California](#), the most prestigious of the state-university systems, you have proposed that in-state tuition be jacked up to more than \$10,000, from \$7,788. Are you pricing education beyond the reach of most students?

In 2009, U.C. adopted the Blue and Gold Program, guaranteeing that no student with a family income below \$60,000 would pay any fees, and this guarantee will continue in 2010. That's the short answer.

U.C. is facing a budget shortfall of at least \$753 million, largely because of cuts in state financing. Do you blame Governor Schwarzenegger for your troubles?

I do not. This is a long-term secular trend across the entire country. Higher education is being squeezed out. It's systemic. We have an aging population nationally. We have a lot of concern, as we should, with health care.

And education?

The shine is off of it. It's really a question of being crowded out by other priorities.

Already professors on all 10 U.C. campuses are taking required "furloughs," to use a buzzword.

Let me tell you why we used it. The faculty said "furlough" sounds more temporary than "salary cut," and being president of the University of California is like being manager of a cemetery: there are many people under you, but no one is listening. I listen to them.

The word "furlough," I recently read, comes from the Dutch word "verlof," which means permission, as in soldiers' getting permission to take a few days off. How has it come to be a euphemism for salary cuts?

Look, I'm from West Philadelphia. My dad was an electrician. We didn't look up stuff like this. It wasn't part of what we did. When I was growing up we didn't debate the finer points of what the word "furlough" meant.

How did you get into education?

I don't know. It's all an accident. I thought I'd go work for a law firm.

Some people feel you could close the U.C. budget gap by cutting administrative salaries, including your own.

The stories of my compensation are greatly exaggerated.

When you began your job last year, your annual compensation was reportedly \$828,000.

It actually was \$600,000 until I cut my pay by \$60,000. So my salary is \$540,000, but it gets amplified because people say, "You have a pension plan."

What about your housing allowance? How much is the rent on your home in Oakland?

It's about \$10,000 a month.

Does U.C. pay for that on top of your salary?

Yes, and the reason they do that is because they have a president's house, it needed \$8 million of repairs and I decided that was not the way to go. Why the heck would I ever authorize \$8 million for a house I didn't want to live in anyhow?

Why can't you have architecture students repair the house for course credit?

Let me ponder that.

Do you raise a lot of income from private donations?

We don't do it in the office of the president. The focus is campus by campus: Santa Cruz or [U.C.L.A.](#) or Berkeley or San Diego, Davis. They have their own development offices, and I'm there to — some of the things I do very well. I smile, I shake hands, I tell jokes.

Why can't you raise money, too?

I'm out there hustling, but I go where the chancellors invite me. Otherwise they get upset.

What about Hollywood people? Do they just give to U.C.L.A. at the expense of the other campuses?

I don't know where they give. I've only met a few. I met Marg Helgenberger from "C.S.I." at a dinner for Nobel laureates. I don't know how either one of us got invited, but I enjoyed that, sure.

What do you think of the idea that no administrator at a state university needs to earn more than the president of the United States, \$400,000?

Will you throw in Air Force One and the White House?

Mark Yudof

From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia

Mark G. Yudof

19th President of the [University of California](#)

Term 16 June 2008 – 6 September 2013

Predecessor [Robert C. Dynes](#)

Successor [Janet Napolitano](#)

9th Chancellor of the [University of Texas System](#)

Term	2002 – 2008
Predecessor	R. D. Burck
Successor	Francisco G. Cigarroa
President of the University of Minnesota	
Term	1997 – 2002
Predecessor	Nils Hasselmo
Successor	Robert Bruininks
Born	30 October 1944 (age 68)
Alma mater	University of Pennsylvania
Institutions	University of Texas School of Law University of Minnesota University of Texas System University of California
Profession	University administrator, law professor
Spouse	Judy Gomel Yudof
Website	President Mark G. Yudof

Mark G. Yudof (born 30 October 1944 in [Philadelphia, PA](#))[1][2] is an American law professor and academic administrator. He is the former president of the [University of California](#) (2008-2013), former chancellor of the [University of Texas System](#) (2002–2008), and former president of the [University of Minnesota](#) (1997–2002).

In addition to his position as Chancellor at The University of Texas, Yudof held the [Charles Alan Wright](#) Chair in Federal Courts at the [University of Texas School of Law](#). Previously, he was a faculty member and administrator at The [University of Texas at Austin](#) for 26 years, serving as dean of the [School of Law](#) from 1984 to 1994 and as the University's executive vice president and [provost](#) from 1994 to 1997.

Yudof joined the faculty of The [University of Texas School of Law](#) in 1971, and is a recognized expert in the fields of [constitutional law](#), [freedom of expression](#), and education law. He was co-counsel for the plaintiffs in the 1973 U.S. Supreme Court case *San Antonio v. Rodriguez*, the landmark school finance lawsuit. He is the author of *Gender Justice* (with David L. Kirp and Marlene Franks), (Chicago Press, 1986; Paperback, 1987) and of *When Government Speaks: Politics, Law, and Government Expression in America*, (The University of California Press, 1983). The son of a Jewish electrician,[3] Yudof was raised in [West Philadelphia](#),

and earned his [B.A.](#) (1965) and law degree (1968) from the [University of Pennsylvania](#).

Yudof is a [fellow](#) of the [American Academy of Arts and Sciences](#) and a member of the [American Law Institute](#). In 1993, he and his wife, Judy, were the co-recipients of the [Jewish National Fund](#) Tree of Life Award. Judy Yudof served as the first female international president of the [United Synagogue of Conservative Judaism](#) in 2002.^[4] In February 2010, Regents of the University of Texas System established the Mark G. and Judy G. Yudof Chair for the benefit of the [University of Texas School of Law](#).^[5]

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President of the University of California^[edit]

In March 2008, Yudof was selected as the next president of UC, to succeed [Robert C. Dynes](#).^[6] He began his term on 16 June 2008.

In November 2009, *[TIME Magazine](#)* recognized Mark Yudof as one of the "10 Best College Presidents", citing his efforts to provide opportunity and access to a quality education for California residents with financial need whose family income is less than \$60,000.^[7]

In January 2013, Yudof announced his plan to resign as president of the University of California, effective August 31, 2013. ^[8]

California budget crisis^[edit]

The [California budget crisis](#) resulted in massive cuts to higher education by the California State Legislature and Governor [Arnold Schwarzenegger](#).^[9] Struggling to grapple with the ensuing crisis, California legislative leaders cut more than 20 percent from the UC budget in one year - the largest budgetary reduction in the history of the UC. In a July 9 ["Open Letter to UC alumni and friends,"](#) UC Regent

Richard Blum; [Russell Gould](#), then-chair; Sherry Lansing, then-vice chair; and UC president Yudof wrote,

"The UC model — providing universal access to a top-notch, low-cost education and research of the highest caliber — continues to be studied around the globe among those who would emulate its success. And yet, this model has been increasingly abandoned at home by a state government responsible for its core funding."^[10]

As state budgetary support declined dramatically, Yudof kicked off an [online grassroots advocacy effort](#) in order to make the case for the University of California. In 2008, Yudof became the first president of a major research university to organize advocacy efforts using [email](#), [blogs](#), [Twitter](#), [Facebook](#), and other social media components. Yudof called on all students, faculty, staff, alumni and friends to unite behind an aggressive push to make funding UC a state priority.

In 2009, Yudof further bolstered this effort through a campaign seeking to let legislators and the governor know how critical their support is in preserving the university's commitment to quality and student access.^[11]

Also in 2009, Yudof came under criticism for an interview that he gave to Deborah Solomon of the [New York Times](#), [Big Man on Campus](#), in which he joked about taking a pay cut from his salary of over \$800,000 to \$400,000 in exchange for the White House and Air Force One.

Selected papers^[edit]

Citing increasingly unreliable funding provided to universities by state government, President Yudof called for the [federal government](#) to bolster its financial commitments to the nation's universities and colleges in his paper titled [*Exploring a New Role for Federal Government in Higher Education*](#). In announcing the proposal, Yudof remarked: ^[12]

We must find creative ways to expand the federal commitment to research and access into a new category: The nuts-and-bolts core funding that is vital to a robust university, allowing it to hire quality professors, equip laboratories and expand the physical plant.

[New York Times](#) columnist [Bob Herbert](#) visited the [UC Berkeley](#) campus and had this to say:

The problems at Berkeley are particularly acute because of the state's drastic reduction of support. But colleges and universities across the country — public and private — are struggling because of the prolonged economic crisis and the pressure on state budgets. It will say a great deal about what kind of nation we've become if we let these most valuable assets slip into a period of decline.

His op-ed piece, "[Cracks in the Future](#)," ran in the [New York Times](#) citing [UC Berkeley](#) as evidence of the cracks appearing in America's cornerstone of civilization - higher education.[13]

Blue and Gold Opportunity Plan[[edit](#)]

In February 2009,[14] upon President Yudof's recommendation, the [University of California Board of Regents](#) unanimously approved a new [financial aid](#) plan intended to support college access for lower-income families and students. Under the policy, known as the [Blue and Gold Opportunity Plan](#), undergraduates who are in their first four years of attendance at UC—or two for transfer students —will receive enough scholarship and grant assistance to at least fully cover their systemwide UC fees if they have incomes below \$80,000 and meet other basic eligibility requirements for need-based financial aid.

Project You Can[[edit](#)]

In October 2009, seeking to help keep the University of California accessible and affordable for California students, President Yudof announced an ambitious effort that aims to raise \$1 billion for student support over the next four years. Through the fundraising effort, [Project You Can](#), all 10 UC campuses have committed to raise \$1 billion in the aggregate over the next four years—doubling the amount of private support the system has raised for scholarships, fellowships and other gift aid in the previous five years.[15] The UC Board of Regents endorsed the effort at its November 2009 meeting. Yudof made the [Project You Can announcement](#) at Sunnyside High School, which for 10 years has propelled promising students toward health careers through its Doctors Academy, a program sponsored by UCSF Fresno. Despite facing social and economic barriers — 87 percent of Sunnyside's students are eligible for free or reduced lunch — all Doctors Academy graduates have gone on to college, 43 percent of them at UC campuses.

The Terminal Cancer of the Eastern Establishment Universities

It will take a herculean effort to transform American education to become the inner compass of American society. But it will be an impossible task to transform the clique-controlled universities such as Yale, Harvard, Columbia, Princeton, Brown, Dartmouth, Cornell, University of Pennsylvania, the University of Chicago, Stanford, University of California (now to be headed by the former Department of Homeland Security head, Janet Napolitano), and other treasonous institutions of learning that are fully infested with clique minions who work for the clique of families. These fraudulent institutions, which are out and out tentacles of the clique of families, rest at the top of the American education pyramid and have deep, subversive connections throughout American education.

A case in point is Joseph S. Nye, Jr., who is high up on the list of “persons of interest” among members of the clique’s Israeli Trojan Horse who have infiltrated and subverted American education. Nye has all the earmarks to warrant maximum scrutiny: **Princeton undergrad, Rhodes Scholar at Oxford, Harvard Ph.D., former Director of the Board of the Council of Foreign Relations, North American Chairman of the Trilateral Commission, former Dean of Harvard’s Kennedy School of Government, and currently a professor of the Kennedy School.**

Another “person of interest” among members of the clique’s Israeli Trojan Horse who have infiltrated and subverted American education is Professor Cass Sunstein from the profoundly fraudulent core of Harvard University. He drew attention to himself with the following “Harvard Public Law Working Paper No. 08-03,” which he co-wrote in 2008 as a faculty member of the Harvard Law School. The other author of the paper was Adrian Vermeule and he designated the same paper “U of Chicago, Public Law Working Paper No. 199.” In September 2009, Sunstein was appointed by President Obama to direct the Office of Information and Regulatory Affairs within the Office of Management of Budget, which is an agency within the Executive Office of the President. This appointment was initially blocked in the U.S. Senate. President Obama recently appointed Sunstein to serve on the National Security Agency oversight committee, which prompted the following article among others:

**ALMOST HARD TO BELIEVE...
ESPECIALLY CONSIDERING A
PAPER HE ONCE WROTE**

Aug. 26, 2013 8:40am [Fred Lucas](#)

President Barack Obama named his controversial former regulatory czar – who as an academic advocated government infiltration of conspiracy theorists – to serve on the NSA oversight panel.



Cass Sunstein, former Director of the Office of Information and Regulatory Affairs at the Office of Management and Budget. (Source: AP)

Cass Sunstein, who served as the administrator of the Office of Information and Regulatory Affairs throughout most of the Obama’s first term, advocated numerous policies as an academic – including the government infiltrating conspiracy theorist groups by joining “chat rooms, online social networks and real space groups,” in a [2008 paper](#) he co-wrote at Harvard, as recently reported by [The Washington Post](#).

“Those who subscribe to conspiracy theories may create serious risks, including risks of violence, and the existence of such theories raises significant challenges for policy and law,” the 2008 paper said.

‘The first challenge is to understand the mechanisms by which conspiracy theories prosper; the second challenge is to understand how such theories might be undermined.’ It continues, “Because those who hold conspiracy theories typically suffer from a crippled epistemology, in accordance with which it is rational to hold such theories, the best response consists in cognitive infiltration of extremist groups. Various policy dilemmas, such as the question

whether it is better for government to rebut conspiracy theories or to ignore them, are explored in this light.’

The website ZeroHedge.com went so far as to ask if Sunstein is “America’s Goebbels?”

The National Security Agency oversight panel is mostly made up of national security experts such as former Central Intelligence Agency Acting Director Michael Morell and former White House anti-terrorism official Richard Clarke.

In another controversial stance, Sunstein advocated in a 2003 paper titled “[Lives, Life-Years, and Willingness to Pay](#)” for the University of Chicago that the government assign a higher monetary value to the lives of young people than to senior citizens with regards to health care spending. That’s a position he backed away from during testimony to the House Energy and Commerce Committee in June 2011.

“I’m a lot older now than the author with my name was, and I’m not sure what I think about what that young man wrote,” Sunstein, 56, told the House committee when asked if he would apply that view to the Independent Payment Advisory Board.

Things written as an academic are not a legitimate part of what we do as a government official. So I am not focusing on sentences that a young Cass Sunstein wrote years ago. So the answer is no.”

The 2008 book “Nudge: Improving Decisions About Health, Wealth and Happiness” that Sunstein wrote with co-author Richard H. Thaler, argued for the government policy of “[presumed consent](#)” for organ donations. “Presumed consent preserves freedom of choice, but it is different from explicit consent because it shifts the default rule.

Under this policy, all citizens would be presumed to be consenting donors, but they would have the opportunity to register their unwillingness to donate.”

Sunstein is the husband of newly named ambassador to the UN, Samantha Power.

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Guest Post: Obama Picks Cass Sunstein (America's Goebbels?) To Serve On NSA Oversight Panel

By Tyler Durden

Created 08/25/2013 - 21:45



[1]

Submitted by Michael Krieger of [Liberty Blitzkrieg blog](#) [7],

(Michael Krieger is the co-founder of Instagram, the on-line photo-sharing, video-sharing, and social networking service launched in 2010.)

“It is the absolute right of the state to supervise the formation of public opinion.”

“We shall go down in history as the greatest statesmen of all time, or as the greatest criminals”

- Joseph Goebbels, Head of Hitler's Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda

Only under the Obama Presidency, in which every appointment, minor or major, is handed only to the most corrupt, devious crony to be found, can a man like Cass Sunstein be appointed to serve

on the NSA oversight panel. Cass is a noted propagandist, who has advocated that government agents should infiltrate groups and discussions that push “conspiracy theories” (read my article on [how to know if you are a conspiracy theorist](#) [8]) in order to delegitimize them. But don’t take my word for it. The [Washington Post wrote the following](#) [9] a couple of days ago:

The Obama administration is reportedly proposing Cass Sunstein as a member of a panel to review the surveillance practices of the National Security Agency (NSA), among other former [White House and intelligence staffers](#) [10]. Sunstein was the head of the White House’s Office of Information and Regulatory Affairs until last year, when he returned to teaching at Harvard Law School. While at Harvard in 2008, Sunstein co-authored a [working paper](#) [11] that suggests government agents or their allies “cognitively infiltrate” conspiracy theorist groups by joining “chat rooms, online social networks or even real-space groups” and influencing the conversation.

*The paper also **suggests that the government “formally hire credible private parties to engage in counterspeech.”** That sounds an awful lot like the 50 Cent Party of [online commentators](#) [12] who are paid per comment by the Chinese communist party to sway public opinion. This is a great time to watch one of my favorite videos (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4OliOztc52g>) The one where Luke Rudkowski corners Sunstein and he tried to squirm away. Enjoy!*

What a guy. Just make Summers head of the Federal Reserve and get it over with already.

Obama pick for NSA review panel wanted paid, pro-government shills in chat rooms

By Andrea Peterson, Updated: August 23, 2013

The Obama administration is reportedly proposing Cass Sunstein as a member of a panel to review the surveillance practices of the National Security Agency (NSA), among other former [White House and intelligence staffers](#). Sunstein was the head of the White House's Office of Information and Regulatory Affairs until last year, when he returned to teaching at Harvard Law School.

As one of our intrepid commenters pointed out yesterday, while at Harvard in 2008, Sunstein co-authored a [working paper](#) that suggests government agents or their allies "cognitively infiltrate" conspiracy theorist groups by joining "chat rooms, online social networks or even real-space groups" and influencing the conversation.

Sunstein's paper defined a conspiracy theory as "an effort to explain some event or practice by reference to the machinations of powerful people, who have also managed to conceal their role," and acknowledges that some conspiracy theories have turned out to be true. It also specifically notes that his plan of "cognitive infiltration" should only

be used against false conspiracy theories that could be harmful to the government or society.

But even the suggestion that the government should infiltrate groups that are not actively participating in criminal acts is troubling. In fact, it recalls the abuses uncovered by the [Church Committee](#) in the 1970s, when the FBI infiltrated such subversive groups as the feminist and civil rights movements. To his credit, Sunstein's infiltration suggestion is different in nature:

By this we do not mean 1960s-style infiltration with a view to surveillance and collecting information, possibly for use in future prosecutions. Rather, we mean that government efforts might succeed in weakening or even breaking up the ideological and epistemological complexes that constitute these networks and groups.

But while it's nice to assume that the government would limit that "cognitive infiltration" authority to false conspiracies, history suggests that it would be also used against activists trying to expose actual government misconduct.

The paper also suggests that the government "formally hire credible private parties to engage in counterspeech." That sounds an awful lot like the 50 Cent Party of [online commentators](#) who are paid per comment by the Chinese communist party to sway public opinion.

A man with such a credulous view of government power might not be the best choice to review allegations of NSA privacy abuses.

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Salon

Obama confidant's spine-chilling proposal

Cass Sunstein wants the government to "cognitively infiltrate" anti-government groups

BY GLENN GREENWALD



(updated below – Update II – Update III – Update IV)

Cass Sunstein has long been one of Barack Obama's closest confidants. Often mentioned as a likely Obama nominee to the Supreme Court, Sunstein is currently Obama's [head of the Office of Information and Regulatory Affairs](#) where, among other things, he is responsible for "overseeing policies relating to **privacy, information quality**, and statistical programs." In 2008, while at Harvard Law School, Sunstein co-wrote a truly pernicious paper proposing that the U.S. Government employ teams of covert agents and pseudo-"independent" advocates to "**cognitively infiltrate**" online groups and websites — as well as other activist groups — which advocate views that Sunstein deems "false conspiracy theories" about the Government. This would be designed to increase citizens' faith in government officials and undermine the credibility of conspiracists. The paper's abstract can be read, and the full paper downloaded, [here](#).

Sunstein advocates that the Government's stealth infiltration should be accomplished by sending covert agents into "chat rooms, online social networks, or even real-space groups." He also proposes that the Government make secret payments to so-called "independent" credible voices to bolster the Government's messaging (on the ground that those who don't believe government sources will be more inclined to listen to those who **appear** independent while secretly acting on behalf of the Government). This program would target those advocating false "conspiracy theories," which they define to mean: "an attempt to explain an event or practice by reference to the machinations of powerful people, who have also managed to conceal their role." Sunstein's 2008 paper was flagged by [this blogger](#), and then amplified in [an excellent report by Raw Story's Daniel Tencer](#).

There's no evidence that the Obama administration has actually implemented a program exactly of the type advocated by Sunstein, though in light of this paper and the fact that Sunstein's position would include exactly such policies, that question certainly ought to be asked. Regardless, Sunstein's closeness to the President, as well as the highly

influential position he occupies, merits an examination of the mentality behind what he wrote. This isn't an instance where some government official wrote a bizarre paper in college 30 years ago about matters unrelated to his official powers; this was written 18 months ago, at a time when the ascendancy of Sunstein's close friend to the Presidency looked likely, in exactly the area he now oversees. Additionally, the government-controlled messaging that Sunstein desires has been a prominent feature of U.S. Government actions over the last decade, including in some recently revealed practices of the current administration, and the mindset in which it is grounded explains a great deal about our political class. All of that makes Sunstein's paper worth examining in greater detail.

* * * * *

Initially, note how similar Sunstein's proposal is to multiple, controversial stealth efforts by the Bush administration to secretly influence and shape our political debates. The Bush Pentagon employed teams of former Generals to pose as "independent analysts" in the media while [secretly coordinating their talking points and messaging about wars and detention policies with the Pentagon](#). Bush officials secretly paid supposedly "independent" voices, such as [Armstrong Williams and Maggie Gallagher](#), to advocate pro-Bush policies while failing to disclose their contracts. In Iraq, the Bush Pentagon hired a company, Lincoln Park, which [paid newspapers to plant pro-U.S. articles while pretending it came from Iraqi citizens](#). In response to all of this, [Democrats typically accused](#) the Bush administration of engaging in government-sponsored propaganda — and when it was done domestically, suggested this was illegal propaganda. Indeed, there is a very strong case to make that what Sunstein is advocating is [itself illegal](#) under long-standing statutes prohibiting government "propaganda" within the U.S., aimed at American citizens:

As explained in a March 21, 2005 report by the Congressional Research Service, “publicity or propaganda” is defined by the U.S. Government Accountability Office (GAO) to mean either (1) self-aggrandizement by public officials, (2) purely partisan activity, or (3) “covert propaganda.” By covert propaganda, GAO means **information which originates from the government but is unattributed and made to appear as though it came from a third party.**

Covert government propaganda is exactly what Sunstein craves. His mentality is indistinguishable from the Bush mindset that led to these abuses, and he hardly tries to claim otherwise. Indeed, he **favorably** cites both the covert Lincoln Park program as well as Paul Bremer’s [closing of Iraqi newspapers](#) which published stories the U.S. Government disliked, and **justifies** them as arguably necessary to combat “false conspiracy theories” in Iraq — the same goal Sunstein has for the U.S.

Sunstein’s response to these criticisms is easy to find in what he writes, and is as telling as the proposal itself. He acknowledges that some “conspiracy theories” previously dismissed as insane and fringe have turned out to be entirely true (his examples: the CIA really did secretly administer LSD in “mind control” experiments; the DOD really did plot the commission of terrorist acts inside the U.S. with the intent to blame Castro; the Nixon White House really did bug the DNC headquarters). Given that history, how could it possibly be justified for the U.S. Government to institute covert programs designed to undermine anti-government “conspiracy theories,” discredit government critics, and increase faith and trust in government pronouncements? Because, says Sunstein, such powers are warranted only when wielded by truly well-intentioned government officials who want to spread The Truth and Do Good — i.e., when used by people like Cass Sunstein and Barack Obama:

Throughout, we assume a **well-motivated government** that aims to eliminate conspiracy theories, or draw their poison, **if and only if social welfare is improved by doing so.**

But it's precisely because the Government is so often not "well-motivated" that such powers are so dangerous. Advocating them on the ground that "we will use them well" is every authoritarian's claim. More than anything else, this is the toxic mentality that consumes our political culture: *when our side does X, X is Good, because we're Good and are working for Good outcomes.* That was what led hordes of Bush followers to endorse the same large-government surveillance programs they long claimed to oppose, and what leads so many Obama supporters now to justify actions that they spent the last eight years opposing.

* * * * *

Consider the recent revelation that the Obama administration has been making very large, [undisclosed payments to MIT Professor Jonathan Gruber](#) to [provide consultation on the President's health care plan](#). With this lucrative arrangement in place, Gruber spent the entire year offering public justifications for Obama's health care plan, typically without disclosing these payments, and far worse, was **repeatedly** held out by the White House — falsely — as an "independent" or "objective" authority. Obama allies in the media constantly cited Gruber's analysis to support their defenses of the President's plan, and the White House, in turn, then cited those media reports as proof that their plan would succeed. This [created an infinite "feedback loop"](#) in favor of Obama's health care plan which — unbeknownst to the public — was all being generated by someone who was receiving hundreds of thousands of dollars in secret from the administration ([read this](#) to see exactly how it worked).

In other words, this arrangement was quite similar to the Armstrong Williams and Maggie Gallagher scandals which Democrats, in virtual

lockstep, condemned. Paul Krugman, for instance, in 2005 [angrily lambasted](#) right-wing pundits and policy analysts who received secret, undisclosed payments, and said they lack “intellectual integrity”; he specifically cited the Armstrong Williams case. Yet the very same Paul Krugman last week [attacked Marcy Wheeler](#) for helping to uncover the Gruber payments by accusing her of being “just like the right-wingers with their endless supply of **fake scandals**.” What is one key difference? Unlike Williams and Gallagher, Jonathan Gruber is a Good, Well-Intentioned Person with Good Views — *he favors health care* — and so massive, undisclosed payments from the same administration he’s defending are dismissed as a “fake scandal.”

Sunstein himself — as part of his 2008 paper — explicitly advocates that the Government should **pay** what he calls “credible independent experts” to advocate on the Government’s behalf, a policy he says would be more effective because people don’t trust the Government itself and would only listen to people they believe are “independent.” In so arguing, Sunstein cites the Armstrong Williams scandal **not** as something that is wrong in itself, but as a potential risk of this tactic (*i.e.*, that it might leak out), and thus suggests that “government can supply these independent experts with information and perhaps prod them into action **from behind the scenes**,” but warns that “too close a connection will be self-defeating **if it is exposed**.” In other words, Sunstein wants the Government to replicate the Armstrong Williams arrangement as a means of more credibly disseminating propaganda — *i.e.*, *pretending that someone is an “independent” expert when they’re actually being “prodded” and even paid “behind the scenes” by the Government* — but he wants to be more careful about how the arrangement is described (don’t make the control explicit) so that embarrassment can be avoided if it ends up being exposed.

In this 2008 paper, then, Sunstein advocated, in essence, exactly what the Obama administration has been doing all year with Gruber: covertly paying people who can be falsely held up as “independent” analysts in

order to more credibly promote the Government line. Most Democrats agreed this was a deceitful and dangerous act when Bush did it, but with Obama and some of his supporters, undisclosed arrangements of this sort seem to be different. Why? Because, as Sunstein puts it: we have “a well-motivated government” doing this so that “social welfare is improved.” Thus, just like state secrets, indefinite detention, military commissions and [covert, unauthorized wars](#), what was once deemed so pernicious during the Bush years — coordinated government/media propaganda — is instantaneously transformed into something Good.

* * * * *

What is most odious and revealing about Sunstein’s worldview is his condescending, self-loving belief that “false conspiracy theories” are largely the province of fringe, ignorant Internet masses and the Muslim world. That, he claims, is where these conspiracy theories thrive most vibrantly, and he focuses on various 9/11 theories — both domestically and in Muslim countries — as his prime example.

It’s certainly true that one can easily find irrational conspiracy theories in those venues, but some of the most destructive “false conspiracy theories” have emanated from the very entity Sunstein wants to endow with covert propaganda power: namely, the U.S. Government itself, along with its elite media defenders. Moreover, “crazy conspiracy theorist” has long been the favorite epithet of those same parties to discredit people trying to expose elite wrongdoing and corruption.

Who is it who relentlessly spread “false conspiracy theories” of Saddam-engineered anthrax attacks and Iraq-created mushroom clouds and a [Ba’athist/Al-Qaeda alliance](#) — the most destructive conspiracy theories of the last generation? And who is it who demonized as “conspiracy-mongers” people who warned that the U.S. Government was illegally spying on its citizens, systematically torturing people, attempting to establish permanent bases in the Middle East, or engineering massive

bailout plans to transfer extreme wealth to the industries which own the Government? The most chronic and dangerous purveyors of “conspiracy theory” games are the very people Sunstein thinks should be empowered to control our political debates through deceit and government resources: namely, the Government itself and the Enlightened Elite like him.

It is this history of government deceit and wrongdoing that renders Sunstein’s desire to use covert propaganda to “undermine” anti-government speech so repugnant. The reason conspiracy theories resonate so much is precisely that people have learned — rationally — to distrust government actions and statements. Sunstein’s proposed covert propaganda scheme is a perfect illustration of why that is. In other words, people don’t trust the Government and “conspiracy theories” are so pervasive precisely because government is typically filled with people like Cass Sunstein, who think that systematic deceit and government-sponsored manipulation are justified by their own Goodness and Superior Wisdom.

UPDATE: I don’t want to make this primarily about the Gruber scandal — I cited that only as an example of the type of mischief that this mindset produces — but just to respond quickly to the typical Gruber defenses already appearing in comments: (1) Gruber’s work was only for HHS and had nothing to do with the White House ([false](#)); (2) he should have disclosed his payments, but the White House did nothing wrong ([false](#): it repeatedly described him as “independent” and “objective” and constantly cited allied media stories based in Gruber’s work); (3) Gruber advocated views he would have advocated anyway in the absence of payment (probably true, but wasn’t that also true for life-long conservative Armstrong Williams, life-long social conservative Maggie Gallagher, and the pro-war Pentagon Generals, all of whom mounted the same defense?); and (4) Williams/Gallagher were explicitly

paid to advocate particular views while Gruber wasn't (true: that's exactly the arrangement Sunstein advocates to avoid "embarrassment" in the event of disclosure, and it's absurd to suggest that someone being paid many hundreds of thousands of dollars is unaware of what their paymasters want said; that's why disclosure is so imperative).

The point is that there are severe dangers to the Government covertly using its resources to "infiltrate" discussions and to shape political debates using undisclosed and manipulative means. It's called "covert propaganda" and it should be opposed regardless of who is in control of it or what its policy aims are.

UPDATE II: Ironically, this is the same administration that [recently announced](#) a new regulation dictating that "bloggers who review products must disclose any connection with advertisers, including, in most cases, the receipt of free products and whether or not they were paid in any way by advertisers, as occurs frequently." Without such disclosure, the administration reasoned, the public may not be aware of important hidden incentives (h/t [pasquin](#)). Yet the same administration pays an MIT analyst hundreds of thousands of dollars to advocate their most controversial proposed program while they hold him out as "objective," and selects as their Chief Regulator someone who wants government agents to covertly mold political discussions "**anonymously or even with false identities.**"

UPDATE III: Just to get a sense for what an extremist Cass Sunstein is (which itself is ironic, given that his paper calls for "**cognitive infiltration of extremist groups,**" as the Abstract puts it), marvel at this paragraph:

What can government do about conspiracy theories? Among the things it can do, what should it do? We can readily imagine a series of possible responses. (1) Government might ban conspiracy theorizing. (2) Government might impose some kind of tax, financial or otherwise, on those who disseminate such theories. (3) Government might itself engage in counterspeech, marshaling arguments to discredit conspiracy theories. (4) Government might formally hire credible private parties to engage in counterspeech. (5) Government might engage in informal communication with such parties, encouraging them to help. Each instrument has a distinctive set of potential effects, or costs and benefits, and **each will have a place under imaginable conditions.** However, our main policy idea is that government should engage in cognitive infiltration of the groups that produce conspiracy theories, which involves a mix of (3), (4) and (5).

So Sunstein isn't calling right now for proposals (1) and (2) — having Government "ban conspiracy theorizing" or "impose some kind of tax on those who" do it — but he says "each will have a place under imaginable conditions." I'd love to know the "conditions" under which the government-enforced banning of conspiracy theories or the imposition of taxes on those who advocate them will "have a place." That would require, at a bare minimum, a repeal of the First Amendment. Anyone who believes this should, for that reason alone, be barred from any meaningful government position.

UPDATE IV: [Paul Krugman has replied](#) to the part of this post which pertains to him and Jonathan Gruber; my response to that is [here](#).



Follow Glenn Greenwald on Twitter: [@ggreenwald](#).

Below, please find the 2008 paper Sunstein wrote at Harvard in collaboration with fellow faculty member, Adrian Vermeule. The page notes have been removed and can be acquired by pulling up: <http://ssrn.com/abstract=1084585> and then downloading the paper. Please skip over this paper if you are short of time, but it should be included to allow you, our next generation, the opportunity to digest the possibility that this Harvard Working Paper is a duplicitous presentation designed to sabotage learning of American principles and the U.S. Constitution, delivered by Sunstein and Vermeule, who have all the earmarks of being members of the clique's Israeli Trojan Horse, and who are imbedded at clique-controlled Harvard University---at the Harvard Law School, where one would assume that the Harvard faculty would know that the U.S. Constitution and its Bill of Rights is the law of the land---to disseminate clearly un-American and unconstitutional propaganda to the American people and our next generation ***from within American education***. That is exactly the opposite of the inner compass so urgently needed by the American people.

Conspiracy Theories

Cass R. Sunstein

Harvard Law School

Adrian Vermeule

Harvard Law School

January 15, 2008

Harvard Public Law Working Paper No. 08-03

U of Chicago, Public Law Working Paper No. 199

U of Chicago Law & Economics, Olin Working Paper No. 387

Abstract

Many millions of people hold conspiracy theories; they believe that powerful people have worked together in order to withhold the truth about some important practice or some terrible event. A recent example is the belief, widespread in some parts of the world, that the attacks of 9/11 were carried out not by Al Qaeda, but by Israel or the United States. Those who subscribe to conspiracy theories may create serious risks, including risks of violence, and the existence of such theories raises significant challenges for policy and law. The first challenge is to understand the mechanisms by which conspiracy theories prosper; the second challenge is to understand how such theories might be undermined.

Such theories typically spread as a result of identifiable cognitive blunders, operating in conjunction with informational and reputational influences. A distinctive feature of conspiracy theories is their self-sealing quality. Conspiracy theorists are not likely to be persuaded by an attempt to dispel their theories; they may even characterize that very attempt as further proof of the conspiracy. Because those who hold conspiracy theories typically suffer from a “crippled epistemology,” in accordance with which it is rational to hold such theories, the best response consists in cognitive infiltration of extremist groups. Various policy dilemmas, such as the question whether it is better for government to rebut conspiracy theories or to ignore them, are explored in this light.

This summary signals that the paper is not going to be presented in a logical or even-handed manner and, therefore, would not pass the test as being a scholarly endeavor. It has the ring of duplicity from the beginning. First, the term “conspiracy theory” is a Tavistock term designed to immediately cut off rational inquiry and discussion of new information for fear of being publicly shunned. The term is used world-wide by governments to conceal and block discovery of their misdeeds. Accordingly, leading the entire paper with that stigmatizing term should be a major embarrassment to the self-professed pinnacle

of American education. But, unfortunately, Harvard doesn't have an inner compass as it pertains to America, because it is heavily infested with clique minions like Cass Sunstein, Larry Summers (former President of Harvard University and currently a Professor at its Kennedy School of Government), Robert Rubin (board member of Harvard Corporation), Martin Feldstein, Professor of Economics, and Lawrence Lessig, Professor of Law. Rubin is Co-Chairman of the clique's control apparatus---the *Council on Foreign Relations*---and Summers and Feldstein are long-term members. Pull up: <http://www.cfr.org> and <http://www.cfr.org/about/membership/roster.html>

Introduction

“The truth is out there”:¹ conspiracy theories are all around us. In August 2004, a poll by Zogby International showed that 49 percent of New York City residents, with a

margin of error of 3.5 percent, believed that officials of the U.S. government “knew in advance that attacks were planned on or around September 11, 2001, and that they consciously failed to act.”² In a Scripps-Howard Poll in 2006, with an error margin of 4 percent, some 36 percent of respondents assented to the claim that “federal officials either participated in the attacks on the World Trade Center or took no action to stop them.”³ Sixteen percent said that it was either very likely or somewhat likely that “the collapse of the twin towers in New York was aided by explosives secretly planted in the two buildings.”⁴

Conspiracy theories are by no means a strictly domestic phenomenon; they can easily be found all over the world. Among sober-minded Canadians, a September 2006 poll found that 22 percent believe that “the attacks on the United States on September 11, 2001 had nothing to do with Osama Bin Laden and were actually a plot by influential Americans.”⁵ In a poll conducted in seven Muslim countries, 78 percent of respondents said that they do not believe the 9/11 attacks were carried out by Arabs.⁶ The most popular account, in these countries, is that 9/11 was the work of the U.S. or Israeli governments.⁷

What causes such theories to arise and spread? Are they important and perhaps even threatening, or merely trivial and even amusing? What can and should government do about them? We aim here to sketch some psychological and social mechanisms that produce, sustain, and spread these theories; to show that some of them are quite important and should be taken seriously; and to offer suggestions for governmental responses, both as a matter of policy and as a matter of law.

The academic literature on conspiracy theories is thin, and most of it falls into one of two classes: (1) work by analytic philosophers, especially in epistemology and the philosophy of science, that asks what counts as a “conspiracy theory” and whether such theories are methodologically suspect;⁸ (2) a smattering of work in sociology and Freudian psychology on the causes of conspiracy theorizing.⁹ Both approaches have proved illuminating, but neither is entirely adequate, the former because the conceptual questions are both less tractable and less interesting than the social and institutional ones, the latter because it neglects newer work in social psychology and behavioral economics, both of which shed light on the causes of conspiracy theorizing. Rather than engaging

2

with the conceptual debates, we will proceed in an eclectic fashion and mostly from the ground up, hewing close to real examples and the policy problems they pose.

Our main though far from exclusive focus – our running example – involves conspiracy theories relating to terrorism, especially theories that arise from and post-date the 9/11 attacks. These theories exist within the United States and, even more virulently, in foreign countries, especially Muslim countries. The existence of both domestic and foreign conspiracy theories, we suggest, is no trivial matter, posing real risks to the government’s antiterrorism policies, whatever the latter may be. Terrorism-related theories are thus a crucial testing ground for the significance, causes, and policy implications of widespread conspiracy

theorizing. As we shall see, an understanding of conspiracy theories has broad implications for the spread of information and beliefs; many erroneous judgments are a product of the same forces that produce conspiracy theories, and if we are able to see how to counteract such theories, we will have some clues about how to correct widespread errors more generally.

Part I explores some definitional issues and lays out some of the mechanisms that produce conspiracy theories and theorists. We begin by discussing different understandings of the nature of conspiracy theories and different accounts of the kinds of errors made by those who hold them. Our primary claim is that conspiracy theories typically stem not from irrationality or mental illness of any kind but from a “crippled epistemology,” in the form of a sharply limited number of (relevant) informational sources. Those who hold conspiracy theories do so because of what they read and hear. In that sense, acceptance of such theories is not irrational from the standpoint of those who adhere to them. There is a close connection, we suggest, between our claim on this count and the empirical association between terrorist behavior and an absence of civil rights and civil liberties.¹⁰ When civil rights and civil liberties are absent, people lack multiple information sources, and they are more likely to accept conspiracy theories.

Part II discusses government responses and legal issues, in light of the discussion in Part I. We address several dilemmas of governmental response to conspiracy theories, such as the question whether it is better to rebut such theories, at the risk of legitimating them, or to ignore them, at the risk of leaving them unrebutted. Conspiracy theories turn out to be especially hard to undermine or dislodge; they have a self-sealing quality, rendering them particularly immune to challenge. We suggest several policy responses that can dampen the supply of conspiracy theorizing, in part by introducing diverse viewpoints and new factual assumptions into the hard-core groups that produce such theories. Our principal claim here involves the potential value of *cognitive infiltration of extremist groups*, designed to introduce informational diversity into such groups and to expose indefensible conspiracy theories as such.

I. Definitions and Mechanisms

¹⁰ See Alan Krueger, WHAT MAKES A TERRORIST? 75-82 (2007). Krueger believes that low civil liberties cause terrorism, but acknowledges that his data are also consistent with the hypothesis that terrorism causes governments to reduce civil liberties. *See id.* at 148. Of course, the two effects may both occur, in a mutually reinforcing pattern. Following Krueger, we assume that low civil liberties tend to produce terrorism, a hypothesis that is supported by the mechanisms we adduce.

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A. Definitional Notes

There has been much discussion of what, exactly, counts as a conspiracy theory, and about what, if anything, is wrong with those who hold one.¹¹ Of course it would be valuable to specify necessary and sufficient conditions for such theories, in a way that would make it possible to make relevant distinctions. We bracket the most difficult questions here and suggest more intuitively that a conspiracy theory can generally be counted as such if it is *an effort to explain some event or practice by reference to the machinations of powerful people, who have also managed to conceal their role*. This account seems to capture the essence of the most prominent and influential conspiracy theories. Consider, for example, the view that the Central Intelligence Agency was responsible for the assassination of President John F. Kennedy; that doctors deliberately manufactured the AIDS virus; that the 1996 crash of TWA flight 800 was caused by a U.S. military missile; that the theory of global warming is a deliberate fraud; that the Trilateral Commission is responsible for important movements of the international economy; that Martin Luther King, Jr., was killed by federal agents; that the plane crash that killed Democrat Paul Wellstone was engineered by Republican politicians; that the moon landing was staged and never actually occurred.¹²

Of course some conspiracy theories, under our definition, have turned out to be true. The Watergate hotel room used by Democratic National

Committee was, in fact, bugged by Republican officials, operating at the behest of the White House. In the 1950s, the Central Intelligence Agency did, in fact, administer LSD and related drugs under Project MKULTRA, in an effort to investigate the possibility of “mind control.” Operation Northwoods, a rumored plan by the Department of Defense to simulate acts of terrorism and to blame them on Cuba, really was proposed by high-level officials (though the plan never went into effect).¹³ In 1947, space aliens did, in fact, land in Roswell, New Mexico, and the government covered it all up. (Well, maybe not.) Our focus throughout is on false conspiracy theories, not true ones. Our ultimate goal is to explore how public

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officials might undermine such theories, and as a general rule, true accounts should not be undermined.

Within the set of false conspiracy theories, we also limit our focus to potentially harmful theories. Not all false conspiracy theories are harmful; consider the false conspiracy theory, held by many of the younger members of our society, that a secret group of elves, working in a remote location under the leadership of the mysterious “Santa Claus,” make and distribute presents on Christmas Eve. This theory is false, but is itself instilled through a widespread conspiracy of the powerful – parents – who conceal their role in the whole affair. (Consider too the Easter Bunny and the Tooth Fairy.) It is an open question whether most conspiracy theories are equally benign; we will suggest that some are not benign at all.

Under this account, conspiracy theories are a subset of the large category of false beliefs, and also of the somewhat smaller category of beliefs that are both false and harmful. Consider, for example, the beliefs that prolonged exposure to sunlight is actually healthy and that climate change is neither occurring nor likely to occur. These beliefs are (in our view) both false and dangerous, but as stated, they do not depend on, or

posit, any kind of conspiracy theory. We shall see that the mechanisms that account for conspiracy theories overlap with those that account for false and dangerous beliefs of all sorts, including those that fuel anger and hatred.¹⁴ But as we shall also see, conspiracy theories have some distinctive features, above all because of their self-sealing quality; the very arguments that give rise to them, and account for their plausibility, make it more difficult for outsiders to rebut or even to question them.

Conspiracy theories generally attribute extraordinary powers to certain agents – to plan, to control others, to maintain secrets, and so forth. Those who believe that those agents have such powers are especially unlikely to give respectful attention to debunkers, who may, after all, be agents or dupes of those who are responsible for the conspiracy in the first instance. It is comparatively easier for government to dispel false and dangerous beliefs that rest, not on a self-sealing conspiracy theory, but on simple misinformation or on a fragile social consensus. The simplest governmental technique for dispelling false (and also harmful) beliefs – providing credible public information – does not work, in any straightforward way, for conspiracy theories. This extra resistance to correction through simple techniques is what makes conspiracy theories distinctively worrisome.

A further question about conspiracy theories – whether true or false, harmful or benign – is whether they are justified. Justification and truth are different issues; a true belief may be unjustified, and a justified belief may be untrue. I may believe, correctly, that there are fires within the earth's core, but if I believe that because the god Vulcan revealed it to me in a dream, my belief is unwarranted. Conversely, the false belief in Santa Claus is justified, because children generally have good reason to believe what their parents tell them and follow a sensible heuristic (“if my parents say it, it is probably true”); when children realize that Santa is the product of a widespread conspiracy among parents, they have a justified and true belief that a conspiracy has been at work.

Are conspiracy theories generally unjustified? Under what conditions? Here there are competing accounts and many controversies, in epistemology and analytic philosophy. We take no final stand on the most difficult questions here, in part because the relevant accounts need not be seen as mutually exclusive; each accounts for part of the terrain. However, a brief review of the possible accounts will be useful for our later discussion.

Karl Popper famously argued that conspiracy theories overlook the pervasive unintended consequences of political and social action; they assume that all consequences must have been intended by someone.¹⁵ The basic idea is that many social effects, including large movements in the economy, occur as a result of the acts and omissions of many people, none of whom intended to cause those effects. The Great Depression of the 1930s was not self-consciously engineered by anyone; increases in the unemployment or inflation rate, or in the price of gasoline, may reflect market pressures rather than intentional action. Nonetheless, there is a pervasive human tendency to think that effects are caused by intentional action, especially by those who stand to benefit (the “*cui bono?*” maxim), and for this reason conspiracy theories have considerable but unwarranted appeal.¹⁶ On one reading of Popper’s account, those who accept conspiracy theories are following a sensible heuristic, to the effect that consequences are intended; that heuristic often works well but it also produces systematic errors, especially in the context of outcomes that are a product of social interactions among numerous people.

Popper captures an important feature of some conspiracy theories. Their appeal lies in the attribution of otherwise inexplicable events to intentional action, and to an unwillingness to accept the possibility that significant adverse consequences may be a product of invisible hand mechanisms (such as market forces or evolutionary pressures) or of simple chance,¹⁷ rather than of anyone’s plans.¹⁸ A conspiracy theory posits that a social outcome evidences an underlying intentional order, overlooking the possibility that the outcome arises from either spontaneous order or random forces. Popper is picking up on a still more

general fact about human psychology, which is that most people do not like to believe that significant events were caused by bad (or good) luck, and much prefer simpler causal stories.¹⁹ Note, however, that the domain of Popper's explanation is quite limited. Many conspiracy theories, including those involving political assassinations and the attacks of 9/11, point to events that are indeed the result of intentional action, and the conspiracy theorists go wrong not by positing intentional actors, but by misidentifying them.

A broader point is that conspiracy theories overestimate the competence and discretion of officials and bureaucracies, who are assumed to be able to make and carry out sophisticated secret plans, despite abundant evidence that in open societies

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government action does not usually remain secret for very long.²⁰ Recall that a distinctive feature of conspiracy theories is that they attribute immense power to the agents of the conspiracy; the attribution is usually implausible but also makes the theories especially vulnerable to challenge. Consider all the work that must be done to hide and to cover up the government's role in producing a terrorist attack on its own territory, or in arranging to kill political opponents. In a closed society, secrets are not difficult to keep, and distrust of official accounts makes a great deal of sense. In such societies, conspiracy theories are both more likely to be true and harder to show to be false in light of available information.²¹ But when the press is free, and when checks and balances are in force, government cannot easily keep its conspiracies hidden for long. These points do not mean that it is logically impossible, even in free societies, that conspiracy theories are true. But it does mean that institutional checks make it unlikely, in such societies, that powerful groups can keep dark secrets for extended periods, at least if those secrets involve important events with major social salience.

An especially useful account suggests that what makes (unjustified) conspiracy theories unjustified is that those who accept them must also

accept a kind of spreading distrust of all knowledge-producing institutions, in a way that makes it difficult to believe anything at all.²² To think, for example, that U.S. government officials destroyed the World Trade Center and then covered their tracks requires an ever-widening conspiracy theory, in which the 9/11 Commission, congressional leaders, the FBI, and the media were either participants in or dupes of the conspiracy. But anyone who believed that would undercut the grounds for many of their other beliefs, which are warranted only by trust in the knowledge-producing institutions created by government and society. How many other things must not be believed, if we are not to believe something accepted by so many diverse actors? There may not be a logical contradiction here, but conspiracy theorists might well have to question a number of propositions that they seem willing to take for granted. As Robert Anton Wilson notes of the conspiracy theories advanced by Holocaust deniers, “a conspiracy that can deceive us about 6,000,000 deaths can deceive us about anything, and [then] it takes a great leap of faith for Holocaust Revisionists to believe World War II happened at all, or that Franklin Roosevelt did serve as President from 1933 to 1945, or that Marilyn Monroe was more ‘real’ than King Kong or Donald Duck.”²³

This is not, and is not be intended to be, a general claim that conspiracy theories are unjustified or unwarranted. Much depends on the background state of knowledge-producing institutions. If those institutions are generally trustworthy, in part because they are embedded in an open society with a well-functioning marketplace of ideas and free flow of information, then conspiracy theories will generally (which is not to say always) be unjustified. On the other hand, individuals in societies with systematically

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malfunctioning or skewed institutions of knowledge – say, individuals who live in an authoritarian regime lacking a free press – may have good reason to distrust all or most of the official denials they hear. For these individuals, conspiracy theories will more often be warranted, whether

or not true. Likewise, individuals embedded in isolated groups or small, self-enclosed networks who are exposed only to skewed information will more often hold conspiracy theories that are justified, relative to their limited informational environment. Holocaust denials might themselves be considered in this light. When isolated groups operate within a society that is both wider and more open, their theories may be unjustified from the standpoint of the wider society but justified from the standpoint of the group if it maintains its isolation. In these situations, the problem for the wider society is to breach the informational isolation of the small group or network, a problem we discuss below.

On our account, a defining feature of conspiracy theories is that they are extremely resistant to correction, certainly through direct denials or counterspeech by government officials. Those who accept such theories believe that the agents of the conspiracy have unusual powers, so that apparently contrary evidence can usually be shown to be a product of the conspiracy itself. Conspiracy theories display the characteristic features of a “degenerating research program”²⁴ in which contrary evidence is explained away by adding epicycles and resisting falsification of key tenets.²⁵ Some epistemologists argue that this resistance to falsification is not objectionable if one also believes that there are conspirators deliberately attempting to plant evidence that would falsify the conspiracy theory.²⁶ However that may be as a philosophical matter, the self-sealing quality of conspiracy theories creates serious practical problems for government; direct attempts to dispel the theory can usually be folded into the theory itself, as just one more ploy by powerful machinators to cover their tracks. A denial may, for example, be taken as a confirmation. In this way, conspiracy theories create challenges that are distinct from those posed by false but dangerous beliefs (recall the belief that prolonged exposure to sunlight is good for you or that climate change is not occurring). Accordingly, we will focus on indirect means of undermining such theories, principally by breaking up the closed informational networks that produce such theories.

So far we have discussed some epistemological features of conspiracy theories, in the abstract. We now turn to the sociology of conspiracy

theorizing, examining the mechanisms by which such theories arise and expand.

B. How Conspiracy Theories Arise and Spread

1. *Crippled epistemologies.* Why do people accept conspiracy theories that turn out to be false and for which the evidence is weak or even nonexistent? It is tempting to answer in terms of individual pathology.²⁷ Perhaps conspiracy theories are a product of

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mental illness, such as paranoia or narcissism. And indeed, there can be no doubt that some people who accept conspiracy theories are mentally ill and subject to delusions.²⁸ But we have seen that in many communities and even nations, such theories are widely held. It is not plausible to suggest that all or most members of those communities are afflicted by mental illness. The most important conspiracy theories are hardly limited to those who suffer from any kind of pathology.

For our purposes, the most useful way to understand the pervasiveness of conspiracy theories is to examine how people acquire information.²⁹ For most of what they believe that they know, human beings lack personal or direct information; they must rely on what other people think. In some domains, people suffer from a “crippled epistemology,” in the sense that they know very few things, and what they know is wrong.³⁰ Many extremists fall in this category; their extremism stems not from irrationality, but from the fact that they have little (relevant) information, and their extremist views are supported by what little they know.³¹ Conspiracy theorizing often has the same feature. Those who believe that Israel was responsible for the attacks of 9/11, or that the Central Intelligence Agency killed President Kennedy, may well be responding quite rationally to the informational signals that they receive.

Consider here the suggestive fact that terrorism is more likely to arise in nations that lack civil rights and civil liberties.³² An evident reason for the connection is that terrorism is an extreme form of political protest,

and when people lack the usual outlets for registering their protest, they might resort to violence.³³ But consider another possibility: When civil rights and civil liberties are restricted, little information is available, and what comes from government cannot be trusted. If the trustworthy information justifies conspiracy theories and extremism, and (therefore?) violence, then terrorism is more likely to arise.

2. *Rumors and speculation.* Of course it is necessary to specify how, exactly, conspiracy theories begin.. Some such theories seem to bubble up spontaneously, appearing roughly simultaneously in many different social networks; others are initiated and spread, quite intentionally, by *conspiracy entrepreneurs* who profit directly or indirectly from propagating their theories. An example in the latter category is the

Another common idea treats conspiracy theories as a form of collective paranoid delusion. See, e.g., Deiter Groh, *The Temptation of Conspiracy Theory*, in CHANGING CONCEPTIONS OF CONSPIRACY, *supra* note 8, at 1. Our suggestion is that the lens of psychopathology is not helpful, whether it is interpreted in individual or collective terms.

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French author Thierry Meyssan, whose book “9/11: The Big Lie” became a bestseller and a sensation for its claims that the Pentagon explosion on 9/11 was caused by a missile, fired as the opening salvo of a coup d’etat by the military-industrial complex, rather than by American Airlines Flight 77. Some conspiracy entrepreneurs are entirely sincere; others are interested in money or power, or in achieving some general social goal. Still, even for conspiracy theories put about by conspiracy entrepreneurs, the key question is why some theories take hold while many more do not, and vanish into obscurity.

Whenever a bad event has occurred, rumors and speculation are inevitable. Most people are not able to know, on the basis of personal or direct knowledge, why an airplane crashed, or why a leader was assassinated, or why a terrorist attack succeeded. In the aftermath of such an event, numerous speculations will be offered, and some of them

will likely point to some kind of conspiracy. To some people, those speculations will seem plausible, perhaps because they provide a suitable outlet for outrage and blame, perhaps because the speculation fits well with other deeply rooted beliefs that they hold. Terrible events produce outrage, and when people are outraged, they are all the more likely to attribute those events to intentional action. In addition, antecedent beliefs are a key to the success or failure of conspiracy theories. Some people would find it impossibly jarring to think that the CIA was responsible for the assassination of a civil rights leader; that thought would unsettle too many of their other judgments. Others would find those other judgments strongly supported, even confirmed, by the suggestion that the CIA was responsible for such an assassination. Compare the case of terrorist attacks. For most Americans, a claim that the United States government attacked its own citizens, for some ancillary purpose, would make it impossible to hold onto a wide range of other judgments. Clearly this point does not hold for many people in Islamic nations, for whom it is far from jarring to believe that responsibility lies with the United States (or Israel).

Here, as elsewhere, people attempt to find some kind of equilibrium among their assortment of beliefs,³⁴ and acceptance or rejection of a conspiracy theory will often depend on which of the two leads to equilibrium. Some beliefs are also *motivated*, in the sense that people are pleased to hold them or displeased to reject them.³⁵ Acceptance (or for that matter rejection) of a conspiracy theory is frequently motivated in that sense. Reactions to a claim of conspiracy to assassinate a political leader, or to commit or to allow some atrocity either domestically or abroad, are often determined by the motivations of those who hear the claim.

These are points about individual judgments, bracketing social influences. But after some bad event has occurred, those influences are crucial, for most people will have little or no direct information about its cause. How many people know, directly or on the basis of personal investigation, whether Al Qaeda was responsible for the 9/11 attacks, or whether Lee Harvey Oswald killed President Kennedy on his own, or

whether a tragic death in an apparent airplane accident was truly accidental? Inevitably people must rely

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on the beliefs of other people. Some people will require a great deal of evidence in order to accept a conspiracy theory; others will require much less. People will therefore have different “thresholds” for accepting or rejecting such a theory and for acting on the basis of the theory.³⁶ One way to meet a relevant threshold is to supply direct or indirect evidence. Another way is simply to show that some, many, or most (trusted) people accept or reject the theory. These are the appropriate circumstances for social cascades, in particular informational cascades, whose dynamics help to explain the pervasive acceptance of conspiracy theories.

3. *Conspiracy cascades, 1: the role of information.* To see how informational cascades work, imagine a group of people who are trying to assign responsibility for some loss of life. Assume that the group members are announcing their views in sequence. Each member attends, reasonably enough, to the judgments of others. Andrews is the first to speak. He suggests that the event was caused by a conspiracy of powerful people. Barnes now knows Andrews’s judgment; she should certainly go along with Andrew’s account if she agrees independently with him. But if her independent judgment is otherwise, she would—if she trusts Andrews no more and no less than she trusts herself—be indifferent about what to do, and she might simply flip a coin.

Now turn to a third person, Charleton. Suppose that both Andrews and Barnes have endorsed the conspiracy theory, but that Charleton’s own view, based on limited information, suggests that they are probably wrong. In that event, Charleton might well ignore what he knows and follow Andrews and Barnes. It is likely, after all, that both Andrews and Barnes had evidence for their conclusion, and unless Charleton thinks that his own information is better than theirs, he should follow their lead. If he does, Charleton is in a cascade. Of course Charleton will resist if he

has sufficient grounds to think that Andrews and Barnes are being foolish. But if he lacks those grounds, he is likely to go along with them.

Now suppose that Charleton is speaking in response to what Andrews and Barnes did, not on the basis of his own information, and also that later people know what Andrews, Barnes, and Charleton said. On reasonable assumptions, they will reach the same conclusion regardless of their private information (which, we are supposing, is relevant but inconclusive). This will happen even if Andrews initially speculated in a way that does not fit the facts. That initial speculation, in this example, can start a process by which a number of people are led to participate in a cascade, accepting a conspiracy theory whose factual foundations are fragile.

Of course the example is highly stylized and in that sense unrealistic; conspiracy cascades arise through more complex processes, in which diverse thresholds are important. In a standard pattern, the conspiracy theory is initially accepted by people with low thresholds for its acceptance. Sometimes the informational pressure builds, to the point where many people, with somewhat higher thresholds, begin to accept the theory too. As a real-world example of a conspiracy cascade, consider the existence of certain

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judgments about the origins and causes of AIDS, with some groups believing, implausibly, that the virus was produced in government laboratories.³⁷ These and other views about AIDS are a product of social interactions and in particular of cascade effects.

4. *Conspiracy cascades, 2: the role of reputation.* Conspiracy theories do not take hold only because of information. Sometimes people profess belief in a conspiracy theory, or at least suppress their doubts, because they seek to curry favor. Reputational pressures help account for conspiracy theories, and they feed conspiracy cascades.

In a reputational cascade, people think that they know what is right, or what is likely to be right, but they nonetheless go along with the crowd in order to maintain the good opinion of others. Suppose that Albert suggests that the Central Intelligence Agency was responsible for the assassination of President Kennedy, and that Barbara concurs with Albert, not because she actually thinks that Albert is right, but because she does not wish to seem, to Albert, to be some kind of dupe. If Albert and Barbara say that the CIA was responsible for the assassination of President Kennedy, Cynthia might not contradict them publicly and might even appear to share their judgment -- not because she believes that judgment to be correct, but because she does not want to face their hostility or lose their good opinion. It should be easy to see how this process might generate a cascade. Once Albert, Barbara, and Cynthia offer a united front on the issue, their friend David might be reluctant to contradict them even if he thinks that they are wrong. The apparently shared view of Albert, Barbara, and Cynthia carry information; that view might be right. But even if David has reason to believe that they are wrong, he might not want to take them on publicly. His own silence will help build the informational and reputational pressure on those who follow.

5. *Conspiracy cascades, 3: the role of availability.* Informational and reputational cascades can occur without any particular triggering event. But a distinctive kind of cascade arises when such an event is highly salient or cognitively “available.” In the context of many risks, such as those associated with terrorism, nuclear power, and abandoned hazardous waste dumps, a particular event initiates a cascade, and it stands as a trigger or a symbol justifying public concern, whether or not that concern is warranted.³⁸ Availability cascades occur through the interaction between a salient event and social influences, both informational and reputational. Often political actors, both self-interested and altruistic, work hard to produce such cascades.

Conspiracy theories are often driven through the same mechanisms. A particular event becomes available, and conspiracy theories are invoked both in explaining it and using it as a symbol for broader social forces,

casting doubt on accepted wisdom in many domains. Within certain nations and groups, the claim that the United States or Israel was responsible for the attacks of 9/11 fits well within a general narrative about who is the

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aggressor, and the liar, in a series of disputes – and the view that Al Qaeda was responsible raises questions about that same narrative. Conspiracy theories are frequently a product of availability cascades.

6. *Group polarization.* There are clear links between cascades and the well-established phenomenon of group polarization, by which *members of a deliberating group typically end up in a more extreme position in line with their tendencies before deliberation began.*³⁹ Group polarization has been found in hundreds of studies involving over a dozen countries.⁴⁰ Belief in conspiracy theories is often fueled by group polarization.

Consider, as the clearest example, the finding that those who disapprove of the United States, and are suspicious of its intentions, will increase their disapproval and suspicion if they exchange points of view. There is specific evidence of this phenomenon among citizens of France: With respect to foreign aid, they trust the United States a great deal less, and suspect its intentions a great deal more, after they talk with one another.⁴¹ It should be easy to see how similar effects could occur for conspiracy theories. Those who tend to think that Israel was responsible for the attacks of 9/11, and who speak with one another, will end up with a greater commitment to that belief.

Group polarization occurs for reasons that parallel the mechanisms that produce cascades.⁴² Informational influences play a large role. In any group with some initial inclination, the views of most people in the group will inevitably be skewed in the direction of that inclination. As a result of hearing the various arguments, social interactions will lead people toward a more extreme point in line with what group members

initially believed. Reputational factors matter as well. People usually want to be perceived favorably by other group members. Once they hear what others believe, some will adjust their positions at least slightly in the direction of the dominant position. For purposes of understanding the spread of conspiracy theories, it is especially important to note that group polarization is particularly likely, and particularly pronounced, when people have a shared sense of identity and are connected by bonds of solidarity.⁴³ These are circumstances in which arguments by outsiders, unconnected with the group, will lack much credibility, and fail to have much of an effect in reducing polarization. As we will explore below, these circumstances imply that direct government rebuttals of the reigning conspiracy theory will prove ineffective; government will instead do best by using various tactics of cognitive infiltration to break up the polarized information cluster from within.

7. Selection effects. A crippled epistemology can arise not only from informational and reputational dynamics within a given group, but also from self-selection of members

into and out of groups with extreme views.⁴⁴ Once polarization occurs or cascades arise, and the group's median view begins to move in a certain direction, doubters and halfway-believers will tend to depart while intense believers remain. The overall size of the group may shrink, but the group may also pick up new believers who are even more committed, and in any event the remaining members will, by self-selection, display more fanaticism. Group members may engage in a kind of double-think, segregating themselves, in a physical or informational sense, in order to protect their beliefs from challenge by outsiders.⁴⁵ Even if the rank and file cannot coherently do this, group leaders may enforce segregation in order to insulate the rank and file from information or arguments that would undermine the leaders' hold on the group.

Members of informationally and socially isolated groups tend to display a kind of paranoid cognition⁴⁶ and become increasingly distrustful or suspicious of the motives of others or of the larger society, falling into a

“sinister attribution error.”⁴⁷ This error occurs when people feel that they are under pervasive scrutiny, and hence they attribute personalistic motives to outsiders and overestimate the amount of attention they receive. Benign actions that happen to disadvantage the group are taken as purposeful plots, intended to harm.⁴⁸ Although these conditions resemble individual-level pathologies, they arise from the social and informational structure of the group, especially those operating in enclosed or closely knit networks, and are not usefully understood as a form of mental illness. The social etiology of such conditions suggests that the appropriate remedy is not individual treatment, but the introduction of cognitive, informational, and social diversity into the isolated networks that supply extremist theories. We take up the resulting policy problems in the next Part.

II. Governmental Responses

What can government do about conspiracy theories? Among the things it can do, what should it do? We can readily imagine a series of possible responses. (1) Government might ban conspiracy theorizing. (2) Government might impose some kind of tax, financial or otherwise, on those who disseminate such theories. (3) Government might itself engage in counterspeech, marshaling arguments to discredit conspiracy theories. (4) Government might formally hire credible private parties to engage in counterspeech. (5) Government might engage in informal communication with such parties, encouraging them to help. Each instrument has a distinctive set of potential effects, or costs and benefits, and each will have a place under imaginable conditions. However, our main policy idea is that government should engage in cognitive infiltration of the groups that produce conspiracy theories, which involves a mix of (3), (4) and (5).

If one believes that conspiracy theories are in some sense inconsequential, the best answer will be for government to ignore them. If children believe in Santa Claus or the Easter Bunny, there is no problem for government to solve; and the belief that the

government covered up the landing of space aliens in Roswell does not seem to be causing discernible harm, with the possible exception of bad television shows. (This does not imply that government should ignore conspiracy theories only if they are inconsequential. As we will see, under certain conditions government may do best to ignore conspiracy theories and theorists even if it justifiably fears that they will have harmful effects, because government action may make things worse.) In Section A, however, we give some reasons to think that some conspiracy theories are consequential indeed.

In Section B, we address several dilemmas of governmental response to conspiracy theories and theorists. Is it best to ignore them, creating a risk that the theory will spread unrebuted, or to address them, with the risk that addressing the theory will legitimate and even be taken to confirm it? Assuming budget constraints and limited resources, should government efforts focus on debiasing the conspiracy theorists themselves, or solely on preventing the spread of conspiracy theories among the larger population? How can government get behind or around the distinctive feature of conspiracy theories -- their self-sealing quality, which tends to fold government's denials into the theory itself as further evidence of the conspiracy?

An obvious answer is to maintain an open society, in which those who are tempted to subscribe to conspiracy theories do not distrust all knowledge-creating institutions, and are exposed to corrections. But we have seen that even in open societies, conspiracy theories have some traction; and open societies have a strong interest in debunking such theories when they arise, and threaten to cause harm, in closed societies. Here we suggest two concrete ideas for government officials attempting to fashion a response to such theories. First, responding to more rather than fewer conspiracy theories has a kind of synergy benefit: it reduces the legitimating effect of responding to any one of them, because it dilutes the contrast with unrebuted theories. Second, we suggest a distinctive tactic for breaking up the hard core of extremists who supply conspiracy theories: cognitive infiltration of extremist groups, whereby

government agents or their allies (acting either virtually or in real space, and either openly or anonymously) will undermine the crippled epistemology of those who subscribe to such theories. They do so by planting doubts about the theories and stylized facts that circulate within such groups, thereby introducing beneficial cognitive diversity.⁴⁹

In Section C, we examine the role of law and judges in fashioning the government's response. We will ask whether judges do more good than harm by invoking statutes such as the Freedom of Information Act to force government to disclose facts that would rebut conspiracy theories. Our conclusions are generally skeptical: there is little reason to believe that judges can improve on administrative choices in these situations. Section D concludes with some brief notes on government efforts to dispel conspiracy theories held by foreign audiences, especially in Muslim countries.

Throughout, we assume a well-motivated government that aims to eliminate conspiracy theories, or draw their poison, if and only if social welfare is improved by doing so. (We do not offer a particular account of social welfare, taking the term instead as a placeholder for the right account.) This is a standard assumption in policy analysis,

and is useful for clarifying the policy questions, but we note that real-world governments can instead be purveyors of conspiracy theories. In Egypt, newspapers effectively controlled by the governing regime regularly spread conspiracy theories about Jews.⁵⁰ Some believe that the Bush administration deliberately spread a kind of false and unwarranted conspiracy theory – that Saddam Hussein conspired with Al Qaeda to support the 9/11 attacks.⁵¹ Suppose for discussion's sake that this is so; then a future administration motivated to improve social welfare would need to consider whether this theory is false and harmful, and if it is what can and should be done about it. But this would just be another case of a conspiracy theory circulating in the population, which might or might not be worth responding to, in light of the considerations we adduce below. Nothing of theoretical interest follows from this case for the questions we address here, which strictly involve optimal

responses to conspiracy theories on the part of a (real or imagined) well-motivated government.

A. Are Conspiracy Theories Consequential?

One line of thinking denies that conspiracy theories matter.⁵² There are several possible reasons to think so. First, conspiracy theories may be held by only a tiny fraction of the population. Perhaps only a handful of kooks believe that U.S. government officials had any kind of role in the events of 9/11. Second, even if a particular conspiracy theory is widely held in the sense that many people will confess to it when polled, conspiracy theories may typically be held as “quasi-beliefs” – beliefs that are not costly and possibly even fun to hold, like a belief in aliens in Roswell or UFOs, and that do not form a premise for action.⁵³ Many people profess to believe, and in some sense do believe, that eternal life depends upon actions that they do not take. So too, perhaps many people quasi-believe in conspiracy theories yet do not take action on account of those quasi-beliefs.

In both cases everything depends, of course, on which conspiracy theory and which population one is discussing. However, as discussed in Part I, there is ample evidence that some conspiracy theories are not at all confined to small segments of the population. Overseas, “a 2002 Gallup Poll conducted in nine Islamic countries found that 61 percent of those surveyed thought that Muslims had nothing to do with the attacks of Sept. 11, 2001.”⁵⁴ According to an anonymous State Department official in charge of anti-disinformation, “a great deal of harm can result ‘when people believe these lies and

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then act on the basis of their mistaken beliefs.’” For example, “Al-Qaeda members ‘were encouraged to join the jihad at least in part because of disinformation.’”⁵⁵

The point about quasi-beliefs suggests that many do not in fact take any action on the basis of their mistaken beliefs. However, this does not at all entail that conspiracy theories are inconsequential. Even if only a small fraction of adherents to a particular conspiracy theory act on the basis of their beliefs, that small fraction may be enough to cause serious harms. Consider the Oklahoma City bombing, whose perpetrators shared a complex of conspiratorial beliefs about the federal government. Many who shared their beliefs did not act on them, but a few actors did, with terrifying consequences. James Fearon and others argue that technological change has driven down the costs of delivering attacks with weapons of mass destruction, to the point where even a small group can pose a significant threat.⁵⁶ If so, and if only a tiny fraction of believers act on their beliefs, then as the total population with conspiratorial beliefs grows, it becomes nearly inevitable that action will ensue.

In cases of this sort, the conspiracy theory itself supports affirmatively violent action on the part of its believers (which only a small fraction will actually take); conspiracy theorizing leads to an actual conspiracy. Within a network whose members believe that the federal government, say, is a hostile and morally repellent organization that is taking over the country, akin to a foreign invader, armed resistance will seem a sensible course to at least some fraction of the believers. In other, perhaps more common, cases the conspiracy theory will be of a different nature and will not directly indicate such action. However, such theories can still have pernicious effects from the government's point of view, either by inducing unjustifiably widespread public skepticism about the government's assertions, or by dampening public mobilization and participation in government-led efforts, or both. The widespread belief that U.S. officials knowingly allowed 9/11 to happen or even brought it about may have hampered the government's efforts to mobilize social resources and political support for measures against future terrorist attacks.

In the nature of things it is hard to find evidence for, or against, such possibilities; yet it hardly seems sensible to say that because such

evidence is lacking, government should do nothing about a potentially harmful conspiracy theory. That precept would be paralyzing, because there are uncertain harms on all sides of the question, and because – as in the case of the Oklahoma City bombing – some of those harms may approach the catastrophic.⁵⁷

B. Dilemmas and Responses

Imagine a government facing a population in which a particular conspiracy theory is becoming widespread. We will identify two basic dilemmas that recur, and consider how government should respond. The first dilemma is whether to ignore or rebut the theory; the second is whether to address the supply side of conspiracy theorizing by

attempting to debias or disable its purveyors, to address the demand side by attempting to immunize third-party audiences from the theory's effects, or to do both (if resource constraints permit).

In both cases, the underlying structure of the problem is that conspiracy theorizing is a multi-party game. Government is faced with suppliers of conspiracy theories, and might aim at least in part to persuade, debias, or silence those suppliers. However, those two players are competing for the hearts and minds of third parties, especially the mass audience of the uncommitted.⁵⁸ Expanding the cast further, one may see the game as involving four players: government officials, conspiracy theorists, mass audiences, and independent experts – such as mainstream scientists or the editors of *Popular Mechanics* – whom government attempts to enlist to give credibility to its rebuttal efforts. The discussion that follows generally assumes the three-party structure, but we will refer to the four-party structure when relevant.

1. Ignore or rebut?

The first dilemma is that either ignoring or rebutting a conspiracy theory has distinctive costs. Ignoring the theory allows its proponents to draw ominous inferences from the government's silence. If the theory stands unrebuted, one possibility is that it is too ludicrous to need rebuttal, but

another is that the government cannot offer relevant evidence to the contrary; the suppliers of the conspiracy theories will propose the second inference. On this view, all misinformation (the initial conspiracy theory) should be met with counter misinformation.

On the other hand, to rebut the theory may be to legitimate it, moving the theory from the zone of claims too ludicrous to be discussed to the zone of claims that, whether or not true, are in some sense worth discussing. This legitimation effect can arise in one of two ways. First, third-party audiences may infer from the government's rebuttal efforts that the government estimates the conspiracy theory to be plausible, and fears that the third parties will themselves be persuaded. Second, some members of the audience may infer that many other members of the audience must believe the theory, or government would not be taking the trouble to rebut it. Consider circumstances of "pluralistic ignorance," in which citizens are unsure what other citizens believe.⁵⁹ Citizens may take the fact of rebuttal itself as supplying information about the beliefs of other citizens, and may even use this information in forming their own beliefs. The government's rebuttal may be a signal that other citizens believe in the conspiracy theory – and may therefore make the theory more plausible. If the number who follow this cognitive strategy and thus adopt a belief in the theory exceeds the number who are persuaded by the rebuttal, the perverse result of the rebuttal may then be to increase the number of believers.

How should government cope with this dilemma? In a typical pattern, government plays a wait-and-see strategy: ignore the conspiracy theory until it reaches some ill-defined threshold level of widespread popularity, and then rebut. There is a straightforward logic to this strategy. First, when the government ignores the theory, either the relevant audiences will draw an inference that the theory is silly, or else will

infer that the government cannot effectively deny it. If the conspiracy theory does not spread despite government's silence, the former inference is probably dominant, and response is unnecessary. Second, there is an option value⁶⁰ to the strategy of ignoring the theory: a public rebuttal now is costly or impossible to undo, but maintaining silence now leaves government with the option to rebut later, if it chooses to do so. On this approach, when faced with a spreading conspiracy theory, government should wait until the marginal expected benefits of further delay just equal the marginal expected costs of leaving the theory un rebutted. Finally and most generally, it seems silly and infeasible to chase after and rebut every conspiracy theory that comes to government's attention.

However, this logic overlooks an important synergistic gain: rebutting many conspiracy theories can reduce the legitimating effect of rebutting any one of them. When government rebuts a particular theory while ignoring most others, the legitimating effect arises at least in part because of a contrast between the foreground and the background: the inference is that government has picked the theory it is rebutting out of the larger set because this theory, unlike the others, is inherently plausible or is gaining traction among some sectors of the mass audience. Rebutting a larger fraction of the total background set reduces the strength of this inference as to each theory chosen for rebuttal. The more theories government rebuts, the weaker is the implicit legitimating signal sent by the very fact of rebuttal.

It is impossible to say, in the abstract, how great this synergistic gain may be. It remains true that not every conspiracy theory proposed by someone somewhere (that comes to the attention of relevant government officials) warrants a response. However, the implication is that government should rebut more conspiracy theories than it would otherwise choose, if assessing the expected costs and benefits of rebuttal on a theory-by-theory basis. Because of synergy effects, government action considered over an array or range of cases may have different total costs and benefits than when those cases are considered one by one. Practically speaking, government might do well to maintain a more

vigorous countermisinformation establishment than it would otherwise do, one that identifies and rebuts many more conspiracy theories would otherwise be rebutted. There will still have to be some minimum threshold for governmental response, but the threshold will be lower than it would be if this synergistic gain of rebutting many theories did not exist.

2. Which audience?

Another dilemma is whether to target the supply side of the conspiracy theory or the demand side. Should governmental responses be addressed to the suppliers, with a view to persuading or silencing them, or rather be addressed to the mass audience, with a view to inoculating them from pernicious theories? Of course these two strategies are not mutually exclusive as a logical matter; perhaps the best approach is to straddle the two audiences with a single response or simply to provide multiple responses. However, if there are resource constraints, government may face a choice about where to place its emphases. The question will be what mix of second-party responses (pitched to the suppliers) and third-party responses (pitched to the mass audience) is best. Moreover, apart from resource constraints, there are intrinsic tradeoffs across these strategies. The very arguments that are most convincing to the mass audience may be least convincing to the conspiracists, and vice-versa.

We will begin with some remarks about responses addressed to the supply side. The basic problem with pitching governmental responses to the suppliers of conspiracy theories is that those theories, by their nature, have a self-sealing quality. They are (1) resistant and in extreme cases invulnerable to contrary evidence,⁶¹ and (2) especially resistant to contrary evidence offered by the government, because the government rebuttal is folded into the conspiracy theory itself. If conspiracy theorists are responding to the informational signals given by those whom they trust, then the government's effort at rebuttal seems unlikely to be effective, and might serve to fortify rather than to undermine the original belief. (A possible solution is for government to enlist private rebuttals; we return to this point shortly.) The most direct response to a dangerous conspiracy theories is censorship. That response is unavailable in an

open society, because it is inconsistent with principles of freedom of expression. We could imagine circumstances in which a conspiracy theory became so pervasive, and so dangerous, that censorship would be thinkable. But in an open society, the need for censorship would be correspondingly reduced. In any case censorship may well turn out to be self-defeating. The effort to censor the theory might well be taken as evidence that the theory is true, and censorship of speech is notoriously difficult.

After 9/11, one complex of conspiracy theories involved American Airlines Flight 77, which hijackers crashed into the Pentagon. Some theorists claimed that no plane had hit the Pentagon; even after the Department of Defense released video frames showing Flight 77 approaching the building and a later explosion cloud, theorists pointed out that the actual moment of impact was absent from the video, in order to keep alive their claim that the plane had never hit the building. (In reality the moment of impact was not captured because the video had a low number of frames per second.⁶²) Moreover, even those conspiracists who were persuaded that the Flight 77 conspiracy theories were wrong folded that view into a larger conspiracy theory. The problem with the theory that no plane hit the Pentagon, they said, is that the theory was too transparently false, disproved by multiple witnesses and much physical evidence. Thus the theory must have been a straw man initially planted by the government, in order to discredit other conspiracy theories and theorists by association.⁶³

Government can partially circumvent these problems if it enlists nongovernmental officials in the effort to rebut the theories. It might ensure that credible independent experts offer the rebuttal, rather than government officials themselves. There is a tradeoff between credibility and control, however. The price of credibility is that government cannot be seen to control the independent experts. Although government can supply these independent experts with information and perhaps prod them into action from behind the scenes, too close a connection will prove self-defeating if it is exposed -- as witness the humiliating disclosures showing that apparently independent opinions on

scientific and regulatory questions were in fact paid for by think-tanks with ties to the Bush administration.⁶⁴ Even apart from this tradeoff, conspiracy theorists may still fold independent third-party rebuttals into their theory by making conspiratorial claims of connection between the third party and the government. When *Popular Mechanics* offered its rebuttal of 9/11 conspiracy theories, conspiracists claimed that one of the magazine's reporters, Ben Chertoff, was the cousin of Homeland Security Secretary Michael Chertoff and was spreading disinformation at the latter's behest.⁶⁵

Because of these difficulties, many officials dismiss direct responses to the suppliers of conspiracy theorists as an exercise in futility. Rather, they implicitly frame their responses to the third-party mass audience, hoping to stem the spread of conspiracy theories by dampening the demand rather than by reducing the supply. Philip Zelikow, the executive director of the 9/11 commission, says that “[t]he hardcore conspiracy theorists are totally committed. They’d have to repudiate much of their life identity in order not to accept some of that stuff. That’s not our worry. Our worry is when things become infectious [t]hen this stuff can be deeply corrosive to public understanding. You can get where the bacteria can sicken the larger body.”⁶⁶ Likewise, when the National Institute of Standards and Technology issued a fact sheet to disprove the theory that the World Trade Center was brought down by a controlled demolition, the spokesman stated that “[w]e realize this fact sheet won’t convince those who hold to the alternative theories that our findings are sound. In fact, the fact sheet was never intended for them. It is for the masses who have seen or heard the alternative theory claims and want balance.”⁶⁷

The problem with this line of argument, however, is that it takes the existence of a hard core as a given. This is premature; we will suggest below that if the hard core arises for certain identifiable reasons, it can be broken up or at least muted by government action. Furthermore, there are intrinsic costs to the strategy of giving up on the hard core and

directing government efforts solely towards inoculating the mass audience. For one thing, the hard core may itself provide the most serious threat. For another, a response geared to a mass audience (whether or not nominally pitched as a response to the conspiracy theorists) will lead some to embrace rather than reject the conspiracy theory the government is trying to rebut. This is the legitimation dilemma again: to begin a program of inoculation is to signal that the disease is already widespread and threatening. Under pluralistic ignorance, the perverse result may actually be to spread the conspiracy theory further.

3. Cognitive infiltration

Rather than taking the continued existence of the hard core as a constraint, and addressing itself solely to the third-party mass audience, government might undertake

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(legal) tactics for breaking up the tight cognitive clusters of extremist theories, arguments and rhetoric that are produced by the hard core and reinforce it in turn. One promising tactic is cognitive infiltration of extremist groups. By this we do not mean 1960s-style infiltration with a view to surveillance and collecting information, possibly for use in future prosecutions. Rather, we mean that government efforts might succeed in weakening or even breaking up the ideological and epistemological complexes that constitute these networks and groups.

How might this tactic work? Recall that extremist networks and groups, including the groups that purvey conspiracy theories, typically suffer from a kind of crippled epistemology. Hearing only conspiratorial accounts of government behavior, their members become ever more prone to believe and generate such accounts. Informational and reputational cascades, group polarization, and selection effects suggest that the generation of ever-more-extreme views within these groups can be dampened or reversed by the introduction of cognitive diversity. We

suggest a role for government efforts, and agents, in introducing such diversity. Government agents (and their allies) might enter chat rooms, online social networks, or even real-space groups and attempt to undermine percolating conspiracy theories by raising doubts about their factual premises, causal logic or implications for political action.

In one variant, government agents would openly proclaim, or at least make no effort to conceal, their institutional affiliations. A recent newspaper story recounts that Arabic-speaking Muslim officials from the State Department have participated in dialogues at radical Islamist chat rooms and websites in order to ventilate arguments not usually heard among the groups that cluster around those sites, with some success.⁶⁸ In another variant, government officials would participate anonymously or even with false identities. Each approach has distinct costs and benefits; the second is riskier but potentially brings higher returns. In the former case, where government officials participate openly as such, hard-core members of the relevant networks, communities and conspiracy-minded organizations may entirely discount what the officials say, right from the beginning. The risk with tactics of anonymous participation, conversely, is that if the tactic becomes known, any true member of the relevant groups who raises doubts may be suspected of government connections. Despite these difficulties, the two forms of cognitive infiltration offer different risk-reward mixes and are both potentially useful instruments.

There is a similar tradeoff along another dimension: whether the infiltration should occur in the real world, through physical penetration of conspiracist groups by undercover agents, or instead should occur strictly in cyberspace. The latter is safer, but potentially less productive. The former will sometimes be indispensable, where the groups that purvey conspiracy theories (and perhaps themselves formulate conspiracies) formulate their views through real-space informational networks rather than virtual networks. Infiltration of any kind poses well-known risks: perhaps agents will be asked to perform criminal acts to prove their bona fides, or (less plausibly) will themselves become persuaded by the conspiratorial views they are supposed to be

undermining; perhaps agents will be unmasked and harmed by the infiltrated group. But the risks are

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generally greater for real-world infiltration, where the agent is exposed to more serious harms.

All these risk-reward tradeoffs deserve careful consideration. Particular tactics may or may not be cost-justified under particular circumstances. Our main suggestion is just that, whatever the tactical details, there would seem to be ample reason for government efforts to introduce some cognitive diversity into the groups that generate conspiracy theories. Social cascades are sometimes quite fragile, precisely because they are based on small slivers of information. Once corrective information is introduced, large numbers of people can be shifted to different views. If government is able to have credibility, or to act through credible agents, it might well be successful in dislodging beliefs that are held only because no one contradicts them. Likewise, polarization tends to decrease when divergent views are voiced within the group.⁶⁹ Introducing a measure of cognitive diversity can break up the epistemological networks and clusters that supply conspiracy theories.

C. A Role for Law, and Courts?

So far we have detailed some dilemmas facing government officials and have suggested some policy responses. What if anything is the role of law, and courts, in these matters? The principal point of contact between the legal system and the issues discussed here is the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA), which creates a presumption of transparency for documents held by administrative agencies and executive institutions. Unless the government can show that the requested information falls within one of a designated list of exceptions, there is a legal right to disclosure, and the Supreme Court has created a broad

concept of “informational standing”⁷⁰ to permit interested groups and citizens to enforce that right.

FOIA becomes relevant when the government holds, and declines to disclose, information that might rebut a circulating conspiracy theory. An example involves the disclosure of the Department of Defense video involving Flight 77’s crash into the Pentagon on 9/11. A pro-transparency group, Judicial Watch, filed a FOIA request to obtain the video, but the Defense Department declined, saying that the video was to be used in the trial of Zacharias Moussaoui. Judicial Watch filed suit to force disclosure, with the avowed objective of using the video to rebut the conspiracy theories surrounding Flight 77. However, when the Moussaoui trial ended the government released the video before the lawsuit could be decided.⁷¹

The details of the case only suggest the larger question that it poses: should courts, and law, force the executive to disclose information that a litigant claims would help to rebut conspiracy theories? If the answer is yes, then control over the timing and nature of the executive’s responsive strategy will be partially transferred to litigating groups and judges. If the answer is no, the executive will retain full control.

We suggest that the critical question is a comparative institutional one. Will adding judicial involvement, itself partially determined by the decisions of litigating

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groups, create a net improvement in the government’s overall response strategy? In general, two conditions must hold for this to be so. First, there must be some mechanism that causes the executive systematically to make suboptimal decisions about whether, when, and how to release information that might rebut conspiracy theories. If executive branch decisions are unbiased, in the sense that they are accurate on average (even if randomly mistaken in particular cases), then courts will be hard pressed to improve upon them.⁷² Second, even if the executive branch

does make predictable errors, the litigation process must have some relative institutional advantage in this regard; it must be able to improve upon the executive's choices. The benchmark is not optimal disclosure, but the disclosure that actually results from adding litigation-based oversight to executive branch decisions.

There is little reason to think, in general, that both of these conditions will usually be met. In the Flight 77 case, Judicial Watch offered no concrete reason why the executive would erroneously balance the relative benefits and costs of disclosing the information immediately, including (1) the expected gain to the government's efforts to rebut the Flight 77 conspiracy theories; (2) the expected costs to national security of disclosing details about the Department of Defense's surveillance activities and methods; and (3) the lost option value of disclosing later, rather than now. Judicial Watch noted that (2) was low, because most of the information was already public in one way or another, and this seems plausible. However, (1) was also low. As we have detailed above, the video's release did little to squelch the Flight 77 conspiracy theorists, who promptly folded the video into their theories. Factor (3) is hard to estimate; but it is clear that when courts require disclosure in such situations, the value of the option to make a later disclosure is systematically destroyed. Even if the executive would make mistakes about these factors, viewed in the light of hindsight, it is plausible to think that those mistakes will tend to be randomly distributed, in part because governmental interests are on both sides of the balance. In any event, Judicial Watch offered no reason to think that the litigation process would systematically do better. In general, the argument for compelled disclosure is strongest when the executive branch is likely to be systematically biased against disclosure, for self-serving reasons; this is the argument that most plausibly justifies FOIA itself. When a conspiracy theory is at work, there is unlikely to be any systematic bias against disclosure, because the executive has a strong incentive to correct the theory.

To be sure, the first of the two conditions we have mentioned – that executive branch disclosures are not optimally geared to suppressing

conspiracy theories – does seem plausible under certain conditions. Because the executive is partially a they, not an it,⁷³ its (their) efforts to respond to conspiracy theories may be hampered by poor coordination across agencies or executive departments. Perhaps, for example, one agency holds information that it refuses to disclose or even transmit within the executive branch, although another agency or another branch of government needs it to combat a

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conspiracy theory. Here there is a kind of intra-executive externality, with one agency failing to take into account the full costs of its actions to other institutions. Moreover, if there are systematic incentives for overclassification and excessive government secrecy – a claim that is often heard but rarely fleshed out with concrete mechanisms – then there will be systematic error in government responses, with too little disclosure or disclosure coming too late.

However, these possibilities are balanced by equally speculative possibilities cutting in other directions. If the executive is a they, not an it, it may also be the case that a given agency does not fully take into account the harms of disclosure to the mission of other agencies, and the problem will be too much disclosure or premature disclosure (from the standpoint of the latter agencies). Intra-executive externalities and agency incentives may cut in either direction; their net effect is hard to assess in the abstract, and there is little reason to think they necessarily create a systematic skew in one direction or another. Furthermore, addressing conspiracy theories is not the only thing the executive does. Even if an agency is not acting optimally with respect to that goal, it may be acting in a way that promotes good policy (somehow defined) overall.

Most importantly, there is little general reason to think that the second condition – that litigating groups and judges can improve upon the executive's choices – will often be met. First, if agencies may hold motivations or face incentives that distort the optimal approach to

information disclosure, courts suffer from deficits of expertise and policymaking ability that hamper their efforts to make things better. Here a serious problem is that courts decide one case at a time. While this practice has many benefits,⁷⁴ it makes it difficult for courts to gain a systemic view⁷⁵ across an array of cases in order to decide whether an agencies' decisions are systematically distorted, or to evaluate whether inter-executive externalities are occurring.

Second, suppose that the court does know (better than the executive) how and when to disclose information in order to rebut a conspiracy theory. The problem is that the court may be legally constrained not to act optimally in any event. There is no necessary connection between the timing of the lawsuit and the optimal timing of disclosure for addressing the relevant conspiracy theory. In the *Judicial Watch* case, the optimal time of disclosure may have been never, given the low benefits; it may also have been at some time in the future. The court, however, is legally constrained from acting on its open-ended assessment. It may decide that the plaintiff prevails and disclosure occurs, or not, but in general it may not fine-tune the timing of disclosure at will.

In all of these remarks, we have made two assumptions that cabin the analysis; we are not offering a general account of FOIA litigation. We have assumed first of all that – as in the *Judicial Watch* litigation – the plaintiff's avowed purpose is to force a disclosure that in the plaintiff's judgment will rebut a spreading conspiracy theory. In internal legal terms, this is irrelevant; the Supreme Court has repeatedly stated that reviewing courts should not consider the specific interests of the requester in obtaining FOIA disclosure.⁷⁶

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However, it is certainly relevant from an external standpoint, where the question is how to assess the institutional capacities of relevant actors. Where the aim of all concerned actors, including the plaintiffs, is to supply an optimal response to conspiracy theories rather than to assert

other interests, there are special grounds for doubting that the litigation process can improve upon executive branch choices.

We have also assumed that the relevant statutes are sufficiently ambiguous or vague that both agencies and courts are at least in part making policy choices, rather than enforcing the law in any simple sense. Where this is not so, and the commands of FOIA are clear, courts should enforce them. If the resulting disclosure is not optimally timed, the problem lies with the statute (as applied). In general, however, this is not the situation such cases will pose. Rather the agency resists disclosure under a vague or broadly worded FOIA exemption, and perhaps also by invoking principles such as the “mosaic theory,”⁷⁷ according to which government may resist disclosures that are innocuous in themselves but that can be assembled into a larger picture damaging to national security. If the reviewing court does not face a clear legal command, and if the court lacks confidence (as we do) that the litigation process will on average produce better responses to conspiracy theorizing, then the court should stay its hand.

D. A Note on Conspiracy Theories Abroad

Our focus has been on domestic conspiracy theories, although some of the relevant considerations are constant across both domestic and foreign audiences. Conspiracy theories flourish in many Middle Eastern and predominantly Muslim countries, so much so that there is a small literature asking why Muslims are so prone to conspiracy theorizing.⁷⁸ (One paper by Freudian psychologists even ascribes this “fact” to Muslim child-rearing practices⁷⁹; we are skeptical.) If many Muslims abroad are prone to conspiracy theorizing, so too are many non-Muslims in the United States, as the evidence given above demonstrates. On the other hand, we have conjectured that there is a causal link between the prevalence of conspiracy theories and the relative absence of civil liberties and a well-functioning marketplace of ideas,⁸⁰ so it is unsurprising that such theories are even more widespread in the Muslim world than in the United States. Overall, conspiracy theorizing is undoubtedly virulent in the Muslim world, has a sharply anti-American

inflection, and poses problems that are somewhat distinctive, so a brief discussion is warranted.

On the diagnostic side, it is highly likely that the virulence of conspiracy theorizing in Muslim nations has a great deal to do with social cascades and group polarization, and with weak civil liberties and the lack of a robust market for ideas in many of those nations. In terms of our suggested policy responses, the foreign setting is both a worse and a better environment for the U.S. government. It is worse in that the nature of the relevant institutions and audiences in the Muslim world sharpens many of the dilemmas and tradeoffs we have described. Typically, the audience is antecedently skeptical, in the extreme, of anything said by United States officials; shortly we will see

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that this creates enormous pressure for the U.S. to engage in various forms of covert or anonymous speech. The marketplace of ideas, in many Muslim nations, is institutionally fragile or dominated by powerful governments. Civil liberties, including free speech, are often shaky. The upside to the foreign setting, however, is that on some dimensions the U.S. enjoys greater freedom of action, in part because domestic U.S. politics will tolerate some actions abroad that it would not tolerate if taken at home.

We begin with the difficulties. The foreign setting sharpens one of the central tradeoffs we have identified: to enhance the credibility of speech that debunks conspiracy theories, the government must surrender some degree of control over the institutions of speech. In 2004, the U.S. government set up a broadcast network for the Middle East – Al-Hurrah, “the Free One” – that puts out news and third-party opinion. In May 2007, a House subcommittee called a hearing to investigate reports that Al-Hurrah had broadcast “terrorist” content, including “a 68-minute call to arms against Israelis by a senior figure of the terrorist group Hezbollah; [and] deferential coverage of Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad’s Holocaust denial conference . . .”.⁸¹ Legislators sharply

questioned officials of the Broadcasting Board of Governors, the government corporation that ultimately funds Al-Hurrah, and those officials had to promise to address the legislators' concerns. Those problems, however, were part and parcel of a broader strategy for enhancing credibility by permitting other viewpoints and voices on the air. In general, in order to enhance its credibility with antecedently skeptical Muslim audiences, the U.S. government must go a long way towards surrendering control over the content of its speech (or must speak anonymously, a strategy that carries its own risks, as we mention next). However, as this episode reveals, domestic political constraints may preclude whatever mix of credibility and control is optimal from the standpoint of dampening conspiracy theories or promoting U.S. public relations goals more generally.

The alternative to surrendering control over the content of the government's responses, in order to enhance credibility, is for government officials or agents to speak anonymously. A mini-scandal erupted in 2006 when U.S. newspapers revealed that the Lincoln Group, an independent contractor of "influence services," had paid Iraqi newspapers to publish hundreds of "news stories" written by U.S. military personnel but not identified as such, most of which portrayed events in Iraq in cheery terms or rebutted circulating conspiracy theories. 82 The stories were factually true, but selective. As against the obvious moral objections to this practice, the Lincoln Group argued that speech identified as stemming from U.S. sources would, even if true, credible and important, be utterly discounted by the Iraqi audience, leaving the field entirely to conspiratorial and hostile rumors. On this view the implicit lie of planting "news" stories not identified to their true sources is necessary, in a deliberative environment that is already warped, to the goal of putting all relevant information before a quasi-rational audience. Where the marketplace of ideas is already malfunctioning, in the sense that relevant audiences discount to zero statements that should carry positive weight, practices

that would not be permissible in a well-developed liberal state might be permissible on second-best grounds.

A better objection to this practice may instead be tactical. By outsourcing this form of quasi-propaganda to an independent contractor whose participation would sooner or later be brought to light, the U.S. government fell between two stools, obtaining neither the credibility benefits of full transparency nor the credibility benefits of totally anonymous speech. Reuel Marc Gerecht, a former CIA case officer, commented that “[t]he historical parallel would be the [CIA’s] efforts during the Cold War to fund magazines, newspapers and journalists who believed that the West should triumph over communism. Much of what you do ought to be covert, and, certainly, if you contract it out, it isn’t.”⁸³

So far we have discussed the distinctive difficulties of the foreign setting. On other dimensions, however, the foreign setting loosens various legal and political constraints, allowing the U.S. government greater freedom in responding to conspiracy theories. In 2004, the U.S. administrator for Iraq, L. Paul Bremer, ordered troops to shut down a weekly newspaper in Baghdad that had propounded false conspiracy theories damaging to the U.S., such as a story that “an American missile, not a terrorist car bomb, had caused an explosion that killed more than 50 Iraqi police recruits.”⁸⁴ Whether this sort of action does more harm than good, in similar environments, is a complicated question, depending on difficult judgments about the etiology of conspiracy theories, the consequences of censorship, and the efficacy of U.S. counterspeech. On the one hand, there are the familiar arguments that censorship attracts attention to the censored speech or publication and fuels further conspiracy theorizing; perhaps, the inference might run, the U.S. is moving against a particular rumor because it is true, or is moving against a particular paper because it is exposing actual U.S. conspiracies. Furthermore, censorship might just drive the conspiracy theories underground, to be spread and mutated by personal rumor-mongering that is less susceptible to focused rebuttal.

On the other hand, the peculiar environment in which Bremer acted may weigh in favor of a policy of censoring publication of conspiracy theories. One editorial argued that “[t]he occupation authorities have plenty of means, including their own television station, to get out a more favorable message.”⁸⁵ However, this ignores the effect discussed above, that the antecedent skepticism of the Iraqi audience is so strong that any U.S. statements, even if true, credible and important, will be ignored altogether. With an audience already thoroughly in the grip of conspiracy theories, open counterspeech may simply be more grist for the conspiratorial mill. Consider that when Al-Hurra began its operations, a conspiracy theory quickly circulated, claiming that the short-term contracts given to Al-Hurra personnel showed that the station was set up only to bolster George W. Bush’s reelection campaign, and would presumably be shut down after the election.⁸⁶ Given the extremely low efficacy of U.S. counterspeech in this sort of environment, the

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realistic options may be limited to censorship and anonymous or quasi-anonymous counterspeech in the style of the Lincoln Group. Whatever the merits of these pragmatic and tactical questions, the availability of censorship gives U.S. officials operating in foreign countries an extra instrument for coping with conspiracy theories, one that is not available in the domestic arena due to both legal and political constraints.

Conclusion

Our goal here has been to understand the sources of conspiracy theories and to examine potential government responses. Most people lack direct or personal information about the explanations for terrible events, and they are often tempted to attribute such events to some nefarious actor. The temptation is least likely to be resisted if others are making the same attributions. Conspiracy cascades arise through the same processes that fuel many kinds of social errors. What makes such cascades most distinctive, and relevantly different from other cascades involving beliefs that are both false and harmful, is their self-insulating quality.

The very statements and facts that might dissolve conspiracy cascades can be taken as further evidence on their behalf. These points make it especially difficult for outsiders, including governments, to debunk them. Some conspiracy theories create serious risks. They do not merely undermine democratic debate; in extreme cases, they create or fuel violence. If government can dispel such theories, it should do so. One problem is that its efforts might be counterproductive, because efforts to rebut conspiracy theories also legitimate them. We have suggested, however, that government can minimize this effect by rebutting more rather than fewer theories, by enlisting independent groups to supply rebuttals, and by cognitive infiltration designed to break up the crippled epistemology of conspiracy-minded groups and informationally isolated social networks.

Cass Sunstein has been promoted as a candidate for a position on the U.S. Supreme Court. Dr. Kurtis Hagen submitted the paper, below, to the Journal of Peace and Justice Studies as a critique of Sunstein's "Harvard Public Law Working Paper No. 08-03."

Conspiracy Theories and Stylized Facts

Journal for Peace and Justice Studies 21.2 (Fall 2011)

Kurtis Hagen

ABSTRACT: In an article published in the *Journal of Political Philosophy*, Cass Sunstein and Adrian Vermeule argue that the government and its allies ought to actively undermine groups that espouse conspiracy theories deemed "demonstrably false." They propose infiltrating such groups in order to "cure" conspiracy theorists by treating their "crippled epistemology" with "cognitive diversity." They base their proposal on an analysis of the "causes" of such conspiracy theories, which emphasizes informational and reputational cascades. Some may regard their proposal as outrageous and anti-democratic. I agree. However, in this article I merely argue that their argument is flawed in at least the following ways: (1) their account of the popularity of conspiracy theories is implausible, and (2) their proposal relies on misleading "stylized facts," including a caricature of those who doubt official narratives and a deceptive depiction of the relevant history.

The full presentation by Dr. Hagen, *which includes a very interesting series of comments from the academic community*, can be found by pulling up: <http://911blogger.com/news/2012-01-19/another-peer-reviewed-publication-conspiracy-theories-and-stylized-facts>

From Cass Sunstein to Philip Zelikow, “America’s Leading Historian”

Philip Zelikow deserves the “leading historian” accolade because in 2014, as the White Burkett Miller Professor of History at the University of Virginia, he will be offering an on-line course titled: *The Modern World: Global History since 1760*.

These is just one problem: Professor Zelikow is a “person of interest” in the upcoming investigation of the Israeli Trojan Horse. For example, my research suggests that the clique’s Israeli Trojan Horse apparatus was responsible for the 9/11 attack on the World Trade Center in New York City and guess who was the Executive Director of 9/11 Commission to investigate that attack? Yes, Philip Zelikow, who has a background filled with many dots needing to be connected. The question arises: how can a person who directed the cover up of the concealed scheme to invent a new global enemy to justify the takeover of “seven countries in the Middle East in five years” be trusted to explain world history to our next generations? Please give these dots your consideration:

- Here is Zelikow in 1988, moving to the University of Virginia where until February 2005 he directed the nation’s largest center on the American presidency and was a UVa Professor of History.
- Here is Zelikow in 1991, leaving a position with the U.S. National Security Council to join Harvard as an Associate Professor of Public policy and co-director of Harvard’s “Intelligence and Policy Program” at the Kennedy School of Government.
- Here is Zelikow in late 2000 to early 2001 as a member of George W. Bush’s presidential transition team.
- Here is Zelikow, following George W. Bush as he takes office, appointed to the President’s Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board and Director of the bipartisan National Commission on Federal Election Reform in which the Bush election is now beginning to be perceived as a massive fraud.
- Here is Zelikow in September 2002, delivering a complete rewrite of a top State Department national security overview to Condoleezza Rice, President Bush’s National Security Advisor. The original overview was written under the direction of U.S. Secretary of State, Colin Powell and was deemed to be lacking in vigor. Zelikow’s rewrite is recognized by some sources as “a significant document in the Bush administration doctrine of preemptive war.”
- Here is Zelikow in January of 2003, appointed by the President George W. Bush to be the Executive Director of the 9/11 Commission to investigate the attack.
- Here is Zelikow choosing to ignore documents from the *Able Danger Project* of the Defense Intelligence Agency and the U.S. Special Operations Command proving knowledge---a year before the 9/11 attack---of a cell of 9/11 hijackers,. For details, please pull up: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Nbak9KOIngo&feature=player_embedded

And here is Zelikow in 2011, appointed to the President's Intelligence Advisory Board of the Obama administration.

Philip D. Zelikow

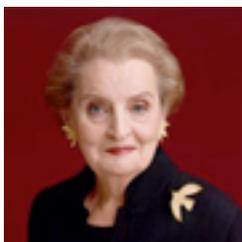


Philip D. Zelikow and the company he keeps:

Philip Zelikow is a member of the *Council on Foreign Relations* and the Rockefeller-controlled *Trilateral Commission*. (see pages 362-363 of the Perspective for details and pull up: <http://www.projectcensored.org/22-obamas-trilateral-commission-team/>)

He is also a member of the *Aspen Strategy Group*, which includes a full contingent of “persons of interest,” potentially minions of the clique’s Israeli Trojan Horse, with individuals of particular interest marked in red.

Aspen Strategy Group Members



[Madeleine K. Albright](#)



[Graham T. Allison](#)



[Zoë Baird Budinger](#)



[Samuel R. Berger](#)



[Stephen E. Biegun](#)



[Robert D. Blackwill](#)



[Kurt M. Campbell](#)



[James E. Cartwright](#)



[Eliot Cohen](#)



[Susan Collins](#)



[Richard Cooper](#)



[Richard Danzig](#)



[John M. Deutch](#)



[Richard A. Falkenrath](#)



[Diana Farrell](#)



[Peter D. Feaver](#)



[Dianne Feinstein](#)



[Michèle Flournoy](#)



[Michael Green](#)



[Richard N. Haass](#)



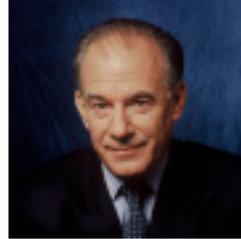
[Stephen Hadley](#)



[John Hamre](#)



[Jane Harman](#)



[David Ignatius](#)



[Nicholas Kristof](#)



[Richard G. Lugar](#)



[Leo S. Mackay, Jr.](#)



[David McCormick](#)



[Sam Nunn](#)



[Meghan O'Sullivan](#)



[William J. Perry](#)



[John Podesta](#)



[Thomas Pritzker](#)



Jack Reed



Mitchell B. Reiss



Condoleezza Rice



Carla Anne Robbins



David E. Sanger



Susan C. Schwab



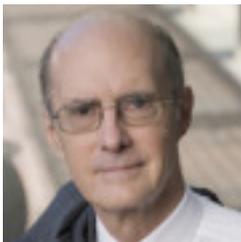
Smita Singh



Anne-Marie Slaughter



James Steinberg



Strobe Talbott



Jessica Tuchman
Mathews



Fareed Zakaria



Dov S. Zakheim



Philip Zelikow



Robert B. Zoellick

Veterans Today, a military and foreign affairs journal, is noted for its outspoken focus on the infiltration of Israeli spies, Israeli operatives, NeoCons, and other American minions in American government, American military, American education, and other key American institutions.

Tuesday, September 20th, 2011 | Posted by [Kevin Barrett](#), Veteran Today

Zelikow: 9/11 Master Criminal Appointed By Obama

Obama appoints 9/11 scriptwriter & master criminal Zelikow to Intelligence Advisory Board

by [Kevin Barrett](#)

Zelikow has admitted that the US public has been terrorized by nonexistent threats: “I’ll tell you what I think the real threat [is] and actually has been since 1990 – it’s the threat against Israel,” Zelikow told a crowd at the University of Virginia on September 10, 2002, speaking on a panel of foreign policy experts assessing the impact of September 11 and the future of the war on al-Qaeda.

“And this is the threat that dare not speak its name, because the Europeans don’t care deeply about that threat, I will tell you frankly. And the American government doesn’t want to lean too hard on it rhetorically, because it is not a popular sell,” said Zelikow. -[Asia Times](#)

9/11 was “[The New Pearl Harbor](#)” – a made-for-television spectacular, complete with amazing pyrotechnic special effects and the on-screen murder of almost 3,000 extras.

The question is, who wrote the script?

My best guess: Philip Zelikow – [the man Obama just appointed to the President’s Intelligence Advisory Board](#).

Zelikow describes himself as an expert in the “creation and maintenance of public myths.” He defines “public myth” as a “public presumption” about history that may or may not be true, but which nevertheless exerts a powerful influence on public opinion, and through that influence affects history.

Zelikow gives the official account of Pearl Harbor – the story of the “dastardly Japanese sneak attack” – as a prime example of the kind of “public myth” he specializes in creating and maintaining. Zelikow’s close colleague and fellow neocon extremist Paul Wolfowitz has exhibited a lifelong obsession with the immense strategic value of Pearl Harbor. Wolfowitz has repeatedly cited a remark by Albert Speer to the effect that if Germany had been blessed with a Pearl Harbor it would have won World War II. (Source: Brian Bogart, University of Oregon – Truth Jihad Radio interview, 2007). Therefore, in the eyes of neocons such as Zelikow, FDR was wise to adopt McCollum’s Eight Point Plan designed to force the Japanese to launch a sneak attack on America. (Stinnett, Day of Deceit, 6-11). Pearl Harbor was not just a godsend – it was a US-orchestrated event, and the 2,403 Americans murdered there were murdered by the US government as well as the Japanese.

As Robert Stinnett has shown, the US High Command knew exactly when and where the attacks were coming, and intentionally left American sailors and Marines in harm’s way so that their murder would enrage US public opinion and reverse the prevailing majority sentiment against entry into World War II. In other words, Pearl Harbor, like 9/11, was a [human sacrifice](#) used to initiate a war – a pattern that recurs throughout history. Circumstantial evidence suggests that Philip Zelikow scripted that human sacrifice. Zelikow co-authored a 1998 article in Foreign Affairs speculating on the likely political, social, and psychological consequences of a new Pearl Harbor style terrorist event, such as the destruction of the World Trade Center. (See that 1988 article below, titled: [Catastrophic Terrorism: Elements of a National Policy](#))

Despite this smoking-gun evidence of his foreknowledge of 9/11, Zelikow was chosen by Cheney-Bush to run the 9/11 Commission. [According to Philip Shenon](#), Zelikow had written all of the chapter outlines of *The 9/11 Commission Report* before the Commission even began its investigation. Zelikow completely controlled the investigation, ordering underlings to basically just fill in the chapter outlines of his pre-scripted novel. The *Report* became a “surprise bestseller” because it reads like a novel – which is exactly what it is. The core story – the alleged plot by 19 alleged hijackers led by a guy on dialysis in a cave in Afghanistan – is supported by nothing remotely resembling evidence that would stand up in a court of law. If you follow the footnotes, you’ll find that the whole thing is supposedly based on third-hand testimony taken under brutal torture from Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, who apparently had to be waterboarded 183 times in one month in order to brainwash him into remembering and parroting the details of Zelikow’s novel.

The million-dollar question: WHEN did Zelikow write his novel? My guess: The novel known as the *9/11 Commission Report* is adapted from a made-for-TV disaster movie script — the script that was brought to life by covert operations professionals on September 11th, 2001. And who better to write a novel based on that script than the author of the script itself? When Cheney and his Bush puppet picked Zelikow to write the 9/11 Commission Report, it was a strong indication that they were turning to the original author of the event – the specialist in the “creation and maintenance of public myths” who had created the official myth of 9/11 by authoring the script of the event.

Today, the 9/11 “public myth” has become a legend – a story that is no longer sacred, a story that more and more people doubt. Is Obama bringing Zelikow back on board in order to try to “maintain” the “public myth” of 9/11? Zelikow is certainly the man for the job. Alongside his expertise, he has plenty of motivation: When the 9/11 public myth finally crumbles, he will soon find himself dangling from a rope, twisting slowly in the breeze.

About the Author: Dr. Kevin Barrett, a Ph.D. Arabist-Islamologist, is one of America’s best-known critics of the War on Terror. Dr. Barrett has appeared many times on Fox, CNN, PBS and other broadcast outlets, and has inspired feature stories and op-eds in the New York Times, the Christian Science Monitor, the Chicago Tribune, and other leading publications. Dr. Barrett has taught at colleges and universities in San Francisco, Paris, and Wisconsin, where he ran for Congress in 2008. He currently works as a nonprofit organizer, author, and talk radio host. His website is www.truthjihad.com. He can be reached at: “Kevin Barrett” kbarrett@merr.com.

Why Has the University of Virginia Appointed Philip Zelikow a Professor of History? Is the University of Virginia a Trustworthy Institution of Learning in American Education?

As one goes deeper into the machinations of the clique of families, studies individual backgrounds, and assesses networks of associates, one can begin to develop a realistic sense whether a “person of interest” is earning his or her way up the ladder or is being groomed and placed by the clique well ahead of others, irrespective of qualifications. In looking over Philip Zelikow’s career, the latter appears to be the case. He has played an invaluable part in running interference for the clique’s concealed schemes.

And a big “tell” is that he is now assigned to perpetuate that clique’s sabotage of American education by pushing forward a wide-scope, on-line, falsified presentation of American and world history. For more information about Zelikow and his fabrication of history and his clique/Hegelian mentality, please consider the following linked critique: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sQtvhpOLUmM> This critique ties to the 1988 article written from the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University by Ashton B. Carter, John M. Deutch, and Philip Zelikow. This article (just below) appeared in *Foreign Affairs*, the official magazine of the clique’s own Council of Foreign Relations, just three years before the 9/11 attack on the World Trade Center in New York. The question that must be asked? Is this a part of the clique’s playbook, namely, engaging the betraying Eastern Establishment’s oldest university to begin a Carnegie-funded shaping of a grand deception well ahead of the clique’s planned scheme to invent a new global enemy to justify its upcoming preemptive wars in seven countries of the Middle East in five years and its newest effort to blunt the growth and rivalry of Muslim populations? Is this really a legitimate function of American education or is this clique subversion at work?

And it is interesting to note the backgrounds of the three authors of this Harvard document that found its way to be published in the clique’s Council on Foreign Relations magazine. For starters, all three authors belong to the Council of Foreign Relations. Here is a snapshot of Ashton Carter and John Deutch:

Ashton B. Carter: Yale, Rhodes Scholar at University of Oxford, Professor of Kennedy School of Government at Harvard, U.S. Deputy Secretary of Defense under Obama administration. He is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations.

John M. Deutch: Amherst College, Ph.D. at MIT, Director of Energy Research of the U.S. Department of Energy, Provost and later Dean of Science at MIT, U.S. Deputy Secretary of Defense, and in 1995, Director of the Central Intelligence Agency. He is a member of the Council of Foreign Relations and the Aspen Strategy Group. In 1996, after leaving the CIA, Deutch was investigated by the CIA for “improper handling of classified information, which was covered up by a pardon by President Clinton. See if you can connect the dots and determine why Deutch was routinely allowing CIA classified documents to remain unprotected on his computers. Certain conclusions of the investigative report were as follows:

230. (U/ /FOUO) Former DCI John Deutch was specifically informed that he was not authorized to process classified information on government computers configured for unclassified use.

231. (U/ /FOUO) Throughout his tenure as DCI, Deutch intentionally processed on those computers large volumes of highly classified information to include Top Secret Codeword material.

232. (U/ /FOUO) Because Deutch's computers configured for unclassified use had connections to the Internet, all classified information on those computers was at risk of compromise. Whether any of the information was stolen or compromised remains unknown.

233. (U/ /FOUO) On August 1, 1995, Deutch was made aware that computers with Internet connectivity were vulnerable to attack. Despite this knowledge, Deutch continued his practice of processing highly classified material on unclassified computers connected to the Internet.

234. (U/ /FOUO) Information developed during this investigation supports the conclusion that Deutch knew classified information remained on the hard drives of his computers even after he saved text to external storage devices and deleted the information.

235. (U/ /FOUO) Deutch misused U.S. Government computers by making extensive personal use of them. Further, he took no steps to restrict unauthorized persons from using government computers located at his residences.



Catastrophic Terrorism: Elements of a National Policy

By

**Ashton B. Carter, John M. Deutch
and Philip D. Zelikow**

A Report of

[Visions of Governance for the Twenty-First Century](#) A Project of the [John F. Kennedy School of Government Harvard University](#)

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Foreword: Preventive Defense

Through more than four decades of Cold War, American national security strategy was difficult to implement but easy to understand. America was set on a clear course to contain Soviet expansionism anywhere in the world, all the while building a formidable arsenal of nuclear weapons to deter the Soviet Union from using military force against it or its allies. Now, with the end of the Cold War, the underlying rationale for that strategy—the threat from the Soviet Union—has disappeared. What strategy should replace it? Much depends on finding the correct answer to this question.

The world survived three global wars this century. The first two resulted in tens of millions of deaths, but the third—the Cold War—would have been even more horrible than the others had deterrence failed. These three wars trace a path that leads to the strategy needed for the post-Cold War era.

At the end of the First World War, the victorious European allies sought revenge and reparations; what they got was a massive depression and another world war. The United States sought "normalcy" and isolation; what it got was total war and leadership in winning it. Because it failed to *prevent* and then to *deter* Germany's aggression, America was forced to mobilize a second time to *defeat* it.

At the end of the Second World War, America initially chose a strategy based on prevention. Vowing not to repeat the mistakes made after World War I, the Truman administration created the Marshall Plan, which sought to assist the devastated nations of Europe, friends and foes alike, to rebuild. The Marshall Plan and other examples of the preventive defense strategy, aimed at preventing the conditions that would lead to a future world war, were an outstanding success in Western Europe and in Japan.

But the Soviet Union turned down the Marshall Plan and, instead, persisted in a program of expansion, trying to take advantage of the weakened condition of most of the countries of Europe. The resulting security problem was clearly articulated by George Kennan, who forecast that the wartime cooperation with the Soviet Union would be replaced with a struggle for the heart of Europe and that the United States should prepare for a protracted period of confrontation. Kennan's analysis was accepted by the Truman administration, which then formulated a strategy that would get us through the Cold War: deterring another global war while containing the Soviet Union's demonstrated expansionist ambitions. Deterrence supplanted prevention: there was no other choice.

Even deterrence was a departure from earlier American military strategy. The United States had twice previously risen to defeat aggression, but it had not maintained the peacetime military establishment or the engagement in the world to deter World Wars I or II. Marshall and other defense leaders around Truman created the peacetime posture and new security institutions required. In time, as George Kennan had forecast, the Soviet Union disintegrated because of the limitations of its political and economic systems. Deterrence worked.

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The result is a world today seemingly without a major threat to the United States, and the U.S. is now enjoying a period of peace and influence as never before. But while this situation is to be savored by the public, foreign policy and defense leaders should not be complacent. This period of an absence of threat challenges these leaders to find the vision and foresight to act strategically, even when events and imminent threats do not compel them to do so.

To understand the dangers and opportunities that will define our nation's strategy in the new era, we must see the post- Cold War world the way George Marshall looked upon Europe after World War II, and return to prevention. In essence, we now have another chance to realize Marshall's vision: a world not of threats to be deterred, but a world united in peace, freedom, and prosperity. To realize this vision, we should return to Marshall's strategy of preventive defense.

Preventive Defense is a concept of defense strategy for the United States in the post-Cold War Era. It stresses the need to anticipate security dangers which, if mismanaged, have the potential to re-create Cold War-scale threats to U.S. interests and survival. The foci of Preventive Defense are: proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, catastrophic terrorism, "loose nukes" and other military technology from the former Soviet Union, Russia's post-Cold War security identity, and the peaceful rise of China.

Preventive Defense is the most important mission of national security leaders and of the defense establishment. They must dedicate themselves to Preventive Defense while they deter lesser but existing threats—in Iraq and North Korea—and conduct peacekeeping and humanitarian missions—in Bosnia, Haiti, Rwanda, and so on—where aggression occurs but where American vital interests are not directly threatened.

This report is the sixth in a series of Preventive Defense Project reports on key applications of Preventive Defense. We are grateful to our colleagues in the Catastrophic Terrorism Study Group and the Visions of Governance for the Twenty-First Century for their collaboration

Acknowledgments

This report is a product of the Catastrophic Terrorism Study Group, a nine-month long collaboration of faculty from Harvard University, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Stanford University, and the University of Virginia. The Group involves experts on national security, terrorism, intelligence, law enforcement, constitutional law, technologies of Catastrophic Terrorism and defenses against them, and government organization and management. The Group is co- chaired by Ashton B. Carter and John M. Deutch, and the project director is Philip D. Zelikow. Organized by the Stanford- Harvard Preventive Defense Project, the work of the Study Group is part of the Kennedy School of Government's "Visions of Governance for the Twenty-First Century" project, directed by Dean Joseph S. Nye, Jr. and Elaine Kamarck.

While the danger of Catastrophic Terrorism is new and grave, there is much that the United States can do to prevent it and to mitigate its consequences if it occurs. The objective of the Catastrophic Terrorism Study Group is to suggest program and policy changes that can be taken by the United States government in the near term, including the reallocation of agency responsibilities, to prepare the nation better for the emerging threat of Catastrophic Terrorism.

An article based on this report will be published in the journal *Foreign Affairs* in the November/December 1998 issue. The authors would like to thank the members of the Catastrophic Terrorism Study Group:

[Look at these names marked in blue:](#)

Graham T. Allison, Jr.

Zoe Baird

Vic DeMarines

Robert Gates

Jamie Gorelick

Robert Hermann

Philip Heyman

Fred Ikle

Elaine Kamarck

Ernest May

Matthew Meselson

[Joseph S. Nye, Jr.](#)

William J. Perry

Larry Potts

Fred Schauer

Terry Scott

Jack Sheehan

Malcom Sparrow

Herbert Winokur

[Robert Zoellick](#)

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Though practically all of these group members are sympathetic to the conclusions in this report, and some enthusiastically endorse them, none is responsible either for particular opinions expressed here or for the way we have written this report and expressed those judgments.

We would also like to thank the staff who was responsible for organizing the Study Group in addition to assisting in the preparation of this report: Gretchen Bartlett, Lainie Dillon, Hilary Driscoll, Sarah Peterson, and Kristin Schneeman.

Finally, the Study Group is grateful for the support of the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, and the Herbert S. Winokur Public Policy Fund at Harvard University.

CATASTROPHIC TERRORISM: ELEMENTS OF A NATIONAL POLICY

Imagining the Transforming Event

We find terrorism when individuals or groups, rather than governments, seek to attain their objectives by means of the terror induced by violent attacks upon civilians. When governments openly attack others, we call it war, to be judged or dealt with according to the laws of war. When governments act in concert with private individuals or groups, the United States government may call it war, or state-sponsored terrorism, and retaliate against both the individuals and the governments. Whatever the label, terrorism is not a new phenomenon in national or international life, although terrorists may be animated by a greater variety of motives than ever before, from international cults like Aum Shinrikyo to the individual nihilism of the Unabomber.

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What is certainly new is that terrorists may today gain access to weapons of mass destruction (WMD). These can come in a variety of forms: nuclear explosive devices, germ dispensers, poison gas weapons, or even the novel destructive power of computers turned against the societies that rely on them. What is also new is an unprecedented level of national and global interdependence on an invisible infrastructure of energy and information distribution.

Americans were shocked by the tragic results of the August 1998 terrorist attacks against their embassies in Kenya and Tanzania. By comparison with the threat of catastrophic terrorism, we believe that the threat of ordinary terrorism of the kind we have known over the last generation is being

taken seriously. The United States government's commitment to address that danger is fundamentally sound. We are not as confident that the United States government is suitably prepared to address the new threat of catastrophic terrorism that utilizes weapons of mass destruction or intensive cyber-assault.

Long part of Hollywood's and Tom Clancy's repertory of nightmarish scenarios, catastrophic terrorism is a real possibility. In theory, the enemies of the United States have motive, means, and opportunity. The U.S. government has publicly announced that terrorist groups are attempting to manufacture chemical weapons and destroyed one such facility operating in the Sudan. As India and Pakistan build up their nuclear arsenals and Russia, storehouse for tens of thousands of weapons and the material to make tens of thousands more, descends toward a future none can foresee, it is not hard to imagine the possibilities. The combination of available technology and lethality has made biological weapons at least as deadly a danger as the better known chemical and nuclear threats. The bombings in East Africa killed hundreds. A successful attack with weapons of mass destruction could certainly kill thousands, or tens of thousands. If the device that exploded in 1993 under the World Trade Center had been nuclear, or the distribution of a deadly pathogen, the chaos and devastation would have gone far beyond our meager ability to describe it.¹

Experts combining experience in every quadrant of the national security and law enforcement community all consider this catastrophic threat perfectly plausible *today*. Technology is more accessible, society is more vulnerable, and much more elaborate international networks have developed among organized criminals, drug traffickers, arms dealers, and money launderers: the necessary infrastructure for catastrophic terrorism. Practically unchallengeable American military superiority on the conventional battlefield pushes this country's enemies toward the unconventional alternatives.²

Readers should imagine the possibilities for themselves, because the most serious constraint on current policy is lack of imagination. An act of catastrophic terrorism that killed thousands or tens of thousands of people and/or disrupted the necessities of life for hundreds of thousands, or even

millions, would be a watershed event in America's history. It could involve loss of life and property unprecedented for peacetime and undermine Americans' fundamental sense of security within their own borders in a manner akin to the 1949 Soviet atomic bomb test, or perhaps even worse. Constitutional liberties would be challenged as the United States sought to protect itself from further attacks by pressing against allowable limits in surveillance of citizens, detention of suspects, and the use of deadly force. More violence would follow, either as other terrorists seek to imitate this great "success" or as the United States strikes out at those considered responsible. Like Pearl Harbor, such an event would divide our past and future into a "before" and "after." The effort and resources we devote to averting or containing this threat now, in the "before" period, will seem woeful, even pathetic, when compared to what will happen "after." Our leaders will be judged negligent for not addressing catastrophic terrorism more urgently.

Using imagination, we hope now to find some of the political will that we know would be there later, "after," because this nation prefers prevention to funereal reconstruction. When this threat becomes clear the President must be in a position to activate extraordinary capabilities. The danger of the use of a weapon of mass destruction against the United States or one of its allies is greater at this moment than it was during the Cold War, or at least since 1962. The threat of catastrophic terrorism is therefore a priority national security problem, as well as a major law enforcement concern. The threat thus deserves the kind of attention we now devote to threats of military nuclear attack or of regional aggression, as in the Defense Department's major regional contingencies that drive our force planning and the resources we devote to defense.

The first enemy of imagination is resignation. Some who contemplate this threat find the prospects so dreadful and various that they despair of doing anything useful and switch off their troubling imagination. They are fatalistic, like someone contemplating the possibility of a solar supernova, and turn their eyes away from the threat. Some thinkers reacted the same way at the dawn of the nuclear age, expecting doom to strike at any hour and disavowing any further interest in the details of deterrence as a

hopeless venture. But as in the case of nuclear deterrence, the good news is that more *can* be done.

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We formed a *Catastrophic Terrorism Study Group* to move beyond a realization of the threat to consider just what can be done about it. This group began meeting in November 1997. We examined other studies that consider this problem. We received information and advice from some current government officials as well as from those who had considered the problem from the perspectives of governments in Great Britain, Israel, Germany, and Russia. We now advance *practical* proposals for consideration and debate. We avoid a grand solution, preferring to shape "bricks" that strengthen existing structures, consider the very different technical challenges presented by nuclear, biological, chemical, and cyber threats, and provide a foundation for future adaptation and future building.

Organizing for Success

The threat of catastrophic terrorism typifies the new sort of security problem the United States must confront in the post Cold War world. It is transnational, defying ready classification as foreign or domestic, either in origin, participants, or materials. As the World Trade Center incident demonstrated, one group can combine U.S. citizens with resident aliens and foreign nationals, operating in and out of American territory over long periods of time.

The greatest danger may arise if the threat falls into one of the crevasses in our government's field of overlapping jurisdictions, such as the divide between terrorism that is "foreign" or "domestic;" or terrorism that has "state" or "non- state" sponsors; or terrorism that is classified as a problem for "law enforcement" or one of "national security." The law enforcement/national security divide is especially significant, carved deeply into the topography of American government.

The national security paradigm fosters aggressive, proactive intelligence gathering, presuming the threat before it arises, planning preventive action

against suspected targets, and taking anticipatory action. The law enforcement paradigm fosters reactions to information voluntarily provided, post-facto arrests, trials governed by rules of evidence, and general protection for the rights of citizens.

We start with a concept for an overall end-to-end strategy. This has at least four elements: (1) intelligence and warning; (2) prevention and deterrence; (3) crisis and consequence management; and (4) a process for coordinated acquisition of needed materials, equipment, and technology. Throughout, there must be clear guidance about what our institutions should be able to do and definition of the roles and missions of involved agencies at all levels of government.

In an address at the U.S. Naval Academy, President Clinton announced on May 22, 1998, that we must approach the new terrorist challenges of the 21st century "with the same rigor and determination we applied to the toughest security challenges of this century." To that end he signed Presidential Decision Directive (PDD) 62 and appointed a National Coordinator for Security, Infrastructure Protection, and Counterterrorism to "bring the full force of all our resources to bear swiftly and effectively." The National Coordinator and PDD-62, like the predecessor PDD-39, look to "lead agencies" on one or another issue to "identify a program plan with goals and specific milestones." The National Coordinator will produce an annual "Security Preparedness Report," offer budget advice, and lead in the development of guidelines for crisis management.³

We welcome the presidential determination to address the danger of catastrophic terrorism and see no harm in the designation of a responsible White House aide. But we suggest a different emphasis when it comes to solving the difficult problems of shared powers and overlapping authorities.

We place no faith in czars. An unidentified, incautious administration official explained to reporters that "when money was going to the war on drugs, we created a drug czar. Now money is going to counterterrorism, and so we'll have a czar for that, except this one will have real power."⁴ A national coordinator may be necessary, but is certainly not sufficient. For

better or worse, however, "real power" resides in the executive departments and companies that actually have people, equipment, money, and the capacity to do things. This report thus focuses on building such capabilities, rather than dwelling on coordination at the apex.

"In form," Richard Neustadt explained long ago, "all Presidents are leaders nowadays. In fact this guarantees no more than that they will be clerks. Everybody now expects the man inside the White House to do something about everything. ... But such acceptance ... merely signifies that other men have found it practically impossible to do their jobs without assurance of initiatives from him. ... They find his actions useful in their business. ... A President, these days, is an invaluable clerk. His services are in demand all over Washington. His influence, however, is a very different matter."⁵

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Well before the idea of a terrorism czar had been conceived, James Q. Wilson had noticed that "whenever a political crisis draws attention to the fact that authority in our government is widely shared, the cry is heard for a 'czar' to 'knock heads together' and 'lead' the assault on AIDS, drug abuse, pollution, or defense procurement abuses. Our form of government, to say nothing of our political culture, does not lend itself to czars...."⁶

Also, most of the expensive functional capabilities that must be brought together to cope with the danger of catastrophic terrorism are capabilities that are needed for other purposes, too, from reconnaissance satellites to National Guardsmen. Unifying these capabilities exclusively for one challenge will not work in practice. The people making decisions about using these capabilities against terrorists should be the same people who must consider the other missions and who can weigh and reconcile competing demands.

Experience from World War II (such as that of the British Chiefs of Staff Committee or the U.S. Office of War Mobilization) through the Cold War to the present, including the current system of security policymaking the British have devised (after long trial and error) for Northern Ireland, instead counsels us toward a different approach.⁷ One or another executive

agency may be in the lead, but the key is to give responsibility (and accountability) to the people who are in charge of the relevant people and machines; create unglamorous but effective systems for shared decision-making that combine civil, military, and intelligence judgments up and down the chain of command; fashion entities that integrate planning and operational activity at the working level; and focus on the tasks of building up the institutional capacities to do new things. There must be exercises of the entire system to highlight defensive needs, before an incident happens. We turn now to the first crucial task: intelligence and warning.

Intelligence and Warning

Since 1945 the United States has given intense attention to any potentially hostile entity that might deliver weapons of mass destruction against its territory or its allies. The intelligence objectives were straightforward: orientation toward governments and monitoring of weapons development, testing, and deployment. The intelligence task for catastrophic terrorism is complicated by non-state actors, concealed weapons development, and unconventional deployments. In cyber attacks, the delivery of weapons can be entirely electronic.

So the intelligence job is much harder. It is not impossible. The would-be terrorists have problems, too. If states are involved, the organizations tend either to be large and leaky, or small and feckless. If no state is involved, the group may be small, feckless, and pathological, too. These realities form the opportunities for intelligence successes. Even the most formidable Irish terrorist groups took years of experience to acquire their level of professionalism and, for all their skills and training, suffered frequent setbacks in their underground war against British intelligence. Perhaps the most serious recent attempt to carry out an act of catastrophic terrorism was an expertly planned effort to destroy, with a series of simultaneous bomb explosions, the entire electrical power supply for metropolitan London. The attempt was thwarted and British security forces arrested the terrorists.

The U.S. government should seek to have the legal authorities and the capability to monitor—physically and electronically—any group and their

potential state sponsors that *might* justifiably be considered to have a motive and capability to use weapons of mass destruction. The U.S. government should be able to do all that can reasonably be done to detect any use or deployment of such weapons anywhere in the world, by utilizing remote sensing technology and by strengthening and evaluating worldwide sources of information. These would include clandestine collection, open sources such as foreign newspapers and journals or the Internet, and would include better-organized exchanges with key allies and other like-minded states.

Nearly a year before its attack on the Tokyo subway system, the Aum Shinrikyo group had already used the nerve gas, Sarin, in attacks on civilians. Although known to the Japanese news media, the U.S. government did not know. Not only did Washington not know what Japanese law enforcement agencies knew, it is likely that centralized Japanese law enforcement agencies did not know what other local organizations in Japan knew about this prior and well documented use of chemical weapons.

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Today the U.S. intelligence community lacks a place to perform "all-source" planning for collecting information, where the possible yields from efforts in overhead reconnaissance, electronic surveillance, clandestine agents, law enforcement databases and informants, and reports from foreign governments, can be sifted and organized for maximum complementary effect. The national security agencies can be proactive. Domestic law enforcement officials understandably are not proactive about intelligence collection but focus their efforts from informants or other collection to investigate suspected criminal actions with the objective of criminal prosecution. Civil liberties properly discourage them from going out and looking for criminals before they have evidence of crime.

On the other hand, domestic law enforcement has many techniques for gathering data, including lawful wiretaps and grand jury investigations. Much of the yield from these efforts is, in turn, closed off to the national security community by law or regulation, to safeguard constitutional rights.

We believe the U.S. needs a new institution to gather intelligence on terrorism, with particular attention to the threat of catastrophic terrorism. We call this new institution a *National Terrorism Intelligence Center*. This Center would be responsible for collection management, analysis, dissemination of information, and warning of suspected catastrophic terrorist acts. The Center would need the statutory authority to:

- monitor and provide warning of terrorist threats to relevant agencies of the U.S. government, supporting defense or intelligence operations, as well as law enforcement;
- set integrated collection requirements for gathering information for all the intelligence agencies or bureaus of the U.S. government;
- receive and store all lawfully collected, relevant information from any government agency, including law enforcement wiretaps and grand jury information;
- analyze all forms of relevant information to produce integrated reports that could be disseminated to any agency that needed them, while restricting dissemination of underlying domestic wiretap and grand jury information;
- review planned collection and intelligence programs of all agencies directed toward terrorist targets to determine the adequacy and balance among these efforts in preparation of the President's proposed budget;
- facilitate international cooperation in counterterrorism intelligence, including the bilateral efforts of individual agencies;
- not manage operational activities or take on the task of general intelligence about the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (now coordinated in the Director of Central Intelligence Nonproliferation Center);
- be exempt from motions for pretrial discovery in the trials of indicted criminals.⁹

Since this Center would have constant access to considerable domestic law enforcement information, we believe it should *not* be located at the Central Intelligence Agency. The highly successful Director of Central Intelligence Counterterrorism Center established in the mid-1980s has a narrower mandate than the National Center that we propose and it would be incorporated into the new National Center. Instead we recommend the National Center be located in the FBI. However, the Center, in our conception, would be responsible to an operating committee, chaired by the Director of Central Intelligence and including the Director of the FBI, the Deputy Secretary of Defense, the Deputy Attorney General, the Deputy Secretary of State, and the Deputy National Security Adviser. The budget would be included within the National Foreign Intelligence Program, which already provides support for the FBI's National Security Division. Unresolved disputes would go to the National Security Council. The director of the Center would come alternately from FBI and CIA. The major intelligence organizations would all be required to provide a specified number of professionals to the Center, and this number would be exempt from agency personnel ceilings.

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The concept of this Center attempts to combine the proactive intelligence gathering approach of the national security agencies, which are not legally constrained in deciding when they may investigate a possible crime, with the investigative resources of law enforcement agencies. We must have an entity that can utilize our formidable but disparate national security and law enforcement resources to analyze transnational problems. This combination should be permitted, consistent with public trust, only in a National Center that has no powers of arrest and prosecution and that establishes a certain distance from the traditional defense and intelligence agencies. The Center would also be subject to oversight from existing institutions, like the federal judiciary, the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board and the select intelligence committees of the Congress.

There are precedents for creating novel interagency operating institutions that work—the National Reconnaissance Office and the reformed

Counterintelligence Center offer relevant illustrations. We are not anxious to create new government institutions. But the problems in information sharing about terrorism are not just products of petty bureaucratic jealousy. They stem from a real question: how do we reconcile the practices of foreign intelligence work with the restrictions that properly limit domestic law enforcement? We believe our proposal offers a possible answer.

Prevention and Deterrence

There are several measures that we believe will contribute to prevention and deterrence of catastrophic terrorism. We suggest three measures here—an international legal initiative to make any development or possession of weapons of mass destruction a universal crime, a National Information Assurance Institute, and stronger federal support to strategic risk analysis of the catastrophic terrorism problem.

Outlawing Terror Weapons

Prevention is intertwined with the concept of deterrence. The U.S. has finally developed a sound, firm, and increasingly credible declaratory policy that criminalizes terrorist activity and supports sanctions, or even the use of force, to thwart an attack or respond. We also believe that the United States must work with other countries to extend the prohibitions against development or possession of weapons of mass destruction. Matthew Meselson and others have recently proposed a convention that would make any individual intentionally involved in biological weapons work liable as an international criminal, prosecutable anywhere, as is the case for pirates or airplane hijackers.¹⁰ Defensive work against biological warfare agents would of course be permitted.

There are already international treaties in which governments promise to restrain their weapons developments—the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, the Biological Weapons Convention, and the Chemical Weapons Convention are the most notable examples. Governments breaking such a treaty violate international law. We are pressing a different idea. Prohibited weapon development would become a universal crime, opening the way to prosecution and extradition of individual offenders wherever they may be

found, around the world. This idea utilizes the power of national criminal law against people, not the power of international law against governments. It builds on analogous developments in the law of piracy, treaties declaring the criminality of airplane hijacking, crimes of maritime navigation, theft of nuclear materials, and crimes against diplomats.

We are concerned about the actions of governments, too. Over time, we hope the burden of proof in demonstrating compliance with international conventions must also shift away from those alleging noncompliance to those states or groups whose compliance is in doubt. International norms should adapt so that such states are obliged to reassure those who are worried and to take reasonable measures to prove they are not secretly developing weapons of mass destruction. Failure to supply such proof, or prosecute the criminals living in their borders, should entitle worried nations to take all necessary actions for their self-defense.

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National Information Assurance Institute

Cyber-terrorism is a special problem, where private sector cooperation is vital, but elusive. The President's Commission on Critical Infrastructure Protection (often called the Marsh Commission) stressed that industry was reluctant to deal with these problems on its own because the solutions cost money, the risk is unclear, and they fear heavy-handed government action. On the other hand, although the FBI has created a National Infrastructure Protection Center, which can help identify sites that need help, we do not think FBI, with all its operational duties, is the place to build a bridge with the private sector or harness the significant resources and expertise found on the cyber problem within the Department of Defense. So we propose a *National Information Assurance Institute*, based within the private, nonprofit sector, that could serve as a kind of industry laboratory with a central focus on cyber protection. Placed in the private sector, the institute would not itself own the infrastructure or be part of the government, but it could deal with both sides. It implements the Marsh Commission's recommendation, seeking a way for industry to organize itself better to deal with this problem as part of a public-private partnership.

For industry, this institute could become:

- a clearinghouse for sharing information assurance techniques and technology;
- a developer of common techniques and technology for information assurance;
- a trusted repository of proprietary information that poses no competitive threat;
- a single point of contact with the law enforcement, national security, and other agencies of the federal government;
- a resource for training and familiarization of industry personnel with technical best practice and government concerns, policies, and regulations.

For government, this institute could become:

- a channel for sharing sensitive intelligence about threats to information infrastructure;
- a center of technical excellence for developing and improving technology and techniques for protecting critical infrastructure;
- a unified government-industry forum for coordinating federal policy, regulation, and other actions affecting infrastructure providers.

We envision that the institute would be established as a not-for-profit research organization by a group of concerned private companies, universities, and existing not-for-profit laboratories. The institute would be governed by a board of directors drawn from the private sector and academia.

The institute staff could be supplemented by detailees drawn from both industry and government. Industry affiliates would not only include the manufacturers and maintainers of information systems, but also service vendors, their trade associations, and the major companies and trade associations from the power, telecommunications, banking, transportation,

oil and gas, water and sewer, and emergency service sectors (including multinational companies, with appropriate protection for circulation of U.S.-only classified information).

This new institute could perform information assurance assessments for industry on a confidential basis. Industry representatives would be educated and trained on technical best practice, threats, and government policies. The institute would receive contracts from government. The institute could sponsor and conduct research on security assessment tools, intrusion detection, recovery, and restoration. As it identifies and develops industry standard best practices, and evaluates the vulnerability of commercial products, we prefer to rely where possible on informal private sector enforcement of these ideas in the marketplace (through insurance rating, for example), rather than formal government regulation. The institute could also perform incident evaluations, create a monitoring center for information assurance, provide on-call assistance, and help industry develop contingency plans for failure.

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Risk Analysis

Other than more general policies to keep America's enemies to a minimum and to prevent anyone from acquiring weapons of mass destruction who does not already possess them, efforts to prevent catastrophic terrorism turn on the interdiction of people and materials and on deterring attacks. A serious U.S. government effort would include development of the capacity to use remote sensing technology to detect, at least from close range, any distinctive and measurable physical properties of nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons or their less commonplace precursor materials and the distribution of this technology in a form that can be used in the field. Aided by international agreements among supplier nations, materials that can be used in weapons of mass destruction would be marked or tagged wherever possible, to enhance detection or post facto identification.

Moreover, the United States should seek to ascertain the identity of every person and the contents of all freight entering its territory or its

installations overseas. Though we know this goal obviously cannot be attained in the immediate future, it is a legitimate objective for the long-term. Even imperfect measures can still create the perception, among would-be terrorists, that they or their precious weapon material might run a significant risk of being intercepted. But systematic interdiction efforts require shrewder analysis of where more resources can make a difference.

The allocation of inspection and protective instruments by the government should be guided by risk analysis. This form of analysis is well known to engineers who may analyze a dangerous system to find the key sequences of errors that can lead not just to failure, but to catastrophic failure. Those are the sequences that then command disproportionate engineering attention (to add redundant switches, for example). Not all worries merit equal concern. Engineers refer to a "balanced" design as one where all the components have been designed to be as good as the whole system needs, neither better nor worse.

The role of risk analysis, or strategic analysis for risk control, is to analyze threats and define risks in a natural way (avoiding the temptation to define them in terms of existing agency boundaries or capabilities), to commission further data gathering and analysis to assess relative significance, and then to subdivide acute risks into actionable components where resources can make a difference.¹¹ A systemic approach is needed that encompasses broad area surveillance; specific threat identification; targeted surveillance and warning; prevention, protection, deterrence, interdiction and covert action; consequence management; forensic analysis of a site to determine responsibility, punitive action, and learning lessons.

Analysis, for instance, shows that international border crossings are an important bottleneck in the worldwide movement of criminals. The United States, rather than just looking after the verifiability of its own passports, should organize resources focused on such bottlenecks throughout the world. We can imagine, for instance, a system created, with American funding, to insure that every country's passports are computer readable, that every passport control officer has such a reader, and that every reader is linked to a database that can validate the status of the document, or indicate the need for further inquiries. The database need not invade the

internal files of any government. As is already the case in the private sector, third entities can be created to perform the clearinghouse role, using data supplied by participating governments. Naturally, terrorists could still use documents of non-participating countries, but those would attract just the suspicion such travelers seek to avoid.

Government agencies can do many things reasonably well, but strategic risk analysis is not one of them. We recommend establishing a center for catastrophic terrorism risk analysis, offering a substantial multi-year contract, executed by the FBI, to a not-for-profit research center to perform this sort of analysis, devise and evaluate exercises and tests, and develop concepts of operations for countering catastrophic terrorism. Early in the nuclear era the RAND Corporation played an important part in helping the government think about a new set of security concerns. The Department of Defense has made a start by establishing an advanced concepts office in the newly formed Defense Threat Reduction Agency. But risk analysis will require a national, not just a DOD, focus.

Crisis and Consequence Management

Crisis management for catastrophic terrorism should include the capacity to employ appropriate force and specialized capabilities in any part of the world, endeavoring to minimize collateral damage, and to thwart a possible attack using weapons of mass destruction. Crisis management would include urgent protective efforts, employing every resource at the disposal of federal, state, and local governments. The U.S. government should also acquire capacities and plans for forensic investigation of the site of an attack in order to collect evidence and identify those responsible for further action.

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Consequence management is a capacity to deal with the aftermath of an attack. The United States, at all levels of government, must develop the ability to respond effectively within hours, if not minutes, to any use of a weapon of mass destruction—nuclear, biological, chemical, or cyber—

against American targets with appropriate and specific measures to mitigate casualties and damage. This is a large order. The needed capabilities include emergency medical care, distributions of protective gear or medications (including vaccines for those not yet exposed to the pathogen¹²), evacuations, and area quarantines, among other measures. Since these capabilities would need to be on a large scale, extensive preparations are needed to ready them in central locations, be able to mobilize them on sudden notice, be able to transport them where needed, and expect local authorities and caregivers to be ready to receive and use them. The United States must also have emergency plans readied, including redundant or alternative control systems, for sustaining the operation of infrastructure that provides the necessities of life, if this infrastructure comes under attack.

The present system for handling terrorist emergencies is based on the FBI or—if overseas—on initiatives by State Department representatives or local military commanders. If an acute threat emerges in the United States, local authorities are expected to alert the local FBI office. The FBI's special agent in charge would then organize intergovernmental response through activation of a strategic intelligence center in Washington, and a joint operations center and joint public affairs effort in the local area. If there were a WMD threat, the FBI could call on its Weapons of Mass Destruction Operations Unit, which has "Domestic Guidelines" to coordinate with other agencies and, in particular, seek Pentagon assistance.

There is ample legal authority to seek military aid in dealing with such a crisis on U.S. soil. FBI can call upon an existing, though rather small-scale, interdepartmental Domestic Emergency Support Team (or, overseas, a Foreign Emergency Support Team). FBI has its own Hazardous Materials Response Unit. More military assistance would likely come, not from a joint interservice command, but from the Army's Chemical and Biological Defense Command. If the attack occurred, consequence management would be organized by the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) under what is called the "Federal Response Plan."

This structure is adequate for responding to ordinary terrorist threats or attacks, or perhaps even small scares related to weapons of mass

destruction, as in February 1998 when FBI learned that two suspects in Las Vegas, one of whom had earlier been convicted for fraudulently obtaining bubonic plague virus, might be in possession of some anthrax. The crisis response went well, including coordination with limited Defense Department resources. The suspects turned out not to have any anthrax.

However, if some agency of the U.S. government learned that a large scale WMD attack might actually be imminent, threatening tens of thousands of lives, we expect that this structure for responding would almost instantly be pushed aside. The White House would immediately become involved and would seek to use every bit of power at America's disposal in order to avert or contain the attack. The operational command structure would need to be capable of directing everything from CIA covert actions to strikes by bombers or missiles, be able to set up interdiction involving ground, sea, and air forces, and be able to mobilize and move thousands of soldiers (active duty, ready reserve, and National Guard) and thousands of tons of freight (in various emergency supplies and support for deployed units). Nor can any of these actions happen quickly unless plans have already been drawn up and units designated to carry them out, with repeated training and exercises to create a readiness to bring the plans to life. In this situation, the Defense Department's capabilities would immediately become paramount. The FBI does not command such resources and does not plan to command them.

So what is needed is a *two-tier* structure for response, one for ordinary terrorist incidents that can be managed by federal law enforcement with interagency help, and a second structure readied for the contingency of truly catastrophic terrorist attack. The United States has set up unified combatant commands to prepare for remote but extremely serious contingencies of regional aggression, like U.S. Central Command's response to Iraq's 1990 invasion of Kuwait. The United States must also develop a structure that is ready to respond to this new, perhaps even more likely, contingency of the future.

Rather than create a new combatant command, we suggest instead two new offices, one set up within the Office of the Secretary of Defense, and the other created within the existing combatant command, U.S. Atlantic

Command, that is already responsible for the security of the American homeland with operational responsibility for the majority of the U.S. armed forces. Our working titles for these offices are *Catastrophic Terrorism Response Offices*, or CTROs. The new offices would build a capability centered in the federal government but including state and local authorities along with relevant parts of the private sector to respond, once authorized to act by the President and the Secretary of Defense, to validated terrorist threats that would cause massive loss of life (measured in the thousands, i.e., significantly larger than the attack on the federal building in Oklahoma City) or otherwise jeopardize the operation of American government or critical infrastructure necessary to public health or the functioning of the economy. Obviously, the President and his advisors would face a difficult judgment to determine when this threshold has been met, but such judgments are required in other areas of national security policy and they can be made here.

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The CTROs would plan and organize for a U.S. response to catastrophic terrorism by all elements of the U.S. government. They would:

- assess intelligence and warning information in order to alert the National Command Authority of catastrophic terrorist threats;
- set requirements for, among other things, the collection and analysis of intelligence carried out by the proposed National Counterterrorism Intelligence Center;
- define needed resources and assure that resources, procedures, and trained personnel are available at the federal, state, and local level to respond to validated catastrophic threats;
- sponsor training and exercises involving federal, state, and local authorities for responding to catastrophic terrorist attacks;
- task operations by other organizations once activated by the President through the Secretary of Defense (with actual operations being undertaken

by line organizations, whether covert actions by the CIA or military operations through the Joint Chiefs of Staff or law enforcement actions by the FBI);

- coordinate international preparedness to join in a multinational response against catastrophic terrorist threats.

The two CTROs should have the legal responsibility to achieve overall U.S. government readiness to respond to catastrophic terrorist threats when asked to do so by the President, acting through the Secretary of Defense. The defense secretary would be the executive agent for both offices and for their budget program, so that the CTROs can program elements in the DOD program budgeting system and have the job of submitting a consolidated catastrophic terrorism response program to the White House for inclusion in the President's proposed budget. The Congress pointed toward such a goal in the Defense Against Weapons of Mass Destruction Act of 1996 (more commonly known as the Nunn-Lugar- Domenici Amendment, or Nunn-Lugar II) which mandated that DOD train civilian emergency personnel at all levels of government and establish rapid terrorism response teams. Our idea broadens the scope of the initiative and suggests a way to give it a stronger, and more operational, institutional base.¹³

The Department of Defense would play a strong, supporting role, not the leading one. It has resources and capabilities in dealing with biological and chemical weapons. Its resources would be needed either for crisis or for consequence management, but only as part of a larger national effort.

Why two offices, rather than one? The CTRO centered in the Office of the Secretary of Defense should concentrate on planning and preparedness for preemptive and/or retaliatory strikes, utilizing covert action or the uniformed armed forces. It should draw additional staff from and involve a relatively narrow set of agencies: the Joint Staff, CIA, and FBI. This is a highly secret, delicate activity now done only in an ad hoc manner between CIA and JCS and never with the FBI. But the second office must be prepared to handle a much broader range of activities that affect prevention, containment, and management of the consequences of a

catastrophic attack. The number of agencies involved must also be inclusive. This consequence management function must draw on the resources of the National Guard, FEMA, the Department of Health and Human Services, and other federal, state and local agencies. This is a much larger orchestra that we think can be well prepared and conducted, if activated in an emergency, by an integrated structure like U.S. Atlantic Command.

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Neither of these new offices need be very large. Their jobs are planning and preparation, not day-to-day intelligence gathering, law enforcement, or combat operations. Yet the work they do will be invaluable, should the crisis ever come.

Acquisition

A national policy must include a concept for buying what is needed. The government is already ordering everything from vaccines to new research, but nearly two dozen agencies have their own separate shopping lists and ways of doing business. All these budget requests eventually arrive in Congress, where the lack of overall acquisition planning creates new difficult choices for the affected committees and budget competition on the Hill. In November 1997 a conference report accompanying appropriations for the Department of Justice correctly warned that "additional emphasis is needed to coordinate efforts among the many participating departments and agencies that have personnel, resources, and expertise to contribute" to the counterterrorism mission.¹⁴

We urge the creation of a coordinated, broadly focused, budget program that will plan, coordinate, and track all R & D and acquisition projects intended to improve counterterrorism capabilities, both conventional and unconventional, defensive and offensive, domestic and foreign, including field testing of new operational capabilities. This national counterterrorism acquisition program would be based on a government-wide five-year plan to develop and acquire the needed technology and operational skills. Examples include improved detectors of special materials (like radioactive

substances), forensic investigation tools, automated tracking and analysis systems, and improved protective clothing or equipment.

The Clinton administration has already started a significant effort to acquire stockpiles of vaccines, antidotes, and antibiotics, adding to such a program already underway for the U.S. armed forces. Resources are needed for storage, transportation, and shipment of such medications. There is a further need for renewed research into defense against biological weapons, including adaptation to genetic alteration of deadly pathogens in order to defy available vaccines or antidotes. Improved detection devices need to be complemented by specialized laboratories, set up around the country, that can rapidly analyze substances or validate field identifications.

Attorney General Janet Reno warned Congress of the extraordinary acquisition requirements that would be created by a serious policy to cope with the threat of catastrophic terrorism. In April 1998 she explained that "we may need to develop an approach which will permit the government to accelerate the normal procurement procedures to quickly identify and deploy new technologies and substances needed to thwart terrorist threats and respond to terrorist acts. These procedures would be used not only to purchase medications and other needed tools, but also, in some instances, to borrow medications or tools from, or to enter into effective partnerships with, both academia and industry."¹⁵ To us, this statement is a call for an interdepartmental acquisition program that draws on Defense Department expertise. Despite its limitations, the Defense Department still has the best track record in the government for successful sponsorship of technological development and rapid, large-scale procurement.

This proposed acquisition program would be quite separate from other, also worthwhile, acquisition programs for cooperative threat reduction (like the Nunn-Lugar programs for the former Soviet Union), efforts to counter narcotics trafficking or organized crime, and nonproliferation activities; its focus would be counterterrorism. An effective interdepartmental committee system is needed for this acquisition program to be successful.

We suggest a *National Counter-Terrorism Acquisition Council* that would be chaired by the undersecretary of defense for acquisition and technology.

Such an acquisition council should include representatives from other departments, including top subcabinet officials from Justice, Energy, Treasury, State, and Health and Human Services, as well as the deputy director of FBI, the deputy director of CIA for science and technology, and the director of the Federal Emergency Management Agency.

This acquisition council would need to oversee the field-testing and evaluation of new capabilities with participation of several concerned agencies. Some agencies might worry about Defense usurpation of their procurement decisions. Instead we think it is just these agencies that should want a national program. Defense will already be acquiring vast quantities of equipment for its own needs. Suppliers will naturally configure themselves around this demand. Civilian agencies need a way to be sure that their particular requirements are also taken into account.

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We suggest that the Defense Department establish an initial program with more than \$100 million to fund the development of some technology ideas that would offer benefits across the government. Where appropriate, the acquisition council would designate lead agency responsibilities. The acquisition council can also facilitate easier sharing of technology, tactics, and material from one agency to another. Further, this council can provide a point of contact for international program and technology sharing with other nations. It can provide government-wide procedures controlling access to especially sensitive projects within the national counterterrorism program. Although the program would be executed by various departments, the acquisition council would still be held responsible for monitoring the progress of each program element and should be expected to report annually on progress to both the President and to the Congress.

16

Conclusion

Our group's deliberations started from the premise that catastrophic terrorism poses a first-order threat to our nation's future. We then asked, in effect: if we had a serious national policy to deal with this threat, what

would our government be organized and able to do? In 1940 and 1941 the U.S. government imagined what kind of forces it would have in order to wage a global war. The answers were so far beyond existing reality that we can imagine all the wry smiles and shaking heads that must have been seen in Washington offices as the planning papers made their rounds. Similar cycles occurred in the Cold War. For example, the notion of an intelligence system founded on photographic surveillance from the upper atmosphere, or outer space, seemed outrageously far-fetched in 1954, when the U-2 program was born. The films and cameras alone seemed to be an overwhelming hurdle. A few years later the U-2s were flying; six years later satellites were doing the job. Similar stories can be told about the strange and remarkable history of intercontinental missile guidance or about how the U.S. and its allies developed the capability to move more than a half-million troops and thousands of armored fighting vehicles and their supporting infrastructure to the Persian Gulf within a few months, from both Europe and North America.

Our government can deal with new challenges. But first we must imagine success. Then we must organize ourselves to attain it.

Notes

1. For a careful, dispassionate evaluation, see Richard A. Falkenrath, Robert D. Newman & Bradley Thayer, *America's Achilles Heel: Nuclear, Biological, Chemical Terrorism and Covert Attack* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1998). On the increasingly fragile and interconnected infrastructure and on the cyber threat, see also the Report of the President's Commission on Critical Infrastructure Protection (also known as the Marsh Commission, for its chairman), *Critical Foundations: Protecting America's Infrastructures*, Washington, DC, October 1997.

2. The most detailed and credible threat scenarios, based on close analysis of specific vulnerabilities, should not be published at all. These would be indispensable but quite sensitive documents to be prepared by relatively small groups of knowledgeable officials and expert consultants.

3. Address by President Clinton, May 22, 1998; White House Fact Sheet on PDD-62; all distributed by the White House Press Office.

4. Roberto Suro & Dana Priest, "Plan to Overhaul Anti-Terrorism Strategy Would Boost NSC's Role," *Washington Post*, March 24, 1998, p. A7; see also M.J. Zuckerman, "Anti-terror 'czar' to coordinate \$7B effort," *USA Today*, May 4, 1998, p. 1A.

5. Richard E. Neustadt, *Presidential Power and the Modern Presidents: The Politics of Leadership from Roosevelt to Reagan* (New York: Free Press, 5th ed., 1990), p. 7.

6. James Q. Wilson, *Bureaucracy: What Government Agencies Do and Why They Do It* (New York: Basic Books, 1989), pp. 271-72.

7. See Maurice Matloff, *Strategic Planning for Coalition Warfare, 1943-1944* (Washington: U.S. Army, 1959); John Ehrman, *Grand Strategy: August 1943-September 1944* (London: HMSO, 1956); Herman M. Somers, *Presidential Agency: The Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950). On the Northern Ireland example, see Philip Zelikow, "Policing Northern Ireland (A): A Question of Primacy," and "Policing Northern Ireland (B): A Question of Balance," Kennedy School of Government Case Program, Harvard University, 1994.

8. Philip Heymann has been especially helpful to us in understanding the legal capabilities and limits affecting counterterrorist investigations. For his survey of the legal and policy dilemmas associated with countering terrorism, see Philip B. Heymann, *Terrorism and America: A Commonsense Strategy for a Democratic Society* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1998).

9. These motions seek to find whether the police or prosecutors have any information, not already disclosed, that may tend to show the innocence of the defendant. Even if statutes are amended, under our proposal the arresting agency and prosecutor's office would remain subject to such discovery motions, which the Supreme Court considers an aspect of constitutionally mandated due process of law. Since the Center would not itself carry out law enforcement operations or make prosecutorial

decisions, it should be exempted from such discovery, although any information it chooses to provide to police or prosecutors would then be discoverable under the procedures specified in the current Classified Information Protection Act.

10. For a summary, see Philip Heymann, Matthew Meselson & Richard Zeckhauser, "Criminalize the Traffic in Terror Weapons," *Washington Post*, April 15, 1998, p. A19; a detailed copy of the proposal is available from Meselson. Development of biological weapons is distinguishable from the necessary work to develop defenses against such weapons.

11. We are especially indebted to Malcolm Sparrow for his thinking on this subject, which we have abridged.

12. Vaccines *may* be useful after exposure to anthrax, however, and smallpox (for different reasons).

13. The FBI has also been given funds for training local "first responders" to an emergency. FBI must be involved in the effort, but based on training plans that fully integrate what Defense and other federal agencies can and are doing. These useful but fragmentary efforts indicate the case for an office like the one we suggest.

14. Conference Report 105-405 for FY 1998 Appropriations to the Departments of Commerce, Justice, State, the Judiciary, and Related Agencies, November 13, 1997.

15. Statement of Attorney General Reno, Hearings of the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Technology, Terrorism and Government Information and the Select Committee on Intelligence, "The Threat of Chemical and Biological Weapons," April 22, 1998.

16. A useful analogy for such an acquisition program, on a smaller scale, is the Technical Support Working Group, which develops counterterrorism equipment for use by all agencies of the federal government and for state and local law enforcement, principally with DOD funding. This program concentrates on traditional counterterrorism acquisition, as in robots for municipal bomb disposal squads. One person we talked to told us: "This

thing works because it is so small that it flies under the radar of Congress. If you grow it larger, you're going to need a policy to go with it."

About the Authors

The Honorable Ashton B. Carter

Ash Carter is Ford Foundation [Professor of Science and International Affairs at Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government](#) and Co-Director, with William J. Perry, of the Stanford-Harvard Preventive Defense Project.

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From 1993-1996 Carter served as Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy, where he was responsible for national security policy concerning the states of the former Soviet Union (including their nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction), arms control, countering proliferation worldwide, and oversight of the U.S. nuclear arsenal and missile defense programs; he also chaired NATO's High Level Group. He was twice awarded the Department of Defense Distinguished Service Medal, the highest award given by the Pentagon. Carter continues to serve DOD as an adviser to the Secretary of Defense and as a member of both DOD's Defense Policy Board and Defense Science Board, and DOD's Threat Reduction Advisory Council.

Before his government service, Carter was director of the Center for Science and International Affairs in the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University and chairman of the editorial board of *International Security*. Carter received bachelor's degrees in physics and in medieval history from Yale University and a doctorate in theoretical physics from Oxford University, where he was a Rhodes Scholar.

In addition to authoring numerous scientific publications and government studies, Carter was an author and editor of a number of books, most recently *Preventive Defense: An American Security Strategy for the 21st Century* (with William J. Perry). Carter's current research focuses on the Preventive

Defense Project, which designs and promotes security policies aimed at preventing the emergence of major new threats to the United States.

Carter is a Senior Partner of Global Technology Partners, LLC, and a member of the Advisory Board of MIT Lincoln Laboratories, the Draper Laboratory Corporation, and the Board of Directors of Mitretek Systems, Inc. He is a consultant to Goldman Sachs and the MITRE Corporation on international affairs and technology matters, a Member of the Council on Foreign Relations, and a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

The Honorable John M. Deutch

Dr. John Deutch has served in significant government and academic posts throughout his career. In May 1995, he was sworn in as Director of Central Intelligence following a unanimous vote in the Senate, and he served as DCI until December 1996. [In this position, he was head of the Intelligence Community \(all foreign intelligence agencies of the United States\) and directed the Central Intelligence Agency.](#) From March 1994 to May 1995, he served as the Deputy Secretary of Defense. From March 1993 to March 1994, Dr. Deutch served as Under Secretary of Defense for Acquisitions and Technology. From 1977 to 1980, Dr. Deutch served in a number of positions for the U.S. Department of Energy: Director of Energy Research, Acting Assistant Secretary for Energy Technology, and Undersecretary of the Department.

Dr. Deutch has served on many commissions during several presidential administrations, and he has received fellowships and honors from the American Academy of Arts and Sciences (1978), Alfred P. Sloan (Research Fellow 1967-69), and John Simon Guggenheim (Memorial Fellow 1974-1975). Public Service Medals have been awarded him from the Department of Energy (1980), the Department of State (1980), the Department of Defense (1994), the Department of the Army (1995), the Department of the Navy (1995), the Department of the Air Force (1995), and the Coast Guard (1995). He also received the Central Intelligence Distinguished Intelligence Medal (1996) and the Intelligence Community Distinguished Intelligence Medal (1996).

Dr. Deutch has been a member of the faculty of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology from 1970 to present, where he has served as Chairman of the Department of Chemistry, Dean of Science and Provost. [Currently, Dr. Deutch is an MIT Institute Professor.](#)

Dr. Deutch earned a BA in history and economics from Amherst College, and both a BS in chemical engineering and a Ph.D. in physical chemistry from MIT. He holds honorary degrees from Amherst College, University of Lowell and Northeastern University. Dr. Deutch serves as director for the following publicly held companies: Ariad Pharmaceutical, Citicorp, CMS Energy, Cummins, Raytheon, and Schlumberger Ltd.

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Philip D. Zelikow

Philip Zelikow is Director of the Miller Center of Public Affairs and White Burkett Miller [Professor of History at the University of Virginia](#). He has [taught at Harvard University](#), and he served as a career diplomat in the Department of State and on the staff of the National Security Council.

His books include *The Kennedy Tapes: Inside the White House During the Cuban Missile Crisis* (with Ernest May, Harvard UP), *Germany Unified and Europe Transformed: A Study in Statecraft* (with Condoleezza Rice, Harvard UP), and the forthcoming rewritten edition of *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis* (with Graham Allison, Longman). He has also written a study of intelligence policy for the Twentieth Century Fund, published as *In From the Cold*.

A member of the Department of State's Historical Advisory Committee, a former consultant to the Office of the Secretary of Defense, and a participant in Harvard's Intelligence and Policy Project, [Zelikow is also the deputy director of the Aspen Strategy Group, a program of the Aspen Institute](#). He holds a doctorate from the Fletcher School and a law degree from the University of Houston.

About Visions of Governance for the Twenty-First Century

The Imperative for Change

Momentous social and economic forces are reshaping democratic governance around the world. Current political rhetoric insists that the era of big government is over—but what will take its place?

The answer is not at all obvious. While some national governments are getting smaller, they are not necessarily getting less powerful. Information technology, which has allowed industry to do more with less, is opening up the same opportunities for governments, while bringing with it new threats to their traditional roles and functions. The increasing number and authority of supranational organizations is countered by trends toward devolution in the United States and Europe. Non-profit and even for-profit entities are taking on tasks once thought of as the sole province of government. Markets are being created and used to produce public as well as private goods.

All of this is taking place amidst a loss of confidence on the part of citizens with their governments. This unhappiness transcends partisanship and economic well-being. It is as if, on some level, the public knows that its government is simply out of step with the times.

Dean Joseph Nye believes it is a critical part of the Kennedy School's mission to address the precipitous decline in confidence in public institutions, by identifying and illuminating some of the most important trends affecting governments, and by creating a public conversation with citizens and policy makers about appropriate responses to changing realities and expectations of government. This imperative is not an artifact of the millennium. In fact, were public trust in government high, change could be incremental. What is needed now, however, is new ways of thinking about governance.

Growing Mistrust in Government

The first year of the Visions Project focused on generating a critical mass of intellectual activity among a core group of Harvard faculty around the issue of trust in government, which resulted in the publication in October 1997 of *Why People Don't Trust Government*. The book was the

culmination of over a year of inquiry into the scope and performance of government (actual and perceived) and the possible causes of citizens' dissatisfaction with it.

The Project is continuing this investigation of declining trust in government with both a study of anomalies in the evidence, such as high levels of confidence in the military, and an international comparative study of public trust in government (Critical Citizens, forthcoming in the spring of 1999).

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New Ways of Thinking about Governance

The Project is focusing its attentions on several new areas of inquiry:

- **New paradigms for national security policy.** The Catastrophic Terrorism Study Group will recommend a comprehensive program of responses by the U.S. government to the danger of large-scale, catastrophic terrorism.
- **The future direction of social policy.** Is it possible to bring the productive and innovative power of markets to traditional questions of social welfare? "Who's Responsible? Renegotiating the Social Contract" will evaluate the central question of alternatives to traditional government activism in various areas of social policy.
- **How governments can manage and measure their performance to better serve their citizens.** A series of Executive Session and Practitioner Forums on Performance Management will seek to engage and invest political decision makers in a management movement which offers the possibility of a new kind of democratic accountability.
- **How information technologies are changing the realities and expectations of governments.** The explosive growth of information as a resource and of computer networks as a medium is at once evident everywhere and yet very little understood. The Visions Project has begun a continuing effort to understand the multiplicitous changes being wrought

by information technologies in order to focus attention on maximizing their benefits and minimizing their costs to society.

Visions Project Director Elaine Kamarck will weave these themes together in a book which will raise significant questions that are central to democratic governments. Will a more effective capacity to fight global crime and global terrorism be compatible with our deeply held beliefs that we should protect the privacy of our citizens from internal spying? Can a system which attempts to meet a variety of social needs through market mechanisms and via non-governmental organizations really guarantee equality of treatment? Can innovative governmental organizations also be accountable to elected officials and to the public?

These are momentous questions, and they illustrate why large-scale social and governmental change does not happen overnight. Our challenge is to find the value in change, and that will require new visions of governance for the 21st century.

About the Stanford-Harvard Preventive Defense Project

The Preventive Defense Project is a joint venture between Stanford University and Harvard University. Preventive Defense is a concept of defense strategy for America in the post-Cold War era. The premise of Preventive Defense is that the absence of an imminent, major, traditional military threat to American security presents today's national security leaders with an unaccustomed challenge and opportunity: to prevent new Cold War-scale threats to U.S. security from emerging in the future. While the United States defense establishment must continue to deter regional conflicts in the Persian Gulf and the Korean Peninsula, as well as keep the peace and provide humanitarian relief in selected instances, its highest priority is to contribute to forestalling developments that could directly threaten the survival and vital interests of American citizens.

The Preventive Defense Project will initially concentrate on forging productive security partnerships with Russia and its neighbors, dealing with the lethal legacy of Cold War weapons of mass destruction, engaging an awakening China, and countering proliferation of weapons of mass

destruction and catastrophic terrorism. The Project seeks to contribute to these objectives through the invention of new policy approaches reflecting Preventive Defense, intensive personal interaction with defense and military leaders around the world, and through the establishment of highly informed, non-governmental track two initiatives that explore new possibilities for international agreement.

Current Preventive Defense Project initiatives include:

- **Describing Preventive Defense.** In a forthcoming book, the Project's leaders will explain the concept to a wider audience, drawing on their experience in the Pentagon and making recommendations for the future of American security policy.

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- **Russia.** The Project is pursuing a number of activities designed to support Russian foreign and defense policy leaders in developing a post-Soviet security identity that matches Russia's interests to the interests of international stability. These initiatives include assisting Russian military reform and the development of national security decision-making processes, furthering NATO-Russia relations, encouraging the development of mutually beneficial relations with the other Newly Independent States of the former Soviet Union, and charting a course for nuclear arms reduction after START II ratification.
- **Other Newly Independent States (NIS) of the former Soviet Union.** Expanded military-to-military contacts and economic opportunities are key to the continued security and stability of the NIS. The Project is pursuing initiatives with Ukraine, the Central Asian states, and the Caucasus countries, including the Caspian Sea region.
- **Eliminating the lethal legacy of the Cold War.** Through such innovations as the Nunn-Lugar program, the United States intervened to promote nuclear safety and non-proliferation in the early years after the breakup of the Soviet Union. Much was accomplished in the first post-Cold War era, but changing politics in Russia and the United States have

caused their cooperation in controlling "loose nukes" to bog down and progress in chemical and biological weapons dismantlement to falter. Nunn-Lugar and arms control require "reinvention" if they are to continue in the second post-Cold War era. The Project seeks to contribute fundamental new ideas to that reinvention.

- **China.** Through research and intensive track two dialogue with Chinese defense and military leaders, the Project will concentrate on defining the specific content of the U.S. policy of engagement with China.

- **Countering the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD).** The glimmers of trouble to come provided by Iraq's WMD programs during and since the Gulf War show that proliferation has moved from a diplomatic problem to a direct military threat. DOD, therefore, needs to strengthen its Counter-proliferation Initiative, which is designed to contribute both to proliferation prevention and to the capabilities of U.S. forces to counter WMD in regional conflict. The Project seeks to define organizational and technical responses by DOD to this growing threat.

- **Organizing to combat catastrophic terrorism.** The Project convened the Catastrophic Terrorism Study Group, which is a collaboration of faculty from Harvard University, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Stanford University, and the University of Virginia and is co-chaired by Ashton B. Carter and John M. Deutch. The Study Group is identifying appropriate responses by the United States government to the dangers of catastrophic terrorism.

The Preventive Defense Project is a multi-year effort supported by the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, and private sources. The Project's Co-Directors are former Secretary of Defense William J. Perry and former Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy Ashton B. Carter. Former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff General (ret.) John M. Shalikashvili and former Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Russia, Ukraine and Eurasia Elizabeth Sherwood-Randall serve as Senior Advisors. Additional contributors to the Project include: member of President

Clinton's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board Robert J. Hermann and former Deputy Secretary of Defense John P. White.

Institute for International Studies

Stanford University

The Institute for International Studies (IIS) seeks solutions to real-world, international problems that affect international security, the global environment, and international political economy. IIS creates a dynamic environment in which to address these critical issues by bringing experts from a variety of disciplines within Stanford University together with long- and short-term visitors from other academic, government, and corporate institutions. At any given time, over 150 scholars are engaged in policy studies within the Institute's federation of research centers.

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Center for International Security and Cooperation

Stanford University

The Center for International Security and Cooperation (CISAC), part of Stanford University's Institute for International Studies, is a multidisciplinary community dedicated to research and training in the field of international security. The center brings together scholars, policymakers, scientists, area specialists, members of the business community and other experts to examine a wide range of international security issues.

Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs

Harvard University

The Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs (BCSIA) is the hub of the John F. Kennedy School of Government's research, teaching, and training in international security affairs, environmental and resource issues, and science and technology policy. The center's mission is to provide leadership in advancing policy-relevant knowledge about the most important challenges of international security and other critical issues

where science, technology, and international affairs intersect. BCSIA's leadership begins with the recognition of science and technology as driving forces transforming threats and opportunities in international affairs. The center integrates insights of social scientists, natural scientists, technologists, and practitioners with experience in government, diplomacy, the military, and business to address critical issues.

Publications of the Preventive Defense Project

NATO After Madrid: Looking to the Future

The Content of U.S. Engagement with China

Fulfilling the Promise: Building an Enduring Security Partnership Between Ukraine and NATO *Reforming the Department of Defense: The Revolution in Business Affairs*

The NATO-Russia Relationship

Catastrophic Terrorism: Elements of a National Policy

The Grooming of American Clique Minions in Eastern Establishment Schools, Colleges, and Universities and at University of Oxford in London---and the Function of the Clique's "Council of Foreign Relations"

In yet another clique scheme, the Rockefeller family provided major funding that helped maintain a highly influential, clique-controlled organization in New York City---the *Council on Foreign Relations* (CFR)---for the purpose of subverting American principles, diminishing U.S. sovereignty, weakening the American economy and spreading disinformation to promote one-world government. Since its inception, the Council on Foreign Relations membership has included an elite list of American politicians, U.S. government officials, senior faculty of U.S. universities, heads of U.S. foundations, and top executives of the clique's transnational corporations, all of whom are under the influence, to one degree or another, of the clique of families' power for their careers.

Although the CFR was originally funded and dominated by J.P. Morgan interests since its inception in 1921, control shifted to the Rockefeller family. As you read on, it will become clear that the Rockefellers are a member of the clique of families. While the British hold the dominant power, the Rockefeller family appears in the lead with regard to clique-controlled schemes that are focused on America. This arrangement evolved as follows:

By the late 1860s, America was well into its economic expansion, following the Civil War. The burgeoning American industries of steel and railroad construction were contributing factors. Germany, Russian, and France were on the same upward trajectory. Economic data by 1900 indicated the leaders in industrial production were the U.S. with 24% of the world total, followed by Britain (19%), Germany (13%), Russia (9%), and France (7%). **The British outlook by 1870 was palpable dread that their economy was being overtaken.** And in this state of anxiety, a form of survival instinct took over and two powerful messages caught the attention of the clique of families. The first was an inaugural address at Oxford University in 1870 by British scholar, John Ruskin. No one could have predicted that Ruskin's address would so tremendously help concentrate the energy of the British elite. Nor would anyone be able to predict the path this message took---it is a lesson to learn how change is sparked in the real world. Ruskin was simply speaking to the student body of Oxford University and expressing his own profound concern for Britain's future. His address to them was this:

“There is a destiny now possible to us. The highest ever set before a nation to be accepted or refused. **We are still un-degenerate in race; a race mingled of the best northern blood.** We are not yet dissolute in temper, **but still have the firmness to govern,** and the grace to obey. We have been taught a religion of pure mercy, which we must either now betray, or learn to defend by fulfilling. And we are rich in an inheritance of honour, bequeathed to us through a thousand years of noble history, which it should be our daily thirst to increase with splendid avarice, so that Englishmen, if it be a sin to covet honor, should be the most offending souls alive.

Within the last few years we have had the laws of natural science opened to us with a rapidity which has been blinding by its brightness; and means of transit and communication given to us, which have made but one kingdom of the habitable globe. **One kingdom; but who is to be its king?** Is there to be no king in it, think you, and every man to do that which is right in his own eyes? Or only kings of terror, and the obscene empires of Mammon ([wealth and greed](#)) and Belial ([wickedness](#))?

Or will you, youths of England, make your country again a royal throne of kings; a sceptred ([sovereign](#)) isle, for all the world a source of light, a centre for peace; mistress of Learning and of the Arts;---faithful guardian of great memories in the midst of irreverent and ephemeral visions;---faithful servant of time-tried principles, under temptation from fond experiments and licentious desires; and amidst the cruel and clamorous jealousies of the nations, worshipped in her strange valour of goodwill towards men?

Yes, but of which king? There are the two oriflammes ([rallying ideals](#)); which shall we plant on the farthest islands,---the one that floats in heavenly fire, or that hangs heavy with foul tissue of terrestrial gold? There is indeed a course of beneficent glory open to us, such as never was yet offered to any poor group of mortal souls. But it must be---it is with us, now, "*Reign or Die.*" And if it shall be said of this country, '*fece per viltate, il gran rifiuto,*' that refusal of the crown will be, of all yet recorded in history, the shamefullest and untimely.

And this is what she must either do, or perish; she must found colonies as fast and as far as she is able, formed of her most energetic and worthiest men;---seizing every piece of fruitful waste ground she can set her foot on, and there teaching her colonists that their chief virtue is to be fidelity to their country, and that their first aim is to advance the power of England by land and sea; and that, though they live on a distant plot of ground, they are no more to consider themselves therefore disenfranchised from their native land, than the sailors of her fleets do, because they float on distant waves. So that literally, these colonies must be fastened fleets; and every man of them must be under authority of captains and officers, whose better command is to be over fields and streets instead of ships of the line; and England, in these her motionless navies (or, in the true and mightiest sense, motionless *churches*, ruled by pilots on the Galiean lake of all the world), is to 'expect every man to do his duty,' recognizing that duty is indeed possible no less in peace than war; and that if we can get men, for little pay, to cast themselves against cannon-mouths for love of England, we may find men also who will plough and sow for her, who will behave kindly and righteously for her, who will bring up their children to love her, and who will gladden themselves in the brightness of her glory, more than in all the light of tropic skies.

But that they may be able to do this, she must make her won majesty stainless; she must give them thoughts of their home of which they can be proud. The England who is to be mistress of half the earth, cannot remain herself a heap of cinders, trampled by contending and miserable crowds; she must yet again become the England she was once, and in all beautiful ways,---more: so happy, so secluded, and so pure, that in her sky---polluted by no unholy clouds---she may be able to spell rightly of every star that heaven doth show; and in her fields, ordered and wide and fair, of every herb that sips the dew; and under the green avenues of her enchanted garden, a sacred Circe, true Daughter of the Sun, she must guide the human arts, and gather the divine knowledge, of distant nations, transformed from savageness to manhood, and redeemed from despairing into peace. You think that an impossible ideal. Be it is; refuse to accept it if you will; but see that you form your own in its stead. All that I ask of you

is to have a fixed purpose of some kind for your country and yourselves; no matter how restricted, so that it be fixed and unselfish.”

Carroll Quigley, author of Tragedy and Hope (1966), wrote of Ruskin’s impact:

“Ruskin spoke to the Oxford undergraduates as members of the privileged, ruling class. He told them that they were to possessors of a magnificent tradition of education, beauty, rule of law, freedom, decency, and self-discipline but that tradition could not be saved, and did not deserved to be saved, unless it could be extended to the lower classes in England itself and to the non-English masses throughout the world. If this precious tradition were not extended to these two great majorities, the minority of upper-class Englishmen would ultimately be submerged by these majorities and the tradition lost. To prevent this, the tradition must be extended to the masses and to the empire.”

“Ruskin’s message had a sensational impact. His inaugural lecture was copied out in longhand by one undergraduate, **Cecil Rhodes**, who kept it with him for thirty years. Rhodes (1853-1902) feverishly exploited the diamond and goldfields of South Africa, rose to be prime minister of the Cape Colony (1890-1896), contributed money to political parties, controlled parliamentary seats both in England and in South Africa, and sought to win a strip of British territory across Africa from the Cape of Good Hope to Egypt and to join these two extremes together with a Cape-to-Cairo Railway.....With financial support from **Lord Rothschild** and Alfred Beit, he was able to monopolize the diamond mines of South Africa as De Beers Consolidated Mines and to build up a great gold mining enterprise as Consolidated Gold Fields.”

Among Ruskin’s most devoted disciples at Oxford were a group of intimate friends.... (who) were so moved by Ruskin that they devoted the rest of their lives to carrying out his ideas.....A similar group of Cambridge men.....were also aroused by Ruskin’s message and devoted their lives to extension of the British Empire and uplift of England’s urban masses as two parts of one project.....They were remarkably successful in these aims because England’s most sensational journalist, William T. Stead (1849-1912)....brought them into association with Rhodes. **This association was formally established on February 5, 1891, when Rhodes and Stead organized a secret society of which Rhodes had been dreaming for sixteen years.....In this secret society, Rhodes was to be leader;** Stead, Brett (Lord Esher), and **Alfred (later Lord) Milner** were to form an executive committee; Arthur (Lord) Balfour, (Sir) Harry Johnston, Lord Rothschild, Albert (Lord) Grey, and others were listed as potential members of a ‘Circle of Initiates;’ (sometimes called ‘The Society of the Elect’) while there was to be an outer circle know as the ‘Association of Helpers’ (later organized by

Milner as the **Round Table organization**).....This group was able to get access to Rhodes's money after his death in 1902 and also to the funds of loyal Rhodes supporters like Alfred Beit (1853-1906) and Sir Abe Bailey. (1864-1940). Milner recruited a group of young men, chiefly from Oxford....to assist him in organizing his administration. Through his influence these men were able to win influential posts in government and international finance and became the dominant influence in British imperial and foreign affairs up to 1939.....In 1909-1913 they organized semisecret groups, known as Round Table Groups, in the chief British dependencies and the United States. These still function in eight countries (including America). They kept in touch with each other by personal correspondence and frequent visits, and through an influential quarterly magazine, *The Round Table*, founded in 1910.....In 1919 they founded the Royal Institute of International Affairs (now named 'Chatham House')....**Similar Institutes of International Affairs were established in the chief British dominions and in the United States (where it is known as the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) and formed in 1921).**"

This is the actual origin of the Council on Foreign Relations, *which has received major funding from the Rockefeller family* (routinely unreported by the concealed power-controlled media) as part of the Round Table network formally established in 1891 to facilitate British world rule and bring America back into the colonial fold.

To connect the dots from the British families and their target of colonial control, America, one has only to read the salient part of **Cecil Rhodes's will** and Rhodes's intent, written in 1877:

"To and for the establishment, promotion, and development of a secret society, **the true aim and object whereof shall be for the extension of British rule throughout the world**, the perfecting of the system of emigration from the United Kingdom, and of colonization by British subjects of all lands where the means of livelihood are attainable by energy, labor and enterprise, and especially the occupation by British settlers of the entire continent of Africa, the Holy Land, the Valley of the Euphrates, the Islands of Cyprus and (Crete), the whole of South America, the islands of the Pacific not here to for possessed by great Britain, the whole of the Malay Archipelago, the seaboard of China and Japan, **the ultimate recovery of the United States of America as an integral part of the British Empire**, the inauguration of a system of colonial representation in the Imperial Parliament which may tend to weld together the disjointed members of the Empire and, finally, the foundation of so great a power as to render wars impossible, and promote the best interests of humanity."

And from David Rockefeller's autobiography, Memoirs (2003), he wrote:

“For more that a century ideological extremists at either end of the political spectrum have seized upon well-publicized incidents such as my encounter with Castro to attack the Rockefeller family for the inordinate influence they claim we wield over American political and economic institutions. Some even believe we are part of a secret cabal working against the best interests of the United States, characterizing my family and me as internationalists and of conspiring with others around the world to build a more integrated global political and economic structure; one world, if you will. *If that's the charge, I stand guilty, and I am proud of it.*”

This might be the best example you will find of the fact that the Eastern Establishment families live in an alternative universe. They made their money in America because America threw off the feudal shackles of the British monarchy and organized a government that supported individual rights and freedoms. But now that the Rockefellers have secured their fortunes they want to further maximize their profit-making by removing those individual freedoms, sabotaging America's national sovereignty and trying to force it into a one-world government under clique control. We can thank the clique's media and education branches for masking the Rockefeller family's treason behind the high wall of false reality.

Historian Carroll Quigley, from Hope and Tragedy, page 950:

“There does exist, and has existed for a generation, an international Anglophile network (individuals who are fond and admiring of the British) which operates, to some extent, in the way the (American) radical Right (believed) the (Cold War) Communists act.

During the Cold War, America's staunch conservatives believed that the Soviet Union, operating from many countries, with imbedded agents throughout the governmental and other institutions of those countries, always operating in secret, and all were loyal to and working on behalf of the Soviet Union. Quigley is saying that, in fact, that is exactly the way the British were organized: connected to many Americans and members of other countries who were more loyal to Britain than to their home countries. Ironically, the turbulent Congressional investigation into “Un-American Activities” launched by Senator Joseph McCarthy in the 1950s seemed to be focused on finding American Communists whose loyalties to the Soviet Union were stronger than their loyalties to America. In fact, McCarthy was making Britain nervous because his “Un-American Activities” probing was unearthing the identities of very prominent Americans who were routinely working against the interests of America and serving British interests in their concealed schemes to gain complete control of the American government and of America's key institutions.

Professor Quigley continues:

“In fact, this (Anglophile) network, which we may identify as the *Round Table Groups*, has no aversion to cooperating with the Communists, or any other groups, and frequently does so. I know of the operations of this network because I have studied it for twenty years and was permitted for two years, in the early 1960s, to examine its papers and secret records. I have no aversion to it or to most of its aims and have, for much of my life, been close to it and to many of its instruments. I have objected, both in the past and recently, to a few of its policies (notably to its belief that England was an Atlantic rather than a European Power and must be allied, or even federated, with the United States and must remain isolated from Europe), but in general my chief difference of opinion is that it wishes to remain *unknown*, and I believe its role in history is significant enough to be known.”

“The Round Table Groups have already been mentioned in this book several times.....At the risk of some repetition, the story will be summarized here, because the American branch of this organization (sometimes called the ‘**Eastern Establishment**’) has played a very significant role in the history of the United States in the last generation. The Round Table Groups were semi-secret discussion and lobbying groups organized by (British figures) Lionel Curtis, Philip H. Kerr (Lord Lothian), and (Sir) William S. Marris in 1908-1911. This was done on behalf of Lord Milner, the dominant Trustee of the **Rhodes Trust** in the two decades 1905-1925. The original purpose of these groups was to seek to federate (an arrangement combining existing nation-states, but allowing each nation-state certain common levels of autonomy, opposite the arrangement of one-world government) the English-speaking world along lines laid out by Cecil Rhodes (1853-1902) and William T. Stead (1849-1912), and **the money for the organizational work came originally from the Rhodes Trust**. By 1915 Round Table groups existed in seven countries, including England, South Africa, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, India, and a rather loosely organized group in the United States: George Louis Beer (an American historian), Walter Lippmann (highly influential American syndicated columnist), Frank Aydelotte (president of Swathmore College and head of Institute for Advanced Studies at Princeton University), Whitney Shepardson (aide to ‘Colonel’ Edward House, and head of Secret Intelligence Branch of the OSS), Thomas W. Lamont (J.P. Morgan senior partner), Jerome D. Greene (trustee of multiple Rockefeller operations, including its General Education Board), Erwin D. Canham (of the Christian Science Monitor), and others. The attitudes of the various groups were coordinated by frequent visits and discussions and by a well-informed and totally anonymous quarterly magazine, *The Round Table*, whose first issue, largely written by Philip Kerr (Lord Lothian), appeared in November 1910.”

“The leaders of this group were: Milner, until his death in 1925, followed by Curtis (1872-1955), Robert H. (Lord) Brand (brother-in-law to Lady Astor) until his death in 1963, and now Adam D. Marris, son of Sir William (S. Marris) and Brand’s successor **as managing director of Lazard Brothers bank**.”

“Money for the widely ramified activities of this organization came originally from the associates and followers of Cecil Rhodes, chiefly from the Rhodes Trust itself, and from wealthy associates such as the Beit brothers, from Sir Abe Bailey, and (after 1915) from the Astor family. Since 1925 there have been *substantial contributions from wealthy individuals and from foundations and firms associated with the international banking fraternity*, especially the *Carnegie United Kingdom Trust*, and other organizations associated with *J.P. Morgan (who was controlled by and represented the massive Rothschild family investment interests in America)*, the *Rockefeller* and *Whitney* families, and the associates of Lazard Brothers and of Morgan, Grenfell, and Company.”

“The chief backbone of this organization grew up along the already existing financial cooperation running from the Morgan Bank in New York to a group of international financiers in London ***led by Lazard Brothers***.....Milner became director of a number of public banks, chiefly, the London Joint Stock Bank, corporate precursor of the Midland Bank. He became one of the greatest political and financial powers in England, with his disciples strategically placed throughout England in significant places, such as the editorship of *The Times*, the editorship of *The Observer*, the managing directorship of Lazard Brothers, various administrative posts, and even Cabinet positions. Ramifications were established in politics, high finance, Oxford and London universities, periodicals, the civil service, and tax-exempt foundations.”

“At the end of the war of 1914 (*WWI*), it became clear that the organization of this system had to be greatly extended. Once again the task was entrusted to Lionel Curtis who *established, in England and each dominion, a front organization to the existing local Round Table Group*. This front organization, called the *Royal Institute of International Affairs*, had as its nucleus in each area the existing *submerged* Round Table Group. **In New York it was known as the *Council on Foreign Relations*, and was a front for J.P. Morgan and Company in association with the very small American Round Table Group.** The American organizers were dominated by the large number of Morgan ‘experts,’ including Lamont and Beer, who had gone to the Paris Peace Conference and there became close friends with the similar group of English ‘experts’ which had been recruited by the Milner group. **In fact, the original plans for the Royal Institute of International Affairs and the Council on Foreign Relations were drawn up at Paris.** The Council of the RIIA (which, by Curtis’s energy came to be housed in **Chatham House**, across St. James Square from the Astors, **and was soon known by the name of the headquarters**) **and the board of the Council on Foreign Affairs have carried ever since the marks of their origins.**”

“The New York branch (*the Council on Foreign Relations*) was dominated by the associates of the Morgan Bank (*which was controlled by and represented the massive Rothschild family interests in America*). For example, in 1928 the Council

of Foreign Relations had John W. Davis as president (lawyer, Congressman, U.S. Solicitor General, Ambassador to the United Kingdom, [\(and implicated in the 1933 concealed scheme to overthrow the U.S. government under President Franklin D. Roosevelt\)](#), Paul Cravath (head of one of largest Wall Street law firms) as vice-president, and a council of thirteen others, which included Owen D. Young (President of General Electric), Russell C. Leffingwell (of J.P. Morgan), Norman Davis (President Wilson's Undersecretary of State and Assistant Secretary of the U.S. Treasury), Allen Dulles (lawyer and, later, head of the CIA), George W. Wickersham (lawyer and, later, Attorney General of the United States), Frank L. Polk (Wall Street lawyer and legal counsel to the U.S. Department of State), Whitney Shepardson, Isaiah Bowman (president of John Hopkins University), Stephen P. Duggan (founded Institute of International Education together with Elihu Root and Nicholas Murray Butler), and Otto Kahn (senior partner of Kuhn, Loeb & Co., working with Jacob Schiff, and Paul and Felix Warburg). Throughout its history the council (the Council of Foreign Relations) has been associated with the American Round Tablers, such as Beer, Lippmann, Shepardson, and Jerome Greene."

"The academic figures (as members of the Council on Foreign Relations) have been those linked to Morgan, such as James T. Shotwell (History Department faculty member Columbia University), Charles Seymour (president of Yale University) , Joseph P. Chamberlain (faculty member of Columbia Law School), Phillip Jessup (faculty member Columbia Law School), Isaiah Bowman (President of John Hopkins University) and, more recently, Philip Mosely (Director of Studies, Council on Foreign Relations), Grayson L. Kirk (President of Columbia University), and Henry M. Wriston (President of Brown University). The Wall Street contacts with these individuals were created originally *from Morgan's influence in handling large academic endowments*. In the case of the largest of these endowments, that at *Harvard*, the influence was usually exercised indirectly through "State Street," Boston, which, for much of the twentieth century, came through the Boston banker Thomas Nelson Perkins. Closely allied with this Morgan influence were a small group of Wall Street law firms, whose chief figures were Elihu Root, John W. Davis, Paul D. Cravath, Russell Leffingwell, the Dulles brothers and, more recently, Arthur Dean (Wall Street lawyer, working with John Foster Dulles), Philip D. Reed (President of General Electric), and John J. McCloy (Chairman of Rockefeller family's Chase Manhattan Bank). Other nonlegal agents of Morgan included.....Owen D. Young and Norman H. Davis."

So, this is a "connecting the dots" moment. The first chairman of the trustees of Carnegie Endowment, Elihu Root, a high U.S. government official, who formally swore several times to defend the U.S Constitution, did no such thing. Instead, I believe he oversaw one of the most damaging of concealed schemes, namely the covert effort to alter American History, and American education as a whole, in order to move the minds of our next American generations, as well as the American public mind, away from America's founding principles. I believe he also oversaw the machinations of the Carnegie Endowment to control the U.S. Department of State to alter American foreign

policy to promote a one-world government, which would favor the financial interests of the concealed power. And, Elihu Root's connection to the J.P. Morgan financial group is fully documented: he was one of Morgan's chief legal counsels. Further research revealed that Root was tightly connected as a legal representative for another Wall Street firm with very close British ties, Kuhn Loeb & Co.

Quigley continues:

"On this basis, which was originally financial and goes back to George Peabody, **there grew up in the twentieth century a power structure between London and New York which penetrated deeply into university life, the press, and the practice of foreign policy.** In England, the center was the Round Table Group, while in the United States it was J.P. Morgan and Company or its local branches in Boston, Philadelphia, and Cleveland. Some rather incidental examples of the operations of this structure are very revealing, just because they are incidental. For example, it set up in Princeton a reasonable copy of the Round Table Group's chief Oxford headquarters, All Souls College. This copy, called the Institute for Advanced Study, and best known, perhaps, as the refuge of Einstein, Oppenheimer, John von Neumann, and George Kennan, was organized by Abraham Flexner of the Carnegie Foundation and Rockefeller's General Education Board after he had experienced the delights of All Souls while serving as Rhodes Memorial Lecturer at Oxford. The plans (for the Institute for Advanced Study) were largely drawn up by Tom Jones, one of the Round Table's most active intriguers and foundation administrators."

"The American branch of this '**Eastern Establishment**' exerted much of its influence through five newspapers *The New York Times*, *New York Herald Tribune*, *Christian Science Monitor*, *the Washington Post*, and the lamented *Boston Evening Transcript* (lamented because its editorial and news-gathering functions were considered professional and typically authoritative, but went out of business in on April 30, 1941). In fact, the editor of the *Christian Science Monitor* was the chief American correspondent (anonymously) of The Round Table (the quarterly publication), and Lord Lothian, the original editor of The Round Table and later secretary of the **Rhodes Trust** (1925-1939) and Ambassador to Washington, was a frequent writer in the *Monitor*. It might be mentioned that the existence of this Wall Street, Anglo-American axis is quite obvious once it is pointed out. It is reflected in the fact that such Wall Street luminaries as John W. Davis, Lewis Douglas, Jock Whitney, and Douglas Dillon were appointed to be American ambassadors in London. This double international network in which the Round Table groups formed the semi-secret or secret nuclei of the Institutes of International Affairs was extended into a third network in 1925, organized by the same people for the same motives. Once again the mastermind was Lionel Curtis, and the earlier Round Table Groups and Institutes of International Affairs were used as nuclei for the new network. However, this new organization for *Pacific affairs* was extended to ten countries, while the Round Table Group existed only in seven. The new additions, ultimately China, Japan, France, the Netherlands, and Soviet Russia, had Pacific councils set up from scratch. **In England, Chatham**

House served as the English center for both nets, while in the United States the two were parallel creations (not subordinate) of the Wall Street allies of the Morgan Bank. The financing came from the same international banking groups and their subsidiary commercial and industrial firms. In England, Chatham House was financed for both networks by the contributions of Sir Abe Bailey, the Astor family, and additional funds largely acquired by the persuasive powers of Lionel Curtis."

The High Wall of False Reality Springs a Leak

In spite of the long effort to keep the public in the dark about the clique's long range schemes, as described above, the high wall of false reality sprung a leak that made the core objective of the clique unmistakably clear and from a highly reliable source. None other than David Rockefeller, who unmistakably lives in an alternative universe, was quoted to say:

“For more than a century ideological extremists at either end of the political spectrum have seized upon well-publicized incidents such as my encounter with Castro to attack the Rockefeller family for the inordinate influence they claim we wield over American political and economic institutions. Some even believe we are part of a secret cabal working against the best interests of the United States, characterizing my family and me as 'internationalists' and of conspiring with others around the world to build a more integrated global political and economic structure--one world, if you will. If that's the charge, I stand guilty, and I am proud of it.”

--David Rockefeller: Memoirs (2002), page 405 of Chapter 27, titled “Proud Internationalists.”

“We are grateful to the Washington Post, the New York Times, Time Magazine and other great publications whose directors have attended our meetings and respected their promises of discretion for almost 40 years.....It would have been impossible for us to develop our plan for the world if we had been subjected to the lights of publicity during those years. But, the world is more sophisticated and prepared to march towards a world government. The supernational sovereignty of an intellectual elite and world bankers is surely preferable to the national autodetermination practiced in past centuries.”

----at the 1991 Bilderberg Conference in Baden-Baden, Germany.----The sources: The French publication, Minutes (June 19, 1991), another French outlet, Lectures Francaises (July/August 1991), and a Monte Carlo newsletter, HduB Report (September 1991), published by the the journalist Hilaire du Berrier.

Where David Rockefeller acquired this alternative universe perspective is unknown, but in the real world, *the Rockefeller family never had such pretensions when they immigrated to America in 1723*. Like many others, they were escaping economic hardship and religious persecution like the vast majority of other new Americans, as described in familytreemaker.genealogy.com:

"Western German areas, and the Rhineland especially, were filled with misery and discontent. The ravages of the French armies under Louis XIV had been of the most cruel character. They were followed by a systematic religious persecution of the Lutherans and other sects, reinforced by the political tyranny of the small German princes. When the government of Queen Anne and her successors offered safety and religious freedom under the English flag, by tens of thousands the Germans poured into England and her colonies...Some went to the Mohawk Valley in New York, some to New Brunswick in New Jersey, but most of them went to Pennsylvania." (Nevins & Commager, *The Pocket History of the United States*, pp. 27,28.) These people were sometimes called the Palatines. It is believed that Johann and his wife Elizabeth came to America to find religious freedom. The ship they sailed in was meant to end its voyage in New York harbor, but strong north-east winds drove it south, and they landed instead at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. They traveled overland towards East Camp, New York, where many Palatines had settled, but on the way they passed through New Jersey, and finding suitable agricultural land, they decided to stay. Johann leased a farm near Somerville, and remained there for next six years. The baptism of Johann's daughter Ann is found in the 1724 records of the First Reformed Dutch Church at Raritan, near Somerville, New Jersey. On July 6, 1730, Johann and his two sons were naturalized, the papers stating that they professed the Protestant religion. Johann Peter Rockefeller purchased 175 acres in Amwell Twp. above the Falls of Delaware, in Hunterdon County, in the western part of New Jersey, and was the first land owned by a Rockefeller in America. The deed to the farm referred to him as Peter Rockefeller, yeoman. Here he lived for the remainder of his life. Amwell Twp. had been established by a Royal Patent signed by Queen Anne in 1708. In the early days of the settlement, many peaceable Indians lived there, trading with the white settlers and helping them build cabins. They also provided some protection from hostile Indian tribes. Amwell was an agricultural region and much of the farm work was done by servants working to pay for their passages to America, by negroes and Indians, and by apprentices. The Germans were thrifty and hard-working, and it was not unusual for find the women, too, working in the fields. "They cleared the land thoroughly; they built big barns before they spent much energy on houses. They kept their stock fat and sleek, their fences high and strong. Living frugally, they sold as much as possible of their produce..." (Nevins& Commager, op.cit.p.28) Adding to the hardships of the settlers in this section were many wild animals....wolves were often seen prowling around the house at night, sometimes passing in packs of several together, and everything they could destroy had to be housed at night.....As late as 1737, Hunterdon County paid L88 in premiums for the destruction of 72 grown wolves, 16 panthers, and 19 young wolves." (Rockefeller Genealogy, op.cit., pp. 352,371)

Johann Peter Rockefeller made his will on December 6, 1763, leaving 275 acres of land to his son William, who was to pay 325 pounds sterling for it. The estate was divided equally among his children. He signed his will as Peter Rockenfeller, and in the body of the will the name was also spelled Rockefelder and Rockefelt. He died in Rocktown, Huntaerdon County, New Jersey, where his will was probated on August 16, 1766. His grandson, William Rockefeller, before he was 22 years of age found his way to East Camp, N.Y. and there in 1772 married Christina the granddaughter of Diell Rockenfeller. In another genealogy it says that Johann Peter died about December 6, 1763... After his arrival he leased a farm near Somerville, New Jersey, for six years. In 1730, soon after moving to Amwell, Johann Peter and his two sons took out naturalization papers. He then purchased a farm in Rocktown, Hunterdon County, New Jersey, where he lived the rest of his life...

John D. Rockefeller pursued his “American Dream” and amassed enormous wealth, but he would not have had that opportunity in the stultifying feudal environment of Europe, that was absent the rights and freedoms that opened the door to individual initiative and creativity, which only America offered.

But now, having taken all that America offered, the Rockefeller family would close that door to all Americans, including new immigrants, because their profits can be maximized by destroying the very principles that made the Rockefellers such a success, namely:

“We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.--That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.”

Somehow David Rockefeller got it into his head that:

“The supernational sovereignty of an *intellectual elite and world bankers* is surely preferable to the national autodetermination practiced in past centuries.”

This tells you something about the American education he received, growing up. He must have missed American history? Oh, wait----we’re forgetting that the Rockefellers joined the Carnegies and the Guggenheims in the 1910-1914 period to secretly take over American education with their tax-exempt foundations, alter and falsify American History, destroy the great American narrative, dumb down the teaching and curricula, and do everything else to further impede the learning process of future American generations (read Chapter 1 of this Perspective).

Maintaining and building the clique’s global operations requires the selection, grooming, placement, and full control of minions who will carry out the many clique schemes, which are profoundly criminal and treasonous in character. A sabotaged American education has served as a principal conduit through which clique minions pass to receive training and to be become imbedded in American government and other key American institutions, as well as foreign governments and their vital institutions.

In this context, the clique has constructed four large conduits to source, train and place its minions, two of which involve American education, namely:

- The betraying Eastern Establishment and its prep schools, colleges, universities, and its secret societies including The Order of Skull and Bones at Yale University.
- Rhodes Scholar program of University of Oxford in London.

Two other conduits are: (i) the Israeli Trojan Horse that has deeply infiltrated Israelis into key America institutions through dual citizenships and visa privileges by bribery and coercion, and by recruiting treasonous Americans to secretly work to undermine American principles, its national sovereignty, and its national interest, and (ii) the mass kidnapping of American children to service deviants among the the minions in a massive blackmailing operation; children who later become trained adult minions.

It is in this context that you can better evaluate the invasiveness and depth of the clique's schemes to fill its ranks of minions. And you can also evaluate the urgent need for us to break up this perverse system orchestrated by the Eastern Establishment throughout its educational network, which includes these Ivy League colleges and universities, as well as private feeder secondary schools by name and founding date:

Harvard (1636), Yale (1701), University of Pennsylvania (1740), Princeton (1746), Columbia (1754), Brown (1764), Dartmouth (1769), and Cornell (1865).

Collegiate School (1628), Roxbury Latin (1645), Hopkins School (1660), Trinity School (1701), Phillips Academy (1778), Phillips Exeter Academy (1781), Deerfield Academy (1797), Milton Academy (1798), Lawrenceville School (1810), St. Paul's (1856), The Brearley School (1884), Groton School (1884), Noble and Greenough School (1866), Windsor School (1886), Horace Mann (1887), The Spence School (1892), Choate Rosemary Hall (1890) The Chapin School (1901), and The Dalton School (1919).

It should be no surprise that this long and deeply interlocked arrangement is identical to the British education model for its own tiny elite.

These, the earliest institutions of learning in America, in fact, never shed their loyalty to the British Crown. They are filled with clique minions throughout their administrations and faculties. In no way did they resist the un-American and unconstitutional influences of Daniel Coit Gilman, Andrew Dickson White, and Timothy Dwight, among other Americans who brought back the Hegelian notions---of the individual becoming subservient to the state---learned in the University of Berlin during the mid-1800s. (see pages 68-77 of the Perspective)

Instead, the betraying Eastern Establishment and its educational network embraced these treasonous concepts as described by Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel in his work, Philosophy of Right (1820) who wrote:

"The State is absolutely rational inasmuch as it is the actuality of the substantial will which it possesses in the particular self-consciousness once that consciousness has been raised to consciousness of its universality. This substantial unity is an absolute unmoved end in itself, in which freedom comes into its supreme right. On the other hand this final end has supreme right against the individual, whose supreme duty is to be a member of the State."

Nor did the Eastern Establishment and its educational network resist the concealed takeover and evisceration of all of American education, even in their own ranks, by the combined Carnegie/Rockefeller/Guggenheim juggernaut that was launched in the early 1900s. Why? Because the clique scheme for American education was to subvert and impede the learning process and to train future American generations to embrace these un-American and unconstitutional ideas as a precursor to its planned one-world government. The betraying Eastern Establishment's system of schools, colleges, and universities provide fertile ground from which the clique can screen and select American

youth that meet the psychological profile of clique minion candidates. The pinnacle of clique recruitment---Yale's secret society, Skull and Bones---is described by Antony Sutton:

“A thumbnail sketch of Skull and Bones looks like this:

‘One of Seven Secret Societies at Yale: It is one of seven secret societies at Yale; of the others, according to Yale graduate Ron Rosenbaum, in his 1977 Esquire Magazine article about The Order, only the *Scroll and Key* was "the chief rival of Bones for the elite of Yale---Dean Acheson's and Cy Vance's society---and the source of most of the rest of the American foreign policy establishment.”

‘Fifteen Inductees Each Year and Inductee Profile: Each year The Order selects fifteen Yale students from its junior class for induction. As to the selection criteria, Sutton wrote:

"In selection, emphasis is placed on athletic ability---the ability to play on a team. The most unlikely potential member of The Order is a loner, an iconoclast, an individualist, the man who goes his own way in the world. The most likely potential member is from a Bones family, who is energetic, resourceful, political and probably an amoral team player. A man who understands that to get along you have to go along. A man who will sacrifice himself for the good of the team. A moment's reflection illustrates why this is so. In real life, the thrust of The Order is to bring about certain objectives. *Honors and financial rewards are guaranteed by the power of The Order.* But the price of these honors and rewards is sacrifice to the common goal.....”

‘Initiation Ceremony: From a variety of sources, the initiation ceremony consists of self-abasement, of surrendering one's dignity and individuality, and of being subjected to humiliation by existing members of The Order. This takes the form of: (i) lying naked in an open coffin, (ii) revealing the most intimate details of one's adolescent sex life before their peers, (iii) wrestling, all naked, with one's fellow inductees in a mud enclosure, while (iv) senior Bonesman dressed in skeleton costumes leap about and howl wildly to maximize the intended atmospherics, and (v) pledge to strictly protect the secrecy of every aspect of The Order.’

Sutton wrote:

"Bonesman Henry Stimson, Secretary of War under Franklin Delano Roosevelt,called his experience in the tomb the most profound one in his entire education."

There is nothing more un-American and unconstitutional than Yale University's preposterous endorsement of Skull and Bones as part of American education. To turn out these pampered and privileged offspring of the Eastern Establishment families is

like breeding termites to eat away at America's foundations. Yale has not been providing an American education; my research indicates that Yale has been aligned with the clique of families since its inception in 1701 and a full investigation of this betraying institution and its attached Skull and Bones will bring about the abolishment of both.

The Order of Skull and Bones deserves nothing else but ridicule. Out of their "tomb" comes a flow of boys with no inner compass, like Henry Stimson who called his experience the the most profound one in his entire education. The clique finds these pathetic boys early and next you find them in secret clusters, placed in positions of importance ahead of more qualified and competent young Americans who have not prostituted themselves by pledging a concealed lifetime loyalty to a concealed power that supersedes loyalty to America and the U.S. Constitution and may, in all likelihood, call for acts of treason and harm to the American people.

To gain a greater understanding of the secret society methodology of selecting malleable and insecure youth marked by a dysfunctional upbringing, listen to Kay Griggs describe her experience being married to a product of this sick and twisted selection and indoctrination process that mirrors that of the Skull and Bones process.

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MQNitCNycKQ> Kay Griggs Part 1 of 4

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HNQQir-DfEM&feature=related> Kay Griggs Part 2

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yaZUEEPNwiU&feature=relmfu> Kay Griggs Part 3

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Qb9IwW9x1ps&feature=relmfu> Kay Griggs Part 4

The Rhodes Scholarships: Cecil Rhodes' Success in Grooming Clique Minions To Infiltrate and Sabotage American and International Institutions

Now we turn to the second means by which the clique twisted American education into a recruiting tool for selecting, training and placing more clique minions in key American institutions.

From Wikipedia: The **Rhodes Scholarship**, named after [Cecil John Rhodes](#), is an international [postgraduate](#) award for selected foreign students to study at the [University of Oxford](#).^[1] It was the first large-scale programme of international [scholarships](#),^[2] and is widely considered the "world's most prestigious scholarship" by many public sources such as [Time](#),^[3] [Yale University Press](#),^[4] [The McGill Reporter](#),^[5] and [Associated Press](#).^[6]

Rhodes Scholars may study any full-time postgraduate course offered by the university,^[7] whether a taught master's programme, a research degree, or a second undergraduate degree (senior status). In the first instance, the scholarship is awarded for two years. However, it may also be held for one year or three years. Applications for a third year are considered during the course of the second year. University and college fees are paid by the [Rhodes Trust](#). In addition, scholars receive a monthly maintenance [stipend](#) to cover accommodation and living expenses.^[8]^[9] Although all scholars become affiliated with a [residential college](#) while at Oxford, they also enjoy access to

[Rhodes House](#), an early 20th-century mansion with numerous public rooms, gardens, a library, study areas, and other facilities.

"For more than a century, Rhodes scholars have left Oxford with virtually any job available to them. For much of this time, they have overwhelmingly chosen paths in scholarship, teaching, writing, medicine, scientific research, law, the military, and public service. They have reached the highest levels in virtually all fields."^[10]

Known as an old and prestigious international graduate scholarship,^[11] the Rhodes Scholarships are administered and awarded by the [Rhodes Trust](#), which was established in 1902 under the terms and conditions of the will of [Cecil John Rhodes](#), and funded by his estate under the administration of [Nathan Rothschild](#).^[12] Scholarships have been awarded to applicants annually since 1902 on the basis of academic achievement and strength of character. There have been more than 7,000 Rhodes Scholars since the inception of the trust. More than 4,000 are still living.^[13] The Rhodes Trust provides the Rhodes Scholarships in partnership with the Second Century Founder, John McCall MacBain, and other generous benefactors. In 1925, the [Commonwealth Fund Fellowships](#) (later renamed the [Harkness Fellowships](#)) were established to reciprocate the Rhodes Scholarships by enabling British graduates to study in the United States.^[14] The [Kennedy Scholarship](#) programme, created in 1966 as a living memorial to [John F. Kennedy](#), adopts a comparable selection process to the Rhodes Scholarships to allow 10 British post-graduate students per year to study at either [Harvard](#) or the [Massachusetts Institute of Technology](#) (MIT).^{[15][16]}

Rhodes' legacy specified four standards by which applicants were to be judged:

- Literary and scholastic attainments;
- Energy to use one's talents to the fullest, as exemplified by fondness for and success in sports;
- Truth, courage, devotion to duty, sympathy for and protection of the weak, kindness, unselfishness and fellowship;
- Moral force of character and instincts to lead, and to take an interest in one's fellow beings.

Of course, these objectives are completely fraudulent. The Rhodes Scholarship program is nothing more than clique-orchestrated system of infiltration and sabotage of American principles, its Constitution, its national sovereignty, and its self-determination, using training Americans at the University of Oxford to betray their country. A full list of Rhodes Scholars can be found at: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_Rhodes_Scholars

Please take the time to scan the following “persons of interest” list selected from among the complete list of Rhodes Scholars and then read the summary that follows. It

appears that the Americans who returned from their Oxford indoctrination were concentrated in American education (especially in the field of American History and Political Science as well as presidents of universities), the American government (all three branches) and in America's mainstream media (especially editors). The names marked in blue are of particular interest and membership in the clique-controlled Council of Foreign Relations, Trilateral Commission, Aspen Institute, and Brookings Institution is also marked.

Persons of Interest (of particular interest)	Undergrad Institution	Completion of Rhodes Scholarship	Current Position
John Tigert	Vanderbilt	1904	U.S. Commissioner of Education; President of University of Florida
Warren Ault	Baker	1907	Professor of History, Boston University
Clarence Haring	Harvard	1907	American historian
Frank Holman	Utah	1908	President of American Bar Association
Elmer Davis	Franklin	1910	Director, U.S. Office of War Information, during WWII
Frank Aydelotte	Indiana	1911	President of Swarthmore College
Charles Clason	Bates	1914	Congressman (Massachusetts) 1937-1949
Roland Michener	Alberta	1919	Governor General of Canada (1967-1974)
George Estabrooks	Harvard	1920	Head of Psychology Department, Colgate University
John Marshall Harlan II	Princeton	1920	Associate Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court (1955-1971)
William Stevenson	Princeton	1922	President of Oberlin College (1946-1961), U.S. Ambassador to the Philippines

Persons of Interest (of particular interest)	Undergrad Institution	Completion of Rhodes Scholarship	Current Position
J. William Fulbright	Arkansas	1925	U.S. Senator (Arkansas 1945-1974)
George Paton	Melbourne	1926	Vice Chancellor, University of Melbourne
Halbrook Mann MacNeille	Swarthmore	1928	Director of the U.S. Office of Scientific Research and Development
Emory Lindquist	Bethany	1930	President of Bethany College and Wichita State University
Charles Herbert Little	Toronto	1930	Director of Canadian Naval Intelligence during WWII
Carl Albert	Oklahoma	1931	Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives (1971-1977)
Dean Rusk	Davidson	1931	U.S. Secretary of State (1961-1969)
Daniel Boorstin	Harvard	1934	American historian and Librarian of U.S. Congress
Wilbur Jackett	Saskatchewan	1934	U.S. Ambassador to Turkey and Germany (1952-1953, 1963-1968)
John Templeton	Yale	1934	Founder of Templeton College, University of Oxford
Arnold Smith	Ontario	1935	First Secretary General of the Commonwealth
Gordon Craig	Princeton	1936	American historian and OSS veteran (OSS became the CIA)
George Ignatieff	Toronto	1936	Canadian diplomat, President of the UN Security Council (1968-1969)

Persons of Interest (of particular interest)	Undergrad Institution	Completion of Rhodes Scholarship	Current Position
John Oakes	Princeton	1936	Editor of the editorial page of the New York Times (1961-1976)
Walt Whitman Rostow	Yale	1936	Deputy Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs (1961); Special Assistant for National Security Affairs (1966-1969)
Howard K. Smith	Tulane	1937	Prominent ABC broadcast journalist
Byron White	Colorado	1938	Associate Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court (1962-1993)
Zelman Cowen	Melbourne	1941	Governor General of Australia (1977-1982)
James Hester	Princeton	1947	President of New York University
Nicholas Katzenbach	Princeton	1947	U.S. Attorney General (1965-1966); U.S. Under-Secretary of State (1966-1969)
Robert Marston	Virginia	1947	President of University of Florida
Bernard Rogers	U.S. Military Academy	1947	Supreme Allied Commander, NATO
Stansfield Turner	U.S. Naval Academy	1947	Director of Central Intelligence Agency (1977-1981)
John Turner	British Columbia	1949	Prime Minister of Canada (1984)
Peter Durack	Western Australia	1949	Commonwealth Attorney General
James Billington	Princeton	1950	Historian, Librarian of U.S. Congress

Persons of Interest (of particular interest)	Undergrad Institution	Completion of Rhodes Scholarship	Current Position
John Brademas	Harvard	1950	U.S. Congressman (Indiana) 1959-1981
Thomas Bartlett	Oregon	1951	Chancellor, State University of New York (SUNY) 1994-1996
Richard N. Gardner Council on Foreign Relations	Harvard and Yale	1951	U.S. Deputy Assistant Secretary of State (1961-1965); Professor Emeritus of law at Columbia University
John Winthrop Sears	Harvard	1951	Member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives (1965-1968)
Guido Calabresi	Yale	1953	Professor and Dean at Yale Law School; Judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 2nd Circuit
Julian Ogilvie Thompson	Diocesan College	1953	Former Chairman of De Beers and Anglo American (gold mines)
Frank Wells	Pomona College	1953	President of Warner Brothers and Walt Disney Company
Bob Hawke	Western Australia	1953	Prime Minister of Australia (1983-1991)
Richard Luger	Denison	1954	U.S. Senator (Indiana) 1977-2009; Aspen Strategy Group member
Paul Sarbanes	Princeton	1954	U.S. Senator (Maryland) 1977-2007
Robert Paxon	Washington & Lee	1954	Historian
John Morrison	New Mexico	1955	Senior Partner, Kirkland & Ellis (1962-1999)

Persons of Interest (of particular interest)	Undergrad Institution	Completion of Rhodes Scholarship	Current Position
Willie Morris	Texas	1956	Editor, Harper Magazine (1967-1971)
Elliot Levitas	Emory	1956	U.S. Congressman (Georgia) 1975-1985)
Neil Rudenstine Council on Foreign Relations	Princeton	1956	President of Harvard University (1991-2001)
Arthur Kroeger	Alberta	1956	Chancellor of Carleton University (1993-2002)
Robert Rotberg	Princeton	1957	American political scientist, MIT, Tufts, Harvard
Roger Howell, Jr.	Bowdoin	1958	President of Bowdoin College (1968-1978)
Joseph Nye, Jr. Council on Foreign Relations Chairman, Trilateral Commission	Princeton	1958	Chairman, National Intelligence Council (1993-1994); Dean, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University
Richard Celeste Council on Foreign Relations	Yale	1960	Governor of Ohio (1983-1991); President of Colorado College
Lester Thurow	Williams	1960	Professor of economics at MIT
David Souter	Harvard	1961	Associate Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court (1990-2009)
Rex Adams	Duke	1962	Chairman of PBS; Dean of the Fuqua School of Business, Duke University

Persons of Interest (of particular interest)	Undergrad Institution	Completion of Rhodes Scholarship	Current Position
David Frohnmayer	Harvard	1962	President of University of Oregon (1994-); Attorney General of Oregon (1980-1991)
David Boren Council on Foreign Relations	Yale	1963	Governor of Oklahoma (1975-1979); U.S. Senator (Oklahoma) 1979-1994, President of University of Oklahoma (1994-)
Walter Slocombe Council on Foreign Relations	Princeton	1963	U.S. Under Secretary of Defense for Policy (1994-2001); Senior Advisor for National Defense for the Coalition Provisional Authority in Baghdad (2003); Aspen Strategy Group member
David Woods	Rhodes	1963	Vice Chancellor of Rhodes University (South Africa)
R. James Woolsey Council on Foreign Relations	Stanford	1963	Director of Central Intelligence Agency (1993-1995); core member of Project for the New American Century (1997-); Senior Vice President Booz Allen Hamilton (2002-)
Larry Pressler Council on Foreign Relations	South Dakota	1964	U.S. Congressman (South Dakota) 1975-1979); U.S. Senator (South Dakota) 1979-1997); authored the Telecommunications Act of 1996

Persons of Interest (of particular interest)	Undergrad Institution	Completion of Rhodes Scholarship	Current Position
Bill Bradley Council on Foreign Relations	Princeton	1965	U.S. Senator (New Jersey) 1979-1997; Democratic presidential candidate 2000
Wesley Clark Council on Foreign Relations	U.S. Military Academy	1966	Supreme Allied Commander NATO (1997-2000); Democratic presidential candidate 2004
A. Michael Spence	Princeton	1966	Canadian economist; Nobel Prize in Economics for 2001
David Kendall Council on Foreign Relations	Wabash	1966	President Clinton's personal lawyer
Terrence Malick	Harvard	1966	American film director; The New World, The Tree of Life
Thomas Allen	Bowdoin	1967	U.S. Congressman (Maine) 1997-2009
John Doyle	Adelaide	1967	Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of South Australia
Karl Marlantes	Yale	1967	American author, Matterhorn: A Novel of the Vietnam War
Deepak Nayyar	Delhi	1967	Vice Chancellor of Delhi University
Stephen Oxman Council on Foreign Relations	Princeton	1967	U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs (1993-1994); President of the Board of Trustees of Princeton University (2006-)

Persons of Interest (of particular interest)	Undergrad Institution	Completion of Rhodes Scholarship	Current Position
Dennis Blair Trilateral Commission	U.S. Naval Academy	1968	Director of National Intelligence (2009-2010); Commander U.S. Pacific Command
Robert McCallum, Jr.	Yale	1968	U.S. Associate Attorney General (2003-)
Robert Reich	Dartmouth	1968	American commentator and author; U.S. Secretary of Labor (1993-1997); Professor of University of California, Berkeley (2006-)
Boisfeuillet Jones, Jr.	Harvard	1968	Vice Chairman of The Washington Post Company, former publisher and CEO of The Washington Post (2000-2008)
Bill Clinton Council on Foreign Relations	Georgetown	1968	President of the United States (1993-2001); Governor of Arkansas (1979-1981 and 1983-1993)
William Fletcher	Harvard	1968	Judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 9th Circuit
Strobe Talbott Council on Foreign Relations Trilateral Commission	Yale	1968	U.S. Deputy Secretary of State (1994-2001); President of Brookings Institution (2002-); Aspen Strategy Group member
Ira Magaziner	Brown	1969	White House senior aide (1993-1999); originator of Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers

Persons of Interest (of particular interest)	Undergrad Institution	Completion of Rhodes Scholarship	Current Position
Danny Williams	Memorial	1969	Canadian politician; Premier of Newfoundland and Labrador
James Fallows Council on Foreign Relations	Harvard	1970	American writer; <i>The Atlantic Monthly</i> , covering foreign affairs, politics, and the economy as well as cultural trends.
David Quammen	Yale	1970	American science, nature and travel writer
Eric Redman	Harvard	1970	Staffer, U.S. Senator Warren Magnuson (ca. 1971); author of <i>The Dance of Legislation</i>
Richard Trainor	Brown and Princeton	1970	Principal of King's College London
Franklin Raines Council on Foreign Relations	Harvard	1971	Chairman and CEO of Fannie Mae (1999-2004); Director of the Office of Management and Budget (1996-1998)
Kurt Schmoke Council on Foreign Relations	Yale	1971	Mayor of Baltimore (1987-1999); Dean of Howard University School of Law
Geoff Gallop	Western Australia	1972	Premier of Western Australia (2001-2006)
Michael Kinsley	Harvard	1972	Journalist, <i>Los Angeles Times</i> ; founder of <i>Slate Magazine</i> , editor of <i>The New Republic</i>
Tom Birmingham	Harvard	1972	President of the Massachusetts Senate; candidate for nomination for Governor of Massachusetts (2002)

Persons of Interest (of particular interest)	Undergrad Institution	Completion of Rhodes Scholarship	Current Position
E.J. Dionne	Harvard	1973	Washington Post columnist (1993-); Senior Fellow at Brookings Institution; commentator on NPR, MSNBC and PBS
Richard Haass President of Council on Foreign Relations Trilateral Commission	Oberlin	1973	President of the Council on Foreign Relations (2003-); Director of Policy Planning Staff at the U.S. Department of State (2001-2003)
Frank Klotz Council on Foreign Relations	USAF Academy	1973	Commander of Air Force Global Strike Command
T.A. Barron	Princeton	1974	American author
Rod Eddington	Western Australia	1974	Director of News Corporation; former CEO of British Airways
Charles McMillen	Maryland	1974	U.S. Congressman (Maryland) 1987-1993
Walter Isaacson Council on Foreign Relations Trilateral Commission	Harvard	1974	Managing Editor of Time Magazine (1995-2001); Chairman and CEO of CNN (2001-); President of Aspen Institute (2003-)
Larry Sabato	Princeton and Virginia	1975	Director of University of Virginia Center for Politics
Russ Feingold	Wisconsin	1975	U.S. Senator (Wisconsin) 1993-2011

Persons of Interest (of particular interest)	Undergrad Institution	Completion of Rhodes Scholarship	Current Position
Michael Sandel Council on Foreign Relations	Brandeis	1975	American political philosopher and professor at Harvard University
Mel Reynolds	Illinois	1975	U.S. Congressman (Illinois) 1993-1995
Hans-Paul Burkner	Bochum (Germany)	1976	President and CEO of The Boston Consulting Group (BCG)(2004-2012); Chairman of BCG (2012-)
Clayton Christensen	Brigham Young	1977	Professor of Harvard Business School, author
Randall Kennedy	Princeton	1977	Professor, Harvard Law School
Eric Lander	Princeton	1978	Chair of President Obama's Council of Advisors on Science and Technology; founder of Human Genome Project, Professor of Biology at MIT
David Naylor	Toronto	1979	President of University of Toronto
Ashton B. Carter Council on Foreign Relations	Yale	1979	U.S. Deputy Secretary of Defense under the Obama administration
Nancy-Ann DeParle	Tennessee	1979	Administrator of the U.S. Health Care Financing Administration (1997-2000); Director of White House Office of Health Reform (2009-)
Clark Ervin	Harvard	1980	former Inspector General of the U.S. Department of Homeland Security

Persons of Interest (of particular interest)	Undergrad Institution	Completion of Rhodes Scholarship	Current Position
Tony Abbott	Sydney		Prime Minister of Australia (2013-)
Nicholas Kristof Council on Foreign Relations	Harvard	1981	Journalist, New York Times; Aspen Strategy Group member
Barton Gellman Council on Foreign Relations	Princeton	1982	Journalist, Washington Post and Time Magazine, author
Benedict Kingsbury	Canterbury	1982	Professor at New York University
Heather Wilson	USAF Academy	1982	U.S. Congresswoman (New Mexico) 1998-2009
Christopher Eisgruber	Princeton	1983	President of Princeton University; Professor at New York University School of Law (1990-2001)
David Frederick	Pittsburgh	1983	Appellate attorney in cases before the U.S. Supreme Court
Bill Halter	Stanford	1983	Lt. Governor of Arkansas
Elizabeth Kiss	Davidson	1983	President of Agnes Scott College
David Vitter	Harvard	1983	U.S. Senator (Louisiana) 2005-
Christopher Hedrick	Stanford	1984	former President and CEO of Intrepid Learning Solutions
Robert Malley	Yale	1984	Director for Near East and South Asian Affairs, National Security Council (1997-2001)

Persons of Interest (of particular interest)	Undergrad Institution	Completion of Rhodes Scholarship	Current Position
George Stephanopoulos Council on Foreign Relations	Columbia	1984	Moderator of ABC's This Week and communications director for Bill Clinton's 1992 presidential campaign
Mark Martins	U.S. Military Academy	1985	Chief Prosecutor of Military Commissions; Brigadier General U.S. Army
Naomi Wolf	Yale	1985	American feminist social critic; author of The End of America (2007)
Michael McFaul Council on Foreign Relations	Stanford	1986	U.S. Ambassador to Russia; member of U.S. National Security Council and Special Assistant to President Obama on Russian and Eurasian Affairs; Professor of Political Science at Stanford University
Susan Rice Council on Foreign Relations	Stanford	1986	U.S. National Security Advisor (2013-); United States Ambassador to the United Nations (2009-2013); U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs (1997-2001)
Joseph Torsella	Pennsylv	1986	President and CEO of National Constitution Center (2006-)
Atul Gawande	Stanford	1987	New Yorker medical writer
Jacob Weisbert	Yale	1987	Journalist and editor of Slate magazine
Richard Drayton	Harvard	1988	Historian; Rhodes Professor of Imperial History, Kings College, London

Persons of Interest (of particular interest)	Undergrad Institution	Completion of Rhodes Scholarship	Current Position
Brad Carson	Baylor	1989	U.S. Congressman (Oklahoma) 2001-2005
Michael Szonyi	Harvard	1990	Professor of Chinese History at Harvard University
Cory Booker	Stanford	1992	Mayor of Newark, New Jersey; currently seeking vacant seat for U.S. Senator of New Jersey
Noah Feldman	Harvard	1992	Professor at Harvard Law School; advisor to Coalition Provisional Authority in Iraq (2003-2005)
Nikolas Gvosdev	Florida	1992	Editor of The National Interest and teacher at Naval War College
Bobby Jindal	Brown	1992	Governor of Louisiana (2008-); Congressman (Louisiana)
Peter Beinart	Yale		Editor of The New Republic
Chrystia Freeland	Harvard	1993	Editor of Thomson Reuters Digital; author <i>Sale of the Century</i> (2000); <i>Plutocrats: The Rise of the New Global Super-Rich and the Fall of Everyone Else</i> (2012)
Eric Garcetti	Columbia	1993	Mayor of Los Angeles
Siddhartha Mukherjee	Stanford	1993	Professor at Columbia Medical School; author of <i>The Emperor of All Maladies: A Biography of Cancer</i>
Rachel Maddow	Stanford	1994	Host of MSNBC's The Rachel Maddow Show
Ben Cannon	Washington	1999	Oregon State Representative

Persons of Interest (of particular interest)	Undergrad Institution	Completion of Rhodes Scholarship	Current Position
Marc Kielburger	Harvard	1999	Co-founder of Free the Children
Jonah Lehrer	Columbia	2003	Journalist and author who was later charged with fabricating and plagiarizing much his work at the New Yorker and Wired.com
Cyrus Habib	Columbia	2003	Member of the Washington State House of Representatives
Pete Buttigieg	Harvard	2005	Mayor of South Bend, Indiana
Kingwa Kamencu	Nairobi	2009	2012 Presidential candidate for Kenya
Ronan Farrow	Yale	2012	Special advisor to the U.S. State Department on global youth issues

A Summary of Persons of Interest of Rhodes Scholars

President of the United States: 1	Bill Clinton
Presidential candidates: 2	Wesley Clark and Bill Bradley
Foreign Heads of State:	Australia, Canada
U.S. Congress members: 13	Carl Albert, Speaker of the House
U.S. Senators: 7	Vitter, Feingold, Bradley, Boren, Luger et al.
U.S. Supreme Court Justices: 3	Bryon White, David Souter, John Marshall Harlan II
U.S. Court of Appeals: 3	
U.S. Secretary of State: 1	Dean Rusk
U.S. Ambassadors: 3	
U.S. Attorney General: 1	Nicholas Katzenbach

State Governors:	4	Arkansas, Louisiana, Ohio, Oklahoma
U.S. Military Commanders:	4	Wesley Clark, Dennis Blair, Bernard Rogers, and Frank Klotz
U.S. National Security Advisor:	1	Susan Rice (Obama administration)
Central Intelligence Agency:	2	Stansfield Turner and James Woosley
Deputy Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs:	1	Walt Rostow
Presidents of American universities:	14	including Harvard and Princeton
Presidents of foreign universities:	7	Australia, Britain, Canada, India
Deans of American universities:	5	
American faculty members:	17	including 8 faculty teaching history
Mainstream media CEO/Directors:	2	News Corp and PBS
Mainstream media editors:	13	NYT, WaPost, LA Times, Harpers, et al.
Media commentators:	4	Rachel Maddow, Robert Reich, George Stephanopoulos, and Howard K. Smith

Members of:

Council on Foreign Relations (CFR)	26	Richard Haass, President et al.
Aspen Strategy Group, Aspen Inst.	5	Walter Isaacson, Pres., Richard Luger, Walter Slocombe, Strobe Talbott, Nicholas Kristof
Brookings Institution	2	Strobe Talbott, E.J Dionne

America's Next Generations Have Been Bombarded Not Just By a Deeply Subverted Educational System; The Clique's Tavistock Institute Waged Other Forms of Psychological Warfare on Them Since Its Inception in 1921.

Dr. John Coleman, a top researcher who has spent his life investigating clique schemes, states that America has been a primary target of the clique-controlled Tavistock Institute in London and its Wellington House predecessor since the early 1900s and it has conditioned the American population to participation in every war since World War I. Coleman also states that the Tavistock Institute has used psychological warfare to weaken American principles, morality, and solidarity. How is this carried out?

Coleman wrote:

“The Tavistock Clinic in London was where Sigmund Freud had settled when he arrived from Germany.....Tavistock Institute was established...for the purposes of

mind control and public opinion-making, and to establish on a carefully-examined scientific basis, **at what point the human mind would break down under subjection to prolonged bouts of psychological distress**.....Tavistock's chief theoretician, Dr. Kurt Lewin, came to the United States to organize the Harvard Psychological Clinic, the MIT Research Center for Group Dynamics, the Institute of Social Research at the University of Michigan.....Moreover, a large number of influential people at top policy levels were trained in Dr. Lewin's theory of topological psychology, which is to this day the most advanced method of behavior modification brainwashing."

In what you read next, I suggest you open your mind to the possibility that all Americans---which includes you, the reader---have been the target of Lewin's deep behavior modification program.

"Tavistock's '*Long Range Penetration and Inner Directional Conditioning*' developed by Dr. Kurt Lewin...is primarily a program where thought control is practiced on mass groups.....The Lewin doctrine is not easy for the layman to follow. Basically, Lewin said that all psychological phenomena occur in a domain defined as *psychological phase space*. This space is composed of two interdependent fields, the *environment* and the *self*. The concept of *controlled environment* arose from the study that if you have a fixed-personality (one susceptible to being predictably profiled), and if you want to elicit from this personality a particular type of behavior, then all you have to do is control the third variable of the equation and thus produce the desired behavior. This was the norm in social-psychology formulas. MI6 uses it in almost every type of situation involving negotiations, army counterinsurgency operations, and labor negotiations. And diplomatic negotiations used it apparently until the 1980s."

"After 1960, Tavistock changed the equation by **placing greater emphasis on the technique of controlled environment, not the behavior, but the desired personality**. What Lewin set out to accomplish was far more drastic and permanent; **altering the deeper structures of human personalities**. **In short, what Lewin succeeded in doing was to move beyond 'behavior modification' to 'identity change.'** (slow down---let this sink in)

This is where you have to dig in and exercise your introspection. Suspend your disbelief for a moment and consider that we all may be surrounded by a high wall of *engineered false reality* much like the film "Matrix" portrayed. In what ways, if any, has your behavior, and perhaps even your identity, been changed by this wall of false reality?

"Identity change was adopted by the nations of the world. Nations worked to acquire a 'new personality' that would change the way the world looked at them. The theory relied upon the original formulations of two Tavistock theoreticians, Dr. William Sargent's theory in his Battle for the Mind--A Physiology of Conversion and Brainwashing (1997), and Kurt Lewin's own work on "personality regression." (In contrast, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Authenticity_\(philosophy\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Authenticity_(philosophy)))

Lewin observed that:

‘...the inner self of the individual displays certain reactions when under tension from the environment. When there is no tension, then the normal inner self of a person is well differentiated, balanced multifaceted, versatile....**When a reasonable amount of tension is applied from the environment, then all the various abilities and faculties of the inner self go on alert, ready for effective action. But, when an intolerable amount of tension is applied, then this geometry collapses into a blinded, undifferentiated soup; a primitive, a regressed personality. The person is reduced to an animal; the highly differentiated and versatile abilities disappear. The controlled environment takes over the personality.**’

Coleman continued:

“It will come as no small surprise to learn that Lewin and his team founded the Stanford Research Center, the Wharton School of Economics, MIT and the National Institute of Mental Health among scores of other institutions fondly believed to be ‘American’ institutions. During the course of years, the Federal Government contributed millions upon millions of dollars to Tavistock and its expanded web of interlinking institutions, while corporate America and Wall Street came up with matching amounts. What has come out of this is what Tavistock called ‘a three-system response’ (i.e.) how population groups react to stress resulting from ‘contrived situations’ that become crisis management exercises. What we have in the U.S. and Britain is a government that creates a situation viewed by its citizens as a crisis, and government then manages that ‘crisis.’ An example of a ‘contrived situation’ was the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941. The attack on Pearl Harbor was ‘contrived’ as previously explained herein with the transfer of Rockefeller cash to Richard Sorge the master spy, and then to a member of the imperial family to prompt Japan to fire the first shots so that the Roosevelt administration could take the United States to war.....Tavistock played an enormous role in crafting the massive wave of anti-Japanese propaganda that swept the United States into the war in Europe via war against Japan.”

Here the “intrigue within the intrigue” was to contrive a war with Japan as a means to pull the American public, against its will, into joining the war in Europe, already fomented by the clique of families, to serve its purposes to deal with its arch-rivals, i.e. by defeating Germany and substantially weakening Russia.

“Another example is the more recent Gulf War when the hue and cry was raised about Iraq’s alleged stocks of nuclear and chemical weapons, the so-called ‘weapons of mass destruction’ (WMDs).....In short, the two Western leaders (Bush, Jr. and Blair) were caught out in a web of lies.....(and with) at least 1 million Iraqis and more than 3,800 American servicemen dead and 25,999

wounded....with the cost....as of October 2005 exceeding \$550 billion.....a state of affairs that demonstrates the power of the Tavistock Institute's *long range penetration and inner conditioning*' treatment of the American people, that would cause them docilely to accept such a turgid, horror-filled situation without ever taking to the streets in rage. On the other hand, the American people may very well be going through one of the three phases of what Dr. Fred Emery, at one time the senior psychiatrist at Tavistock, described as *social environmental turbulence*."

That "social environmental turbulence" is exactly the phenomenon the global public, and in particular, the American public, are experiencing right now. See if this following explanation provides an insight about how the clique went about fomenting war in Syria.

Emory wrote:

'Large population groups manifest the following symptoms when subjected to conditions of violent social changes, stress and turbulence which can be divided into well-defined categories. *Superficiality* is the condition that manifests itself when the threatened population group reacts by adopting shallow sloganeering, which they attempt to pass off as ideals' (the slogan "Support Our Troops" masking our preemptive wars.)

Coleman continues:

"Very little 'ego investment' takes place making the first phase a 'maladaptive response' because, as Emery stated, *'the cause of the crisis is not isolated and identified* and the crisis and tension is not abated, but continues for as long as the controllers want it to last."

"The second phase of the crisis reaction (since the crisis is continuing), is *fragmentation, a condition in which panic strikes, social cohesion falls apart with the result that very small groups form and attempt to protect themselves from the crisis with little or no regard for the expense or cost to other fragmented, small groups*. This phase Emery calls *passive maladaptation, while still failing to identify the cause of the crisis*." (credible reports, or actual events, of bank runs, food shortages, radiation contamination, hyperinflation, infectious diseases, economic collapse)

"The third phase is when the victims turn away from the source of the *induced* crisis and the resulting tension. They take *fantasy trips of internal migration, introspection and obsession with self*. This is what Tavistock calls *disassociation and self realization*. Emery goes on to explain that *the passive maladaptation* responses are now coupled with *active maladaptive responses*.

Emery states that over the past 50 years, experiments in applied social psychology and resultant 'crisis management' have taken over all aspects of life in America and the results are stored in the computers in major 'think tanks' such as

Stanford University. The scenarios are taken out, used and revised from time to time and, according to Tavistock, *the scenarios are in operation at the present time.* Translated this means that Tavistock has the majority of the American people profiled and brainwashed. If any part of the American public is ever able to identify the cause of the crises that have washed over this nation in the past seventy years, the social engineering structure built by Tavistock will come crashing down. But that has not yet happened. Tavistock continues to drown the American public in its seal of created public opinion.”

Let’s call it a ‘high wall of false reality.’ But here is a paradox: failing to discover the cause of crises confines us to Emery’s maladaptation phases, but when the actual cause of the crisis is first presented, the majority of the general public will intensely ridicule it and will attempt to shut down any rational discourse that contradicts the false reality. This is a programmed response engineered by very long Tavistock psychological conditioning of the American public.

My research indicates that the clique of families operates from a standard playbook that goes far back to the Roman Empire and has been perfected ever since by Venetians, Genoese, Byzantines and others of later monarchies and then perfected by the practices of the British Empire. Definitions of Machiavellian behavior in most dictionaries use expressions such as ‘*Byzantine intrigues*’ or ‘*he has the most Byzantine mind in politics*’. There was a reason.

In my description of the clique’s standard playbook, I summarize it by referring only to *massive bribery, coercion, deadly violence and assassination.* The Tavistock Institute contributes much more detail to the playbook and it could truly be called *byzantine, i.e. reflecting literally millenniums of experience in grand deception and population control.* Accordingly, the clique’s standard playbook includes the following tools of their trade by general category:

Maintenance of Strict Secrecy: The strict secrecy of the existence of the clique of families and their concealed schemes is one of Tavistock Institute’s most impressive skills. It is accomplished by:

- Creation of a high wall of false reality by strict control over all media, all education, and all entertainment; in other words, maximum information control that is beyond the comprehension of the general public.
- Strong repression of the occasional emergence of critical thought expressed in public.
- Creation of “secret societies” to recruit clique minions, such as The Order of Skull and Bones and the Israeli Trojan Horse.

Characteristics of the Clique's Grand Deceptions

- Within that high wall of this false reality, the clique of families orchestrates a fraudulent belief among the world's populations that adverse changes that affect them (war, famine, pestilence, political upheavals, assassinations, large scale corruption and looting, and the like) are a natural part of *life*, in the same category as unavoidable weather events and not the intentional work of a concealed group of master global criminals.
- It disseminates information through its propaganda branches---media, education, and entertainment---to present fraudulent perspectives as if they were natural, evolutionary "changes of the times," e.g., (i) globalization; (ii) "trickle-down" economics and (iii) the American economy "advancing" from a manufacturing-based to an "information-based economy," to name a few grand deceptions.
- It disseminates information through its propaganda branches *to bring about public acceptance of war* in Vietnam, Iraq, Afghanistan, and Syria.
- It *creates a new mass fear (terrorism)* that secretly facilitates concealed clique schemes, i.e., the fraudulent 9/11 attack on the World Trade buildings in New York City. Pull up: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dgM6hjNedEo>
- It secretly orchestrates a fraudulent series of "Arab Spring" popular uprisings to overthrow troublesome dictators to solidify clique control of Middle East oil.
- It secretly sends clique-controlled mercenary forces to Syria ([CIA-led and financed Al Qaeda forces](#)) to attack the Syrian government and to disseminate fraudulent information through the clique's propaganda branches of Syrian government atrocities (which atrocities were actually committed by the CIA-controlled Al Qaeda forces) as a stepping stone to fomenting a war between the U.S. military vs. the military forces of Russia and China, both of whom are clique rivals.
- It gains concealed control of the nomination and election processes of nation-states, including America.
- It engineers concealed control of nation-state financial affairs by attaching clique private banks (deceptively named "central banks") to nation-state banking systems. The Federal Reserve is "central bank" that took over the American banking system in 1913, and is privately owned by the clique.
- The takeover of American education by the Carnegie, Rockefeller and Guggenheim families, beginning in the early 1900s: (i) to shift the thinking of our next generations away from American principles of individual rights and government by consent of the governed and (ii) to dumb down education by sabotage of curricula, teaching methodologies, and the learning process.

- Orchestrated shocks to the American public: the assassinations of the Kennedy brothers and Martin Luther King; fomenting and prolonging the Vietnam War (1965-1975); the “controlled disintegration” of the American economy which is now in its advanced stage.
- The endless media *barrage* of false and twisted information designed to confuse, disorient and disempower the American public, including the fabrication of highly exaggerated, fake, distracting and inflammatory issues such as liberal vs. conservative beliefs; abortion vs. right to life; gun rights vs. gun control; gay marriage vs. traditional values; lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender community relations; socialism vs. capitalism; big government vs. individual responsibility; Social Security/Medicare vs. deficit spending, and so on. This tactic of “divide and conquer” has its time-honored place in the clique’s standard playbook. This is the *Kabuki theater designed to apply mass stress on the American public and prevent us from detecting the existence of the clique, that great shark operating in the deep.*
- Massive bribery and coercion in the nomination and election of American officials , and massive vote fraud that undermines the American public’s sense of solidarity.
- Fraudulent polling that misleads the public and undermines confidence.
- The concealed selection and grooming of clique minions to take the highest positions in American government who are simply fraudulent figures with no legitimacy or competency to carry out their official duties. The federal government’s gross incompetency was shown in the failed response to Hurricane Katrina in which an entirely inexperienced lawyer, and other clique minions in charge of FEMA had to be replaced by U.S. Coast Guard leadership.
- The grooming of Barack Obama for President by the Rockefeller family in which his birth certificate, Social Security number, and Selective Service documents have been found to be forged, and his Columbia University diploma and transcript are unavailable. The public knows that important information is being suppressed. And Obama’s heavy reliance on TelePrompTers as well as his inadequate performance in debates now suggests that he is a fraudulent and inadequate figure being told what to say and do on behalf of the clique. The idea of a Rockefeller-manufactured foreigner acting as a fake U.S. president is well within the definition of psychological warfare. And consider the clique planting Dick Cheney as the de facto President of the United States for eight years to carry out the clique’s agenda.
- The orchestration of “random shootings and bombings” by seemingly deranged individuals has become a subject of public attention and suspicion. In other words, beginning with the public awareness that President Kennedy was not killed by a lone gunman, as was officially claimed, there has been a growing awareness that these more recent shootings may actually be arranged to cause general fear and a sense of public disempowerment. The CIA’s MK-ULTRA Project of testing and

developing drug-impaired, mind-controlled persons has provided considerable support to this growing public perception ([see page 107 of the Perspective](#)).

The Net Impact: America's Next Generations Have Been Severely Violated by the Relentless Onslaught of Psychological Warfare Waged On Them by the Clique

First, our next generations have grown up in a living environment that is saturated with heavy social stress---WWII, Korea, a fifty-year Cold War threatening global nuclear disaster, a ten-year Vietnam war, assassinations of American public figures, mounting inflation, mounting personal debt, high divorce rates, two-income families, non-stop public agitation around bogus culture issues, and a media and "entertainment" barrage specifically designed to destroy civility and decency standards---all produced by the clique to fill the American living environment with torment.

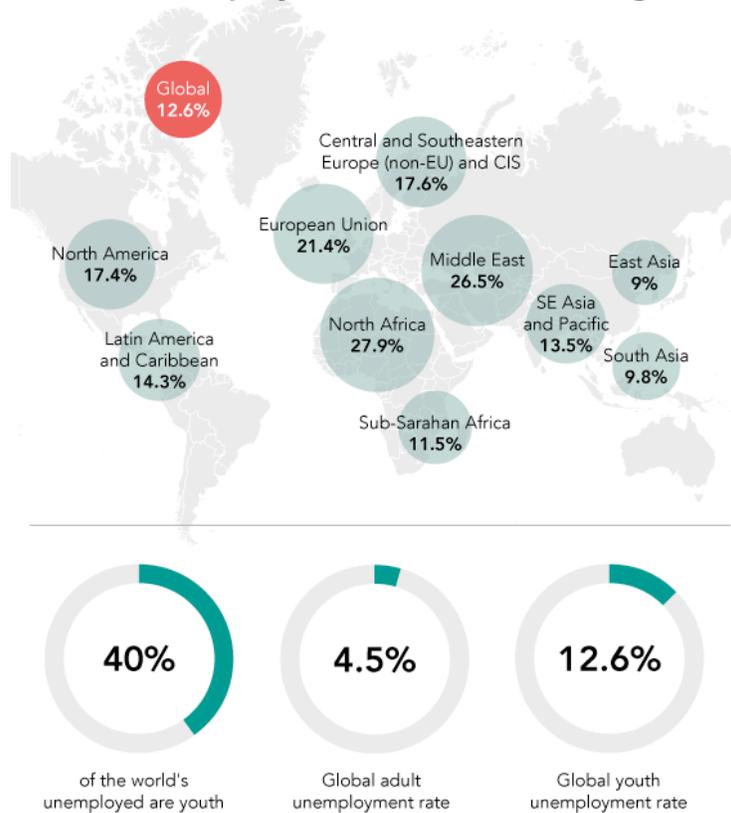
Second, our next generations have grown up in a school environment (middle, high school and college) that is further disorienting owing to the heavy sabotage of American education by the clique, namely, obliterating the teaching function, faculty forced to chase their tails in an intentionally useless research function, purposely keeping American education separate from the real world, inflicting students with falsified history and "social science" textbooks, among others, and filling the infrastructure of American education with compromised, incompetent clique minions.

In spite of this long, long clique-orchestrated attempt to shatter the solidarity of America's next generations, as well as the entire American people, it will be this next generation of Americans, and global youth, who will put the final nail in the clique's coffin. Why will it be you, all across the globe?

Because You Are the Clique's Prime Target.

Just triple these unemployment numbers and that's you.

Youth Unemployment: A Global Scourge



Source: World Economic Forum

THE HUFFINGTON POST

Remember that the Clinton administration required the BLS to treat discouraged workers who stopped formally looking for a job to not be counted as unemployed. The fraudulent nature of that requirement is transparent because in the extreme case there would be *no official unemployment* if all workers stopped looking for work. Please note that America's current unemployment rate is approximately 23.3%, which is over three times as high as the unemployment rate reported by the U.S. government of 7.6%. This massive fraud is the trademark of the clique. The unemployment rate for our next generation is *at least three times as high* as the the official numbers portrayed above. And, finally, please listen to this former Russian KGB officer, who is convinced that America's next generations are permanently traumatized and incapacitated by years and years of exposure to false reality and psychological warfare. He is speaking about the Soviet KGB playbook, but the clique's playbook has the same characteristics, but is much more sophisticated. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dDNcmnK2hlE> In fact, an "intrigue within an intrigue" is that the clique fomented war by providing financial support to Lenin and Marxist ideology that led to Lenin's successful removal of Tsar Nicholas II and the Russian Imperial government.

This accomplished two clique objectives: (i) to eliminate the Russian Empire, which was a clique rival, and (ii) to secretly prepare the vast Russian population to be merged with the American and the non-Russian European populations into an eventual clique-controlled one-world government. See pages 28-29 of the Perspective that will shed light on the clique-controlled Ford Foundation, which played a major role in this global clique scheme:

In his book, *The Tax-Exempt Foundations* (1980), William McIlhany II wrote:

"If the startling notes in the (Carnegie) Endowment archives were not enough to amaze Norman Dodd, the ultimate disclosure was just around the corner. Seeking information from the Rockefeller and Ford foundations, Dodd received a visit in Washington from Dean Rusk (later to be Secretary of State under the Kennedy Administration) and an invitation from Rowan Gaither. Gaither was a bright young lawyer from San Francisco who attracted the attention of **Dean Donald K. David of the Harvard Business School**. **David had been selected to chair a committee that was put together to help the Ford family decide the purposes for which the new Ford Foundation would act.** As President of the Ford Foundation, Gaither invited Dodd to visit his office in December 1953. More than two decades later, Dodd recalls Gaither opening the conversation with:

"Mr. Dodd, we've asked you to stop in because we thought, off the record, maybe you'd tell us why the Congress should be interested in the activities of foundations like ourselves?"

Gaither also asked Dodd if he could account for the 'bad press' to which the Ford Foundation had been subjected. But before Dodd could think and utter a word, Gaither proceeded with an unforgettable admission:

"Of course, you know that we at the executive level here were, at one time or another, active in either the OSS (the World War II predecessor to the Central Intelligence Agency), the State Department, or the European Economic Administration. During those times, and without exception, we operated under directives issued by the White House. We are continuing to be guided by just such directives. Would you like to know the substance of these directives?"

And I (Dodd) said: "Yes, Mr. Gaither, I'd like to know."

Gaither replied: "The substance was to the effect that we should make every effort to so alter life in the United States as ***to make possible a comfortable merger with the Soviet Union.***"

What do you make of that? Of course, you won't find that interesting "tell" in any of the clique-altered and falsified American and world history books. Why? Because we continue to live within a high wall of false reality.

First Steps To Rebuild American Education As America's Inner Compass

- Purge the clique's Eastern Establishment networks within American education.
- Pull the plug on the clique's psychological warfare apparatus to end the mass psychosis suffered in varying degrees by the American people and its next generations.
- Eliminate the clique's global narcotics trade, with particular attention to America's next generations.
- Eliminate binge drinking with particular attention to America's next generations.
- Eliminate live-in fraternities/sororities to revitalize the teaching and learning sphere.
- Terminate clique schemes to further weaken American education including the clique-orchestrated No Child Left Behind and Common Core national programs.
- Fold all clique-inspired charter schools into the American public school system to end clique sabotage, rebuild the public school system, and establish equitable funding.
- Identify and bring to justice all members of the Israeli Trojan Horse who are imbedded throughout American education.
- Purge American education (individuals and programs) of the clique's fraudulent presentation of American and world history and present a truthful historical account of national and world affairs.
- Purge American education (individuals and programs) of the clique's fraudulent social sciences presentations that are designed to marginalize American principles, American democracy, the U.S. Constitution, the Declaration of Independence, and the American Dream, among other essential social values that are the core of American solidarity.
- Purge American education of all clique minions imbedded in educational associations such as the Social Science Research Council, National Research Council, National Education Association, American Council on Education, Progressive Education Association, American Historical Association, League For Industrial Democracy, John Dewey Society, Anti-Defamation League, Parent-Teacher's Association, National Council of Churches, Committee For Economic Development, all accreditation agencies and other clique choke points that sabotage the learning process.
- Eliminate the cartel model currently used by American education and rebuild, using as one reference, among others, the commentary on pages 132-159, above.
- Form a national emergency committee with full U.S. military support to begin the resurrection of American education as the inner compass of American society.

It's time to saddle up.

Robert O'Bannon

November 10th, 2013