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To: "Dr. Baruch Fischhoff - Chair, National Academy of Sciences panel on Improving Intelligence" <baruch@cmu.edu>

From: Lloyd Etheredge lloyd.etheredge@yale.edu

Subject: 10. From *Realpolitik* to Multi-Pathway/Multi-Method Lobbying

Dear Dr. Fischhoff & colleagues:

Reframing: From Realpolitik to Political Lobbying

Creative thinking about world politics still is being limited by organizing images of nation-state persona, interacting according to the (stately) court protocols of absolute monarchs from the age of the Congress of Vienna (1814-1815). But we ought to reframe everybody's focus from single-point *Realpolitik* predictions of future behavior (Will Iran acquire nuclear weapons?) to the intelligence used for high-end domestic lobbying:

Who influences the decision, or *could* influence the decision? What are the pathways & methods to move Senator X? How do we begin to work this process over time?

My high-end models of political intelligence are LBJ as Master of the Senate (Caro) and the highest end Washington lobbying operations. There are asymmetries of brainpower in Washington & \$300 million was spent to hire some of the smartest people to achieve financial deregulation and, then, another \$350 million (and counting) to block re-regulation after the housing bubble began to grow and produce re-regulation legislation.

In the health care sector, for example, the high-end law firms/lobbyists might be willing to talk to you. They know where a Congressman's sister-in-law works, the heads of every hospital board, medical society and company in his District whose costs might be affected by proposed regulations. They know what he cares about and how to frame issues. And who might run against him, if necessary, and how to influence that process. Often, they employ former Committee Chairmen and senior staff who have been directly involved in behind-closed-door meet-

ings with him for years. A high-level strategy briefing in this world is scary - the brainpower, the level of (integrated complexity) rational analysis and the strategic maps of pathways for potential influence.

Washington lobbyists can aim to shift a probability by 3% by any given route. It can add up. Or they simply lay a groundwork and stay in touch - it's like the rational analysis of college Alumni offices. They know, by now, that the optimum yield in annual giving requires at least three contact letters/communications from the College annually.

This is the kind of high-end political analysis that should already be underway re Iran - it's no longer the old-fashioned Realpolitik world/prediction of "What will they do?" viewed from afar. The right question for the DNI is how many pathways & methods are available, and that President Obama can have in motion, to alter the outcome - i.e., for each and every actor who will, or might, influence the future?

Network & Influence Analysis

Re analytical tools - domestic lobbyists almost always can spot the one-step influence pathways easily. But a much more refined IR potential begins with the "Contacts and Influence" paper by Pool and Kochen [Manfred Kochen's The Small World (1989) expands the analysis.] And there has been much work since, re the Internet & network analysis. Pool's social science insight (that produced the film, Six Degrees of Separation & the Kevin Bacon-linked film game) was that there were many more pathways when you can map two & three steps, etc.. And in a country like Iran, whose political system is such a complex interweaving of extended families (in Iran and abroad), clan, religious sect, political links, age cohorts & generations, media usage patterns, etc. a universe of multi-pathway/multi-method processes should have been spotted and - let's pray - were engaged by the DNI several years ago. Tho' the analytic/mapping tools that your committee could identify [assuming the DNI uses NSA databanks] might improve them - and, if so, this could be valuable

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Dr. Lloyd S. Etheredge - Fellow, World Academy of Art & Science

Policy Sciences Center

127 Wall St., Room 322 - Box 208215

New Haven, CT 06520-8215

URL: www.policyscience.net

301-365-5241 (v); lloyd.etheredge@yale.edu (email)