Twenty-Four Theses on Intelligence

(Notes for OSS '02, 10 May 2002) by Martin van Creveld

The purpose of these notes is to provide a brief, schematic, comparison between the problems facing intelligence in the old, state-centered world and the ones that arise from the new, increasingly globalized and increasingly diffuse, world in which we live today.

The notes are divided into five sections. They are, 1. The nature of the threat; 2. The intelligence organization; 3. The implications that the changing threat has for intelligence; 4. Some things that have not changed; and 5. A few concluding remarks.

Finally, the notes attempt to present a "global" view as far as possible. In other words, they do not focus on the problems facing this intelligence organization or that.

1. The Nature of the Threat.

Old	New
The main threat was overt and came from	As 9-11 showed, the threat is often covert
the uniformed military. Compared to the	and comes from people who do not
three and a half million strong Red Army,	identify themselves by wearing uniform.
for example, everything else that the U.S	To make things worse, people and
faced during the Cold War was trivial.	organizations will often claim
	responsibility for actions they did not
	commit; as happened in the case of
	kidnapped Wall Street Journal journalist
	Daniel Pearl.
The enemy organization was highly	The enemy organization is decentralized
centralized and disciplined.	and relatively undisciplined. Often it
	displays a very strong tendency to
	splinter and form shifting alliances as
	well as rivalries. A good example of this
	may be seen in Israel's recent operations
	against the Palestinians; as the "official"
	Palestinian security organizations took a
	beating, their place tended to be taken by
	the Tanzim which is not as dependent on
	Arafat.
The enemy had a clear territorial base,	The enemy has no clear territorial base,
marked in the form of a colored patch on	or else he has one that is capable of being
the map.	rapidly moved from one place to another.
	Al Qaeda, which is said to have cells in
	sixty countries, is a very good example of
A	this.
As a result, there was a sharp distinction	As 9-11 showed with particular clarity,
between internal and external threat.	the distinction between an external threat
	and an internal one has become largely
	blurred. Lucifer ante portas has been

	replaced by Lucifer inter nos!
Generally there was a close link between	
	Technological developments have made a
the size of the opponent and the extent of	big difference in this field. At present,
the threat he posed. Also, for most states,	small opponents may sometimes be able
other things equal the closer an enemy	to inflict vast damage by using weapons
the more dangerous he was.	of mass destruction or, perhaps,
	information warfare. The latter in
	particular makes distance irrelevant.
The opponent tended to grow	A hardly-known opponent may appear
incrementally.	out of the blue (and disappear just as
	fast). As a result, analysts are forced to
	think of what has been called "potential
	imaginary threats".
The threat was deliberately created as	As often as not, the threat is a by-product
continuation of policy by other means.	of other activities, such as drug
	smuggling, or migration, or destruction of
	the environment. In other words, the
	Clausewitzian model does not necessarily
	apply; nobody is out to commit an act of
·	policy. As likely as not, the threat is
	produced by poor devils who do what
·	
	they do not because of evil intent but
	because they have no other way to make
	a living.

2. The Intelligence Organization.

Intelligence operations were directed by	The state's monopoly over intelligence
the state. Each state had its own	gathering is being lost very rapidly.
intelligence organization or	Intelligence is more likely to come from
organizations.	mix of public and private organizations.
A "go it alone", approach made sources	Given the diffuse nature of the threat,
relatively easy to control and verify.	cooperation with other organizations is
	vital. However, this makes sources much
	harder to control and verify; it also means
	less control over the information one
	already has.

3. Implications for Intelligence.

Since the enemy was operating in the open, he was relatively easy to identify and find.	The enemy has become much harder to identify and find. Owing partly to his decentralized structure, partly to the mobility made possible by modern transportation, very often one only finds part of him.
Although there were always exceptions, normally the enemy's intentions were focused in his leadership which laid down	The intentions of the enemy's leadership are not necessarily decisive in regard to what lower leadership is doing. In

policy.	extreme cases, they may not even be
policy.	relevant.
The enemy's capabilities were focused in	Many of the enemy's capabilities are
the hands of his leadership, which	diffused throughout the organization. The
decided whether and how to activate	latter's parts may often use them as they
them.	see fit and not as they are instructed.
A broad-area approach to intelligence	Intelligence must be much more focused
was often useful, as in mapping, finding	in space. If you are planning to take out a
military formations, etc.	terrorist in his hiding place, even the
	precise location of the knob on the door
	may be vital; and the more precise the
	weapons you have, the more true this is.
The distinction between intelligence	The distinction between intelligence
gathering and use of force was usually	gathering and use of force is sometimes
clear.	blurred.
Since it operated abroad against a	Partly because the distinction between
declared enemy, intelligence did not have	internal and external does not apply in the
to take cognizance of the existing legal	same form, partly because the
framework.	Clausewitzian framework does not apply
	and the "enemy" are just poor devils,
	keeping within legal framework is vital.
	Ignoring it risks alienating public opinion
	and creating more enemies; it may,
	indeed, be the highway to defeat. The fact
	that they kept within the legal framework,
	more or less, is a major reason behind the
	success of the British in Northern Ireland.
Unless one was caught, the courts were	If one is to operate at home as well as
almost irrelevant to intelligence work.	abroad, the courts are going to be
	involved. A much higher standard of
	evidence may become necessary. Not for
	nothing is LIC (Low Intensity Conflict)
	sometimes said to stand for Lawyer Infested Conflict; see the tussle over the
	rights of El Qaeda prisoners currently
	being held at Guantanamo.
As a result of the above, intelligence was	Intelligence and police work converge.
usually quite different from police work.	Even before 9-11 organizations that used
dure anterent nom ponce work.	to be almost totally separate, such as FBI
	and CIA, were beginning to come
	together; swapping information,
	exchanging personnel, and so on.
Intelligence was often the sole source of	In a world is flooded by information,
information about an issue or a	intelligence is likely to be but one of
development.	many sources competing for the attention
•	of decision makers. This has the effect of
	downgrading analysts and turning
	decision makers into their own analysts.

4. Some Things That Have Not Changed.

- 1. In theory, now as ever, the objective of intelligence is to get at "the truth". In practice, now as ever, "the truth" will often be shaped as much by cultural factors, mirror-imaging, wishful thinking, groupthink, and bureaucratic politics as by "objective" intelligence collection and analysis; a good example is the failure of the CIA to forecast the Indian nuclear test in 1998.
- 2. Reading the enemy's mind is as important as assessing his capabilities, perhaps more so. Again the Indian nuclear test is a very good point in case.
- 3. Raw data without analysis and evaluation means very little. In other words, the overall theoretical framework is at least as important as the "facts".
- 4. How to interest busy decision-makers in intelligence was, and remains, a major question facing intelligence. If the analysis agrees with the decision maker's views he or she is likely to say it contains nothing new; if it doesn't, that it is plain wrong. To solve the dilemma there will be an emphasis on "secrets".
- 5. The OODA (Observation, Orientation, Decision, Action) loop remains as critical as ever. Success depends on speed; old intelligence stinks. Get there half an hour late, and your terrorist-suspect is gone. Speeding-up the loop depends partly on technology, partly on organization.
- 6. Finally, too much intelligence can be as bad as not enough intelligence, or worse. Three weeks passed from the moment an American satellite took a picture of the massacre of Srebrenica until, alerted by other sources, anybody took a look at it. It is said that each and every citizen of London is photographed 300 times a day on the average; this would mean 3 billion pictures a day, over a trillion a year.

5. Conclusions.

As always, the world is changing in some ways, but remains the same in others which are at least as important. As always, the essence of wisdom is learning to distinguish between the two. What applies to the world in general applies equally well to intelligence. Finally: he (or she) who ignores change and puts his head into the sand will end up by being kicked in the ass.

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