

3. THE YEARS OF REFORM

The National Security Act of 1947 established a new national-security structure within the United States, including the first components of a national Intelligence Community (IC).² In 1949, a new Director of Central Intelligence (DCI), Lt. Gen. Walter Dornhoffer, began to shape the nation's disparate intelligence agencies into something resembling an "intelligence Community," a term first used during his tenure (Dornhoffer, 6). He convinced the Department of State and the Joint Chiefs of Staff to centralize intelligence operations and placed responsibility for bringing the separate intelligence capabilities of the several agencies under civilian control.

Given that there is a consistently and/or cyclically increasing bias toward the IC, typically prompted by a call or perceived abuse of power or shortfalls in the community's performance,³ the Nelson A. Rockefeller Commission (1970) and the reform in the 1970s. Concern over the conduct of covert operations and government abuse of Americans' civil liberties formed many of the reforms in the 1970s that led to greater oversight in both the legislative and executive branches.⁴ The signing of Executive Order 11652 by President Richard Nixon in 1970 was the then-new president's effort to protect the rights of Americans and outline the civil and operational responsibilities of the members of the IC, particularly the Director of Central Intelligence (DCI). Many of the proposed intelligence reforms of the 1970s were the result of pressure to stop a "spouse dividend" by downsizing the IC after the end of the Cold War.⁵

The executive branch once again found itself under significant pressure to reform the IC after the 9/11 Commission report, released just before the 2006 presidential election. Initially, President George W. Bush's National Security Council, working with the senior leadership in the IC, publicly responded to the report by denking several new executive orders that strengthened the independent authorities of the DCI.⁶ Neither the Congress nor its constituents found them sufficient and continued to push for legislation.

² The central elements of this early intelligence system were the Central Intelligence Agency and the Departments of Justice, State, War, and Navy.

³ For more information on the history of intelligence reform, see both the Mitchell Commission's "Controlling Intelligence" in *Foreign Affairs* or the CSIS publication, "The Decline of Intelligent Systems."

⁴ The Senate Select Committee on Intelligence was created in 1976 and the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence followed in 1977.

⁵ The House Permanent Select Committee's Staff Report (2003) and the Joint Process Commission (2004) cited "Preparing for the 21st Century: An Appraisal of U.S. Intelligence" as examples of some of the calls to restructure intelligence.

⁶ President Bush signed five executive orders on August 19, 2007: "Directing the Streamlined Management of the Intelligence Community," "Establishing the National Counterterrorism Center (NCTC)," "Strengthening the Clarity of Provisions Information to Protect Americans," and "Establishing the President's Board on Safeguarding Americans' Civil Liberties."

The advocates of these pushing more aggressive reforms, including an assertive group of family members of the victims of 9/11, came to realize around the belief that the IC would stronger, more coordinated management and that the reform consisted—a DOD proposal with both overseeing the performance of the IC as well as managing the day-to-day operations of the United Intelligence Agency (CIA)—was unworkable. This was certainly central to the recommendations included in the 9/11 Commission Report released in July 2002 and echoed in the 9/11 legislative proposal by the Senate.¹⁷ The proposal to create a strong Director of National Intelligence (DNI) was far more ambitious within the House of Representatives, which advanced a different vision for intelligence reform.

Despite significant obstacles, the Congress managed to push through, and President Bush signed, the Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act (IRTPA) in December 2002. The new law created a DNI whose primary responsibilities were to serve as principal adviser to the president on intelligence matters, to manage and oversee the programs and activities of the various components of the IC—half of which are currently housed within the Department of Defense—and to determine the National Intelligence Program (Section 502).¹⁸ While the IRTPA gave the DNI strengthened authority in a number of areas, neither the Congress nor the Executive branch were willing to go so far as to create a Department of Intelligence, a dream of some reformers. At the end of the day, IRTPA did not provide the DNI with more latitude than the DCI had in managing the IC.

One opposition to consolidating too much authority in a DNI was led by the Department of Defense and the members of Congress on the armed services committees, most notably Representative Duncan Hunter (R-CA) and Senator Carl Levin (D-MI), John Warner (R-VA), and Ted Staines (R-AC). In the fall of 2002, the Congress had returned to a stalemate, and the legislation was in jeopardy. Defeat-minded members of Congress, led by Senator Susan Collins (R-ME), Joseph Lieberman (D-CT) and Representative John Hancock (D-MA), were concerned that this more assertive role to pass reform legislation might be squandered if they compromised their original positions significantly to create passage. This compromise included what became a controversial provision that said,

The President shall issue guidelines to the DNI explaining how the DNI will manage the components of the IC without abrogating the primary authority of other members of the executive branch.¹⁹ Within the IC, and elsewhere, closely follow the IC immediately recognized that Senator Paul

¹⁷ Even at the Senate, notably Senators John McCain and Arlen Specter, had actually drafted legislation that would in essence create a Department of Intelligence.

¹⁸ The National Intelligence Program is a Department of Defense strategy within components which supplied the National Foreign Intelligence Program. The FY 04 top line for the NIP is \$22.7 billion.

¹⁹ Section 502 states: "The President shall issue guidelines to ensure the effective management of the IC within the exclusive branch of the authority granted to the Director of National Intelligence . . . as a means that respects and does not abrogate the primary responsibilities of the heads of departments . . ."

effectively control the [redacted] lines. To be able to more precisely control, in military parlance, the "unity of effort" within the IC, we did not exempt "units of command" the permanent system created by the war law which on the "assignment of products" appeared within the observation "except one to do your will." This was a single strong control authority figure for intelligence was [redacted].

Section 202 was written by defense advocates to protect the Department of Defense, but it also prevented the DOD from unilaterally making decisions that would affect the intelligence elements of the Department of State, Defense, and [redacted] Intelligence, Department of Homeland Security, and others. The CIA is the only intelligence component other than the Office of the DOD not located within a defense department and thus, by statute, reports directly to the DOD.¹⁰

For long after the first DOD Ambassador John D. Maguire, was appointed and the Office of the DOD (DDOD) established it became apparent that creating modernized new policies and programs for the IC would be difficult if not impossible. Whether the topic was personnel management, training, information sharing, coordination of activities in the field, or the importance of analysis, Maguire found that his proposed policies and plans overlapped and often conflicted with policies already in place—many statutory based—within the other departments. He quickly learned that the new management paradigm was not that much better than the old DOD model, which relied heavily on [redacted] and cooperation of the departments.

While it is true that Department of Defense intelligence and intelligence-related activities are subject to various of the authorities granted to the DOD in the DODIA, it is the Secretary of Defense who ultimately creates "unity of command" and controls" over the right DOD elements deployed as members of the IC. The DOD's activities do not extend to operational or tactical control over any DoD component. Thus, DOD intelligence components must adhere to a [redacted] balance between supporting the DOD and responding to the policies he establishes while at the same time following the spirit of an [redacted] to support the Department of Defense.

On the "Warren Report" and its Unilateral Significance

After the Republican Party control that in that House of Congress in the fall of 2001, President Bush made a number of changes in his national security leadership team. By early 2002, he had a new DOD, J. Michael McConnell; a new Director of the

¹⁰ [redacted] from the DODIA, for example: "The Director of the Central Intelligence Agency shall report to the Director of National Intelligence regarding the activities of the Central Intelligence Agency."

¹¹ Under Section 2101 of the National Security Act, the following DoD elements are designated as elements of the IC: "The DIA, DOD, DODIG, other offices within the DoD, and other [redacted] of special national interest through recruitment programs, the [redacted] classes of the Army, the Special Air Force, and the Marine Corps...."

2.2 Executive Order 12333

The difficulties that the DCI had in formulating policy were magnified by challenges unique to the IC: ambiguity of roles in addressing the Executive Order, formulating the intelligence program and budget, managing personnel of source and need to collect, and establishing a new and healthy relationship between the ONSI and the CIA.

Congress was becoming increasingly impatient with what it perceived was a lack of progress on their front. Despite an ever-growing DCI staff, what the Congress and others failed to acknowledge, however, was that the system they created with Section 1003 became part of the RPTA could not be exercised by the DCI staff or any organization composed of IC leaders. The only course left to the DCI, short of rewriting the legislation, was to develop the presidential guidance referenced in Section 1003. The President's Intelligence Advisory Board also encouraged what the DCI felt was a necessary but step and encouraged the President to begin the effort to revise Executive Order 12333.

President Bush signed DCI McCaswell's draft redrafting Executive Order 12333, which had been replaced with few revisions since 1950. McCaswell's redrafting foundered in a court case based by the presidential review board which will discuss while regarding the rights and civil liberties of all Americans. For the months change in the executive order are not undertaken lightly. McCaswell's policy staff began this effort in the early fall of 1997 by bringing together the IC agency heads and the entire policy and legal offices of the IC for a two-day session to discuss what changes to the order should and should not be made. The program at the session was encouraged to take off their paralytic and put on their "pre-emptive" hats in formulating changes to the executive order that would better allow a DCI to do his or her job. The group included a fairly lengthy list of recommended changes to the executive order, but recommended that the DCI not change the section that protected the rights and civil liberties of the American people.

Good early and important decisions made by the DCI on the redrafting of the executive order on a productive course. After the initial efforts, DCI McCaswell established a senior leadership group that included Secretary Gates and the DCI staff closely with us throughout the drafting process. Both the Secretary and I vowed to help him engage constructively throughout the process and keep the lines of communication open, even when we had the most difficult and contentious issues. Later, once the DCI had completed an initial draft of the changes to the executive order, the DCI staff established a Principals Committee, a Staffs Committee, and groups of "trustees" whose responsibility was to work through the policy and legal issues raised during the redrafting, and only the most difficult policy choices were left. These were then directed to my level, or if necessary, to the level of the "Principals," which included the National Security Advisor Stephen Hadley, DCI McCaswell and Secretary of Defense Gore.

After a great deal of debate and deliberation throughout the winter and spring of 1998, these groups produced an executive revision to Executive Order 12333.

which President Bush signed on July 26, 2002. Now I know the results were accomplished before the end of the administration. The DOJ, Justice, Education, and I recognized that we had only a narrow window of time from the signing of the laws forward to get the enactment of the DHS and the alignment of experienced senior officials.

A few things felt more come closer to winning the entire effort. The main effort of these weeks for the Department of Defense was the challenge of making sure Section 202 was to be integrated and implemented. On the one hand, I recognized that Section 202 possessed the authority and responsibilities of Secretary of Defense in the world of national intelligence, critical to the support of the military during times of conflict. Not only did many officials within the Department believe in the necessity of preserving these authorities—the cabinet secretaries felt strongly as well. On the other hand, we recognized Section 202 as being necessary for the DOD in its efforts to reform. Making some modifications seemed to be clearly necessary.

The DOD felt strongly that he needed the executive order to clarify that a "presumption" would be that he was not abrogating the authorities of the Department heads unless the Department could prove otherwise. This is the one of giving he was violating their authorities until with the decision to give the DOD would be due to exercise his authorities as until he was not a legislative decision. This was objectionable to all of the Departments, but it was critical to them to have the agreement regarding this language, as well as to help create within the entire language.

After many weeks of trying to create language, finding, States, and then was generally created language that would definitely explain how Section 202 was to be integrated and applied. In essence, the new language in the executive order "presumption clause" will maintain that the DOD may not abrogate departmental authorities. However, there is an important point. It was stated that the "time period and actions taken by the Director in the exercise of the authority, functions and responsibilities" shall be replaced by the direction of the DOD. It will be that any Department head who believes that a direction is a violation of DOD within the requirements of Section 202 of the DHS must bring the case to the attention of the DOD, DOD, or the procedure for resolution. While this is a case considered and carried, the EO language makes clear that if any agency wants to implement what the DOD tells them to implement, regardless potential conflicts with Departmental directors. It also creates a resolution authority Department can bring any potential resolution of Section 202 to the attention of the DOD, and if necessary up the chain of command all the way to the president. In the end, the DOD felt the EO language gave the president "cover" he needed to push his policies through. Understandable that some would feel why so much intellectual energy and effort was put into addressing this situation, but only such effort is necessary to reach consensus on the need of high-risk policy negotiations.

In the 1950s, over the passage of time, the military doctrine of massed armor divisions was replaced by a doctrine of mobility. The military doctrine of mobility was based on the idea of a "light" division, one that could move rapidly and fight in a variety of environments. The military doctrine of mobility was based on the idea of a "light" division, one that could move rapidly and fight in a variety of environments. The military doctrine of mobility was based on the idea of a "light" division, one that could move rapidly and fight in a variety of environments.

Despite the fact that the military doctrine of mobility was based on the idea of a "light" division, one that could move rapidly and fight in a variety of environments, the military doctrine of mobility was based on the idea of a "light" division, one that could move rapidly and fight in a variety of environments. The military doctrine of mobility was based on the idea of a "light" division, one that could move rapidly and fight in a variety of environments.

3. Where We Go from Here

The new doctrine of mobility is based on the idea of a "light" division, one that could move rapidly and fight in a variety of environments. The military doctrine of mobility was based on the idea of a "light" division, one that could move rapidly and fight in a variety of environments. The military doctrine of mobility was based on the idea of a "light" division, one that could move rapidly and fight in a variety of environments.

Great progress has been made in the development of mobility. Although there are still many challenges, the military doctrine of mobility is based on the idea of a "light" division, one that could move rapidly and fight in a variety of environments. The military doctrine of mobility was based on the idea of a "light" division, one that could move rapidly and fight in a variety of environments.

The future of mobility is bright. As technology continues to advance, the military doctrine of mobility will become even more effective. The military doctrine of mobility was based on the idea of a "light" division, one that could move rapidly and fight in a variety of environments.

* See page 285, and see, *ibid.*, 286-287, 289.

deployment for global intelligence coverage. The benefits of more uniform and comprehensive control five years after signing DODD are tremendous, and are particularly high within as well as outside the IC to encourage in the debate on how much control and management of intelligence is prudent.

Regulation of the content of what defense ICs can and cannot do is also a key to the intelligence know-in-the-field issues. Collaboration is not a bad thing, especially within the core of functional defense ICs, and to find the appropriate balance between what to collect, how, and when is quite a task. But making that analysis relevant to the actions required by the DOD, of intelligence providing a "distinct advantage" may apply not only to the government but to the allies in NATO and other coalitions. It is used to have the right intelligence allowing them to react faster than the enemy. The goal is that these cases will benefit from collaboration especially with our domestic agencies, local, and allied governments and with our international partners.

I will end with two final thoughts on the future of U.S. intelligence. First, it is DOD to achieve truly meaningful intelligence reform. The DOD cannot refer to the Intelligence Reform and Accountability Act (IRACA) unless the DOD can refer to the work agreed to by the Department of Defense to carefully follow the DOD national intelligence priorities with the budgetary requirements within DOD for much needed and sustainable intelligence. This cannot be done until the Secretary of Defense, the DOD work is fully completed to accomplish the nation's security. Start with the Secretary of Defense and Director of Central Intelligence.

Second, people matter. The making of the intelligence leadership team must be chosen carefully, not only for their years of experience and knowledge, but for their ability to be team players. Five years after the passage of IRACA and more than a year after signing DODD, the new administration will be creating intelligence teams to lead an intelligence community that is in a state of transition, and the individuals leading the IC will still have a unique opportunity to continue the initial reform efforts. While the IC will make great strides similar to improving information sharing, the example that is still work to be done based on our experience within the IC and Defense intelligence categories. The following should be among the priorities of the IC in the new administration: reforming intelligence operations, investing in technical modernization, reforming security-classified information storage, using security and counterintelligence to reduce vulnerability, maintaining community collaboration, and forging new relationships with foreign partners. Each of these areas will require strong leadership and integrity collaboration to develop and implement policies that will support long-term success.

"As described by former fans, "... the key to intelligence-driven victories was the collection of obscure 'trifles' as well as the gaining of an accumulation of pieces comprising an advantage and an advantage can thereby become a decisive military position" (to quote also him to do). The ability to liberate choice is the real objective of intelligence." For more information, see the DOD's Vision 2020: <http://www.dod.mil/gov/2020vision.pdf> and <http://www.dod.mil/gov/2020vision.pdf>.

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}