A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF INTELLIGENCE COORDINATION AFTER THE 9/11 ATTACK AND THE SECOND GULF WAR: SELECTED CASE STUDIES

By Karen Lizelle Burger

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree
Master of Security Studies (MSS)
in the Faculty of Humanities
at the University of Pretoria

November 2008

Study Leader: Prof M Hough

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to convey my sincere thanks and gratitude to my study leader, Prof. M Hough, for his patience and expert guidance with this study.

I would also like to thank Liesel Coetzee who assisted me by meticulously editing the dissertation.

To Mercia, I owe many hours of quality time that have been devoured by the research and writing of this dissertation. Without her support and advice, which she supplied, selflessly, day after day, I would not have been able to write anything. She motivated and inspired me and her name belongs on the cover as much as mine.

I dedicate this dissertation to my parents, Kobus and Jean Burger, who did not have the opportunities in life that I have had, and for the sacrifices they made to provide me with these opportunities.

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF INTELLIGENCE COORDINATION AFTER THE 9/11 ATTACK AND THE SECOND GULF WAR: SELECTED CASE STUDIES

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 4: CASE STUDY: INTELLIGENCE COORDINATION IN THE UNITED STATES IN THE POST-2000 PERIOD — 46

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1. IDENTIFICATION OF THE RESEARCH THEME

Intelligence failures regarding Iraq's weapons of mass destruction, as well as the failure to prevent either the 11 September 2001 (9/11) attacks in the United States of America (US) or the 12 October 2002 bombings in Bali, have prompted calls for high-level investigations of intelligence communities across the globe. Commissions of inquiry in the US, United Kingdom (UK) and Australia have identified a number of failures in the way in which the various intelligence services in the respective states operated as a community. These failures highlighted the need for intelligence communities to strengthen intelligence coordination as part of an approach to focus collectively on ensuring more effective intelligence cooperation and coordination to enhance national security.

This study will examine the intelligence coordination mechanisms in the US and UK with a view to comparing them and identifying similarities and differences between them. The coordination mechanisms which existed prior to the 9/11 attacks and the Second Gulf War will be discussed, with the overall aim to examine the measures that were introduced after these events in order to strengthen and improve structural and legislative changes to intelligence coordinating mechanisms in the US and UK (as the selected case studies).

The study will illustrate the need for intelligence coordination to provide decision makers with a carefully-analysed and comprehensive view of threats to national security by the entire intelligence community, including civilian, military and crime intelligence structures. It will further reflect on the provision of strategic direction to priority setting, resource allocation and collection management within the intelligence community. Therefore, from an academic perspective, this study will

provide insight into the strengths and weaknesses in the coordination of intelligence communities, and point out how mechanisms to ensure intelligence coordination were transformed to meet the challenges of the global security environment.

2.   LITERATURE SURVEY

After the Second Gulf War, the 9/11 attacks and intelligence failures regarding Iraq's weapons of mass destruction, intelligence communities realised the need for wide-ranging recommendations on intelligence reform. Especially after 9/11, a major debate ensued about the future structure, size, and role of intelligence structures. Research projects and high level investigations in states such as the US, UK and Australia were undertaken, and a plethora of congressional hearings, editorials, articles, books, lectures, as well as the virtual media, emphasised the weaknesses of intelligence structures, processes and products, and the need for an effective, coordinated system. Prior to 9/11, Charters, Farson and Hasted (1996) critically examined the central assessment systems in place in the UK, the US, Germany and Australia and made a strong case for central analysis systems.

According to Herman (2001: 228-231), the US was incapable of protecting itself from twenty-first century threats, unless it first devised new means of sharing intelligence and cooperating more closely with all other governments. He agreed that the events of 9/11 and the subsequent 'war on terrorism' called for the transformation of the intelligence system, identifying the continued separation of security and foreign intelligence as a critical issue.

In the US, the *Report of the Joint Inquiry into the Terrorist Attacks of September 11, 2001* by the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence and the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence stated a broad case for reorganising the Intelligence Community, describing it as a "loose confederation" with

redundant efforts, imbalances between collection and analysis, and coordination problems. One of the views expressed by the Joint Inquiry was whether leadership should be vested in a new, cabinet-level Director of National Intelligence (DNI) with community-wide responsibilities beyond those now vested in the Director of Central Intelligence (DCI), particularly regarding budget planning and execution. It was suggested that this double role, by which the DCI is also the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), should be ended so that the DNI would become the US president's principal intelligence advisor with authority to lead the Community, while a separate Director would oversees the CIA (United States, 2002a: 345, 347&348). According to Lowenthal (1992: 106), the vagueness of the 1947 *National Security Act* on the duties of the DCI were at the core of problems in exercising overall management and coordination of the intelligence community.

In a critique of the role of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), Posner (2005b: 1-50) argues that the lack of coordination among domestic intelligence agencies and the failure of the FBI to develop an adequate domestic intelligence capability required compelling reform. In *Remaking Domestic Intelligence*, Posner explains the weaknesses undermining domestic intelligence and offers a solution: the creation of a domestic intelligence agency that would be separate from the FBI and have no law enforcement authority or responsibility. Posner (2005b: 67, 82) is further of the opinion that the structure of the US intelligence system, based on the *Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act* of 2004, and its implementation by the DNI, should include the coordination of domestic intelligence by the DNI.

Similarly, the US Senate Select Committee on Intelligence (SSCI) Inquiry into the US Intelligence Community's pre-war intelligence assessments on Iraq identified various intelligence failures in the field of intelligence collection and analysis. The fragmentary nature of the US intelligence community was cited as a critical factor in preventing the sharing of useful information (United States, 2004b: 24-32).

Treverton (2003: 221) makes a compelling case for dismantling intelligence "stovepipes" while simultaneously dismantling this culture of secrecy. In *Fixing Intelligence for a more secure America*, Odom (2004: xiii-xxxv).argues that intelligence gathering should be streamlined and cooperation increased among the many existing intelligence services to cope with twenty-first century threats. An important theme highlighted by Odom is the need to create joint and combined intelligence concepts and doctrine to ensure common understanding across varied jurisdictions.

Turner (2005: 144) argues that the root causes of failures in US intelligence could be found in the way it is organised and in the intelligence process itself. Rather than focusing on case studies, Turner explores each step of the intelligence cycle - priority setting, intelligence collection, analysis, production, and dissemination - to identify the "inflection points" within each stage that contribute to intelligence failures. Finally, he examines a variety of plans that, if implemented, would reduce the likelihood of intelligence failures.

In contrast to the reforms recommended in the US, the Butler Report (United Kingdom, 2004) in the UK does not propose sweeping changes to its intelligence system. The report concludes that there are no ideal or unchangeable systems of collective government and that procedures are not less effective than during previous years. However, the report argues that the Joint Intelligence Committee (JIC) should be given more leverage and that its capacity should be strengthened. At the same time, the JIC chairperson should be elevated to a very senior role in government (United Kingdom, 2004: 158-160).

It is evident from the literature survey that existing literature is heavily weighted towards US intelligence. Much less information is available on the UK and Australia. Available sources on the functioning of the UK are predominantly government sources. Another shortcoming concerning existing sources is that little or no comparative studies have been done between the intelligence

coordinating structures of the US and UK. The limited number of studies that do compare the functioning and structure of the intelligence coordinating mechanisms in the US and UK were all conducted prior to 2001. Notwithstanding these limitations, a key conclusion of the various high-level investigations in the US and UK was a need for better coordination and improved sharing of information. The literature overwhelmingly suggests that intelligence reforms should be a priority to enable intelligence services and communities to cope with twenty-first century threats to national security.

3. IDENTIFICATION AND DEMARCATION OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

This study will focus on the mechanisms and structures responsible for the coordination of the intelligence communities in the US and UK. Surveys of the literature point out that although intelligence coordination mechanisms existed in the US and UK prior to the 11 September 2001 (9/11) attack and the Second Gulf War, these structures needed to be strengthened and, in some cases, reformed.

Although the principles covered in this study may also be applicable in the context of other intelligence communities, such as the South African intelligence community, this will not form part of the scope of this study. It will nonetheless be possible to draw conclusions relevant in a broad sense to the conduct of intelligence coordination in the South African intelligence system.

The research problem will therefore examine the key differences in legislation, organisational structures, and strategies, between the current intelligence coordinating structures in the US and UK, and how they differ from the mechanisms which were in place prior to the 9/11 attacks and the Second Gulf War.

The study will address the following research questions:

- Are the central intelligence coordinating systems effectively addressing the problems of information 'stove-piping' in the US and UK?

- Are the measures introduced after the 9/11 attacks and the Second Gulf War sufficient to enhance and improve the functioning of intelligence coordination systems in the US and UK?

- Are the measures introduced in the respective states to counter terrorism an improvement on measures that were in place prior to 9/11?

The study will be based on the following assumptions:

- A centralised intelligence system discourages intelligence services from 'stove-piping' information, that is the practise in which single-source intelligence is passed on to policymakers without sufficient all-source integration. A decentralised organisational approach often results in interagency rivalry and the pursuit of the interests of individual intelligence services rather than the community.

- The measures introduced in the US and UK after the 9/11 attacks and the Second Gulf War addressed the deficiencies of intelligence coordination, and elevated coordinating systems which were trapped in Cold War configurations with a narrow focus on the coordination of foreign intelligence.

- Efforts by intelligence communities in the centralisation of intelligence in countering the terrorism threat are better coordinated in comparison to coordination on other threats to national security.

The study will analyse and compare two specific intelligence coordinating case studies, namely coordinating mechanisms in the US and UK. The study will then examine whether the outcome of several high level investigations in the US and UK in the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks and the Second Gulf War resulted in improved mechanisms to provide policymakers with timely, carefully-analysed and comprehensive view of issues and threats. The problems of 'stove-piping' and lack of coordination in intelligence communities are common in many governments and can lead to overly narrow views of threats and their

consequences. The 9/11 attacks and the Second Gulf war accelerated efforts in the US and UK to transform the orientation of intelligence services from rivalry, both domestic and international, to cooperation against twenty-first century threats. Thus, this study will analyse the functioning of intelligence coordinating mechanisms prior to the 9/11 attacks, and will then examine the measures introduced from September 2001 to December 2006 to strengthen and improve the coordination between the different intelligence services.

4.   METHODOLOGY AND SOURCES

This study will adopt a qualitative approach to investigate the assumptions. The objective is to understand, study and explore the topic in an in depth manner and within its specific context. In accordance with a qualitative approach, data collection will primarily focus on literary sources.

A comparative approach will be adopted to define the different facets of intelligence coordination on the basis of an analysis of the two intelligence coordinating mechanisms of the selected case studies, namely the US and UK. A comparison will also be made of the strengths and weaknesses of the respective coordinating mechanisms prior to the 9/11 attacks and the Second Gulf War, and how this contributed to the alleged intelligence failures. The literature will be collated and compared in order to determine the differences and similarities in intelligence coordination models, legislation and approaches to intelligence coordination in the selected case studies.

In terms of sources, abundant information is available with regard to the coordination of intelligence. This study will make use of a variety of unclassified sources including books, articles, journals and other documents, speeches, Internet searches, seminars and discussions with senior intelligence officials and intelligence experts, academics, and intelligence scholars in South Africa. Some of these sources include the *Report of the Joint Inquiry into the Terrorist Attacks*

of September 11, 2001 (United States, 2002a) by the US House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence and the US Senate Select Committee on Intelligence and the UK's *Review of Intelligence on Weapons of Mass Destruction* (United Kingdom, 2004), a report prepared by a Committee of Privy Counsellors.

Other sources will include the *Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States* (United States, 2004a), as well as *The Commission on the Intelligence Capabilities of the US Regarding Weapons of Mass Destruction: Report to the president of the US* (United States, 2005).

Sources that will be used for the UK case study include the booklet *UK National Intelligence Machinery* (United Kingdom, 2005a), which provides a comprehensive understanding of the different intelligence structures in the UK. Legislation regulating intelligence coordination will also be consulted, including the UK's *Security Service Act 1989* (amended 1996) and *Intelligence Services Act 1994*.

5.   STRUCTURE OF THE RESEARCH

The research is based on the following chapter allocations:

Chapter 1: **Introduction**
The first chapter serves as an introduction in which the objectives and methodology for the rest of the study are set out.

Chapter 2: **Intelligence and intelligence coordination: a conceptual framework**
Chapter Two places intelligence coordination within a conceptual framework and illustrates that the separate intelligence services of a country are part of a system which must be managed and coordinated as a national entity. This chapter defines concepts such as intelligence, the intelligence process as well as the

roles and mandates of the various intelligence services constituting the intelligence community. It also looks at the rationale for the central coordination of intelligence.

Chapter 3: **Historical overview of the development of intelligence coordinating systems**

This chapter provides a historical overview of how central coordination evolved with the development of systems of intelligence with reference to the US and UK respectively.

Chapter 4: **Case Study: intelligence coordination in the United States in the post-2000 period**

Chapter 4 examines intelligence coordination in the US with a focus on structural and legislative changes to enhance intelligence coordination following the alleged intelligence failures regarding Iraq's weapons of mass destruction, and intelligence community activities after the 9/11 terror attacks.

Chapter 5: **Case Study: Intelligence Coordination in the United Kingdom in the post-2000 period**

This chapter analyses the intelligence system in the UK. It looks at the coordination structures prior to the review of intelligence on Iraq's weapons of mass destruction provided by UK intelligence agencies up to March 2003, and subsequent recommendations to address shortcomings within the intelligence services to improve the coordination of intelligence.

Chapter 6: **Evaluation**

The final chapter compares and analyses the two case studies, and contrasts the differences in central coordination. The assumptions formulated in the Introduction are also evaluated.

CHAPTER 2

INTELLIGENCE AND INTELLIGENCE COORDINATION: A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

1.   INTRODUCTION

The events of 9/11 accelerated efforts in the US to transform the orientation of intelligence services from rivalry and competition, both domestically and internationally, to cooperation against the new threats. The challenge faced by the UK intelligence community is similar. Both the US and UK have significant intelligence institutions that need to be reshaped to cope with a new world and new threats.

The aim of this chapter is to develop a conceptual framework to illustrate that intelligence forms a system and that the respective intelligence services are a national entity to be managed and coordinated as a community. This will entail defining concepts such as intelligence and the intelligence process, discussing the roles and mandates of the various services and agencies constituting the intelligence community, and identifying different national coordinating systems with specific emphasis on central analysis and assessment.

This chapter will illustrate that the separation of domestic, foreign and specialist intelligence functions into separate services make the coordination of intelligence essential. This will set the tone for the third chapter, where the gradual recognition of the need for coordination of intelligence and the development of national coordinating systems since the Second World War, will be discussed with reference to the US and UK respectively.

2.   DEFINING INTELLIGENCE

Intelligence is most often used as an umbrella term, which makes precise definition problematic. Although much effort has gone into defining intelligence

since the Second World War, both academics and practitioners agree that a universally accepted and meaningful definition that embraces the full range of intelligence activities remains elusive.

Kent (1949: ix), one of the earliest theorists in the field of intelligence, defines intelligence as "a kind of knowledge", the "type of organisation which produces the knowledge"; and the "activity pursued by the intelligence organisation". Thus, intelligence is used by Kent to refer to an organisation, an activity and information (Davies, 2002; Herman, 1996b: 1-2; Warner, 2002; Kent, 1949: ix). Because of a lack of agreement on the definition of intelligence, this threefold definition by Kent will be used as departure point for the purpose of this study.

The focus of this study is on the organisational dimension of intelligence, implying the particular set of organisations in government referred to as 'intelligence services' and the 'intelligence communities'. Intelligence activity is what they do, and intelligence information is what they produce (Herman, 1996b: 2).

Many alternative approaches to intelligence have been suggested by a succession of theorists. Lowenthal (2003: 8) points out that intelligence is something broader than information and provides the following definition of the concept:

> Intelligence is the process by which specific types of information important to national security are requested, collected, analyzed, and provided to policymakers; the products of that process; the safeguarding of these processes and this information by counterintelligence activities; and the carrying out of operations as requested by lawful authorities.

Herman (1996b), in *Intelligence Power in Peace and War*, presents concepts of intelligence over a wide spectrum, ranging from broad definitions that approach intelligence primarily as "all-source analysis" to narrow interpretations that focus on intelligence collection, particularly covert collection. Davies (2002) is of the

view that the manner in which different states such as the US and UK define and conceptualise intelligence is reflected in their respective intelligence systems, structures and legislation.

Shulsky and Schmidt (1991: 1) define intelligence as "information relevant to a government's formulation and implementation of policy to further its national security interests and to deal with threats from actual or potential adversaries". Intelligence is differentiated from other types of information due to the secret or clandestine means that are often involved in its collection or concealment (Hannah *et al,* 2005: 1; Lowenthal, 2003: 1-2).

Turner (2005: 4) integrates the myriad of approaches to understanding intelligence and defines it as:

> …policy-relevant information collected through open and clandestine means and subjected to analysis, for the purposes of educating, enlightening…decision makers in formulating and implementing national security and foreign policy.

There is general agreement that intelligence is not just information, but rather a specialised category of information that has been through a systematic analytical process which provides support to policy and decision makers. Hence, in the above definitions, intelligence refers to processed information (Davies, 2002: Hannah *et al,* 2005: 1; Lowenthal, 2003: 1).

The common thread running through these different definitions of the concept of intelligence is that it is a chain or cycle of linked activities, ranging from the targeting and collection of data, through analysis and dissemination of information as required by decision makers, and resulting in actions, including covert ones.

In this study, the information aspect of intelligence will be referred to as the intelligence product, while the core business activity of intelligence structures will

be referred to as intelligence activity. These activities will include, but are not limited to, collection, evaluation, analysis, integration, interpretation and dissemination of intelligence products to clients. The structures that embark on intelligence activities will be referred to as intelligence services and/or agencies.

3.   THE INTELLIGENCE PROCESS

The 'intelligence process' refers to the various steps or phases in intelligence. Theoretically, the ideal and traditional intelligence process has been described as comprising of five steps, referred to as the intelligence cycle as presented in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Traditional intelligence cycle
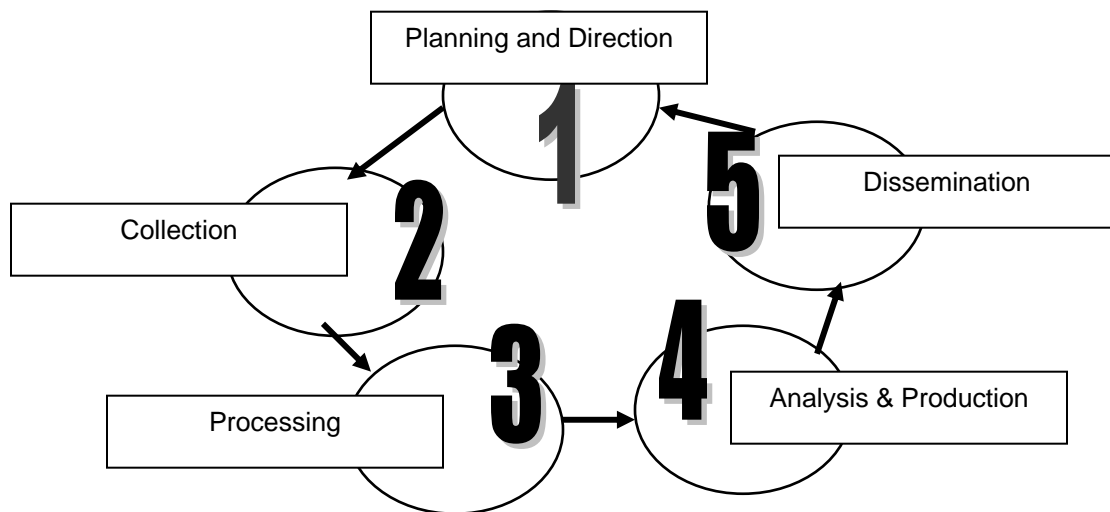
(Clark, 2007: 10; Johnston, 2005; Turner, 2005: 8)

The intelligence cycle is the process by which information is acquired, converted into finished intelligence, and made available to policymakers. The cycle begins with customer requirements (planning and direction), then progresses to collection, processing, analysis and production, and ultimately concludes with dissemination of intelligence to decision makers (Gill *et al,* 2006: 2; Hannah *et al,* 2005: 4; Lowenthal, 2003: 41&42, 51, 54).

- **Planning and direction** involves the management of the entire intelligence

effort and focuses on, in particular, determining collection requirements based on consumer needs.

- **Collection** is the means of gathering raw information through different methods: human intelligence (HUMINT), collection through secret agents and informants; signals intelligence (SIGINT), collection by means of intercepted communications; imagery intelligence, which is the utilisation of photography to obtain images; open-source intelligence (OSINT), collection of information derived from publicly available rather than secret sources; and other technical intelligence methods.

- **Processing** refers to the conversion of information gathered through the various collection methods into a format suitable for analysis and production.

- **Analysis and production** entails the conversion of basic information from a variety of sources into an intelligence product through a systematic process of integration, evaluation and analysis. Analysis is arguably the most important part of the intelligence process. 'All-source analysis' refers to analysis of an intelligence topic using information collected by all relevant methods.

- **Dissemination** involves the distribution of the finished intelligence product to the end-users whose needs triggered the process.

Although the traditional intelligence cycle is viewed by theorists as an inadequate depiction of the intelligence system, it is useful as a means of introducing the different stages of the intelligence process. Theorists argue that the model is one-dimensional, that it depicts a sequential process and does not provide for feedback or repetition between steps. Furthermore, it fails to address elements that may influence the positive or negative movement of the cycle (Johnston *et al,* 2005; Sims, 2005b: 40&41).

Alternative intelligence models have been proposed by theorists such as Lowenthal (2003: 41) and Gill and Phythian (2006: 4). These models provide a more realistic view of the entire intelligence process. Lowenthal (2003: 42) introduces two additional phases to the model, namely consumption and

feedback by consumers, while the model proposed by Gill and Phythian (2006: 3&4) also includes a system of feedback (Johnston *et al,* 2005).

The intelligence process can be summarised as the phases in which information is refined into a usable form for consumers. The next section briefly discusses the different types of intelligence products and their functions.

4.   TYPES OF INTELLIGENCE PRODUCTS

Shulsky and Schmitt (2002: 57) divide the intelligence output into three broad categories: basic intelligence, current intelligence and intelligence estimates. Although the emphasis placed on the different product types varies from one intelligence service to another, the distinctions are generally valid.

The basic intelligence report is a standard product in which analysts provide an overall assessment of the state of play in another government, military, market or company. It is usually based on open sources, but can include available covert information to add value (Gill *et al,* 2006: 89).

Richelson (1999: 316) defines current intelligence as intelligence pertinent to a topic of immediate interest. He explains that current intelligence is generally transmitted without the opportunity for prolonged evaluation, which is possible in other types of reports. Current intelligence seeks to provide consumers with the latest information on current events, analysed within a broader context and with the benefit of covert information. In the US, the best-known example of this kind of product is the President's Daily Brief (PDB) (Gill *et al,* 2006: 89; Lowenthal, 2003: 88&89). Gill and Phythian (2006: 89) identifies another form of current intelligence that is of particular importance for policing and security intelligence, namely warning intelligence. In its broadest sense, providing indications and warning on threats to national security is traditionally an intelligence organisation's highest priority (Clark, 2007: 54).

The third form of intelligence product is a product that estimates or assesses possible futures, in other words, it provides forewarning. Both the US and UK produce and use analytical products called estimates or assessments. This product type serves two purposes: to analyse how a major issue or trend will progress over the next several years, and to present the considered view of the entire intelligence community, not just one intelligence service (Lowenthal, 2003: 102).

The next section will reflect on the structure of organisations that collect and process information, as it is the relationship between processes and structures that determines the successful outcome of the intelligence activity.

5. **ORGANISATIONAL DESIGN AND STRUCTURE OF INTELLIGENCE SYSTEMS**

Organised intelligence is an industry that has grown significantly in the twentieth-century, and most governments now have a permanent institution or institutions devoted to it. Since intelligence emerged as a part of structural institutions within governments, there has been continual debate on how to organise this expertise across the intelligence community and not only on a departmental or single intelligence service basis *(*Shulsky *et al,* 2002: 1&2; Hannah *et al,* 2005: iii&iv, 1).

There are several considerations that influence the structure of an intelligence community, and Hannah, O'Brien and Rathmell (2005: iv, 5) identify the following main ones:
- The roles and mandates of intelligence services.
- Understanding overlaps between intelligence services and other role-players such as law enforcement in the broader security community.
- The form of central analysis and/or assessments mechanism to process collected intelligence if it exists.

- The need to ensure central control and coordination of and accountability for the intelligence community.
- The need to ensure public oversight of the intelligence community.

This section will commence with a discussion of the different categories of intelligence services which constitute an intelligence community, followed by the rationale for a central coordination system across an intelligence community and between the respective intelligence services.

5.1 **Differentiated intelligence services**

There are three different but frequently overlapping categories of intelligence: namely civilian (foreign and domestic), crime, and military (defence). These categories have resulted in the establishment of separate intelligence services in different states. However, in some states, one intelligence service often undertakes both the internal and external roles simultaneously, for example the *Komitet Gosudarstvennoy Bezopasnosti* (KGB) in the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). Furthermore, the establishment of intelligence structures has been influenced by the means used to collect intelligence, for example through the interception of signals known as SIGINT: the Government Communications Headquarters (GCHQ) in the UK and the National Security Agency (NSA) in the US are examples of SIGINT agencies (Herman, 1996a: 14; Treverton, 2003; United Kingdom, 2007a: 7-9).

5.1.1 Civilian intelligence structures

The mission of domestic intelligence services such as the UK's Security Service, also known as M15, is to gather, analyse, and assess intelligence, and to counter the sources of threat. Domestic services aim to protect the state against threats to national security, which include terrorism, espionage, sabotage, subversion, extremism and organised crime. The distinctions between domestic and foreign intelligence services are becoming blurred as domestic and foreign intelligence

activities increasingly overlap in the twenty-first century, particularly in the area of counterterrorism, which can encompass threats to domestic targets (including critical national infrastructure), overseas embassies, armed forces or commercial interests in foreign states (Hannah *et al,* 2005: 5&6; United Kingdom, 2007a: 7).

The focus of foreign intelligence services is the collection of secret foreign intelligence on the intentions, capabilities and activities of foreign powers, organisations, groups or individuals outside the state which affect the security, foreign relations and national well-being of a state. The CIA in the US, and the UK's Secret Intelligence Service (also known as MI6) are primary examples of intelligence agencies that focus on this type of activity (Hannah *et al,* 2005: 3, 6; United Kingdom, 2007a: 7).

5.1.2   Defence intelligence structures

In addition to foreign intelligence, defence ministries and armed forces have historically required foreign military intelligence on the military capabilities of potential adversaries. This has given rise to the existence of, in many states, a specialised defence or military intelligence arm or service such as the Defence Intelligence Staff (DIS) as constituent part of the Ministry of Defence (MOD) in the UK, and the Defence Intelligence Agency (DIA) in the US (Hannah *et al,* 2005: 6; United Kingdom, 2007a: 2, 14; United States, 2007: 7).

5.1.3   Crime intelligence structures

Law enforcement structures also seek to obtain convictions related to specific criminal offences. Despite the different purposes of intelligence and law enforcement structures, crime intelligence agencies which collect information on organised crime activities that leads to prosecution such as the UK's Serious Organised Crime Agency (SOCA), require skills similar to those of classic intelligence work (Hannah *et al,* 2005: 6).

The typical separation of domestic, foreign and specialist collection intelligence functions into separate intelligence services requires the coordination of intelligence collection and analysis. This, especially, is the case when the cross-border aspect of threats, such as terrorism, leads to the collection of information on the same targets by a number of services. However, while there are a number of overlapping areas of interest, domestic and foreign intelligence services are subject to very different legal and political constraints, and merging them does not always seem practical or desirable.

5.2   **The intelligence community**

The term 'intelligence community' was initially coined in the UK during the Cold War era. The term recognises that intelligence forms a system and that it is a national entity to be managed as a national resource. The community comprises intelligence services that work separately and together under various lines of authority and control to conduct intelligence activities. The composition of the UK Joint Intelligence Committee (JIC) includes, in addition to intelligence organisations, other government agencies which also contribute to intelligence collection and/or analysis and assessment, for example Her Majesty's Revenue and Customs (HMRC) and the Home Office. Given the wide range of intelligence activities and the large number of consumers, it is not surprising that a plethora of organisations are involved in intelligence activities in states such as the US (Herman, 1996b: 4, 27; Lowenthal, 2003: 10; Richelson, 1999: 16; Turner, 2005: 28; United Kingdom, 2007a: 2). This highlights the importance of intelligence coordination between these organisations.

While there are similarities in the composition of intelligence communities in states such as the UK and the US, each has its own unique framework, roles and structures which have evolved since the Second World War.

5.3 Rationale for central coordination of intelligence

The fact that a number of individual intelligence services constitute the intelligence community necessitates the coordination of intelligence collection and analysis. Underlying this is the notion that decision makers will benefit considerably from receiving comprehensive integrated national assessments drawn from intelligence collected by all the intelligence services.

One of the key conclusions of the various reports into the 9/11 attacks was the need for better coordination between the different intelligence services. Central coordination is required to ensure the adequate sharing of information between intelligence services and across the foreign-domestic divide to provide decision makers with a comprehensive view of threats to national security. The 9/11 attacks demonstrated that the intelligence community's organisational structure is unsuited to twenty-first century threats, and that greater integration across the intelligence community's capabilities is needed to counter new global threats. The intelligence system with its structure of separate intelligence services, appears to encourage 'stove-piping' in which single-source intelligence is disseminated without sufficient all-source integration (Hannah *et al,* 2005: vi; 6; Schmitt, 2005: 78&79). Treverton (2001: viii) significantly commented that the term 'community' describes precisely what it is not: "it is somewhere between a fiction and an aspiration".

A lack of coordination can lead to overly narrow views of threats and their consequences. Although organisational divisions are needed to maintain varied kinds of special expertise and accountability within the intelligence community, ad hoc arrangements for cooperation between services inevitably result in 'stove-piping' of information (Herman, 2003).

5.3.1 General elements of central coordination

There is no ideal structural arrangement for the central coordination of intelligence. The structure and mechanism of coordinating systems in the US and UK reflect the national governmental environments in which they operate. For a conceptual understanding of central coordination, key generic functions of these mechanisms are identified, which include the following (Flood, 2004: 63; Herman, 1996b: 4; Odom, 2004: 55, 57):

- The production of national assessments or estimates that offer decision makers a carefully-analysed and comprehensive view, amplified by the entire intelligence community, of threats to national security.
- The setting of intelligence priorities to ensure that the collective collection effort of the intelligence community is focused.
- The elimination of waste and unnecessary duplication, rivalry and competition within the intelligence community.
- The setting of community-wide intelligence policies and standards in relation to security, information technology, career management and training strategies.
- The allocation of responsibility for intelligence community budgetary processes and the allocation of funds to ensure that the entire intelligence community operates as a coherent whole.
- The identification of measures to improve the efficient working of the intelligence community as a whole.
- The overseeing of the foreign intelligence agencies' relationships with counterparts abroad.

5.3.2 Central analysis

A centralised analytical mechanism requires the ability to access government sources across departmental boundaries, and to bring all relevant knowledge and opinion to the table through interdepartmental integration and community-

wide processes. Estimative products entail viewing subjects broadly and drawing on a full range of all-source intelligence. These products are landmark documents representing the intelligence community's combined knowledge, judgements, and predictions regarding critical national security issues. Central analysis thus offers consumers a carefully-analysed and comprehensive view of issues (Hannah *et al,* 2005: 6&7). Herman (1996b: 258&259) is of the viewpoint that such a product must ensure interdepartmental agreement to give it credibility and acceptability.

Critics argue that a strong central analytical body would dampen the conduct of 'competitive analysis' and thus decrease the quality of intelligence provided to decision makers. 'Competitive analysis' refers to multiple analysts scrutinizing the same collected information with the objective to avoid 'group think', in which certain assumptions or interpretations are not challenged. Schmitt (2005: 96) is of the opinion that the creation of central analysis bodies, such as the DNI in the US, would not harm competitive analysis and would most likely improve it. He argues that a central analysis structure would facilitate analysts across the intelligence community accessing the data collected on a topic by other intelligence services. Moreover, such a structure is likely to increase the use of competitive analysis as it would probably want to take whatever steps necessary to make the intelligence product as accurate as possible.

The cornerstone of centralised analysis is 'information sharing', to ensure a more collaborative intelligence community better suited to contemporary security challenges. Formal information sharing procedures are required to integrate all sources of information to see the enemy as a whole. A culture of information sharing in the area of analysis is crucial (Jones, 2007; 384&385).

The organisational challenge is the manner in which the intelligence community is orchestrated by bringing together the respective intelligence services and relevant departmental units for the compilation of a national assessment. One

approach is in the organisation of the basic analysis that precedes assessment; between having this work dispersed between subject departments as in the UK or to have some ability to study foreign states as a whole, as by the DNI in the US. Another approach is between emphasising a collegial system on the one hand and concentrating assessment in a central, elité structure on the other. A third balance is between an assessment community of professional intelligence practitioners and a wider one which includes decision makers. There is no ideal structure for central coordination. The UK and US fuse these elements, although in slightly different proportions, as the structure and mechanisms of coordinating systems reflect the national governmental environments in which they operate (Herman, 1996a: 31).

Another recent development in terms of centralised analysis and assessments is the establishment in a number of the states of a centralised counterterrorism assessment capability. This counterterrorism capability serves as the central capacity for analysing and integrating all intelligence pertaining to terrorism and counterterrorism. New agencies include the UK's Joint Terrorism Analysis Centre (JTAC) and the US's National Counter Terrorism Center (NCTC) (Gill *et al*, 2006: 131; Hannah *et al*, 2005: 7).

5.3.3 Priority setting mechanisms

While a rigorous priority setting system would have value in any system of information collection, it is particularly important for intelligence. There has to be some basis on which intelligence services decide where to put their resources. An effective priorities system helps to sort the different needs of various parts of government into an agreed set of focus areas. It gives collectors of intelligence the clearest indication of what information they are expected to collect. Priorities have two components: intelligence requirements and decision makers' needs. Although intelligence requirements should be the subject of review on a regular basis and may also change, they are more strategic in nature. Decision makers' intelligence needs, on the other hand, may have a more current emphasis and

may to some degree vary with intelligence requirements (Flood, 2004: 63; Lowenthal, 2005: 221&222).

6.   **CONCLUSION**

This chapter points out that it is obvious that intelligence in the post-Cold War world has surpassed its traditional definition, and that a simple model or definition cannot depict or illustrate its complexities in full.

Governments are finding new ways and structures to enhance the effectiveness of intelligence within a broader spectrum. The demands made on intelligence after 9/11 and the renewed global terrorism threat, have resulted in intelligence communities looking for more effective ways of coordinating intelligence. States such as the US and UK have strengthened their respective central coordinating mechanisms.

Compartmentalisation of information and lack of awareness of dissenting opinions on key issues, are likely to result in intelligence failures. On the other hand, information sharing throughout the intelligence community would lead to better analysis and estimates. By reforming and improving intelligence capabilities, the respective intelligence communities would be in a better position to cope with twenty-first century threats.

The next chapter will provide an historical overview of how central coordination evolved parallel to the establishment of national intelligence services in the US and UK respectively.

CHAPTER 3

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF INTELLIGENCE COORDINATING SYSTEMS

1.   INTRODUCTION

This chapter will briefly outline the origin of intelligence structures in the pre-1945 and the post-1945 period in the UK and US, and follow the development of intelligence systems in these states up to the year 2000. It will also outline the approach and the evolution of central coordination of intelligence in these states. The chapter commences with a discussion of the UK, as it has the longest history of intelligence. This is followed by a discussion of the US.

2.   ORIGINS OF INTELLIGENCE ORGANISATIONS

The UK and US intelligence services have different origins which are closely related to the history of the respective states. The immediate origin of the modern intelligence community in the UK lies in the spy scares which preceded and followed the outbreak of the First World War, while the origins of modern intelligence in the US can be traced back to the surprise attack by Japan on Pearl Harbor in 1941. Although intelligence has been around since ancient times, formal intelligence had its beginnings in sixteenth century Europe and Russia. In the UK intelligence dates from the reign of Elizabeth I (1558-1603); French intelligence dates from the sway of Cardinal Richelieu (1624-1642); and Russian intelligence from the reign of Ivan the Terrible (1533-1584) (Gill *et al,* 2006: 9; Herman, 1996: 26).

2.1 United Kingdom: origin of intelligence structures and development of intelligence coordination

UK intelligence grew from an attempt to protect the monarchy in the sixteenth century. Two other major influences that necessitated the development of a more structured intelligence service in the UK include the need to control its colonies during the nineteenth century, and the effect of the two World Wars in the early twentieth century.

2.1.1 Origin of intelligence in the United Kingdom

The UK's intelligence system has one of the longest histories of any modern intelligence system. The history of UK intelligence organisations dates back to the reign of Queen Elizabeth I (1558-1603) during the second half of the sixteenth century. The origin was rooted in the protection of the Crown and the uncovering of plots against it. Following the excommunication of Queen Elizabeth I by Pope Pius V in 1570, it became necessary for intelligence efforts to do more than uncover domestic plots. Intelligence required a continental dimension, and Sir Francis Walsingham, the Queen's Secretary of State from 1573, developed expertise in secret interception to uncover potential threats against the Queen, as well as maintaining a network of secret agents abroad (Gill *et al,* 2006: 9; United Kingdom, 2007c).

Further shifts towards the institutionalisation of intelligence in the UK began when a War Office Intelligence Branch was formed in 1873 and an India Intelligence Branch in 1878. In 1882 the Admiralty created its Foreign Intelligence Committee, while the first War Office and Admiralty Directors of Intelligence (DMI and DNI) were both appointed in 1887. The presence of war at the beginning of the twentieth century led to the establishment of formal intelligence services in Europe. In the UK this led to the establishment of the Secret Service Bureau in October 1909, after an agreement by the War Office and Admiralty to jointly

establish an instituion to coordinate intelligence work. The purpose of the Secret Service Bureau was to fill a need highlighted by the Anglo-Boer War in 1899 and as a direct result of German foreign espionage within the UK. The Secret Service Bureau was the first formal and permanent intelligence service in the UK (Gill *et al,* 2006: 9; Herman, 1996: 16&17; United Kingdom, 2007d).

The dual tasks of the Bureau were to counter internal foreign espionage domestically (the Home Section) and to collect secret intelligence abroad on the UK's potential enemies (the Foreign Section). The outbreak of the First World War in 1914 created a need for closer cooperation with military intelligence organisations within the War Office. The lessons learned from the First World War illustrated that total war needed total intelligence. When the First World War ended in 1916, the Secret Service Bureau was formally divided into the Security Service (MI5) and the Secret Intelligence Service (MI6) (United Kingdom, 2007c; United Kingdom, 2007d; Gill *et al,* 2006: 9; Herman, 1996: 17).

2.1.2 Evolution of intelligence coordination in the United Kingdom

The momentum for establishing a central intelligence coordinating mechanism in the UK came during peacetime between the First World War and the Second World War. During this period, the UK developed specialist intelligence services and departments, and information was processed and organised in sectors, not as a whole. The UK in the 1930s needed intelligence on German capabilities as a whole, including its capacity for military production and its dependence on imported raw materials, in order to develop national defence strategies. It was evident that Germany could not be understood through purely departmental analysis, and that there was a need for integrated intelligence contributions by bringing together all information on German intentions (Herman, 1996: 25).

From this emerged the idea of an intelligence system through which military, naval, air, political and economic analysis could be integrated into what can now

be called 'national assessment', or seeing the enemy as a whole. In the interwar years integrated military planning was developed around the Chiefs of Staff Committee, and this formed the basis for the 'grand strategy' of the Second World War. The approach to integrated intelligence was accomplished through two processes. One was to establish central non-departmental units on a national level for analysis that fell outside departmental boundaries. The Security Service emerged between 1921 and 1931 as the non-departmental agency responsible for internal security. However, the real model of non-departmental analysis for top level decisions was the Industrial Intelligence Centre (IIC), established in 1931, to study the German economy on behalf of all government users. The Second World War produced more non-departmental, inter-service units dealing with particular collection sources such as SIGINT, and photographic interpretation (Herman, 1996: 15&16).

The second process was to retain departmental intelligence services, but superimpose an inter-departmental coordinating mechanism upon them. The JIC was originally formed as the Inter-Service Intelligence Committee (ISIC) under the Chiefs of Staff in January 1936, and renamed the Joint Intelligence Sub-Committee (the Joint Intelligence Committee – JIC as it is now known) in July 1936. In April 1939 a Situation Report Centre (SRC) was established to issue daily and weekly reports through coordinated intelligence. The SRC and the JIC was amalgamated with effect from July 1939 when it moved to Foreign Office control, with a Foreign Office chairperson. The JIC provided support to the Joint Planning Staff, the Chiefs of Staff, the Minister of Defence, and the War Cabinet, and was responsible for "the assessment and coordination of intelligence received from abroad with the object of ensuring that any Government action which might have to be taken should be based on the most suitable and carefully coordinated information available" (Herman, 1996: 16). The creation of the Joint Intelligence Staff (JIS) in 1941 was an important development, with its main responsibility being to act as the drafting sub-committee to the JIC. All this was

combined with the JIC's other responsibility, the management of the intelligence system as a whole (Goodman, 2008: 46; Herman, 1996: 15&16).

The official establishment of the JIC in 1936 was a defining moment in UK intelligence history. The JIC evolved at the beginning of the Second World War with two distinct functions (Herman, 1996: 27; Herman, 2001: 95):

- the production of national assessments to ensure that government planning should be based on the most suitable and carefully coordinated information available; and

- the management of intelligence in order to improve the efficient working of the intelligence system as a whole.

2.2 United States: origin of intelligence structures and evolution of intelligence coordination

The US intelligence service, when compared to intelligence services in Europe and Russia, developed relatively late in the field of intelligence services. In the following overview the reasons for its late start will be discussed, as well as the factors which eventually led to the establishment of intelligence services in the US.

2.2.1 Origin of intelligence in the United States

Taking into account that the US did not come into being until 1776, its intelligence experience is relatively brief. For most of its history, the US faced no threat to its security from its neighbours or from powers outside the Western Hemisphere. With the exception of the Civil War, it also did not face a threat from large-scale internal dissent. This environment seemed to rule out any perceived need for national intelligence, which explains the nearly 170-year absence of organised intelligence in the US. The need for better intelligence became apparent only after the US achieved the status of a world power and became

involved in broader international issues at the end of the nineteenth century (Lowenthal, 2003: 11; Zegart, 2006: 23&24).

The beginning of the US intelligence community can be traced to the period immediately after the Civil War (1861-1865). The growing involvement of the US in foreign affairs during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries led to the establishment of several prominent intelligence organisations. The Navy established a permanent intelligence unit, the Office of Naval Intelligence (ONI) in 1882, while the army's Military Intelligence Division (MID) came into being in 1885. Although permanent and specific naval and military intelligence units date from the late nineteenth century, a broader US national intelligence capability began to develop with the creation of the Coordinator of Information, the predecessor of the Second World War era Office of Strategic Service (OSS) (Herman, 1996: 17; Lowenthal, 2003: 11; Turner, 2005: 18).

The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) was established in 1908, and during the 1930s became the principal counterespionage agency in the US. During the First World War, US intelligence efforts were limited to supporting US foreign policy. The State Department assumed the responsibility of coordinating all intelligence information, an effort that lasted until 1927 (Lowenthal, 2003: 12; Zegart, 2006: 23&24).

2.2.2 The need for intelligence coordination in the United States

The surprise Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour on 7 December 1941 and the failure of US intelligence to detect it ahead of time, provided the impetus for establishing a centrally organised civilian intelligence organisation. The UK persuaded President Franklin D. Roosevelt to establish a civilian intelligence capability (independent of the military departments) reporting directly to the US president. The Office of the Coordinator of Information (COI) was created in July 1941 and was to carry out "when requested by the president, such

supplementary activities as may facilitate the securing of information important for national security not available to the Government" (Turner, 2005: 20). Despite President Roosevelt's decision in 1941 to create a central capability to correlate information, an effective mechanism was not in place by December 1941, when the failure to foresee the attack on Pearl Harbor highlighted the lack of intelligence correlation and analysis, as fragmented information predicting the attack had been available. The outbreak of the Second World War led to the transformation of the COI into the OSS under the control of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. William Donovan was the head of both COI and the OSS (Odom, 2004: xvi; Shulsky *et al,* 1991: 161).

The COI Research and Analysis division was carried over to the OSS. The OSS set up a Research and Analysis branch and appointed academics to produce intelligence from all the available overt and covert information. Donovan, however, considered analytical work a 'cover' for secret operations and focused OSS efforts principally on infiltration and sabotage operations (Odom, 2004: xvi; Richelson, 1999: 17; Shulsky *et al,* 2002: 160&161).

Lowenthal (2003: 17&18) notes that in addition to being the first steps toward the creation of a national intelligence capability, COI and OSS were important for three other reasons:

- Both the COI and OSS were influenced by UK intelligence practice, particularly their emphasis on covert action. These covert actions became the main historical legacy of the COI and OSS.
- OSS operations served as a training ground for the establishment of the US post-war intelligence community, particularly the CIA.
- The relationship between the OSS and the US military was strained. The military leadership was suspicious of an intelligence organisation operating beyond its control and insisted that OSS become part of the military structures.

Zegart (2006: 25) remarks that the OSS was far from the all-encompassing, powerful central intelligence agency that Donovan envisioned. Placed under the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the OSS faced competition and resistance from both the ONI and the Army's intelligence branch. From the outset, the military were reluctant to provide the OSS with information for research and analysis, and restricted its operations. The FBI prohibited the OSS from conducting any domestic espionage activities and maintained control over all intelligence activities in Latin America.

The attack on Pearl Harbor is a classic example of an intelligence failure and highlighted the dangers of dispersed analysis. Although US intelligence services collected a number of signals that Japan was preparing an attack, those signals remained scattered between the various services. Preventing another Pearl Harbor called for centralised intelligence processes by establishing a Central Intelligence Group (CIG) in 1946 and subsequently the CIA, in order to prevent a recurrence of a strategic surprise of this magnitude, especially in an age of nuclear-armed missiles (Lowenthal, 2003: 18; Treverton, 2001: 222).

That a centralised system of intelligence was not initiated in the UK prior to 1936 had nothing to do with the changing nature of UK intelligence, but rather more with an appreciation of the external threats to national security. The lessons learned from the First World War in the UK had shown the need for a holistic intelligence picture through closer cooperation between intelligence services. This need provided the impetus for the establishment of a mechanism in the UK, the JIC, to coordinate intelligence centrally. In the US, the Pearl Harbor intelligence failure highlighted the need for a centrally organised intelligence organisation. The main drive to establish structures or mechanisms to coordinate intelligence centrally, was to ensure an integrated intelligence assessment in order to provide the policymaker with a strategic and holistic analysis, as the information received from different units and services did not provide the full picture. The reorganisation and development of intelligence services after the

Second World War warrants a separate discussion and will be addressed in the next section.

3. THE DEVELOPMENT OF INTELLIGENCE COORDINATION SYSTEMS BETWEEN 1945 AND 2000

The mechanisms created prior to 1945 for the central coordination of intelligence remained an integral part of the intelligence systems in the UK and US. The main focus post-1945 was the reorganisation of intelligence systems, and the integration of intelligence structures especially within the armed services. In the following overview, the period between 1945 and 2000 will be discussed.

3.1 The British intelligence community and institutionalisation of a central coordinating capability

After 1945 the JIC, chaired by the Foreign Office, remained the focus of strategic intelligence and an important link between the military, the diplomatic service and the intelligence community. Membership of the JIC included the heads of the armed forces' intelligence departments, and of MI5 and MI6. It retained subordinate regional JICs that had developed within wartime commands in Europe, the Middle East and Asia. In 1946 the UK moved towards establishing national collection agencies, such as the GCHQ, which was established as the signals intelligence organisation. In analysis there were moves in a similar direction when economic, topographical and some scientific intelligence were centralised in the Joint Intelligence Bureau (JIB), also created in 1946. The JIB was established under the direction of General Keith Strong, General Eisenhower's wartime Chief of Intelligence. The main emphasis, however, was on departmental intelligence structures, and the role of the JIC was limited to gap-filling on subjects of common interest (Dorril, 2000: 67; Herman, 1996: 17).

Control over the JIC moved from the Foreign Office to the Cabinet Office and the Cabinet Secretary during intelligence reforms in 1957. The JIC was allowed to establish an Assessments Staff structure to take the initiative and prepare assessments of national interest. The Assessments Staff is a more powerful successor to the former JIS. The JIC was further given the responsibility of controlling all the requirements of intelligence consumers. Regional JICs were abolished as the UK began to withdraw from former regions of its Empire. Joint cooperation between the three armed services and other departments through committees became the standard UK solution to intelligence coordination (Dorril, 2000: 661; Herman, 1996: 17).

The JIC prepared assessments of a wide range of external situations and developments through geographically-based CIGs. The CIGs were made up of experts in the departments and chaired from the Cabinet Office by members of the Assessments Staff. Assessments are drafted by the Assessments Staff, independently of departmental positions. Assessments are normally considered by the JIC, composed of the heads of the security and intelligence services and representatives of the Ministry of Defence and Treasury and other departments as appropriate. Clients collectively receive a collegial view, not just a central view produced after purely formal consultation. The Assessments Staff, from its conceptualisation, was a small structure and dependent on others for expertise and information, but not bound to a central agency like the CIA. The JIC Assessments Staff was mainly composed of seconded civil servants from the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) and Ministry of Defence service officers (Herman, 1996: 17&18, 26).

In 1968 the post of Intelligence Coordinator was created within the Cabinet Office to oversee the functions of the JIC. In 1982, following the Falklands War, the JIC became a Cabinet Office organisation with direct access to the Prime Minister. Furthermore, during the defence reorganisation of 1964, the UK amalgamated the three armed service intelligence structures and the civilian JIB into the DIS,

as an integrated body to serve the Ministry of Defence, the Armed Forces and other government departments (Global Security, 2007; Herman, 1996: 18&19).

Originally, the post of Intelligence Coordinator was created in 1968 to overcome interdepartmental rivalries, as a separate post to that of the JIC Chair which was created in 1936 when the JIC was established,. Since its inception, various changes have been made by the government to reorganise the positions of the Chair of the JIC and the Intelligence Coordinator. The post of Intelligence Coordinator was combined with that of the JIC Chair in 1992. It should be noted that the Butler Report (United Kingdom, 2004b: 12) states that the post of the JIC Chair and the post of Intelligence Coordinator were combined in 1992, while Bennett and Bennett (2003) state that the posts were combined in 1998 (United Kingdom, 2001: 16).

The head of the DIS, who is the deputy chairperson of the JIC, was initially named as the 'Director General of Intelligence', as it was envisaged that the DIS would play a national role. During the 1980s the post was renamed Chief of Defence Intelligence and the role of the JIC as the central coordinating mechanism for assessments was affirmed (Global Security, 2007; Herman, 1996: 20).

By 2000 the JIC, located in the Cabinet Office, was firmly established as the central mechanism which fused the UK intelligence community together, with the dual roles of coordinating intelligence assessment and of community management. At this stage the UK intelligence community consisted of four national intelligence and security services: the Secret Intelligence Service (SIS or MI6); GCHQ; the Security Service (MI5); and DIS, each with specific mandates and separate jurisdictions.

- The SIS or MI6 is the UK's foreign intelligence organisation. The SIS became a separate entity in 1922, but the organisation did not receive a statutory basis until 1994. The 1994 *Intelligence Services Act* placed the SIS within the

- MI5 is the UK's internal intelligence organisation. It received a statutory basis in 1989 with the passage of the *Security Service Act*, amended in 1996. The statute placed the MI5 within the Ministry of Home Affairs, which has the domestic security mandate in the UK. According to the *Security Service Act*, the function of MI5 is the "protection of national security and, in particular, its protection against threats from espionage, terrorism, and sabotage, from the activities of foreign powers and from actions intended to overthrow or undermine parliamentary democracy by political, industrial or violent means" (United Kingdom: 1989).

- GCHQ conducts SIGINT in support of all UK government departments. GCHQ resides within the FCO, in which it shared equal billing with the SIS and therefore reports directly to the foreign secretary.

- DIS analyses defence-related intelligence for the Ministry of Defence (MoD), the Armed Forces and other government departments.

Figure 2 provides a simplified structure of the UK intelligence system, as in 2000 (Chalk *et al,* 2004: 9; Posner, 2006: 47; United Kingdom, 2007b):

Figure 2: The UK intelligence system: 2000
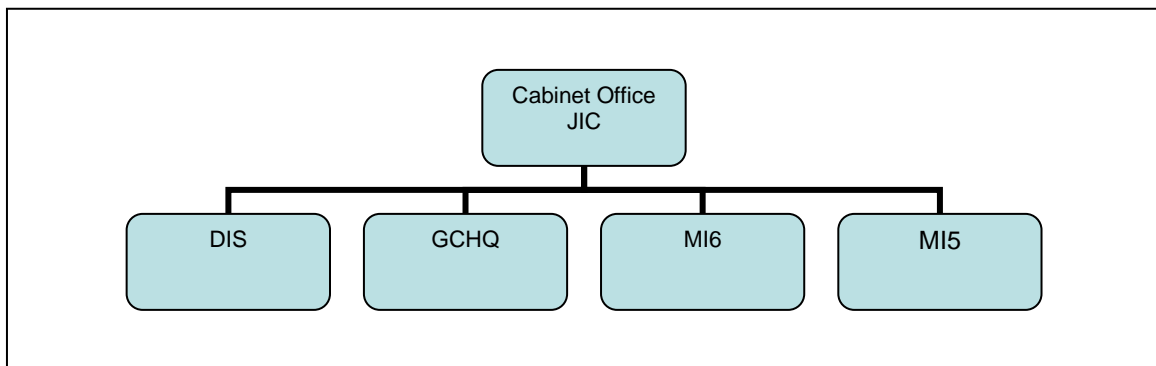
(Posner, 2006: 47)

The UK does not have a formal constitution and, therefore, there is no foundational document allocating responsibility for security and intelligence

matters. Although governance is carried out in the name of 'the Crown', in practice nearly all legal powers conferred on the Crown are exercised by government ministers. Until the late 1980s and early 1990s, the responsibility for intelligence and security rested upon the residual powers of the Crown as recognised by common law. Leigh (2005: 79) points out that these powers are broad in nature and that they have adapted continuously since medieval times.

Against this background and time scale, the legislation for intelligence and security matters in the UK is very recent. The relevant acts are the *Security Services Act* of 1989, which covers MI5, and the *Intelligence Service Act* of 1994, which covers both MI6 and GCHQ. Although the broad responsibility for intelligence and security remains with the Prime Minister, as head of the government, the statutes governing the intelligence and security services assign ministerial responsibility for each of the agencies. However, provisions in the legislation give the heads of the agencies the right to direct access to the prime minister. The *Intelligence Service Act* also established the Intelligence and Security Committee (ISC) for parliamentary oversight over the SIS, Security Service, and GCHQ (Leigh, 2005: 79; United Kingdom, 1989; United Kingdom, 1994).

Other components of the UK intelligence community such as the DIS, the JIC and the Assessments Staff, are outside the statutory framework and remain based on the prerogative. Therefore, they can be reformed without reference to Parliament (Leigh, 2005: 83).

In the aftermath of Second World War, the JIC continues to function as the central intelligence coordinating body in the UK. The role and responsibility of the JIC has in the intermittent years become fully enshrined within the national security system of the UK. The relocation of the JIC from the Foreign Office to the Cabinet Office with direct access to the Prime Minister confirmed its critical role and importance to the government.

3.2 The United States intelligence community and institutionalisation of a central coordinating capability

The OSS was abolished in September 1945 and its counterintelligence and secret intelligence branches were transferred to the War Department to compose the Strategic Services Unit, while the Research and Analysis Branch was relocated to the State Department. With the emergence of the USSR as a serious threat, and the corresponding rapidly changing strategic situation, the US recognised the need to have a central national intelligence capability (Turner, 2005: 20).

A joint congressional investigation in 1946 concluded that the Pearl Harbor attack illustrated the need for a unified command structure and a better intelligence system in the post-Second World War era. On 22 January 1946 President Truman founded the CIG as a temporary organisation to supervise activities left over from the former OSS, while a review of the entire national security system was underway (Swenson *et al,* 2002: 69; Warner, 2006: 41-43).

The CIG operated under the guidance of the National Intelligence Authority (NIA), and was composed of the Secretary of State as Chairperson, the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, and a personal representative of the president, during its short year-and-a-half existence. The CIG was allowed through *National Intelligence Authority Directive 5* (NIAD-5) to centralise research and analysis in "fields of national security intelligence that are not being presently performed or are not being adequately performed" (Warner, 2006: 43). The realisation that a central intelligence agency was needed led to the consensus that the CIG ought to form the basis of this new intelligence agency (Odom, 2004: xviii, xix; Richelson, 1999: 17).

The *National Security Act* of 1947 mandated a major reorganisation of the US military and security establishment, and also addressed the question of intelligence organisation. On 18 September 1947 the Act established a new

civilian intelligence organisation, the CIA, as an independent agency under supervision of the National Security Council (NSC) within the Executive Office of the president to replace the CIG. According to the Act, the CIA was to have five specific functions (United States, 1947; Richelson, 1999:17):

- To advise the NSC in matters concerning such intelligence activities of the government departments and services as relate to national security.

- To make recommendations to the NSC for the coordination of such intelligence activities of the departments and services of the government as relate to national security.

- To correlate and evaluate the intelligence relating to national security, and to provide for the appropriate dissemination of such intelligence within the government, using, where appropriate, existing services and facilities.

- To perform, for the benefit of existing intelligence services, such additional services of common concern as the NSC determines can be more effectively accomplished centrally.

- To perform other such functions and duties related to intelligence affecting the national security as the NSC may from time to time direct.

The CIA was created as a small, central intelligence service to coordinate, evaluate and disseminate intelligence, but not to collect intelligence. The original concept was that the CIA was never supposed to engage in actual spying. It was expected of the CIA to provide the NSC with "full, accurate and skilfully analysed, coordinated, adequate, and sound" (United States, 1947) intelligence. The provisions of the Act (United States, 1947) left considerable scope for interpretation, and the fifth provision has been cited as a mandate for covert action operations. Richelson (1999: 17) points out that the provision was intended only to authorise espionage and not to mandate covert action operations by the CIA. Warner (2006: 44) observes that it was the intention of lawmakers that the CIA should provide the NSC with the best possible information on developments abroad. The NSC was established to function as a coordinating and policy-planning body consisting of the president, vice-president,

and the secretaries of Defence and State (Turner, 2005: 21; United States, 1947; Zegart, 2006: 23).

The NSA merged the Navy and War Departments into the Defence Department, and decreed that the intelligence divisions in the armed services and the civilian departments would remain independent of the CIA (Odom, 2004: xviii, xix; Swenson *et al*, 2002: 69; Warner, 2006: 41).

The DCI was designated under the Act as both head of the intelligence community and head of the CIA. In this capacity, as head of the intelligence community, specific functions were assigned to the Director for managing the activities of the entire national intelligence community and advising the president on intelligence matters. These functions include the following (United States, 1947; Richelson, 1999: 18):

- Facilitating and developing an annual budget for the intelligence community.
- Establishing requirements and priorities to guide the collection of national intelligence and foreign intelligence information.
- Approving collection requirements, determining collection priorities, and resolving conflicts in collection priorities.
- Determining the value and utility of national intelligence to consumers.
- Eliminating unnecessary duplication within the intelligence community.
- Protecting intelligence sources and methods from unauthorised disclosure.

The Act (United States, 1947) further established a National Intelligence Council (NIC) within the office of the DCI, composed of senior analysts within the intelligence community, with the main purpose of:

- Producing national intelligence estimates,
- Evaluating collection and production of the intelligence community, and
- Assisting the DCI in carrying out his responsibilities to coordinate the intelligence community.

Turner (2005: 21) highlights the fact that the intention of the creators of the CIA was to centralise intelligence activities so that the government would never again suffer the consequences of too many intelligence services working at cross purposes. The NSA went as far as to deny the CIA any police, subpoena, or law enforcement powers or internal security functions. Regardless of the intentions of Congress in 1947, the CIA developed to become the primary US government intelligence agency for foreign intelligence analysis, clandestine human intelligence collection and covert action (Richelson, 1999: 17; United States, 1947).

The military opposed the creation of a central intelligence organisation for bureaucratic reasons, fearing some loss of turf, access, authority, and funding if strategic military intelligence were to be taken away by a new intelligence gathering agency. The FBI was also opposed to the creation of a central agency, because it did not want to lose the foreign intelligence and espionage capabilities in Latin America that it had acquired in the 1920s and 1930s (Turner, 2005: 20&21).

The three military departments in the Defence Department combined their signals intelligence under the National Security Agency (NSA) in 1952. The National Reconnaissance Office (NRO) was established in 1960, and the Defence Intelligence Agency (DIA) was created within the Department of Defence in 1961 (Odom, 2004: xx).

The CIA expanded its authority into areas not mentioned in the National Security Act, and specifically into covert operations. The late 1940s and the entire decade of the 1950s were later to be known as the CIA's 'Golden Age', when the agency engaged in a series of successful covert operations that built its reputation as the 'quiet option' available to a US president for wielding power. Executive Orders during the Ford and Carter administrations, however, placed certain restrictions on the intelligence services, specifically in relation to covert operations. Adding to this, the US Congress initiated a series of hearings in the late 1970s on US

intelligence activities, culminating in the establishment of formal congressional oversight. The Senate Select Committee on Intelligence (SSCI) was established in 1977, and the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence (HPSCI) was formed in 1978 (Turner, 2005: 22, 24).

In the mid-1970s a series of executive orders were issued by successive presidents, detailing the organisation, roles and permitted activities expected of the intelligence community. President Ford's *Executive Order 11905* designated the DCI as the president's adviser on foreign intelligence, while President Carter's *Executive Order 12036* more explicitly spelled out the DCI's authority in areas such as budget, tasking, intelligence reviews and coordination. In 1981, President Reagan issued *Executive Order 12333*, as the governing legal instrument for US intelligence activities (United States, 1976; United States, 1978; United States, 1981).

A national-level analysis component, the National Intelligence Council (NIC), was created in 1975. The NIC consisted of senior intelligence officers, called National Intelligence Officers, from the intelligence community and academia. These officials were to oversee the production of National Intelligence Estimates and to produce in-depth interagency studies (Hulnick, 2004: 6).

Posner (2006:11) describes the US intelligence system up to 2000 as decentralised and consisting of various separate federal intelligence units: the CIA; the National Security Agency (NSA); the National Reconnaissance Office (NRO); the National Imagery and Mapping Agency (NIMA); the Defence Intelligence Agency (DIA); the State Department Bureau of Intelligence; and Research (INR), the intelligence elements of the military services; the FBI; the Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA); the elements of the Department of Homeland Security concerned with the analyses of foreign intelligence information; and the intelligence components of the Department of Energy and the Department of Treasury.

The federal intelligence agencies were lodged in Cabinet-level departments, with the exception of the CIA, whose director reported directly to the president. US intelligence organisations, with the exception of those responsible for domestic intelligence (primarily the FBI), were coordinated by the CIA's director, in his dual capacity as both head of the CIA and DCI. Figure 3 depicts the structure of the US intelligence system up to 2000 – the solid lines indicate full control, while the broken lines indicate limited control, influence or coordination (United States, 1947; Richelson, 1999:12; Posner, 2006: 11-13).

Figure 3: The US intelligence system: 2000
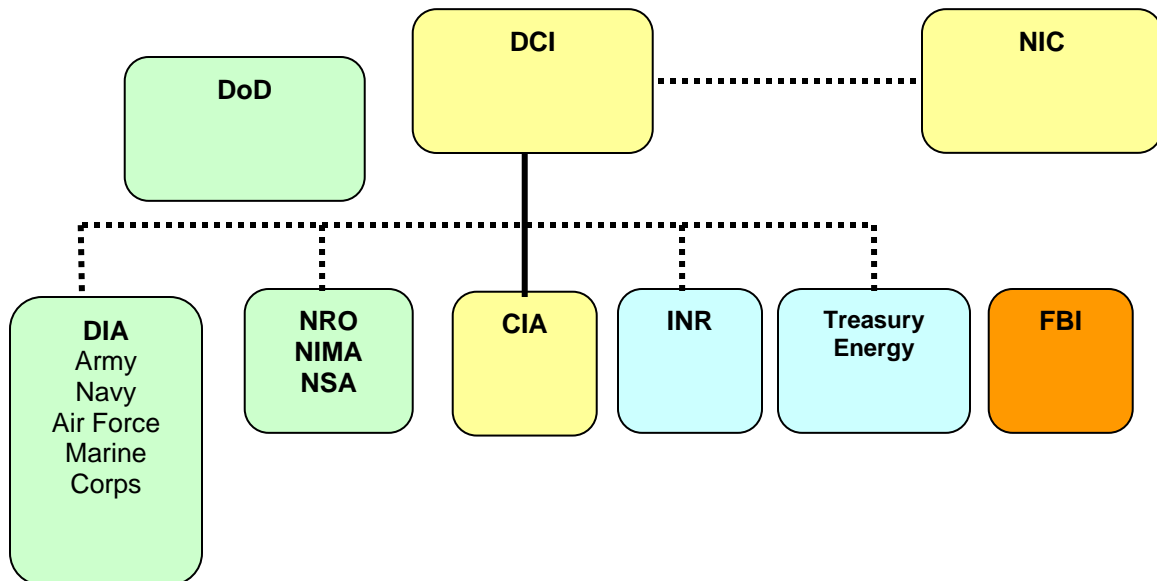
(Adapted from Posner, 2006: 12)

Since the passage of the *National Security Act* in 1947, more than twenty official commissions and studies have examined various aspects of the US intelligence system. Bansemer (2005: 102) points out that a review of the various proposals reveals several common themes, such as the need for better coordination and to increase centralisation and control of the intelligence community; to provide the DCI greater authority to manage programs, personnel, and resources across the community; to improve the quality of analysis and estimates; and to improve

congressional oversight. The first recommendation to increase the DCI's authority led to the creation of deputies to relieve the DCI from administrative duties within the CIA and later evolved into calls for a separation between the DCI's roles to pinpoint responsibility for management of the US intelligence community on one individual. The solutions offered by the reviews over the last fifty years have remained consistent, including improved competitive analysis, increased information sharing among agencies, and the incorporation of dissenting views into products. Initiatives were taken over the years to implement some of the ideas, but no fundamental reform of the intelligence system or organisational structural change occurred (Bansemer, 2005: 102; Kindsvater, 2006: 57).

Although it was the intention of the *National Security Act* of 1947 to establish a head of the US intelligence community to centrally manage the activities of the entire US intelligence community, this model was not maximally implemented. One of the inhibiting factors was the dual responsibility assigned to the DCI as head of both the intelligence community and the CIA.

4.   **CONCLUSION**

Before 1945, the US and the UK moved some way towards the creation of central intelligence coordinating systems, but institutionalisation of coordinating systems only gained momentum after the Second World War. The lessons learnt from the Second World War confirmed the need for a central node in the intelligence system to ensure integration across the intelligence community. The importance of analysing and piecing together disparate bits of information and providing policymakers with integrated assessments is a major distinguishing characteristic in the evolution of the intelligence systems of the two states under review.

The next two chapters will analyse the outcome of the investigations which were launched in the UK and US following the 9/11 attacks and the Second Gulf War. It will specifically examine the implementation of recommendations made by commissions of inquiry to address shortcomings in the central intelligence coordination systems in these states.

CHAPTER 4

CASE STUDY: INTELLIGENCE COORDINATION IN THE UNITED STATES IN THE POST-2000 PERIOD

1.   **INTRODUCTION**

In the aftermath of the events of 11 September 2001, questions about the limits of intelligence and demands for reform have come to the fore in the US, the UK and Australia. The controversy over the US and UK governments' case for the Second Gulf War further contributed to focusing attention on the weaknesses and limitations of intelligence. The official case for the Second Gulf War rested largely on intelligence assessments stating that Iraq was rebuilding its chemical, biological and nuclear weapons programs, thereby violating the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) Resolution of 2002. These intelligence assessments contributed to the rationale for the 2003 invasion of Iraq by the US and UK. However, in the aftermath of the Second Gulf War, extensive weapons inspections found that Iraq had no militarily significant stocks of chemical, biological or nuclear weapons, contrary to the pre-war intelligence assessments. Thus, the intelligence that had been cited from mid-2002, reporting the presence of weapons of mass destruction in Iraq, was called into question. Investigations were subsequently launched in the three states that had cited intelligence evidence of Iraqi weapons of mass destruction, thereby justifying the war and committing troops to its conduct, namely the US, the UK and Australia.

This chapter examines the main findings and recommendations regarding intelligence coordination specifically of four major commissions of inquiry in the US that have issued reports on intelligence since 2001. While each of these commissions was established as a result of the deficiencies exposed by 9/11 and the pre-war intelligence assessments on Iraq, they all produced reports with conclusions and proposals of broader significance for intelligence. The

recommendations by the various commissions proposed significant structural and institutional changes of the US intelligence system, including the establishment of a DNI.

2. INVESTIGATIONS INTO THE ROLE OF INTELLIGENCE RELATING TO 9/11 AND THE SECOND GULF WAR

It was established in Chapter 3 that, since the enactment of the *National Security Act* of 1947, there have been numerous reviews and proposals for reorganisation of the US intelligence community by various government institutions and think tanks. Although only a few of these recommendations have been implemented over the years, nearly all of them made proposals emphasising the need for major changes. Most of these suggestions were repeated in a modified form after 9/11 by the institutions that issued reports on intelligence reform.

This section provides an overview of the investigations into intelligence in the US since 2001 and examines the structural and institutional recommendations made to reform the US intelligence system, with specific reference to intelligence coordination.

2.1 Overview of investigations into intelligence in the United States since 2001

In the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks, demands were made for the consolidation of coordination in the intelligence community and better cooperation among all levels of law enforcement and intelligence. The initial response by the US Government was the promulgation of the *Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism (USA Patriot) Act* of 2001, which set in place legal tools to track terrorists, and encouraged greater cooperation among intelligence and law enforcement agencies on counterterrorism. The US also established the Department of

Homeland Security in 2002, and incorporated within it all the agencies responsible for infrastructure and border protection. The Terrorist Threat Integration Centre (TTIC) was established in 2003 to strengthen domestic and foreign intelligence efforts on terrorism (United States, 2001; Turner, 2005: 389).

Furthermore, the intelligence committees of Congress performed a joint inquiry into the US intelligence community, conducting a review of the events that led up to 9/11, and identifying systemic problems that may have impeded the intelligence community. The National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the US, better known as the 9/11 Commission, was also established to make recommendations (Bansemer, 2005: 47&48).

As the 9/11 Commission Report was released, public discussion of intelligence shortcomings began shifting from a focus on 9/11 to an examination of apparently inaccurate government statements and intelligence assessments about Iraq's chemical, biological and nuclear weapons capabilities in the build up to the Second Gulf War. Two commissions were subsequently established to review these intelligence assessments: the Inquiry of the US Senate Select Committee on Intelligence (SSCI); and the Commission on the Intelligence Capabilities of the US Regarding Weapons of Mass Destruction (Bansemer, 2005: 47&48).

In addition to examining in detail the events and intelligence prior to the attacks, these investigations led to recommendations and major changes in the structure and system of the US intelligence community.

The findings and recommendations of the abovementioned four commissions will next be examined.

2.1.1 Joint Inquiry by the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence and the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence

The first major investigation of intelligence shortcomings after 9/11 was conducted by a Joint Inquiry of the House and Senate Intelligence Committees. On 10 December 2002 the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence and the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence (hereafter referred to as the Joint Inquiry) released its report, *Joint Inquiry into Intelligence Community Activities before and after the Terrorist Attacks of September 11, 2001.* In many instances the Joint Inquiry findings are remarkably similar to those later published in the 9/11 Report. These findings include inadequate intelligence community structures, poor technological interfaces, and failures of information sharing. The Joint Inquiry's report includes a narrative account of the 9/11 attacks and provided the following key recommendations (United States, 2002a; United States, 2002b: 1&2, 4, 11; Tama, 2005: 3):

- The US should establish a DNI which should be sufficiently empowered to exercise a full range of management, budgetary and personal responsibilities to manage the US intelligence community as a coherent entity.

- The president should ensure that intelligence priorities are established in a consistent manner and implemented throughout the intelligence community. These intelligence priorities should be reviewed annually to guide the allocation of intelligence community resources.

- The government should establish capabilities for the timely sharing of intelligence within the intelligence community and with other appropriate structures.

- The FBI should improve and strengthen its domestic intelligence capabilities.

- The intelligence community should ensure recruitment of a more ethnically and culturally diverse workforce to improve its ability to penetrate terrorist groups.

2.1.2 The National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States

The 9/11 Commission was an official commission that was appointed to conduct a comprehensive study of the 9/11 attacks and to make recommendations to strengthen intelligence and law enforcement. The *Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States* (hereafter referred to as the 9/11 Report), released on 22 July 2004, provides a detailed narrative of the 9/11 attacks, including recommendations intended to reduce the likelihood of future attacks. The 9/11 Commission built on the work of the Joint Inquiry and many of its findings and recommendations echo those of the Joint Inquiry (Bansemer, 2005: 1; Tama, 2005: 4; United States, 2004a).

The 9/11 Report focuses on forty-seven recommendations in five areas, namely improving interagency joint action; improving the intelligence community's structure; improving information sharing; improving congressional oversight of intelligence and improving domestic defence efforts. Major recommendations include the establishment of a DNI to unify the entire US intelligence community and the creation of a National Counterterrorism Centre to merge counterterrorism intelligence and operational planning. Other recommendations by the Commission include (Bansemer, 2005: 53, 55; Gill *et al*, 2006: 119; United States, 2004a):

- The intelligence community should advance information sharing through the creation of decentralised networks that would allow all intelligence agencies to access one another's databases.
- Oversight should be unified and strengthened by establishing a Joint Congressional Committee for Intelligence or a House and Senate Intelligence Committee that combine authorisation and appropriations powers.
- The FBI should be strengthened by establishing an integrated national security workforce with intelligence and national security expertise. It should be noted that the 9/11 Report did not recommend creating a domestic civilian

intelligence agency; instead, it recommended that the FBI continue its internal reform efforts begun after the attacks.

- The CIA should strengthen its analytic and human intelligence capabilities and increase the diversity of its operations officers.
- National intelligence centres should be created to conduct joint collection and analysis on agreed upon high-priority issues.

The 9/11 Commission detailed a critical theory of intelligence failure, namely failure of management or, more precisely, failure of coordination. The Report concludes that the intelligence community prior to 9/11 suffered failures of 'joint action' with different organisational structures contributing to these failures. The 9/11 Report cites the intelligence community's inability to pull together all sources of information, assign responsibilities across the agencies, and track and resolve problems as major shortcomings. One of the key recommendations is to revise the US intelligence system to create a new position of DNI to oversee the intelligence community (Rovner *et al* 2005: 613-614; Hulnick, 2004: 181).

The US intelligence community consists of many intelligence agencies with overlapping functions, which foster rivalry and discourage the sharing of information. Posner (2006: 10), in his analysis of the 9/11 Commission Report, noteS that the lack of sharing of intelligence among these agencies could be solved by making the US intelligence system more centralised, ensuring better coordination. The Report argues that the intelligence system brought into existence by the *National Security Act* of 1947 lacked a strong central management structure. As such, the Report calls for legislation that separated the roles and functions of the DCI and the Director of the CIA. The proposed law would give the DCI a new name, DNI, and make the post independent of the Director of the CIA.

2.1.3 United States Senate Select Committee on Intelligence inquiry into the US pre-war intelligence assessments on Iraq

As the 9/11 Commission Report was released, the focus of intelligence shortcomings began shifting from 9/11 to an examination of apparently inaccurate pre-war intelligence assessments about Iraq's weapons of mass destruction capability. On 7 July 2004 the US Senate Select Committee on Intelligence (SSCI) issued the first major report on this subject, *The US Intelligence Community's Pre-war Intelligence Assessments on Iraq* (Gill *et al*, 2006: 126; US, 2004b).

Tama (2005:5) captures the main recommendations from this report:

- Intelligence analysts should clearly convey to policymakers the difference between what they know, what they do not know, and what they think.
- Analysts must be encouraged to challenge their assumptions and fully consider alternative arguments.
- Sources with direct access to terrorist groups must be developed and recruited to confirm, complement or confront reporting on these critical targets.

Seven days after the release of the SSCI Report, a UK committee chaired by Lord Butler issued its report, *Review of Intelligence on Weapons of Mass Destruction*, which examines the pre-war intelligence assessments on Iraq in the UK. This was followed on 20 July 2004 with the release of the *Report of the Inquiry into the Australian Intelligence Agencies* by Phillip Flood. The recommendations of the Butler Inquiry will be examined in the following chapter (Gill *et al*, 2006: 137; Tama, 2005: 6).

2.1.4   Commission on the Intelligence Capabilities of the United States regarding Weapons of Mass Destruction

On 31 March 2005 the Commission on the Intelligence Capabilities of the US regarding Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD Commission) issued its report on the *Intelligence Capabilities of the US regarding Weapons of Mass Destruction*. Many of its findings and recommendations repeat those of the earlier investigations into 9/11 and Iraq, but some new proposals are also added. The WMD Commission Report was released after the *Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act* of 2004 was enacted; therefore its recommendations for reorganisation of the intelligence community incorporated the new structures already established by the Act (Posner, 2006: xii, xiii; Tama, 2005: 7).

The main body of the Report appears to absolve policymakers of responsibility for the intelligence failure, concluding that it found no evidence that the intelligence community's assessments on Iraqi weapons of mass destruction were the result of political pressure. The Report contains seventy-four recommendations, with the majority of the recommendations focusing on the structure of the US intelligence community. Key recommendations are directed at how to organise the Office of the DNI and FBI intelligence (United States, 2005; Gill *et al*, 2006: 132). Tama (2005: 7&8) highlights the following key recommendations:

- The president should support the DNI in taking his powers over intelligence community budgets, personnel, programs, and priorities to the maximum.
- Instead of establishing additional national intelligence centers (as the 9/11 Commission proposed), the DNI should designate 'mission managers' who would be responsible for developing strategies for all aspects of intelligence related to priority intelligence targets.
- The president should establish a National Counter Proliferation Centre (NCPC) to oversee collection and analysis on weapons of mass destruction across the intelligence community.

- The DNI should establish a new human resources authority to develop intelligence community-wide personnel policies aimed at encouraging joint assignments, improving job training, enhancing personnel incentives and recruiting more people with needed technical, scientific, and linguistic expertise.

- Congress should create intelligence appropriations subcommittees in both houses and reduce the intelligence community's reliance upon supplemental budgets.

- The DNI should set up a management system to harmonise the acquisition of technical collection systems with the prioritisation of intelligence targets.

- An Open Source Directorate should be established in the CIA that would make open source information available to the entire intelligence community.

- A unit should be set up under the National Intelligence Council (NIC) to perform only long-term and strategic analysis.

- A government-sponsored non-profit research institute should be created outside the intelligence community to encourage diverse and independent intelligence analysis.

- A National Intelligence University should be established to train intelligence community analysts in standardised tradecraft.

- A National Security Service subject to DNI authority should be established in the FBI to manage and direct all FBI resources engaged in intelligence, counterterrorism, and counterintelligence.

One of the Commission's main recommendations is to consolidate the intelligence-related divisions of the FBI to form a domestic intelligence agency within the FBI. Posner (2006: xv, 45&46) holds the opinion that the Commission did not recognise domestic intelligence as a distinct and vital field requiring coherent organisation, neither recommending the formation of a domestic civilian intelligence agency, nor proposing that the DNI appoints a deputy or other official to oversee domestic intelligence.

It was noted by the various inquiries that the US intelligence system is decentralised and that information is scattered across the sixteen separate US intelligence agencies. The basic rationale for a DNI detached from the CIA or any other agency was to establish a coordinating structure that would manage the US intelligence community as a coherent entity. The response by the US to implement recommendations by the four inquiries will be discussed in the next section.

3. **IMPLEMENTATION OF RECOMMENDATIONS OF UNITED STATES INQUIRIES**

Many changes have been made to the US intelligence community since 9/11, partly in response to reform proposals by the different commissions as discussed above and partly through the independent initiative of the president and Congress. The landmark reform accomplishment was the enactment of the *Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act* (hereafter the *Intelligence Reform Act*) on 17 December 2004. This section analyses the *Intelligence Reform Act* and other changes which reorganised the US intelligence system after 9/11.

3.1 Executive orders issued to implement recommendations by the United States Inquiries

In August 2004, in response to the 9/11 Report, President George W. Bush issued four executive orders. Three of these orders implemented key aspects of the recommendations in the 9/11 Commission Report and made structural and institutional changes to strengthen the DCI's authority and laid the groundwork for establishing the DNI (Bansemer, 2005: 1&2, 56; United States, 2006: 2).

Executive Order 11354 established the National Counterterrorism Centre (NCTC) as the primary national structure for the analysis and integration of terrorism

information. To ensure information sharing, the executive order required all agency heads to provide the NCTC access to all terrorist information and to provide personnel, funding, and other resources. The executive order placed the NCTC under the control of the DCI (Bansemer, 2005: 56; United States, 2004d).

As a result of statutory limitations, the president could not create a DNI at this point in time. The 9/11 Commission findings on the DCI's relative lack of power was thus addressed by *Executive Order 13355*, which strengthened the DCI's authority. The executive order made the DCI the "principal adviser to the president for intelligence matters", rather than the "primary advisor" (United States, 2004e). The executive order further addressed the foreign domestic intelligence divide that the 9/11 Commission had indicated impeded information sharing. The DCI was directed to manage collection activities "whether information is to be collected inside or outside the US" (United States, 2004e). On the budgetary front, the executive order tasked the DCI to participate in developing the annual budgets for the Department of Defence's military intelligence programs. More significantly, the order gave the DCI the authority to transfer funds within the National Foreign Intelligence Program (NFIP). The DCI's authority was further strengthened by requiring DCI concurrence in the appointment of the heads of any intelligence organisation within the intelligence community. Finally, the executive order required the DCI to establish an integrated development and education system within the US intelligence community (Bansemer, 2005: 56&57; US, 2004e).

Executive Order 13356 specified new policies and responsibilities to improve information sharing. The executive order required agencies to design information systems to allow the interchange of information among agencies and state and local governments. It also required the DCI to set standards for sharing terrorism related information. The executive order created an Information Systems Council with representatives from all the departments dealing with counterterrorism missions, which oversaw the establishment of an "information sharing

environment" with the apparent intent of improving the interoperability of automated systems (Bansemer, 2005: 57; US, 2004f).

Although these executive orders went far towards implementing many of the 9/11 Report's recommendations, the changes were not deemed sufficient and Congress felt compelled to pass legislation to further entrench structural and organisational changes to the US intelligence system.

3.2   Provisions of the Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act

In early October 2004 both Houses of Congress passed separate bills in response to the 9/11 Report. On 17 December 2004, after a successful congressional effort to synchronise the two bills, President George W. Bush signed into law the *Intelligence Reform Act* of 2004, making substantial changes to the intelligence community's structure and introducing the most sweeping intelligence reform legislation since the *National Security Act* of 1947 (Posner, 2006: xii&xiii; United States, 2006: 2).

The *Intelligence Reform Act* contains many provisions drawn or modified from the Joint Inquiry and 9/11 Commission reports, as well as a number of additional measures. The centrepiece of the *Intelligence Reform Act* is the creation of a new position of DNI to serve as head of the US intelligence community and act as the principal adviser to the president. The Act further creates the NCTC and the NCPC to conduct strategic operational planning for joint counterintelligence operations and coordinate intelligence collection and analysis on proliferation issues respectively. Other provisions of the Act include the following (Tama, 2005: 9&10; United States, 2004c):
- Establishing a Joint Intelligence Community Council (JICC), chaired by the DNI and including the Secretaries of State, Treasury, Defense, Energy, and Homeland Security, as well as the Attorney General, to advise the DNI on

budgetary and other matters and ensure the timely execution of DNI policies and directives.

- Establishing an information-sharing structure to facilitate the sharing of information among federal, state, local, and private sector entities.

- Creating a Privacy and Civil Liberties Oversight Board to balance the risks to civil liberties of a more integrated intelligence structure.

- Requiring that the DNI appoint an individual or entity to ensure that finished intelligence products are objective, independent of political considerations, and based on proper analytic tradecraft standards.

- Mandating that the DNI develop a comprehensive education, recruitment, and training plan to meet the intelligence communities' linguistic needs.

- Requiring the president to designate a single entity to oversee the security clearance process throughout the intelligence community and develop uniform standards for access to classified information.

Many of the *Intelligence Reform Act's* provisions, including the establishment of the DNI and NCTC, were designed primarily to improve coordination and encourage a greater unity of effort across the intelligence community.

3.3   Establishment of the Director of National Intelligence

On 21 April 2005 Ambassador John D. Negroponte was sworn in as the first DNI, and the Office of the DNI commenced operations on 22 April 2005. The legislation granted the DNI sufficient authority to manage the intelligence community and to be held accountable for its performance.

3.3.1 Functions of the Director of National Intelligence

The DNI was established to serve as the head of the US intelligence community. Among other tasks, the DNI acts as the principal intelligence advisor to the president, the NSC and the Homeland Security Council (HSC). The DNI was

provided with a number of authorities and duties, as outlined in the *Intelligence Reform Act*, which charged the DNI to (Bansemer, 2005: 63; United States, 2004c; United States, 2006: 1):

- Ensure that the president, the heads of departments and agencies, the Joint Chiefs of Staff and senior military commanders are provided with timely and objective intelligence.

- Establish priorities for tasking, collection, analysis, production, and dissemination of national intelligence by elements of the intelligence community.

- Ensure maximum availability of and access to intelligence information within the Intelligence Community.

- Determine, develop and appropriate the annual budget for the National Intelligence Program (NIP) based on budget proposals provided by intelligence community agencies and departments.

- Oversee coordination of relationships with the intelligence or security services of foreign governments and international organisations.

- Ensure the most accurate analysis of intelligence is derived from all sources to support national security needs.

- Develop personnel policies and programs to enhance the capacity for joint operations and to facilitate staffing of community management functions.

- Oversee the development and implementation of a program management plan for acquisition of major systems.

The Act centralises the DNI's authority over personnel. The legislation authorise the transfer of up to 100 intelligence community employees to national intelligence centres as they were being established by the DNI. Furthermore, the DNI can arrange additional personnel transfers pursuant to joint procedures agreed upon with department secretaries. The DNI also has significant appointment power over top intelligence agency officials. The legislation requires the DNI to concur in appointing the heads of various organisations within the intelligence community (United States, 2004c).

3.3.2 Structure of the Director of National Intelligence

The creation of the position of the DNI was one of the key organisational solutions that addressed the problem of inadequate sharing of intelligence. Figure 4 reflects the changes brought about by the reorganisation of the US intelligence system.

Figure 4: The US intelligence system: 2008
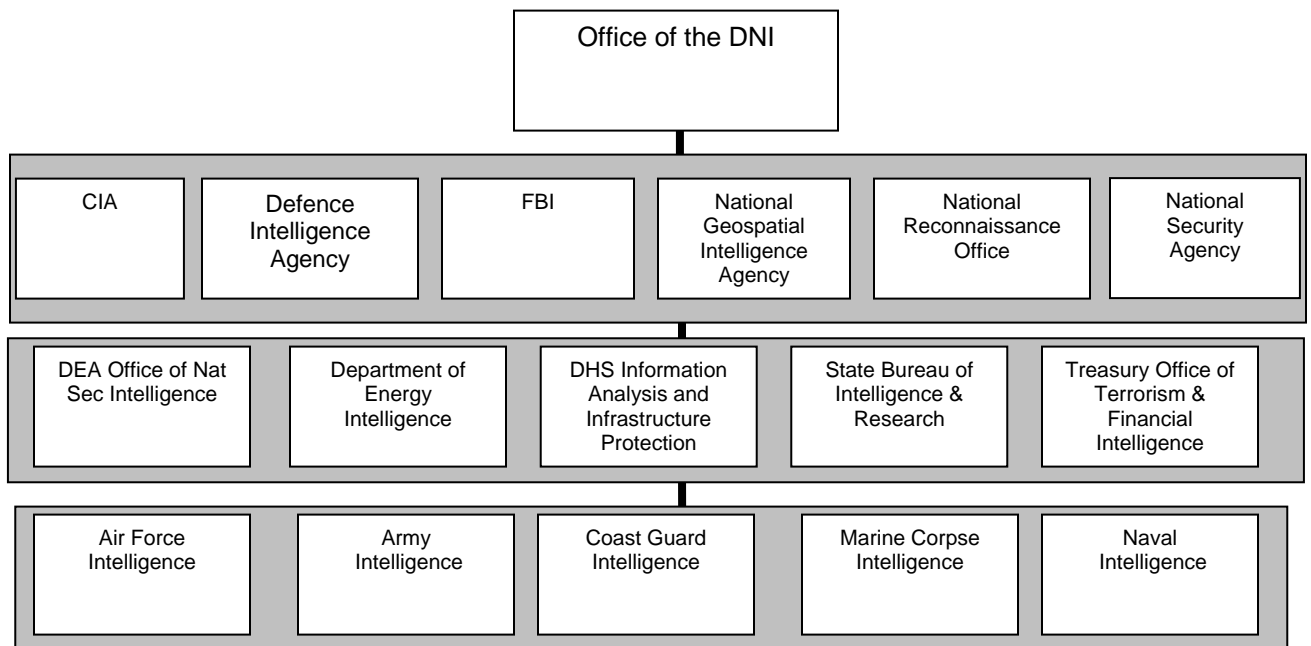
(Adapted from description of structure in United States, 2006)

Through the establishment of the DNI, a new level of governance was introduced above the existing intelligence agencies. The argument in favour was that 9/11 might have been prevented if the DCI had had more power and authority over an intelligence structure that had grown to sixteen agencies. In addition, it was argued that the new DNI needed to be separate and above the CIA. The move represented the CIA's demotion from its traditional position since 1947 as the 'first among equals' in the intelligence community to a 'one of many'. According to Vickers (2006: 357), many analysts have called the creation of the DNI the

largest organisational change in the intelligence community since the creation of the CIA.

The different entities created by the *Intelligence Reform Act*, such as the NCTC are located in the Office of the DNI. The Office of the DNI is an administrative body, which is an independent agency as it is not located within any other executive structure. The Office of the DNI has a Principal Deputy DNI and four deputy DNIs that are responsible, respectively, for analysis, collection, acquisition and policy, and plans and requirements. The Office of the DNI also has a General Counsel, a Civil Liberties Protection Officer, and an Information Sharing Environment Program Manager. The Act also creates separate entities under the DNI to ensure that key intelligence products are subject to alternative analysis, to ensure that intelligence products are timely, objective, and independent of political considerations, and to hear and investigate any complaints if analytic integrity had been compromised (Berkowitz, 2005: 89; Vickers, 2006: 361; United States, 2004c).

The Deputy Director for Analysis manages the production of the President's Daily Brief and serves concurrently as the Chairperson of the National Intelligence Council (NIC). The NIC is a key component of the DNI structure. Its core objectives are producing the National Intelligence Estimates (NIEs), the intelligence community's most authoritative written assessments on national security issues, and a broad range of other products (United States, 2004c; United States, 2006: 3).

3.3.3 Improving information-sharing

The *Intelligence Reform Act* defines key responsibilities of the DNI to establish uniform security standards and procedures, to improve information technology interoperability, and to develop policies to "resolve conflicts between the need to share intelligence information and the need to protect intelligence sources and methods". To ensure that progress is made towards implementing an information

sharing environment, the Act specifically directs the president to provide a report to Congress with a detailed implementation plan (Bansemer, 2005: 64&65; United States, 2004c).

3.4   Establishment of national intelligence centres

Recommendations for the creation of an expanded NCTC, as well as a number of smaller issue specific analytic centres are included as part of the *Intelligence Reform Act*. These National Intelligence Centres focus on specific issues and regions according to the DNI's and NSC's priorities. The Act created the NCTC within the Office of the DNI, primarily by elevating the former Terrorist Threat Integration Centre (TTIC) to a higher level. The NCPC was created on the recommendation of the WMD Commission. National Centres for Counterintelligence, North Korea, Iran and Cuba/Venezuela were also established. The primary purpose of the centres is to coordinate information and to oversee all aspects of intelligence related to these states (Rovner *et al*, 2005: 610; United States, 2004c; United States, 2006: 4).

5.   CONCLUSION

The events of 9/11 underscored the fact that the US intelligence community needed to change from a Cold War framework to one that searched for a wide spectrum of information regarding a host of actors engaged in diverse activities. The Second Gulf War of 2003 further accentuated the intelligence community's problematic performance. The 9/11 and Second Gulf War failures led to a wide-range of recommendations from commissions and congressional inquiries concerning intelligence reform. This led to the most far-reaching intelligence community reforms since the passage of the *National Security Act* in 1947.

Prior to 9/11, the structure of the US intelligence community could best be described as decentralised. The 9/11 Commission's recommendations and the subsequent enactment of the *Intelligence Reform Act*, entailed a shift from

decentralised agencies toward centralised, unified agencies under the control of the DNI. These adopted reforms include the establishment of the position of the DNI, the creation of the NCTC and the breaking down of many obstacles preventing cooperation and information sharing among the US intelligence community's agencies.

The structural reforms created the position of DNI, which led to improved management and coordination in a system that was poorly organised. Establishing the NCTC and other national centres, which centralise personnel and resources, provided a foundation to improve joint action, particularly relating to terrorism. Increased centralisation in the planning, programming, and budgeting process also offered the chance to reduce costs and duplication by giving the decision maker an enterprise-wide view of the types, capabilities, and costs of systems. On the analytic front, centralisation supported by strong information sharing can help create a more accurate and complete picture of large, complex issues and threats that span more than one agency or department.

On the whole, these reforms have improved US intelligence capabilities and begun the process of establishing unity of effort across the extensive intelligence system. However, the long-term impact of these reforms remains to be seen. While the structural reforms address deficiencies in integration and coordination, collection, analysis and information sharing, the intelligence community must move beyond structural reform to pursue policies that change the cultures and routines of agencies and individuals.

The next chapter examines the outcome of various commissions of enquiry in the UK following 9/11 and the intelligence failures relating to Iraq's weapons of mass destruction, which resulted in a major reorganisation of the UK intelligence system.

CHAPTER 5

CASE STUDY: INTELLIGENCE COORDINATION IN THE UNITED KINGDOM IN THE POST-2000 PERIOD

1.   **INTRODUCTION**

This chapter examines how the 9/11 attacks prompted the UK to review the manner in which terrorist-related intelligence was gathered, coordinated and analysed. It further considers the various national inquiries that were launched in the UK to investigate the intelligence on which the decision to invade Iraq in 2003 was based, and examines the recommendations made to address shortcomings and improve coordination of intelligence. The 9/11 attack and the Second Gulf War forced a reconsideration of intelligence, and led to a reshaping of the intelligence system in the UK.

2.   **INVESTIGATIONS INTO THE ROLE OF INTELLIGENCE RELATING TO THE SECOND GULF WAR**

Between July 2003 and July 2004 no less than four different inquiries were launched in the UK to examine the intelligence that was used to reach the decision to invade Iraq in 2003, thereby starting the Second Gulf War as part of the 'War on Terrorism'.

2.1   **Overview of investigations into intelligence in the United Kingdom since 2001**

Since the overthrow of the Iraqi government was announced on 1 May 2003 by US President George W. Bush, four separate investigations in the UK considered the origins of the Second Gulf War and the role of intelligence in making the case for war, namely the House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee; the Parliamentary Intelligence and Security Committee (ISC); the Hutton inquiries

and the Butler inquiries. It is the assessment of Davies (2005) that the UK investigations pivoted around three issues:

- The publication of national assessments of Iraq's capability under the authorship of the JIC;

- the possibility that the government pressured the JIC drafting team into including intelligence reports or claims known or suspected to be unsound or unreliable; and

- the debate around the latter issue and how it ultimately led to the suicide of Dr David Kelly in July 2002.

The first of these inquiries was published on 3 July 2003 by the House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee. The study is critical, yet limited by the nature of the available evidence. About the role of the JIC, the inquiry concludes that the continuing independence and neutrality of the JIC is critical. It was recommends that the JIC must at all times be free of all political pressure. One outcome of its hearings was the series of events that culminated in the suicide of UK Ministry of Defence (MoD) biological weapons expert Dr David Kelly (Gill *et al*, 2006: 136; Grice *et al*, 2008; United Kingdom, 2003a: 5).

The second investigation, concluded by the ISC, reported in September 2003 that the intelligence in the 2002 dossier that made the case for war was not balanced, and failed to emphasise that Saddam Hussein was not a threat to UK territory (Gill *et al*, 2006: 137; United Kingdom, 2003b).

A judicial inquiry under former Lord Chief Justice of Northern Ireland Brian Hutton was established in 2003 to conduct an urgent investigation into the circumstances surrounding the death of Dr. Kelly. The UK's September 2002 dossier states that Iraq was capable of launching an attack on a UK base within 45 minutes. In its 'Today' programme, the BBC quoted a weapon's expert alleging that the 45 minutes statement was false and that facts were being fixed around policy. The January 2004 Hutton Report exonerates the government of

any bad faith relating to the creation of an Iraq dossier. It focuses its criticism on the BBC management, which allegedly used Kelly as a source and broadcasted allegations that the UK government was taking military action in Iraq based on dubious intelligence. The head of the Iraq Survey Group, David Kay, resigned on 23 January 2004 stating that he believed that stockpiles of chemical, biological or nuclear weapons would not be found in Iraq. He criticised the pre-war intelligence on Iraq and the agencies that produced it. Kay's testimony at the beginning of 2004 and the failure of the then UK Prime Minister Tony Blair to dissuade the US from holding its own inquiry, left the UK little option but to follow suite and announce a fourth UK inquiry by Lord Butler in February 2004 (Gill *et al*, 2006: 137; United Kingdom: 2004a).

2.2   The Butler Inquiry

The Butler Inquiry examined the collection of intelligence on Iraq by UK intelligence agencies and the subsequent use of that information by the UK government. On 14 July 2004 the Butler Inquiry released the *Review of Intelligence on Weapons of Mass Destruction*, otherwise known as the Butler Report. Significantly, the Butler Report opens with a chapter devoted to a discussion of the nature and use of intelligence, which warns of the "limitations, some inherent and some practical on the scope of intelligence, which have to be recognised by its ultimate recipients if it is to be used wisely" (Gill *et al*, 2006: 137; United Kingdom, 2004b: 14).

Prime Minister Blair fully accepted the Report's conclusions and assigned the overall responsibility for addressing the implementation thereof to Sir Omand, the Security and Intelligence Coordinator (SIC). Omand established an oversight group of senior officials, the Butler Implementation Group, and submitted a report on 10 March 2005 with recommendations on the implementation of all the conclusions of the Butler Report which required action (United Kingdom, 2005b: 1). The Omand Report (United Kingdom, 2006a: 2) emphasises that "Butler's

report stresses the value of bringing to bear on intelligence material analytical skills from across Government and drawing the results together within the JIC machinery".

The main recommendations from the Butler Inquiry, especially those referring to reorganisation of the UK intelligence system and improvement of the JIC, are discussed below.

2.2.1 Response to international terrorism

The Butler Report notes that the terrorist threat is an international threat and that the events of 9/11 have "motivated intelligence organisations to intensify both national and international collaboration on an unprecedented scale" (United Kingdom, 2004b: 36, 249). The establishment of the Joint Terrorism Analysis Centre (JTAC) in the UK is noted in the Report as the most important development since 9/11 and enhanced inter-departmental cooperation. The Report welcomes the arrangements for bringing together all expertise on terrorism into the JTAC. It further notes that the JTAC has been operating for a year and that it has been successful in achieving interdepartmental synthesis (United Kingdom, 2004b: 36, 249).

2.2.2 Coordination of counter-proliferation activity

Concerning counter-proliferation, the Butler Report does not recommend the establishment of a central structure similar to the JTAC. The Report states that counter-proliferation is a longer-term threat than terrorism and therefore does not require the creation of a centre to focus on day-to-day activities. The Report recommends the creation of a 'virtual' network to bring together expertise on proliferation (United Kingdom, 2004b: 142).

2.2.3 Recommendations to improve the functioning of the United Kingdom intelligence system

On the role of DIS, the Report makes the following recommendations (United Kingdom , 2004b: 142&143):

- Further steps are needed to integrate the work of DIS closer with the rest of the intelligence community.

- New arrangements should be in place to provide the JIC with more leverage through the Intelligence Requirements process in order to ensure that the DIS not only served defence priorities but also wider national priorities.

- Proper channels should be provided within the DIS for the expression of dissent.

On the JIC and the Assessments Staff the following recommendations are made (United Kingdom, 2004b: 144&145):

- JIC Chairperson: The report welcomes the fact that the JIC Chairperson is a single, independent post, not combined with other posts, but raises a concern that the JIC Chairperson is outranked by the heads of the agencies and also by other Permanent Secretaries on the Committee. The post of JIC Chairperson should be held by someone with experience in dealing with Ministers in a very senior role, and who was demonstrably beyond influence.

- Assessments Staff: The size of the Assessments Staff should be reviewed and the volume and range of resources available to assess intelligence reports should be reviewed.

- The review of the Assessments Staff should include considering specialisation of analysis with a career structure and room for advancement.

- The appointment of a distinguished scientist to undertake a part-time role as adviser to the Cabinet Office should be considered.

Although the inquiries by the House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee, the ISC and Lord Hutton have been useful in underlining the extent of genuine

'intelligence failure', they largely focus on specific administrative issues and wider reflections about the nature and direction of UK intelligence are conspicuously absent. The Butler Report, seemingly the most important of the four investigations, provides a wide range of recommendations to improve intelligence. The focus of the next section of this study is on the implementation of recommendations directed at institutional and structural changes to enhance the coordination of the UK central intelligence system and, specifically, the role of the JIC.

3. REORGANISATION OF THE UNITED KINGDOM INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY SINCE 2001

This section analyses the implementation of the recommendations of the Butler Report as well as other reforms initiated by the UK government after 2001 that are aimed specifically at improving the central coordinating system and strengthening the JIC.

3.1 Expansion of the United Kingdom intelligence community

Intelligence communities globally have been blamed for failures in events that include the USS Cole, 9/11, the Bali bombings, the Madrid and London train bombings and the failure to find weapons of mass destruction in Iraq. The changing nature of threats faced by states since 9/11 necessitate a transformation in the organisational structure for intelligence gathering and analysis.

3.1.1 Establishment of the Joint Terrorism Analysis Centre

Immediately after 9/11, MI5 established a Counter-Terrorist Analysis Centre (CTACT), staffed mainly by members from MI5. A review of these arrangements was still under way when the Bali bombings occurred in October 2002 and

provided further validation for the establishment of the JTAC, as referred too earlier in the study, which started operations in June 2003. The UK *National Intelligence Machinery* booklet (2006a: 16) describes the role of the JTAC as being primarily responsible for the handling and dissemination of intelligence in response to terrorist threats. It is staffed by members from MI5, MI6, GCHQ and DIS, as well as representatives from other relevant structures such as the FCO, the Home Office, the police, the Office of Nuclear Safety, and the Department of Transport Security Division (TRANSEC). As a multi-agency unit, the JTAC sought to overcome the problems of information sharing by ensuring that each representative had access to their agency database (Gill *et al*, 2006: 51; United Kingdom, 2006a: 2, 16).

The Head of the JTAC is directly accountable to the Director General of the Security Service, who in turn reports to the JIC on the JTAC's performance of its functions. An Oversight Board, chaired by the Cabinet Office, further ensures that the JTAC meets customer requirements by monitoring the effectiveness of the JTAC's systems that engage with customer departments (United Kingdom, 2006a: 16).

The Butler Report notes that the establishment of the JTAC has proved to be a success. The Report states that "all of the UK intelligence agencies are developing new techniques, and we have seen clear evidence that they are cooperating at all levels." (United Kingdom, 2004a: 35, 149).

3.1.2 Establishment of the Serious Organised Crime Agency

As part of the Butler Report's recommendations, it is required that other components of the government also contribute to intelligence collection and/or analysis and assessment. Examples are the Serious Organised Crime Agency (SOCA), Her Majesty's Revenue and Customs (HMRC) and the Home Office (United Kingdom: 2006a, 2).

SOCA, an intelligence-led agency with law enforcement powers, came into being on 1 April 2006 and is the UK's first attempt to set up a single body to address major organised crime. The National Criminal Intelligence Service (NCIS) and the National Crime Squad (NCS) have been merged into a single body, SOCA. Relevant units of HMRC and the immigration service were also amalgamated into SOCA. Parallels have been drawn between the functioning of SOCA and the FBI (Gill *et al*, 2006: 60).

3.2   The Joint Intelligence Committee Chair and Intelligence Coordinator

According to Gill and Phythian (2006: 51), the description of the role of the Intelligence Coordinator remained essentially unchanged until 2002, after which the post reflected a greater concern with 'security' and was renamed as 'Security and Intelligence Coordinator'. In 2002 Sir David Omand became the first UK Security and Intelligence Coordinator (SIC), taking on the responsibilities of the previous Intelligence Coordinator, as well as wider responsibilities in the field of counterterrorism and crisis management. With the appointment of Omand as the SIC, the status of the post was elevated from a senior Cabinet Office official to that of a Permanent Secretary. The SIC replaced the Cabinet Secretary as the senior security adviser to the prime minister. Until 2002 the SIC was also the Chair of the JIC, responsible for the broad supervision of the work of the JIC.

In August 2006 the title of the post changed from Security and Intelligence Coordinator to Permanent Secretary, Intelligence, Security and Resilience. The Permanent Secretary was responsible to the Prime Minister for advising on security, intelligence and emergency-related matters, and was also Chair of the JIC. The Permanent Secretary's responsibilities included (United Kingdom, 2006a: 22):

- Ensuring effective coordination within the government and with key stakeholders, both in the UK and internationally;
- being Principal Accounting Officer for the Single Intelligence Account;

- being Chair of the Permanent Secretaries' Committee on the Intelligence Services; and

- ensuring that the intelligence community has clear strategies and systems for prioritising collection and analysis and that the resources provided for the intelligence agencies are used cost-effectively.

The Butler Report welcomes the fact that the JIC Chair is a single, independent post, and not combined with other posts as it used to be. In principle it is wrong that the JIC Chair should be outranked not only by the heads of the agencies, but also by two other Permanent Secretaries on the Committee. As mentioned previously, the Butler Report stresses that the post of JIC Chair should be held by "someone with experience of dealing with Ministers in a very senior role, and who is demonstrably beyond influence" (United Kingdom, 2004a: 144, 159).

In its 2005/2006 Annual Report the ISC raised concerns about the dual nature of the role held by the Security and Intelligence Coordinator (SIC). The ISC (UK, 2006b: 6) held the view that a "possible conflict of interest arises from the SIC's responsibility to represent the views and interests of the Intelligence Community to the Prime Minister and the JIC Chairman's responsibility to provide independent, unbiased advice to the Prime Minister". The ISC recommended the separation of these two important roles to take away the risk of conflict by virtue of the posts being combined (United Kingdom, 2006b: 6; United Kingdom, 2008: 22).

In line with the concerns raised on the dual nature of the post, the Cabinet Office announced on 25 July 2007 that the position of the Chair of the JIC and that of the policy adviser to the government would be seperated. The sole responsibility of the Chair of the JIC would be to provide Ministers with assessments independent from the political process and to improve the effectiveness of intelligence analysis across government. The key role of the Head of Security, Intelligence and Resilience would be to advise the Prime Minister on security,

intelligence and resilience issues. The Head of Intelligence Assessments and Chair of the JIC would be responsible for intelligence assessment and strengthening intelligence analysis across the government. The ISC, in its 2006/2007 Annual Report, expressed further concern that the grade of both of these posts would be lower than that of the combined post as this could impact on relationships between the individuals holding these posts and the Heads of Agencies, who were of a higher grade (United Kingdom, 2008: 22).

Since the creation of the Intelligence Coordinator's post, its influence has been on an ascending curve, culminating in the elevation of the post to that of Permanent Secretary in 2002. However, this changed in 2007 with the separation of the posts. With the next intelligence failure, those conducting the post-mortem may review the separation of the posts and the downgrading of the status of the JIC Chair's position in the central intelligence system.

3.3   Strengthening the Joint Intelligence Committee

The Butler Report provides specific recommendations for the strengthening of the JIC by integrating the work of the DIS with national priorities; the strengthening of JIC Assessments Staff; the need for specialising the careers of analysts in the intelligence community; and the establishment of new information systems.

3.3.1 Role of Defence Intelligence Staff

The role of the DIS came under close scrutiny as a result of events surrounding the use of intelligence in the justification of the UK's involvement in the war in Iraq. The Butler Report concludes that "further steps are needed to integrate the relevant work of the DIS more closely with the rest of the intelligence community" (United Kingdom, 2004b: 158). The JIC was provided with more leverage through the central Intelligence Requirements & Priorities process to ensure that the DIS

not only served defence priorities, but that it also served wider national priorities (United Kingdom, 2005b: 7).

3.3.2   Assessments Staff

Herman (2001: 79) notes that, since 1968, the Assessments Staff, which is at the centre of the JIC process, consists of analytical staff of about twenty-five or thirty members seconded from various departments, services and disciplines. Its role is to support the JIC, which in turn provides Ministers and senior Cabinet Officials with regular intelligence assessments on a wide range of issues of immediate and long-term importance to national interests. The Assessments Staff controll the work of the CIG. Effectively, the JIC sub-committee's were each chaired by a member of the Assessments Staff. The Assessments Staff relies on the agencies and DIS for detailed analysis and research to integrate and interpret the overall picture. It draws on a range of reporting, primarily from the agencies, but also on UK diplomatic reporting and open source material (Bennett *et al*, 2003; United Kingdom, 2006a: 24).

The Butler Report advances an argument for the expansion of the Assessments Staff and that specific consideration be given to whether it had the "volume and range of resources to ask the questions which need to be asked in fully assessing intelligence reports and in thinking radically" available (United Kingdom, 2004b: 159). It further recommends that this review should include considering whether there should be a specialisation of analysis, allowing career advancement for the analytical staff who make up the Assessments Staff (United Kingdom, 2004b: 159).

There has been considerable change and growth within the Assessments Staff as a result of the Butler Inquiry's recommendations. The size of the Assessments Staff was increased by about one-third. A new Assessments Staff team was established to provide a standing internal review and to challenge assessments

to diminish the risk of 'group think'. The team in the Assessments Staff that deals with weapons of mass destruction was strengthened with the addition of an officer with scientific experience. Measures were also put in place to provide all of the Assessments Staff teams with research analyst support (United Kingdom, 2005b: 9).

In its Annual Report of 2005/2006 (2006b: 23), the ISC notes that the analytical capability of the Assessments Staff has expanded to about 35 staff members and that an internal review and challenge team has been appointed.

3.3.3   Specialising the analysis function

The Butler Report places specific emphasis on the need for specialising the function of analysis and calls for the professionalisation of analysis within the UK intelligence system. Subsequently, a post of Professional Head of Intelligence Analysis (PHIA) was established, cutting across the analysis function of the whole UK intelligence community. The PHIA has the following functions (United Kingdom, 2005b: 9):

- To identify and bridge gaps and to remove duplication in analytical capabilities.
- To develop an approach on how to best recruit analysts.
- To manage the careers of analysts across the community.
- To develop an analytical methodology best suited for the UK intelligence system.
- To develop training and induction for all analysts in the UK intelligence system.

The post of PHIA was established in the Intelligence and Security Secretariat of the Cabinet Office, under the direction of the JIC Chair. In its 2007/2008 Annual Report the ISC notes that the PHIA is fulfilling an important role in "ensuring

effective intelligence analysis training and closer working between analysts across the wider intelligence community (United Kingdom, 2008: 23)."

3.3.4 Information-sharing through technology

The Butler Report highlights the need for new information systems to create a virtual network, thereby bringing together the various sources of expertise within the government. The government responded by developing a new IT system, SCOPE, for the purposes of the secure dissemination of intelligence material on all subjects, which would allow analysts improved access to information. The Ormand Report states that SCOPE would connect ten government departments and agencies and that customers, particularly analysts, will be able to 'pull' intelligence from a central archive as well as to receive intelligence 'pushed' at them (United Kingdom, 2004b: 158; United Kingdom, 2005b: 7).

3.4 **Implications for the responsibilities of the Joint Intelligence Committee**

The most significant attempt to maximise the use of intelligence resources took place before the Iraq war, with the creation of the JTAC. The responsibilities and terms of reference of the JIC, as reflected below, were not affected by the Butler Report or other developments and remained unchanged since 2001 (United Kingdom, 2001: 19; United Kingdom, 2006a: 27):

> The Committee is charged with the following responsibilities:
> - under the broad supervisory responsibility of the Permanent Secretaries' Committee on the Intelligence Services, to give direction to, and to keep under review, the organisation and working of British intelligence activity as a whole at home and overseas in order to ensure efficiency, economy and prompt adaptation to changing requirements;
> - to submit, at agreed intervals, for approval by Ministers, statements of the requirements and priorities for intelligence gathering and other tasks to be conducted by the intelligence Agencies;
> - to co-ordinate, as necessary, interdepartmental plans for activity;

- to monitor and give early warning of the development of direct or indirect foreign threats to British interests, whether political, military or economic;
- on the basis of available information, to assess events and situations relating to external affairs, defence, terrorism, major international criminal activity, scientific, technical and international economic matters;
- to keep under review threats to security at home and overseas and to deal with such security problems as may be referred to it;
- to maintain and supervise liaison with Commonwealth and foreign intelligence organisations as appropriate, and to consider the extent to which its product can be made available to them.

Figure 5 (Posner, 2006: 48) provides an adaptation from the original source of the UK intelligence system reflecting the changes brought about by reorganisation since 2001. It reflects that the JIC is centrally located within government, bringing together not just the intelligence agencies, but all stakeholders in the government. The UK intelligence system provides a framework for coordination extending well beyond the three civilian intelligence agencies and DIS. The fact that the JIC is a structure separate from the intelligence agencies is precisely so that those who are collecting the intelligence are not directly responsible for assessing it.

The recommendations in the Butler Report to strengthen the JIC and its Assessments Staff as well as the professionalism of analysis, were fully accepted and implemented. The Assessments Staff capacity was increased by about a third and the analysts of the intelligence community, whether located in the agencies, in the Foreign and Commonwealth Office or at the MoD, all became part of a new joint analytical community with the creation of the new post of Professional Head of Intelligence Analysis and shared training facilities.

Figure 5: The UK intelligence system: 2008

Prime Minister
Plus senior readers on the cabinet's inner intelligence loop, the armed forces, the civil and diplomatic services and Britain's closest intelligence allies.

Customers across Whitehall, armed forces, police, transport authorities, the utilities, local authorities, financial services, allied security & intelligence services

Head of Assessment and Chair of JIC

Joint Intelligence Committee (JIC)
Located in the Cabinet Office and consisting of secret-agency heads, senior officials from the Cabinet Office, the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, the Ministry of Defence, the Home Office, and Treasury. During the first part of the weekly meeting they are joined by intelligence liaison officers from the US Embassy and the Canadian and Australian High Commissions in London.

Head of Security, Intelligence and Resilience

Assessments Staff
All-source analysis of secret & open material processed by multidisciplinary current intelligence groups

Joint Terrorism Analysis Centre (JTAC)
Multidisciplinary capacity headed by a seconded official from the Defence Intelligence Staff. Housed inside MI5, responsible for swift analysis and assessment of all-source material & for operational & tactical warnings

Professional Head of Intelligence Analysis (PHIA)

| Security Service M15 | Secret Intelligence Service MI6 | GCHQ | DIS | Metropolitan Police Special Branch & other special branches | Whitehall Departments (especially the FCO) | Intelligence Allies |

(Adapted from Posner, 2006: 48; UK, 2008: 22)

4.   CONCLUSION

To date, a pragmatic approach has been followed in relation to the UK intelligence system, and changes to the system were mainly pursued after post-mortems such as those following the First and Second World War, the Falkland invasion, the Gulf War, and the inquires into the intelligence relating to Iraq's weapons of mass destruction. However, notwithstanding changes over the years, the main elements of the intelligence system in its present form closely resemble the original system. The Butler Report does not raise any significant institutional or structural issues in its review of intelligence on weapons of mass destruction in Iraq, but emphasises the need to modify the position and choice of the JIC chair. Currently, the incumbent is outranked by the heads of the intelligence agencies that sit on the JIC.

The Butler Inquiry concluded that the JIC Chairperson should be beyond influence, with more authority in both the Intelligence Community and the policymaking level of government. To them, the danger of politicization of intelligence arises from the relationship between intelligence producers and policymakers. The Committee also suggested expanding and developing both the JIC Assessments Staff and the professionalisation of analysis across the intelligence community.

The UK has a less fragmented intelligence system than most states, with the JIC centrally located in the Cabinet Office to fuse the different structures together. The JIC represents the main instrument for determining collection priorities and providing a national assessment of what is gathered. The establishment of the JTAC to address terrorist threats further strengthened coordination within the UK intelligence system. The UK intelligence community is managed on a basis of agency autonomy, interagency cooperation, and a system through the JIC, as the hub in the centre, to integrate national assessments.

CHAPTER 6

EVALUATION

1.   INTRODUCTION

In the aftermath of the events of 11 September 2001, questions about the limits of intelligence and demands for reform have come to the fore in the US and the UK. The controversy over the US and UK governments' case for the Second Gulf War further contributed to focusing attention on the weaknesses and limitations of intelligence. This study aimed, on the basis of structural and institutional reforms set in place since 2001 in the US and UK, to evaluate the importance of a central coordinating intelligence structure.

This chapter seeks to summarise the analysis that has been presented in this study regarding the strengthening of intelligence coordinating systems, the manner in which the US and UK responded to the 11 September 2001 attacks, and the inquiries into the intelligence assessments that led to the Second Gulf War. The chapter compares the intelligence coordinating systems in the US and UK; evaluates assumptions formulated in the Introduction; and draws conclusions based on the findings in the previous chapters.

2.   SUMMARY OF THE TEXT

To achieve the goal of this study, the study departed from a wider context to present a conceptual framework which illustrates that intelligence forms a system that needs to be managed and coordinated as a community. Chapter 2 presented a definition of intelligence, followed by a review of the generic intelligence cycle, the different types of intelligence products and the functions they serve.

It further discussed the different categories of intelligence services which constitute an intelligence community, and explained the typical separation of domestic, foreign and specialist collection intelligence functions into separate intelligence services. This included explaining the rationale for central coordination systems across an intelligence community and between the respective intelligence services. It emphasised that the number of individual intelligence services which constituted the intelligence community necessitated the coordination of intelligence collection and analysis to ensure that decision makers receive comprehensive national assessments drawn from all the intelligence services.

Chapter 3 presented a historical overview of intelligence structures in the pre-1945 and post-1945 period in the UK and US, with the focus on the gradual recognition of the need for coordination of intelligence and the development of national coordinating systems. The Chapter followed the development of intelligence systems in these states up to the year 2000, and found that the institutionalisation of coordinating systems only gained momentum after the Second World War. It reflected that the need for a central node in the intelligence system to ensure integration of intelligence across the intelligence community was confirmed with the lessons learnt from the Second World War. It emphasised the importance of analysing and piecing together disparate bits of information and providing policymakers with integrated assessments.

Chapter 4 examined the main findings and recommendations regarding intelligence coordination, specifically focusing on four major commissions in the US that have issued reports on intelligence since 2001. The recommendations by these various commissions proposed significant structural and institutional changes to the US intelligence system, including the establishment of a DNI. In the aftermath of 9/11, the intelligence committees of Congress performed a joint inquiry into the US intelligence community, while the 9/11 Commission was also established to make recommendations. After the release of the 9/11 Commission

Report, the focus of intelligence shortcomings shifted to an examination by two inquiries into the apparently inaccurate intelligence assessments on Iraq's weapons of mass destruction capability, which led to the Second Gulf War. The 9/11 and Second Gulf War intelligence failures led to the most far-reaching intelligence community reforms in the US since the passage of the *National Security Act* in 1947 (US, 1947). The Chapter detailed the shift from decentralised agencies toward centralised, unified agencies under the control of the newly established DNI.

Chapter 5 examined how 9/11 and the Second Gulf War prompted a rethink of intelligence in the UK, and subsequently led to a reshaping of the intelligence system in the UK with the aim of strengthening the central coordinating mechanism, namely the JIC.

3.   A COMPARISON OF INTELLIGENCE COORDINATION: THE UNITED STATES AND THE UNITED KINGDOM

A defining point in the history of the UK intelligence system was the establishment in 1936 of the JIC to ensure the central coordination and management of intelligence. The US only moved towards an intelligence coordinating system when the Coordinator of Information (CIO) was established in 1941. The setting up of a coordinating structure in the US was met with resistance from the outset, especially from the military structures. The US coordinating structure further underwent several transformations in its early years: the COI was transformed to the OSS in the same year it was established. The OSS was subsequently disbanded in 1945. In 1946 the CIG was formed to centralise the research and analysis function. It was only with the enactment of the *National Strategic Act* of 1947 (US, 1947) that the CIA was established and intelligence coordination defined as a function. Throughout this period, the JIC, in contrast with the US structures, remained firmly in place as the central coordinating mechanism in the UK.

Since 1968 the JIC was centrally located as a structure within the Cabinet Office with direct access to the prime minister. In comparison, the coordinating structure in the US was a function allocated to the head of the CIA. The *National Security Act* of 1947 designated the head of the CIA as both the head of the intelligence community and the head of the CIA. The DCI was assigned the responsibility of managing the US intelligence community and advising the president. The dual role of the CIA head contributed to weaknesses in the coordination of the US intelligence community. Since its formal establishment by the *National Security Act*, the US intelligence community was characterised as a decentralised system with the absence of an effective coordination mechanism.

The events of 11 September 2001 and the controversy over the US and UK governments' cases for the Second Gulf War focused the attention on the weaknesses and limitations of intelligence, and specifically intelligence coordinating systems. Various commissions of inquiry launched in both states made specific recommendations to strengthen central intelligence coordination through structural and institutional changes.

Significant structural and institutional changes were made in the US through the creation of the DNI. The establishment of the DNI entailed a shift from a decentralised intelligence community toward a centralised system under the control of the DNI. In comparison, the UK did not make any significant institutional or structural changes to its intelligence system. The main emphasis in the UK was on strengthening the capacity of the existing coordinating structure, namely the JIC.

The need for the integration and analysis of terrorism information emerged as a key development in both the US and UK in the wake of the events of 11 September 2001. Both states established centres to ensure information sharing and to coordinate efforts to counter terrorism on a national level. The NCTC in

the US was created within the Office of the DNI, whereas the JTAC in the UK is housed in one of the agencies, the Security Service (MI5).

Furthermore, the US centralised information by creating other National Intelligence Centres to focus on key US priorities, for example counter-proliferation, North Korea, Iran and Cuba/Venezuela. The UK, in comparison, did not find the need to establish other structures similar to the JTAC.

The following comparative tables summarise the functioning of intelligence coordinating systems in the US and UK. Table 1 is a comparison of the intelligence coordinating systems in the pre-1940 era to 2000. Table 2 is a comparison of the intelligence coordinating systems in these states subsequent to the implementation of recommendations following the inquiries into the 9/11 attacks and the intelligence assessments which led to the Second Gulf War.

Table 1: Comparison of Intelligence Coordinating Systems: The US and the UK (pre-1940 – 2000)

Aspect/Criteria	Application			
	United States		United Kingdom	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Functioning centralised intelligence coordinating structure		x	x	
Head of intelligence coordinating system independent from heads of intelligence agencies		x	x	
Coordinated approach to share terrorism information and to counterterrorism		x		x
Specific intelligence legislation in place that defines intelligence coordination	x			x
Implementation of initiatives to improve information sharing in the intelligence community		x		x

The comparisons between the US and UK during the period reflected in Table 1 indicate that coordination of intelligence has been strongly entrenched within the UK intelligence community for most of the history of the UK intelligence system. The main differences between the US and UK during this period were that the JIC was functioning as an independent intelligence structure with direct access to

the head of state in the UK, whereas the US coordinating mechanism was merely a function of a civilian intelligence structure, the CIA. The JIC has functioned without disruption since its establishment as part of a centralised intelligence system, while the establishment of a coordinating structure in the US was met with resistance, underwent several structural reforms since its initial inception, and functioned in mainly a decentralised manner. The position of the JIC chairperson was independent of that of the intelligence agencies, whereas this position was entrenched within the CIA in the US. While the US *National Security Act* of 1947 provided clear prescripts on intelligence coordination, this function had not been legislated in the UK.

Table 2: Comparison of Intelligence Coordinating Systems: The US and the UK (2000 – 2008)

Aspect/Criteria	Application			
	United States		United Kingdom	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Functioning centralised intelligence coordinating structure	x		x	
Head of intelligence coordinating system independent from heads of intelligence agencies	x		x	
Coordinated approach to share terrorism information and to counterterrorism	x		x	
Specific intelligence legislation in place that defines intelligence coordination	x			x
Implementation of initiatives to improve information sharing in the intelligence community	x		x	

Table 2 clearly indicates that the US improved and strengthened its coordination of intelligence since 2000. The experience of 11 September 2001 emphasised the need to share information and resulted in the establishment of the DNI as the central structure responsible for intelligence community coordination and management. The enactment of the *Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act* (United States, 2004c) in 2004 established the DNI as the central coordinating intelligence structure in the US. In the UK, in comparison, no legislation was introduced to define intelligence coordination. Both the US and the UK also established centres to coordinate terrorism related information and to

ensure a central, unified approach to counterterrorism. Both intelligence communities created information-sharing platforms to facilitate the sharing of information between the respective intelligence agencies.

In summary, when comparing the US with the UK, it is clear that although both states had systems in place to coordinate intelligence prior to 2000, both states needed to strengthen their coordinating systems. In the US, this strengthening resulted in a radical structural and institutional reform by creating a new structure to manage and coordinate the different entities of the US intelligence community, whereas the UK only strengthened the capacity of its existing structure.

4.   TESTING OF THE ASSUMPTIONS OF THE DISSERTATION

It is necessary to evaluate the assumptions related to intelligence coordination as formulated in the introduction to this study. These assumptions refer to the need for a centralised intelligence system in place of a decentralised approach; the implementation of measures introduced after the attacks in the US on 11 September 2001 and the Second Gulf War; and whether the coordination of terrorist information is better managed than other threats to national security.

4.1   **A centralised intelligence system in place of a decentralised approach**

Assumption: "A centralised intelligence system discourages intelligence services from the 'stove-piping' of information, meaning the practice in which single-source intelligence is passed on to policymakers without sufficient all-source integration. A decentralised organisational approach often results in interagency rivalry and the pursuit of individual intelligence services rather than community interest".

The need for a centralised intelligence system was clearly evident in the findings and recommendations of the four inquiries in the US since 2000. The *Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the US* states that

the intelligence community was not organised adequately, focusing on single-source intelligence and not integrated all-source intelligence. The Report concludes that separate organisational structures contributed to intelligence failures suffered prior to 9/11. The Report further places emphasis on the need for the community to consolidate all sources of information and to coordinate responsibilities across the different agencies (United States, 2004a: 400&401, 407&408). This is confirmed by Posner (2006: 10), who notes that the US intelligence community consists of many intelligence agencies with overlapping functions which foster rivalry and discourage the sharing of information. The various inquiries notes that the US intelligence system is decentralised and that information is scattered across the sixteen separate US intelligence agencies. The rationale for establishing the DNI was to create a centralised coordinating structure that would manage the US intelligence community as a coherent entity.

The assumption formulated above can therefore be verified.

4.2 Implementation of measures after the 9/11 attacks and the Second Gulf War addressed intelligence coordination deficiencies

Assumption: "The measures introduced in the US and UK after the 9/11 attacks and the Second Gulf War addressed the deficiencies of intelligence coordination, and elevated coordinating systems which were trapped in Cold War configurations with a narrow focus on the coordination of foreign intelligence".

An analysis of the measures introduced in the US and UK after the 9/11 attacks and the Second Gulf War demonstrated that intelligence systems in these states were now adjusted to cope with twenty-first century threats. Herman (2001: 228-331) makes the point that unless the US devised new means of sharing intelligence and cooperating better, it would not be able to protect itself from twenty-first century threats. The US intelligence community reforms since 2001 are the most far-reaching since the passage of the *National Security Act* in 1947.

The establishment of the DNI to manage and coordinate the US intelligence system, together with centres such as the NCTC, moved the US from its narrow Cold War framework. On the whole, these reforms have improved US intelligence capabilities and established unity across the sprawling intelligence system. However, the long-term impact of these reforms remains to be seen. In contrast to the reforms in the US, the UK concluded that there is no ideal or unchangeable system of collective government and that its intelligence system is not less effective than during previous years (United Kingdom, 2004).

The assumption formulated above can therefore be verified in this case.

4.3 Terrorism information is better coordinated than other threats to national security

Assumption: "Efforts by intelligence communities in the centralisation of intelligence in countering the terrorism threat are better coordinated in comparison to coordination on other threats to national security."

The analysis indicates that the coordination of terrorism information received priority attention from both the US and UK in the immediate aftermath of the events of 11 September 2001. The US created the NCTC to merge counterterrorism, intelligence and operational planning. The NCTC was established as the primary national structure for the analysis and integration of terrorism information. The UK established the JTAC to improve national collaboration on terrorism. However, measures were also put in place to ensure effective coordination across the range of national security threats. This is evident from the establishment of other National Intelligence Centres in the US to focus on other issues of national security concern such as counter-proliferation, North Korea, Iran and Cuba/Venezuela. In the UK the coordination of intelligence on terrorism is done through M15, to allow the JIC to focus on all threats to national security. Furthermore, a Serious Organised Crime Agency

(SOCA) was established in the UK to ensure a joint intelligence and operational approach to organised crime.

The assumption formulated above can therefore not be verified in this case.

5.   CONCLUSION

The events of 11 September 2001 and the intelligence failures relating to weapons of mass destruction in Iraq have led to a range of proposals for intelligence reforms, and brought into focus an array of new challenges facing intelligence systems in the twenty-first century. Far-reaching reforms were adopted by the US intelligence community, while the UK introduced new measures to focus on terrorism and further strengthened its intelligence coordinating mechanism. On the whole, these reforms were aimed at not only improving intelligence capabilities, but also at creating and strengthening unity of effort across the respective intelligence systems.

The findings of the various commissions of inquiry reinforced the need for centralised intelligence coordination systems and raised the need for institutional and structural reforms to establish and strengthen coordinating systems. It also highlighted the role of counterterrorism. The very nature of twenty-first century threats to national security demands that intelligence communities improve coordination, which entails a shift from decentralised agencies toward a centralised, unified intelligence community.

The events of 11 September 2001 and the review of intelligence assessments on Iraqi weapons of mass destruction capabilities were a specific watershed in the US. The government realised, through the findings of the various commissions, that the US intelligence system had significant weaknesses in the manner in which it coordinates intelligence across the intelligence community. This led to the most significant reforms of the US intelligence system since 1947, with the

main objective to establish a central coordinating system. The UK intelligence community post-9/11 is structurally much the same as before, except strengthened with added capacity and resources for its intelligence coordinating mechanism.

It is evident that the traditional structure of separate intelligence agencies encourages 'stove piping', in which single-source intelligence is passed to the top without sufficient all-source integration. The findings by the various commissions of inquiry therefore reflect the need for an organisational approach which will ensure central management and coordination of intelligence. Institutional fragmentation produces duplication, overlap, and waste. The rationale for a central coordination intelligence system is therefore to counter interagency rivalry and the pursuit of agency rather than community interests. Continuation of 'stove piping' practices would diminish the government's ability to respond effectively to twenty-first century threats.

The establishment of the DNI in the US, the strengthening of the JIC capacity and the creation of counterterrorism centres in both states is certain to enhance the intelligence communities' effectiveness. The long-term impact of the intelligence reforms remains to be seen, as adequately addressing the shortcomings identified by the various commissions of inquiry requires moving beyond structural reform to pursue policies that change the cultures and routines of agencies and individuals. Nevertheless, whether or not another major terrorist attack occurs in either the US or UK may be the only widely accepted measure of the success or failure of these reforms.

The overhaul of intelligence systems represents the beginning of progress in adapting to the new era of intelligence in the twenty-first century. The future of intelligence systems is based on a modern organisational doctrine of virtual networks and team approaches with a strong and effective coordinating structure at the centre.

ABSTRACT

Topic: A Comparative Analysis of Intelligence Coordination after the 9/11 Attack and the Second Gulf War: Selected Case Studies
By: K. L. Burger
Study Leader: Prof M. Hough
Department: Political Sciences, University of Pretoria
Degree: Master of Security Studies

The dissertation aims to examine the intelligence coordination mechanisms in the US and UK with a view to comparing them and identifying similarities and differences between them. To achieve this aim, the study provides a conceptual framework of intelligence as a system and explains the rationale for coordination between the respective intelligence services. The study analyses the coordination mechanisms which existed in the US and UK prior to the 11 September 2001 attacks and the Second Gulf War. The study examines the findings and recommendations of inquiries in both the UK and US that followed these events. This is followed by an analysis of the measures that were introduced after these events in order to strengthen and improve intelligence coordinating mechanisms in the US and UK.

The study highlights the need for centralised intelligence coordination systems, and illustrates that coordination is required to ensure that intelligence services function as a unified intelligence community. The study concludes that the nature of twenty-first century threats demands that intelligence communities improve coordination, which entails a shift from decentralised services toward a centralised, unified intelligence community.

Key Terminology:

Central coordinating system	Intelligence cycle
Counterterrorism	National security
Intelligence	Terrorism
Intelligence community	Weapons of mass destruction
Intelligence coordination	

OPSOMMING

Onderwerp: 'n Vergelykende Analise van Intelligensiekoördinering na die 9/11 Aanval en die Tweede Golf Oorlog: Geselekteerde Gevallestudies

Deur: K. L. Burger

Studieleier: Prof M. Hough

Departement: Politieke Wetenskappe, Universiteit van Pretoria

Graad: Magister in Veiligheidstudies

Die doel van die skripsie is om ondersoek in te stel na intelligensie-koördineringsmeganismes in die Verenigde State van Amerika (VSA) en Brittanje, hulle te vergelyk en ooreenkomste en verskille tussen hulle identifiseer. Om die doel te bereik, verskaf die studie 'n konseptuele raamwerk van intelligensie as 'n stelsel en verduidelik verder die rasionaal vir koördinering tussen verskillende intelligensiedienste. Die studie analiseer die koördineringsmeganismes wat voor die 11 September aanval en die Tweede Golf Oorlog in die VSA en Brittanje bestaan het. Die bevindinge en aanbevelings van ondersoeke in beide die VSA en Brittanje na aanleiding van diè gebeure word ook bespreek. Dan word 'n analise analise van die maatreëls wat ingestel is na hierdie gebeure om intelligensie-koördineringsmeganismes in beide die VSA en Brittanje te versterk en te verbeter.

Die studie beklemtoon die noodsaaklikheid van sentrale intelligensie-koördineringstelsels en illustreer verder dat koördinering nodig is om te verseker dat intelligensiedienste as 'n verenigde intelligensiegemeenskap funksioneer. Die studie kom tot die slotsom dat die aard van bedreigings in die een-en-twintigste eeu vereis dat intelligensiegemeenskappe hul koördinering verbeter, wat 'n skuif vanaf gedesentraliseerde dienste na 'n sentrale, verenigde intelligensiegemeenskap behels.

Sleutelterme:

Intelligensie	Sentrale koördineringstelsel
Intelligensiegemeenskap	Teen-terrorisme intelligensie
Intelligensiekoördinering	Terrorisme
Intelligensiesiklus	Wapens van massavernietiging
Nasionale veiligheid	

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1.   PRIMARY SOURCES

1.1   Government Sources

Flood, P. 2004. *Report of the Inquiry into Australian Intelligence Agencies*. Australian Government: Canberra.

United Kingdom. 1989. *The Security Service Act 1989* (amended 1996). Norwich: The Stationary Office.

United Kingdom. 1994. *Intelligence Services Act 1994*. Norwich: The Stationary Office.

United Kingdom. 2001. *National Intelligence Machinery*. Norwich: The Stationary Office.

United Kingdom. 2003a. *House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee: The Decision to go to War in Iraq. Ninth Report of Session 2002–03*. London: The Stationary Office.

United Kingdom. 2003b. *Intelligence and Security Committee: Iraqi Weapons of Mass Destruction - Intelligence and Assessments*. Norwich: The Stationary Office.

United Kingdom. 2004a. *Report of the Inquiry into the Circumstances of the Inquiry into the Death of Dr David Kelly: Lord Hutton*. Norwich: The Stationary Office.

United Kingdom. 2004b. *Review of Intelligence on Weapons of Mass Destruction: Report of a Committee of Privy Counsellors* (*Butler Report*). 14 July 2004. London: The Stationary Office.

United Kingdom. 2005a. *National Intelligence Machinery*. Norwich: The Stationary Office.

United Kingdom. 2005b. *Review of Intelligence on weapons of mass destruction: Implementation of its conclusions*. Norwich: The Stationary Office.

United Kingdom. 2006a. *National Intelligence Machinery.* Norwich: The Stationary Office.

United Kingdom. 2006b. *Intelligence and Security Committee: Annual Report 2005–2006.* Norwich: The Stationary Office.

United Kingdom. 2007a. *National Intelligence Machinery*. London: The Stationary Office.

United Kingdom. 2007b. *Ministry of Defence: History of the Ministry of Defence*. Available: www.mod.uk. (Cited 11 November 2007).

United Kingdom. 2007c. *Security Service (MI5): History*. Available: www.sis.gov.uk. (Cited 11 November 2007).

United Kingdom. 2007d. *SIS: History and Records*. Available: www.mi5.gov.uk. (Cited 11 November 2007).

United Kingdom. 2008. *Intelligence and Security Committee: Annual Report 2006–2007.* Norwich: The Stationary Office.

United States. 1947. *National Security Act* (NSA) of 1947. Washington, D.C.: US Government.
Available: www.intelligence.gov/0-natsecact_1947.shtml. (Cited 18 January 2007).

United States. 1976. *President Gerald R. Ford's Executive Order 11905: United States Foreign Intelligence Activities*.
Available: www.fas.org/irp/offdocs/eo11905.htm. (Cited 20 March 2008).

United States. 1978. *United States Foreign Intelligence Activities: Executive Order 12036*.
Available: www.fas.org/irp/offdocs/eo/eo-12036.htm. (Cited 20 March 2008).

United States. 1981. *United States Intelligence Activities: Executive Order 12333*. Available: www.fas.org/irp/offdocs/eo/eo-120333. (Cited 20 March 2008).

United States. 2001. *Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism (USA PATRIOT) Act of 2001*. Washington, D.C.: US Government.

United States. 2002a. *Report of the Joint Inquiry into the Terrorist Attacks of September 11, 2001 - by the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence and the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence*. December 2002. Washington, D.C.: US Government.

United States. 2002b. *Recommendations: 10 December 2002 (Joint Inquiry into Intelligence Community Activities before and after the Terrorist Attacks of September 11, 2001)*. Washington, D.C.: US Government.

United States. 2004a. *Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company

United States. 2004b. *Report on the US Intelligence Community's Pre-war Intelligence Assessments on Iraq.* 7 July 2004. Washington, D.C.: US Government.

United States. 2004c. *Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act*. 17 December 2004. Washington, D.C.: US Government.

United States. 2004d. *Executive Order 13354: National Counterterrorism Center*. Washington, D.C.: White House.

United States. 2004e. *Executive Order 13355*: *Strengthened Management of the Intelligence Community*. Washington, D.C.: White House.

United States. 2004f. *Executive Order 13356*: *Strengthening the Sharing of Terrorism Information to Protect Americans.* Washington, D.C.: White House.

United States. 2005. *The Commission on the Intelligence Capabilities of the US Regarding Weapons of Mass Destruction: Report to the President of the US.* Washington, D.C.: US Government.

United States. 2006. *An Overview of the US Intelligence Community.* Washington, D.C.: Office of the Director of National Intelligence.

United States. 2007. *An Overview of the US Intelligence Community.* Washington, D.C.: Office of the Director of National Intelligence.

2.   SECONDARY SOURCES

2.1   Books

Berkowitz, P. (ed.) 2005. *The future of American Intelligence.* Hoover Institution Press: Stanford.

Born, H; Johnson L.K. and Leigh, I. (eds.) 2005. *Who's watching the spies? Establishing Intelligence Service Accountability.* Potomac: Washington, D.C.

Brodeur, J.P; Gill, P and Töllborg, D. (eds.) 2003. *Democracy, Law and Security: Internal Security Services in Contemporary Europe.* Ashgate: Hampshire.

Chalk, P and Rosenau, W. 2004. *Confronting the 'Enemy Within': Security Intelligence, the Police, and Counterterrorism in Four Democracies.* Rand Corporation: Santa Monica.

Charters, D. A., Farson, S. and Hastedt, G. P (eds.) 1996. *Intelligence Analysis and Assessment.* Frank Cass: Oxon*.*

Clark, R.M. 2007. *Intelligence Analysis: A target-centric approach.* Second Edition. CQ Press: Washington, D.C.

Dorril, S. 2000. *MI6: Inside the Covert World of Her Majesty's Secret Intelligence Service.* Touchstone: New York.

George, R.Z. and Kline, R.D. (eds.) 2006. *Intelligence and the National Security Strategist*. Rowman & Littlefield: New York.

Gill, P. 2003. 'Security and Intelligence Services in the UK'. In: Brodeur, J.P. *et al*. (eds.) 2003. *Democracy, Law and Security: Internal Security Services in Contemporary Europe*. Ashgate: Hampshire.

Gill, P and Phythian, M. 2006. *Intelligence in an Insecure World*. Polity Press: Cambridge.

Herman, M. 1996a. 'Assessment Machinery: British and American Models'. In: Charters, D.A. *et al.* (eds.) 1996. *Intelligence Analysis and Assessment*. Frank Cass: Oxon.

Herman, M. 1996b. *Intelligence Power in Peace and War*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

Herman, M. 2001. *Intelligence Services in the Information Age*. Frank Cass: Oxon.

Hulnick, A.S. 2004. *Keeping us Safe: Secret intelligence and Homeland Security*. Praeger: Westport.

Kent, S, [1949] 2007. *Strategic Intelligence for American Foreign Policy.* Princeton University Press: Princeton.

Kindsvater, L.C. 2006. 'The need to reorganise the Intelligence Community'. In: George, R.Z. *et al*. (eds.) 2006. *Intelligence and the National Security Strategist*. Rowman and Littlefield: New York.

Leigh, I. 2005. 'Accountability of Security and Intelligence in the UK'. In: Born, H. *et al*. 2005. *Who's watching the spies? Establishing Intelligence Service Accountability*. Potomac: Washington, D.C.

Lowenthal, M.M. 1992. *U.S. Intelligence: Evolution and Anatomy*. Second Edition. Praeger: Washington, D.C.

Lowenthal, M.M. 2003. *Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy*. Second Edition. Congressional Quarterly Press: Washington, D.C.

Lowenthal, M.M. 2005. 'Intelligence Analysis: Management and Transformation Issues'. In: Sims, J.E. *et al* (eds.) 2005a. *Transforming U.S. Intelligence*. Georgetown University Press: Washington, D.C.

Odom, W.E. 2004. *Fixing Intelligence for a more secure America*. Second Edition. Yale University Press: New Haven.

Posner, R.A. 2005a. *Preventing Surprise Attacks: Intelligence Reform in the wake of 9/11*. Rowman and Littlefield: Maryland.

Posner, R.A. 2005b. *Remaking Domestic Intelligence*. Hoover Institution Press: Stanford.

Posner, R.A. 2006. *Uncertain Shield: The US Intelligence System in the Throes of Reform*. Rowman and Littlefield: Maryland.

Richelson, J.T. 1999. *The US Intelligence Community*. Fourth Edition. Westview Press: Boulder.

Schmitt, G.J. 2005. 'Truth to Power? Rethinking Intelligence Analysis'. In: Berkowitz, P. (ed.) 2005. *The future of American Intelligence*. Hoover Institution Press: Stanford.

Shulsky, A. and Schmitt, G. 2002. *Silent Warfare: Understanding the World of Intelligence.* Third Edition. Brassey's: Washington, D.C.

Sims, J.E. and Gerber, B. (eds.) 2005a. *Transforming U.S. Intelligence*. Georgetown University Press: Washington, D.C.

Sims, J.E. 2005b. 'Understanding Friends and Enemies: The context for American Intelligence Reform'. In: Sims, J.E. *et al.* (eds.) 2005. *Transforming U.S. Intelligence*. Georgetown University Press: Washington, D.C.

Swenson, A. and Benson, M. 2002. *The Complete Idiot's Guide to the CIA*. Alpha Books: Indianapolis.

Treverton, G.F. 2003. *Reshaping National Intelligence for an Age of Information*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

Turner, M.A. 2005. *Why Secret Intelligence Fails*. Potomac: Dulles.

Warner, M. 2006. 'Central Intelligence: Origin and Evolution'. In: George, R. Z. *et al.* (eds.) 2006. *Intelligence and the National Security Strategist*. Rowman and Littlefield: New York.

Zegart, A.B. 2006. 'Origins of the Central Intelligence Agency: Those Spooky Boys'. In: George, R. Z. *et al.* (eds.) 2006. *Intelligence and the National Security Strategist*. Rowman and Littlefield: New York.

2.2   Journals

Davies, P.H.J. 2002. 'Ideas of Intelligence: Divergent National Concepts and Institutions'. *Intelligence.* Fall 2002. Vol. 24, No. 3. pp. 62-66.

Davies, P.H.J. 2005. 'A Critical Look at Britain's Spy Machinery: Collection and Analysis on Iraq'. *Studies in Intelligence: Journal of the American Intelligence Professional*. Vol. 49, No. 4.
Available: www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/csi-publications/csi-studies/studies/vol49no4/Spy_Machinery_4.htm. (Cited 13 July 2007).

Goodman, M.S. 2008. 'Learning to Walk: The Origins of the UK's Joint Intelligence Committee'. *International Journal of Intelligence and Counter Intelligence*, Vol. 21, No. 1. pp. 40-56.

Herman, M. 2003. 'Intelligence after 9/11: A British view of the effects'. *Commentary.* 17 July 2003. No 83.
Available: www.csis-scrs.gc.ca/pblctns/cmmntr/cm83-eng.asp. (Cited 13 July 2007).

Jones, C. 2007. 'Intelligence reform: The logic of information sharing'. *Intelligence and National Security*. June 2007. Vol. 22, No. 3. pp. 384-401.

Rovner, J. and Long, A. 2005. 'The Perils of Shallow Theory: Intelligence Reform and the 9/11 Commission', *International Journal of Intelligence and CounterIntelligence.* Vol. 18, No. 4. pp. 609-637.

Treverton, G.F. 2003. 'Reshaping Intelligence to share with ourselves'. *Commentary*. 16 July 2003. No 82.
Available: www.csis-scrs.gc.ca/pblctns/cmmntr/cm82-eng.asp. (Cited 25 March 2007).

Turner, M.A. 2005. 'Intelligence Reform and the Politics of Entrenchment', *International Journal of Intelligence and CounterIntelligence*, Vol. 18, No. 3. pp. 383-397.

Vickers, R.D. 2006. 'The Intelligence Reform Quandary'*. International Journal of Intelligence and CounterIntelligence*, Vol. 19, No. 2. pp 356-364.

Warner, M. 2002. 'Wanted: A Definition of Intelligence'. *Studies in Intelligence*, Vol. 46. No. 3.
Available: www.cia.gov/csi/studies/vol46no3/article02.html. (Cited 4 August 2006).

2.3 Occasional Papers

Bansemer, J.D. 2005. *Intelligence Reform: A Question of Balance*. Program on Information Resources Policy, Centre for Information Policy Research. Harvard University.

Hannah, G., O'Brien, K. and Rathmell, A. 2005. *Intelligence and Security Legislation for Security Sector Reform.* Rand Europe: Cambridge.

Johnston, J.M. & Johnston, R. 2005. 'Testing the Intelligence Cycle Through Systems Modelling and Simulation'. In: Johnston, R. 2005. *Analytic Culture in the US Intelligence Community: An Ethnographic Study*. Government Printing Office: Pittsburgh.
Available: www.cia.gov/library. (Cited 5 June 2006).

Johnston, R. 2005. *Analytic Culture in the US Intelligence Community: An Ethnographic Study.* Government Printing Office: Pittsburgh.
Available: www.cia.gov/library. (Cited 5 June 2006).

Tama, J. 2005. *Intelligence Reform: Progress, Remaining Deficiencies, and Next Steps.* October 2005. Princeton Project on National Security: Princeton.

Treverton, G. F. 2001. *Reshaping National Intelligence for an Age of Information.* RAND Studies in Policy Analysis. University Press: Cambridge.

2.4   Internet

Bennett, R.M. and Bennett, K. 2003. *The Mechanisms of an Oppressive State: UK Intelligence and Security Report August 2003.* AFI Research.
Available: www.informationclearinghouse.info/article4463.htm. (Cited 1 December 2007)

Digger History. 2007. *An Unofficial history of the Australian & New Zealand Armed Services.*
Available: www.diggerhistory.info. (Cited 16 November 2007).

Federation of American Scientists (FAS). 2007. *Intelligence Resource Program: Australian Secret Intelligence Organization - History.* Washington, D.C.
Available: www.fas.org (Cited 29 October 2007).

Grice, A and Morris, N. 2008. 'There will be a public inquiry into Iraq, says Brown'. 17 March 2008. *The Independent.*
Available: www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics (Cited 21 March 2008).

Global Security. 2007. *Defence Intelligence Staff (DIS).* Defence Intelligence: Alexandria.
Available: www.globalsecurity.org/intell (Cited 12 November 2007).