

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE: ITS ROLE IN A FREE SOCIETY

REMARKS

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THE EVENTS OF THE PAST SEVERAL MONTHS HAVE RAISED ANEW CONCERNS IN THE UNITED STATES ABOUT SECRET OPERATIONS AND WHETHER SUCH ACTIVITY IS APPROPRIATE IN A DEMOCRACY SUCH AS OURS. WHAT WE HAVE LEARNED--AND WHAT I WANT TO DISCUSS WITH YOU TODAY--ARE THE CIRCUMSTANCES UNDER WHICH THE USE OF SECRET INTELLIGENCE CAN BE A VERY APPROPRIATE AND NECESSARY TOOL OF GOVERNMENT VITAL TO OUR NATIONAL SECURITY.

NOT LONG AGO SOMEBODY GAVE ME A LAPEL BUTTON WHICH READS, "MY JOB IS SO SECRET THAT EVEN I DON'T KNOW WHAT I AM DOING." AFTER ELEVEN OR TWELVE WEEKS THAT MAY BE TRUE. AT LEAST THERE MAY BE SOME CORRELATION BETWEEN THAT STATEMENT AND HOW WE FEEL ABOUT SECRECY. IT CONJURES UP IMAGES OF ORWELLIAN INTRUSION BY GOVERNMENT, OF CLANDESTINE ACTIVITIES THAT PUT AT RISK OUR MOST CHERISHED INSTITUTIONS AND OUR INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES, OF MISTAKES AND BLUNDERS CONCEALED WITHIN DOCUMENTS CLASSIFIED SECRET OR "EYES ONLY."

THESE IMAGES--COUPLED WITH THE ROMANTIC IDEAS ABOUT SECRET INTELLIGENCE GENERATED BY FICTION AND MOTION PICTURES--TEND TO MASK WHAT

INTELLIGENCE COLLECTION IS REALLY ALL ABOUT. INTELLIGENCE INVOLVES THE COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS OF INFORMATION ABOUT EVENTS IN THE WORLD THAT MAY THREATEN THE SECURITY OR INTERESTS OF THE UNITED STATES AND ITS CITIZENS. I THINK IT IS INSTRUCTIVE THAT OUR CONSTITUTION, WITHOUT A SINGLE REFERENCE TO INTELLIGENCE, HAS ACCOMMODATED THIS FUNCTION SO VITAL TO OUR NATIONAL SECURITY, AND HAS INSPIRED A SYSTEM OF OVERSIGHT THROUGH THE SEPARATION OF POWERS TO MAKE THE INTELLIGENCE FUNCTION COMPATIBLE WITH OUR FREE SOCIETY. THE QUESTION IS, OF COURSE, HOW WELL WE USE THAT ACCOMMODATION.

TAKING A LEAF OR TWO FROM MY EXPERIENCES ON THE FEDERAL BENCH AND AS DIRECTOR OF THE FBI, I HAVE TAKEN UP MY NEW RESPONSIBILITIES WITH TWO DEEPLY HELD CARDINAL THESES: FIRST, THAT THE INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES VITAL TO THE PROTECTION AND PRESERVATION OF OUR NATIONAL SECURITY MUST BE CONDUCTED OBJECTIVELY, PROFESSIONALLY, AND LAWFULLY, WITH ABSOLUTE FIDELITY TO OUR CONSTITUTION AND TO OUR LAWS. AND, SECOND, THERE MUST BE A TRUSTWORTHY SYSTEM OF OVERSIGHT AND ACCOUNTABILITY WHICH BUILDS, RATHER THAN ERODES, TRUST BETWEEN THOSE WHO HAVE THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR MANAGING

OUR INTELLIGENCE SYSTEM AND THOSE WHO ACT AS SURROGATES FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

INTELLIGENCE COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS HAS ALWAYS PLAYED A MAJOR ROLE IN OUR HISTORY AND IS AT LEAST AS OLD AS OUR CONSTITUTION. A COUPLE OF YEARS AGO, MALCOLM FORBES PRESENTED BILL CASEY AND ME WITH FACSIMILIES OF A LETTER BY GEORGE WASHINGTON WRITTEN TO MAJOR TALLMADGE ON SEPTEMBER 24, 1779, IN WHICH HE OUTLINED SOME OF HIS THOUGHTS ABOUT THE NEED FOR, AND THE REQUIREMENTS OF, GOOD INTELLIGENCE WORK. AND I AM ALSO REMINDED THAT IN 1777, WASHINGTON WROTE TO COLONEL ELIAS DAYTON DISCUSSING THE NEEDS OF INTELLIGENCE IN THESE WORDS: "THE NECESSITY OF PROCURING GOOD INTELLIGENCE IS APPARENT AND NEED NOT BE FURTHER URGED. ALL THAT REMAINS FOR ME TO ADD IS THAT YOU KEEP THE WHOLE MATTER AS SECRET AS POSSIBLE. FOR UPON SECRECY, SUCCESS DEPENDS IN MOST ENTERPRISES OF THIS KIND, AND FOR WANT OF IT THEY ARE GENERALLY DEFEATED." IN 1790, SECRET FUNDING FOR FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES WAS FORMALIZED BY CONGRESS IN THE FORM OF A SECRET CONTINGENCY FUND FOR USE BY THE PRESIDENT.

TODAY OUR GOVERNMENT DEPENDS HEAVILY UPON ACCURATE INTELLIGENCE:
INTELLIGENCE TO FORMULATE AND CONDUCT OUR FOREIGN POLICY, INTELLIGENCE TO
VERIFY THE ARMS AGREEMENTS THAT WE HAVE SIGNED AND TO JUDGE WHETHER OR
NOT WE COME TO TERMS WITH OTHER ARMS AGREEMENTS NOW ON THE TABLE. AND
INTELLIGENCE TO UNDERSTAND BOTH THE MILITARY CAPABILITIES AND THE
INTENTIONS OF OUR ADVERSARIES. OUR PRIMARY CONSUMERS ARE THE PRESIDENT,
THE VICE PRESIDENT, THE SECRETARY OF STATE, THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE, THE
SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY, THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL, AND OF COURSE,
THE INTELLIGENCE OVERSIGHT COMMITTEES OF THE HOUSE AND THE SENATE.

INTELLIGENCE--POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND MILITARY--MUST BE GATHERED
EARLY AND ACCURATELY. RECENTLY I SPENT A DAY NOT FAR FROM HERE IN
COLORADO SPRINGS, AT NORAD, WHICH IS THE HEADQUARTERS FOR ONE OF THE
PRINCIPAL EARLY WARNING SYSTEMS FOR OUR COUNTRY'S NATIONAL DEFENSE. AND
A DAY THERE CAN'T HELP BUT MAKE ONE AWARE OF THE CRITICAL IMPORTANCE OF
GATHERING EARLY AND ACCURATE INTELLIGENCE FOR OUR NATIONAL DEFENSE. OUR
FOREFATHERS MAY HAVE HAD WEEKS OR MONTHS TO CONSIDER HOW THEY WOULD

RESPOND TO THREATS TO OUR SECURITY--NOW WE THINK IN TERMS OF SECONDS OR MINUTES. AND WE CANNOT AFFORD TO MAKE MISTAKES.

IN THE EARLY DAYS, INTELLIGENCE FROM HUMAN SOURCES--SPIES, IF YOU WILL--MADE UP THE GREAT BULK OF SECRET MATERIAL THAT, ADDED TO THE NORMAL KINDS OF OPEN INFORMATION GATHERED BY ATTACHES AND DIPLOMATS OR FROM OPEN OR PUBLIC SOURCES, ENABLED INTELLIGENCE ANALYSTS TO PIECE TOGETHER A MOSAIC OF INFORMATION ABOUT THREATS TO OUR SECURITY. TODAY, THE FORMS OF INTELLIGENCE COLLECTION VARY FROM TRADITIONAL HUMAN SOURCES TO SIGNALS AND COMMUNICATIONS INTELLIGENCE, AS WELL AS IMAGERY INTELLIGENCE INVOLVING SATELLITES WITH ALMOST NEAR REALTIME CAPABILITY. WE KNOW THAT EACH OF THESE METHODS IS NECESSARY TO MAKE THE MOSAIC AS COMPLETE AS POSSIBLE-- BUT WE ALSO KNOW THAT WE WILL STILL BE SEEING ONLY PART OF THE PICTURE. AND WE KNOW THAT OUR ADVERSARIES ARE TRYING TO CONFUSE AND DECEIVE US, COMPLICATING AND CLOUDING OUR VISION FROM THE SKY OR THE GROUND.

IT WOULD BE NICE TO THINK THAT TECHNICAL SYSTEMS COULD EVENTUALLY
OBVIATE THE NEED FOR ESPIONAGE AGAINST OUR COMPETITORS AND ADVERSARIES,
BUT I THINK EXPERIENCE SHOWS THAT IT IS THE COMBINATION OF TECHNICALLY
GATHERED MATERIALS, ALONG WITH INFORMATION FROM HUMAN SOURCES THAT MAKES
IT POSSIBLE FOR US TO MAKE JUDGEMENTS ABOUT EVENTS IN THE WORLD. ONLY
HUMAN SOURCES CAN PROVIDE INSIGHTS INTO THE INTENTIONS AND ATTITUDES OF
OUR ADVERSARIES. AND ONLY HUMAN SOURCES CAN TELL US WHY EVENTS MAY HAVE
DEVELOPED ACCORDING TO A PARTICULAR PATTERN, EVEN THOUGH THE PATTERN
ITSELF MAY BE QUITE VISIBLE TO TECHNICAL SENSORS.

COLLECTING INFORMATION IS A CRITICAL PART OF INTELLIGENCE, BUT IT IS
ONLY THE FIRST STEP IN THE INTELLIGENCE PROCESS. THE ENORMOUS COST OF
HIGHLY SOPHISTICATED COLLECTION SYSTEMS--AND OUR WORLDWIDE NETWORK OF
HUMAN SOURCES--WOULD BE OF LITTLE VALUE IF WE COULD NOT DELIVER
MEANINGFUL JUDGEMENTS ABOUT THE INFORMATION ONCE IT IS COLLECTED.
INTELLIGENCE ANALYSIS IS JUST AS IMPORTANT AS INTELLIGENCE COLLECTION.

I CAN ONLY UNDERSCORE HOW BITS AND PIECES OF INFORMATION ARE VIRTUALLY MEANINGLESS UNLESS ASSESSED AND BROUGHT TOGETHER IN A COMPREHENSIVE AND MEANINGFUL PATTERN. SOME OBSERVERS OF OUR SYSTEM HAVE CHARGED RECENTLY THAT OUR INTELLIGENCE ANALYSIS HAS BEEN POLITICIZED; THAT IT HAS BEEN ALTERED OR SKEWED TO MAKE POLICYMAKERS MORE COMFORTABLE, OR THAT IT HAS BEEN "COOKED" TO TELL POLICYMAKERS ONLY WHAT THEY WANT TO HEAR. UNLESS INTELLIGENCE IS COLLECTED AND ANALYZED IN AN OBJECTIVE WAY, WE WILL FAIL IN OUR DUTY TO THOSE ELECTED TO LEAD OUR COUNTRY. THEY HAVE A RIGHT TO EXPECT THAT THE DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AND HIS PEOPLE WILL PROVIDE THEIR BEST ESTIMATES ABOUT PRESENT AND FUTURE EVENTS WHETHER OR NOT THESE JUDGEMENTS MAKE POLICYMAKERS COMFORTABLE.

CLEARLY PEOPLE HAVE BEEN CONCERNED ABOUT THE INVOLVEMENT OF THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY AND THE DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE IN POLICYMAKING. THEY ARE WORRIED THAT THERE MAY BE A TENDENCY TO GIVE POLICYMAKERS INFORMATION THAT WILL SUPPORT A PARTICULAR POINT OF VIEW OR POLICY LINE. BUT THIS IS NOT OUR ROLE, AND I HAVE TAKEN A NUMBER OF

STEPS TO ENSURE THAT THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY PRESERVES ITS OBJECTIVITY AND PROTECTS ITS INTEGRITY. WE INTEND TO "TELL IT AS IT IS," AVOIDING BIAS AS MUCH AS WE CAN, OR THE POLITICIZATION OF OUR PRODUCT. POLICYMAKERS MAY NOT LIKE THE MESSAGE THEY HEAR FROM US, ESPECIALLY IF THEY HAVE A DIFFERENT POINT OF VIEW. MY POSITION IS THAT IN THE PREPARATION OF INTELLIGENCE JUDGEMENTS, PARTICULARLY IN NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE ESTIMATES, WE WILL PROVIDE THEM FOR THE USE OF POLICYMAKERS. THEY CAN BE USED IN WHOLE OR IN PART. THEY CAN BE IGNORED, OR TORN UP, OR THROWN AWAY, BUT THEY MAY NOT BE CHANGED.

SOME OF YOU MAY WONDER HOW WE ARE ABLE TO AVOID OUR OWN PERSONAL BIASES OR OUR OWN PERSONAL POINTS OF VIEW IN PREPARING WHAT WE REFER TO AS FINISHED INTELLIGENCE--THAT IS, OUR PRODUCT. WE WANT TO PRESENT TO THE PRESIDENT, TO THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL OR TO OTHER POLICYMAKERS A PRODUCT THAT REPRESENTS AN AGENCY VIEW--NOT JUST MY VIEW OR THE VIEW OF A PARTICULAR INDIVIDUAL. THEREFORE, WE ARE CAREFUL TO REVIEW OUR PRODUCTS

AT ALL LEVELS, TO INVOLVE A VARIETY OF ANALYSTS AND MANAGERS WITH DIFFERENT SKILLS, KNOWLEDGE AND BACKGROUND AS WE PREPARE OUR MATERIAL.

AND VERY OFTEN, WE COORDINATE OUR RESULTS WITH ANALYSTS OR SENIOR OFFICIALS WITHIN THE OTHER AGENCIES IN THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY--AND IF WE DISAGREE, WE MAKE OUR DISAGREEMENTS KNOWN AND WE TRY TO EXPLAIN TO THE POLICYMAKERS WHO REVIEW OUR PRODUCTS WHY WE DISAGREE. YOU MUST REMEMBER THAT WE SOMETIMES USE DIFFERENT METHODOLOGIES TO RESEARCH THE SAME DATA, SO DISAGREEMENT MAY BE A HEALTHY SIGN THAT WE HAVE NOT OVERLOOKED SOME CRITICAL PIECE OF INFORMATION OR VITAL CONCLUSION. IN MY OWN VIEW AS DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE THIS MAY BE THE MOST IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION THAT I COULD MAKE IN GALVANIZING A COHESIVE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY WITHOUT COMPROMISING THE INTEGRITY OF THE INDIVIDUAL ANALYSTS OR PROGRAM MANAGERS.

COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS MAKE UP THE GREAT PERCENTAGE OF OUR WORK, BUT THERE ARE OTHER RESPONSIBILITIES AS WELL. THE CIA IS REGULARLY INVOLVED IN COUNTERINTELLIGENCE IN THE FOREIGN ENVIRONMENT, AND WE COOPERATE

CLOSELY WITH THE FBI, AND OTHER AGENCIES OF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT, IN WORKING AGAINST NARCOTICS TRAFFIC, THREATS OF TERRORISM, AS WELL AS EFFORTS TO STEAL U.S. ADVANCED TECHNOLOGY THROUGH ILLEGAL MEANS. ALTHOUGH MOST OF OUR OPERATIONS TAKE PLACE OVERSEAS, WE HAVE GOOD WORKING RELATIONSHIPS WITH DOMESTIC AGENCIES OF GOVERNMENT. WHEN I BECAME DIRECTOR OF THE FBI, ADMIRAL STANSFIELD TURNER AND I-- CLASSMATES AT AMHERST--RESOLVED TO NOT ONLY WORK TOGETHER BUT TO BE SEEN WORKING TOGETHER. AND SO EVEN OUR OUTINGS ON THE TENNIS COURT SYMBOLIZED THIS COMMITMENT TO BOTH OF OUR AGENCIES.

WE HAVE ANOTHER ROLE TO PLAY--PERHAPS THE MOST CONTROVERSIAL--IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF FOREIGN POLICY AND THIS IS DONE THROUGH COVERT ACTIVITIES. THESE MAY INCLUDE POLITICAL WORK THROUGH COMMUNICATIONS--GETTING OUR MESSAGE OUT, TRAINING, SUPPLYING IMPORTANT MATERIALS FOR THOSE WHOM WE SUPPORT, AND GIVING ADVICE. ALTHOUGH COVERT ACTION IS NOT DEFINED BY LAW, THE TERM HAS COME TO BE UNDERSTOOD AS REFERRING TO ACTIVITIES CONDUCTED IN SUPPORT OF NATIONAL FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES IN SUCH A WAY THAT THE ROLE OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT IS NOT APPARENT.

IN MY LIFETIME FROM PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT FORWARD, EVERY PRESIDENT HAS ENDORSED AND USED COVERT ACTION TO SUPPORT THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THIS COUNTRY. ALTHOUGH COVERT ACTIONS TRADITIONALLY CLAIM ONLY A VERY SMALL PORTION OF THE CIA'S BUDGET, THEY ARE THE FOCUS OF THE GREATEST CONGRESSIONAL AND PUBLIC ATTENTION. WE HAVE SEEN SOME OF THE RESPONSIBILITIES FOR COVERT ACTION MOVE OUTSIDE THE CIA INTO THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL AND, HAVING LEARNED FROM THE EXPERIENCE, THE PRESIDENT HAS NOW DIRECTED THAT THIS WILL NOT HAPPEN AGAIN. NEVERTHELESS, THE EVENTS OF THE PAST YEAR HAVE ONLY ADDED TO THE CONFUSION, SUSPICION, AND THE ILL EASE OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ABOUT COVERT ACTIVITY. THESE EVENTS HAVE LED US TO IMPROVE THE RULES AND PROCEDURES THAT GOVERN SUCH ACTIVITY SO THAT, IF FOLLOWED BY MEN OF INTEGRITY AND DEDICATION, THE CONSTITUTIONAL REQUIREMENTS AND OUR NATIONAL SECURITY NEEDS WILL BE MET AND SUSTAINED.

IT SEEMS QUITE CLEAR TO ME THAT IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE TO CARRY OUT CLANDESTINE ACTIVITIES--EITHER TO COLLECT INFORMATION OR TO CARRY OUT COVERT ACTION--WITHOUT SECRECY. BUT, THIS IS THE ASPECT OF OUR WORK THAT TROUBLES MANY PEOPLE WHEN THEY THINK ABOUT INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES. THERE

IS NO QUESTION THAT SECRECY IN GOVERNMENT, DURING PERIODS OF OUR HISTORY, HAS BEEN USED TO HIDE QUESTIONABLE PRACTICES, TO COVER UP POLICY MISTAKES, AND TO BYPASS REGULATIONS AND LAWS. BUT SECRECY IN INTELLIGENCE IS QUITE A DIFFERENT MATTER.

BOTH CONGRESS AND THE JUDICIARY HAVE RECOGNIZED THE NEED FOR SECRECY IN MATTERS OF NATIONAL SECURITY. THEY UNDERSTAND THAT THE MAIN PURPOSE OF SECRECY IN INTELLIGENCE IS TO PRESERVE AND PROTECT SOURCES AND METHODS. THESE ARE TWO TERMS THAT WERE RELATIVELY UNKNOWN TO ME WHEN I CAME TO WASHINGTON NINE YEARS AGO BUT WHICH I HAVE COME TO RESPECT AS REAL AND NOT PERSIFLAGE. IF WE CANNOT PROTECT OUR SOURCES, WHETHER THEY ARE FBI INFORMANTS OR FOREIGN ASSETS DEVELOPED AROUND THE WORLD, WE WILL NOT GET THE INFORMATION THAT WE NEED. IF WE CANNOT PROTECT THE SENSITIVE METHODS BY WHICH WE COLLECT THE INFORMATION BOTH IN TERMS OF INDIVIDUALS ON THE GROUND AND SATELLITES IN SPACE, WE WILL CEASE TO HAVE THE MEANS OF COLLECTING INFORMATION.

TO HELP US PROTECT OUR SOURCES AND METHODS THE CONGRESS HAS PASSED SEVERAL LAWS THAT DEAL WITH SUCH MATTERS, INCLUDING THE FREEDOM OF INFORMATION ACT IN WHICH THERE ARE EXPRESS PROVISIONS PROTECTING FROM DISCLOSURE THOSE MATTERS OF FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE AND INFORMATION SUPPLIED TO US BY FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES OUTSIDE THIS COUNTRY. THE FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE SURVEILLANCE ACT, FOR EXAMPLE, PROVIDES FOR A SPECIAL COURT TO REVIEW, IN SECRET, ALL THE APPLICATIONS FILED TO CONDUCT ELECTRONIC SURVEILLANCE FOR FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE PURPOSES. THIS STATUTE HAS BEEN FOUND TO BE WITHIN THE CONFINES OF THE CONSTITUTION.

COVERT CAPABILITY IS ESSENTIAL IN OUR FOREIGN POLICY IF WE ARE TO PROVIDE NEEDED SUPPORT FOR LIBERATION MOVEMENTS OR ASSISTANCE TO GOVERNMENTS WORKING IN COLLABORATION WITH OTHER COUNTRIES WHO DO NOT WISH, FOR LEGITIMATE POLITICAL REASONS OF THEIR OWN, TO HAVE THE U.S. ROLE AND INVOLVEMENT PUBLICLY KNOWN.

WHILE SECRECY IS NECESSARY IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, THERE ARE NEVERTHELESS OFFICIAL SURROGATES WATCHING OUT AFTER YOUR INTERESTS IN THE

FORM OF CONGRESSIONAL OVERSIGHT. INTELLIGENCE COLLECTION AND THE USE OF INTELLIGENCE IS A SHARED RESPONSIBILITY JUST AS CONGRESS HAS A ROLE IN THE FORMULATION OF FOREIGN POLICY AND A SPECIFIC ROLE IN THE FUNDING OF OUR ACTIVITIES. WE CALL THIS DIVISION OF RESPONSIBILITY BETWEEN THE EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATIVE BRANCHES THE SEPARATION OF POWER, BUT IT ALSO MEANS A SHARING OF POWER THAT OPERATES TO PROTECT OUR CITIZENS.

IN 1976 AND 1977, BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS ESTABLISHED INTELLIGENCE OVERSIGHT COMMITTEES TO MONITOR ALL SIGNIFICANT INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES AND EXPENDITURES. THE OVERSIGHT COMMITTEES, OPERATING UNDER THE RULES EMBODIED IN THE NATIONAL SECURITY ACT, THE HUGHES-RYAN AMENDMENT, AND THE INTELLIGENCE OVERSIGHT ACT, HAVE FORMALIZED THE REPORTING OF INTELLIGENCE AND COVERT ACTIONS TO CONGRESS. THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY IS NOW REQUIRED BY LAW TO KEEP THE INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEES FULLY AND CURRENTLY INFORMED OF ALL INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES. UNDER THE HUGHES-RYAN AMENDMENT, THE PRESIDENT MUST FIND THAT EACH COVERT ACTION IS IMPORTANT TO THE NATIONAL SECURITY BEFORE THE OPERATION CAN BE INITIATED.

UNDER OUR LAW IT IS OUR DUTY TO NOTIFY THE COMMITTEES OF ANY SIGNIFICANT INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES WHICH INCLUDE BY DEFINITION ANY ACTIVITIES REQUIRING A FINDING UNDER THE HUGHES-RYAN AMENDMENT. UNDER THE STATUTE, TO MEET EXTRAORDINARY CIRCUMSTANCES AFFECTING VITAL INTERESTS OF THE UNITED STATES, THE PRESIDENT CAN LIMIT THAT NOTIFICATION TO THE CHAIRMAN AND RANKING MINORITY MEMBERS OF THE INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEES, TO THE SPEAKER AND THE MINORITY LEADER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, AND TO THE MAJORITY LEADER AND MINORITY LEADER OF THE SENATE--REFERRED TO, IN TRADE PARLANCE, AS THE "GANG OF EIGHT."

THERE IS ANOTHER STATUTORY REQUIREMENT THAT THE INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEES BE FULLY INFORMED "IN A TIMELY FASHION" OF INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES--OTHER THAN THOSE SOLELY FOR THE PURPOSE OF COLLECTING INTELLIGENCE--FOR WHICH PRIOR NOTICE WAS NOT GIVEN, AND THE PRESIDENT MUST STATE THE REASONS FOR NOT GIVING PRIOR NOTICE IN THOSE INSTANCES. AS YOU PROBABLY KNOW, THE PRESIDENT HAS RECENTLY WRITTEN A LETTER TO THE TWO INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEES ANNOUNCING HIS INTENTION TO COOPERATE FULLY IN MATTERS OF THIS KIND AND WHEREVER POSSIBLE KEEP THE

COMMITTEES INFORMED WITHIN 48 HOURS EXCEPT IN THE MOST EXTREME CIRCUMSTANCES. I HOPE THAT THIS SENDS A GOOD SIGNAL TO THE PUBLIC, BUT MORE CAN BE DONE. WE MUST STRENGTHEN THE WAY WE DEAL WITH THE ISSUES INSIDE THE INTELLIGENCE SYSTEM. INTERNALLY, JUST AS WE DID SUCCESSFULLY IN THE FBI FOR UNDERCOVER OPERATIONS, WE ARE WATCHING CLOSELY AND ARE CURRENTLY IMPROVING THE MANAGEMENT CAPABILITY TO DEAL WITH COVERT ACTIVITY.

IT IS NOT ENOUGH JUST FOR THE PRESIDENT TO MAKE A FINDING AUTHORIZING AND DIRECTING US TO CARRY OUT SOME COVERT ACTIVITY. WE HAVE TO KNOW BEFORE THE PRESIDENT MAKES THAT FINDING THAT IT IS DOABLE, AND DOABLE IN A LAWFUL WAY. AND WE HAVE TO BE SURE THAT THE INDIVIDUALS WHO ARE OUT ON THE FIRING LINE, OUTSIDE THE PROTECTION OF OUR CONSTITUTION AND OUR LAWS, IN MANY INSTANCES, CAN DO THEIR WORK IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE FLEXIBILITY THAT THEY NEED, WITH THE CLEAREST POSSIBLE TRAINING AND UNDERSTANDING OF THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES TO THE CIA AND TO THE COUNTRY.

THE NATIONAL SECURITY PLANNING GROUP OF THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL HAS AN OBLIGATION, BEFORE IT GOES TO THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL, TO

LOOK CAREFULLY AT ALL ASPECTS OF A COVERT FINDING AND ASK ITSELF THESE KINDS OF QUESTIONS: WILL IT WORK? IS IT CONSISTENT WITH OVERT UNITED STATES POLICY? (I THINK THAT IS ONE VERY IMPORTANT LESSON WE HAVE LEARNED FROM THE IRAN-CONTRA SITUATION.) WHAT ARE THE CONSEQUENCES GOING TO BE IF THE ACTIVITY IS PUBLICLY EXPOSED? WILL IT BE ACCEPTABLE AND MAKE SENSE TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE? IS IT CONSISTENT WITH AMERICAN VALUES? THOSE ARE GOOD QUESTIONS THAT SHOULD BE ASKED EACH TIME A COVERT ACTION IS SUBMITTED TO THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL. NOT ALL COVERT ACTIVITIES WILL SUCCEED, BUT I BELIEVE THAT IF SUBJECTED TO THESE KINDS OF TESTS, AND THIS KIND OF MANAGEMENT, WE HAVE THE BEST CHANCE OF GETTING THE MOST EFFECTIVE AND PRODUCTIVE USE FROM OUR COVERT CAPABILITY.

IN OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH CONGRESS, I BELIEVE IT IS IMPORTANT FOR US TO RECOGNIZE THAT IT MUST BE ONE OF TRUTH AND NOT OF DECEPTION. THERE IS SO MUCH CONFUSION THESE DAYS ABOUT DENIABILITY AND DECEPTION COMING OVER THE TELEVISION TUBES THAT I THINK THAT IT'S IMPORTANT TO MAKE ONE LEGITIMATE DISTINCTION. IN COVERT ACTIVITY THERE IS OFTEN DECEPTION TO CONCEAL THE SOURCE OF THE ACTIVITY IN ORDER TO INFLUENCE EVENTS THROUGH MEANS THAT WE BELIEVE TO BE APPROPRIATE BUT WHICH MUST NECESSARILY BE COVERT. BUT IN

DEALING WITH THE CONGRESS THERE IS ABSOLUTELY NO EXCUSE FOR DECEPTION.

BUT THAT DOES NOT MEAN THAT THERE IS NO NEED FOR SECRECY. I AM ENCOURAGED BY THE STRONG WORDS OF SUPPORT IN THIS AREA GIVEN US RECENTLY BY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE, WHO VOICED HIS DESIRE FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF SECRECY IN REGARD TO INTELLIGENCE MATERIALS. AND JUST THIS WEEK IN ASPEN CONGRESSMEN LEE HAMILTON, WHO UNDERSTANDS THOROUGHLY THE USAGES AND NEED FOR COVERT ACTION, EVIDENCED HIS SUPPORT FOR A COVERT ACTION CAPABILITY AND FOR THE NEED TO PROTECT CONFIDENTIALITY WITHIN THE OVERSIGHT PROCESS.

THE CHALLENGES WE FACE TODAY IN INTELLIGENCE REQUIRE A HIGH DEGREE OF COOPERATION, NOT ONLY WITHIN GOVERNMENT, BUT OUTSIDE IT AS WELL. ONE OF THE KEY ELEMENTS OF OUR SOCIETY AND ONE THAT HAS ALWAYS BEEN IMPORTANT TO US, IS THE AMERICAN ACADEMIC COMMUNITY. AS YOU MAY KNOW, ACADEMICS WERE IN AT THE BEGINNING OF OUR MODERN INTELLIGENCE SYSTEM. PROFESSORS AND SCHOLARS FLOCKED TO WASHINGTON TO BECOME THE BACKBONE OF THE OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES IN WORLD WAR II AND MANY OF THEM STAYED AROUND TO CREATE THE CIA IN 1947. THEY BECAME KEY RESEARCH DIRECTORS, OPERATIONS OFFICERS, MANAGERS AND LEADERS. AND THEIR LEGACY REMAINS WITH US.

TODAY WE RELY VERY MUCH ON COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES NOT ONLY TO SUPPLY THE NEW PEOPLE WHO MAKE OUR SYSTEM WORK, BUT ALSO FOR THE EXPERTISE THEY CAN PROVIDE US IN SO MANY AREAS. MANY FACULTY MEMBERS WORK CLOSELY WITH US, AND SOME EVEN BECOME SCHOLARS-IN-RESIDENCE, SHARING THEIR KNOWLEDGE ON A DAY-TO-DAY BASIS. THERE ARE AT LEAST 43 COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES WHERE A COURSE IN INTELLIGENCE WILL BE TAUGHT THIS YEAR, AND MANY OTHERS WHERE A DISCUSSION OF INTELLIGENCE WILL TAKE PLACE IN A COURSE ON FOREIGN POLICYMAKING. AGENCY OFFICERS ARE INVITED AND DO PARTICIPATE IN PROFESSIONAL AND SCHOLARLY ASSOCIATIONS AND MAKE SUBSTANTIVE PRESENTATIONS ON CAMPUSES ALL OVER THE COUNTRY. THERE IS NOTHING SECRET IN THESE RELATIONSHIPS, NOR SHOULD THERE BE. WE BELIEVE THERE CAN AND SHOULD BE A CLOSE WORKING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE ACADEMIC COMMUNITY AND THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY IN DEVELOPING ACCURATE ASSESSMENTS. I MIGHT ADD AS A FOOTNOTE THAT I AM NOT THE FIRST PERSON FROM THE CIA TO BE HERE BY A LONG SHOT. IN THE PREVIOUS SESSION WE HAD A REPRESENTATIVE IN THE JUSTICE SEMINAR. THERE IS A REPRESENTATIVE IN THE CURRENT JUSTICE SEMINAR, AND OUR DIRECTOR OF TRAINING IS HERE TONIGHT.

WE RECOGNIZE THAT THE CAMPUS IS ALSO A LEGITIMATE PLACE FOR DISCUSSION AND DISSENT. OVER THE PAST FEW YEARS, STUDENTS AND FACULTY OPPOSED TO THE ADMINISTRATION'S POLICIES HAVE CHOSEN THE CIA--AND ITS RECRUITERS--AS THE TARGETS FOR MANY OF THEIR PROTESTS. ON ONE OCCASION, THEY EVEN CAME TO OUR AGENCY CAMPUS IN VIRGINIA. DESPITE THIS ACTIVITY, WE CONTINUE TO SEEK OUT "THE BEST AND THE BRIGHTEST" ON OUR NATION'S CAMPUSES TO JOIN US.

OURS IS A CHALLENGING AND FASCINATING PROFESSION--FOR THOSE WHO BELIEVE THAT THEIR WORK IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN FAME OR FORTUNE AND SEE IN IT A CHANCE TO PURSUE THEIR HIGHEST ASPIRATIONS FOR A SAFER AND A BETTER WORLD. AND I AM PROUD OF THEM. INDEED THE KEY TO SUCCESS IN A FREE SOCIETY IS IN THE INTEGRITY OF ITS PEOPLE. I THINK THIS IS BEST EXPRESSED BY SIR WILLIAM STEPHENSON, AN OLD FRIEND, IN THE INTRODUCTION OF A BOOK WRITTEN ABOUT HIM SOME YEARS AGO, A MAN CALLED INTREPID. SIR WILLIAM IS NOW IN HIS NINETIES. BUT HE IS STILL SENDING OUT HIS ADVICE AND ENCOURAGEMENT. HE WROTE THIS: "PERHAPS A DAY WILL DAWN WHEN TYRANTS CAN NO LONGER THREATEN THE LIBERTY OF ANY PEOPLE. WHEN THE FUNCTION OF ALL NATIONS, HOWEVER VARIED THEIR IDEOLOGIES, WILL BE TO ENHANCE LIFE NOT TO

CONTROL IT. IF SUCH A CONDITION IS POSSIBLE, IT IS IN A FUTURE TOO FAR DISTANT TO FORESEE. UNTIL THAT SAFER, BETTER DAY, THE DEMOCRACIES WILL AVOID DISASTER AND POSSIBLE TOTAL DESTRUCTION, ONLY BY MAINTAINING THEIR DEFENSES. AMONG THE INCREASINGLY INTRICATE ARSENALS ACROSS THE WORLD, INTELLIGENCE IS AN ESSENTIAL WEAPON. PERHAPS THE MOST IMPORTANT. BUT IT IS, BEING SECRET, THE MOST DANGEROUS. SAFEGUARDS TO PREVENT ITS ABUSE MUST BE DEvised, REVISED, AND RIGIDLY APPLIED. BUT AS IN ALL ENTERPRISE THE CHARACTER AND WISDOM OF THOSE TO WHOM IT IS ENTRUSTED WILL BE DECISIVE. IN THE INTEGRITY OF THAT GUARDIANSHIP LIES THE HOPE OF FREE PEOPLE TO ENDURE AND PREVAIL."

I BELIEVE THAT IN THE SHARED RESPONSIBILITY OF INTELLIGENCE COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS AS WELL AS IN THE USE OF SPECIAL ACTIVITIES IN SUPPORT OF FOREIGN POLICY IMPLEMENTATION, INTEGRITY IS VITALLY IMPORTANT BOTH ON THE EXECUTIVE AND ON THE CONGRESSIONAL SIDE. WE IN THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY MUST WORK CLOSELY WITH THOSE WHO MUST MAKE THE POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS THAT DEFINE OUR PRESENT AND SHAPE OUR FUTURE, PROVIDING OUR ASSESSMENTS OBJECTIVELY, PROFESSIONALLY, HELPING TO PUT TRUTH INTO ACTION. WE MUST

WORK WITH THE CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES WHICH ACT IN SECRET MATTERS AS
SURROGATES FOR THE CONGRESS AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, AND WE MUST BE
WORTHY OF THEIR TRUST. WE MUST DILIGENTLY CARRY OUT OUR ASSIGNMENTS
AROUND THE WORLD, HOWEVER DIFFICULT, WITH FIDELITY TO THE CONSTITUTION
AND THE LAWS OF OUR BELOVED COUNTRY. A NATION DEDICATED TO THE RULE OF
LAW CAN PROTECT ITSELF AND PRESERVE ITS HERITAGE IN NO OTHER WAY.