REQUIREMENTS, PRIORITIES, AND MANDATES:

A MODEL TO EXAMINE THE US REQUIREMENTS AND PRIORITIES PROCESS AND ITS IMPACT ON THE OUTCOME OF NATIONAL SECURITY AND FOREIGN POLICY EVENTS

A thesis submitted for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

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January 2017

ABSTRACT

Historically in the United States, after-action investigations have consistently accused the intelligence community of early warning in foreign policy and national security events. However, closer inspection shows that the intelligence community does provide timely and actionable estimates—when it is directed to do so.

In some instances, the root cause of failure does not lie within the intelligence community. Rather, it is due to a malfunction in the Requirements and Priorities (R&P) process, a mechanism that integrates intelligence and policy communities. The R&P provides the "mandate" for the intelligence community— it delivers a ranking of intelligence priorities, and informs resource distribution, interagency cooperation, and operational authorisations for federal intelligence agencies. The R&P process has been highlighted consistently as a systemic weakness, has undergone numerous changes, and remains a source of tribulation. Yet it is rarely addressed, and absent from after-action investigations.

The impact of the R&P becomes most visible when urgent, unexpected issues arise in low priority areas. These events force a "mandate shift" – a rapid escalation of the issue to a higher priority, commanding an immediate realignment of mandate-level functions. Faults in any component of the mechanism can delay or restrict critical actions, and often as manifest as errors of intelligence collection or analysis. These "symptoms" are often misdiagnosed as the root cause, leading to accusations of intelligence failure.

This research sets forth a model to observe the impact of the R&P on the outcome of foreign policy and national security events, while simultaneously investigating core functions of the intelligence and policy communities. This R&P-centric model is applied to three cases of social movement escalation: el Bogotázo (1948), the Iranian Revolution (1979), and the Rwandan Genocide (1994). The cases trace the R&P structure at the time, to examine how faults in the R&P can impact the intelligence community's ability to provide early warning, and influence the overall outcome.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To Baba, Mama, Basboosa, Habibi:

“You are not a drop in the ocean. You are the entire ocean, in a drop.” – Rumi

To Regina: LYLAJT

To the Top Hats and the Wolf Pack:

ROT6- Zngtq eua lux qkkvotm sk mxuatjkj, lux gyqotm znk xomnz wakyzouty, lux sgqotm sk znotq, gtj lux sgqotm sk rgamn.

Then said a teacher, "Speak to us of Teaching."

And he said: No man can reveal to you aught but that which already lies half asleep in the dawning of our knowledge.

The teacher who walks in the shadow of the temple, among his followers, gives not of his wisdom but rather of his faith and his lovingness.

If he is indeed wise he does not bid you enter the house of wisdom, but rather leads you to the threshold of your own mind.

-Khalil Gibran, The Prophet

Professor Davies, Dr. Hansen: Thank you for your guidance, insight, and endless support.

Finally, thank you to the millions of Egyptians who will never know how much they’ve inspired me to do more.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

In December 2010, fervent anti-government uprisings began to sweep across Tunisia. Within 28 days, Tunisian President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali resigned under intense public pressure. Until 14 January 2011, the events received little attention in America. However, 1300 miles away, the Egyptians were watching. The 2011 uprising in Egypt, organised and publicised in great detail on social media, can be summed up in five tweets:

> *14 January, 2011:* "Dear people watching Arabs got talent, there's a better show going on called Tunisia's Got Freedom. Watch that."[1]
>
> *15 January, 2011:* "A Facebook event for a revolution in Egypt […]. Don't forget to RSVP."[2]
>
> *25 January, 2011:* "Police officer speaking on cellphone *[sic]*: eiwa ya basha, the gas is on the way. Teargas is coming."[3]
>
> *2 February, 2011:* "Clashes going on in Tahrir Square NOW. Mubarak has mobilized thugs to attack protesters."[4]
>
> *11 February, 2011:* "The new record stands at 18 days for hounding out an entrenched dictatorship. Who is *[sic]* the Middle East is next?"[5]

Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak left office 18 days after the uprising began; less than a month after the downfall of the Tunisian president. Across the Middle East, new uprisings were emerging. The events in Tunisia and Egypt sparked a fire that spread throughout the region; one that in many places, still has not been extinguished.

In the US, as the public anticipated responses from their government, politicians took to public platforms to point out that the intelligence community did not warn them that their political ally in Egypt was at risk, or that the Middle East would erupt in swift and almost collective uprising. Senator Dianne Feinstein (D-CA) argued that there should have been more

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[1] Elshamy, Mosa'ab (mosaaberizing). "Dear people watching Arabs got talent, there's a better show going on called Tunisia's Got Freedom. Watch that." 14 January, 2011. 21:02:46. Tweet.

[2] (ManarMoshen). ""A Facebook event for a revolution in Egypt: http://on.fb.me/hQioSI. Don't forget to RSVP. ("Maybe" if you're still unsure of your schedule)." 15 January, 2011. 19:21:27. Tweet.

[3] Salem, Mahmoud (Sandmonkey). "Police officer speaking on cellphone (sic): eiwa ya basha, the gas is on the way. Teargas is coming. #jan25" 25 January, 2011. 15:50:49. Tweet.

[4] Hossam (3arabawy). "Clashes going on in Tahrir Square NOW. Mubarak has mobilized thugs to attack protesters. #Jan25." 2 February, 2011. 14:25:14. Tweet.

[5] Khalil, Ashraf (Ashrafkhalil). "The new record stands at 18 days for hounding out an entrenched dictatorship. Who is (sic) the Middle East is next? #egypt #jan25." 11 February, 2011. 18:29:51. Tweet.

warning from the intelligence community, asking, "Was someone looking at what was going on the Internet?"[6] In reality, however, no one could have predicted the vast, rapid nature, or the various outcomes of the "Arab Spring". Representative Mike Rogers (R-MI), Chairman of the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, pointed out the unfeasibility of this expectation: "We've got to be realistic about [the intelligence community's] limits, especially regarding the complex and interactive behaviour of millions of people."[7]

Debates about intelligence warning and policymaker response are a common feature in the United States. Where issues of national security or national interest are concerned, onlookers see two distinct institutions: The United States intelligence community (USIC, or IC), and the policy community. When emerging events threaten US foreign policy or national security, two questions immediately arise: first, did these institutions keep the US and its interests safe? Second: if not, who got it wrong and why?

If the answer to the first question is "yes", then the outcome is considered a success. The intelligence and policy communities are perceived to have effectively managed or thwarted the event, and little, if any, public discussion emerges. However, if the answer "no", then the outcome is generally regarded as a failure. In these instances, accusations arise and investigations are commissioned to determine who got it wrong, and why. Failures are characterised as the responsibility of intelligence or policy; but no one discusses the potential for systemic failure.

Since the attacks on Pearl Harbor in 1941, and more consistently since the late 1970s, there has been a tendency to conduct investigations of intelligence and policy community actions in isolation.[8] The inclination to focus predominantly on one community, or to perform separate investigations of intelligence and policy actions, presupposes a division of responsibility between the two communities. This leads to a compartmentalisation of blame,

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[6] Dozier, Kimberly. "Intelligence Community under Fire for Egypt Surprise." *Associated Press*. NBC, 4 Feb. 2011. http://www.nbcnews.com/id/41423648/ns/politics-more_politics/t/intelligence-community-under-fire-egypt-surprise/#.WHSyU_mLTIV

[7] Ibid.

[8] Occasionally, both the intelligence and policy communities are accountable in cases of success or failure, but the two communities are examined in isolation. Notably, failure, by nature of its consequences, tends to be scrutinised more intensively and publicly than success.

referred to here as a *binary construct*, where it is assumed that *either* intelligence *or* policy is likely to be at greater fault.

The binary construct is not a model. Rather, it is a folkway[9]; a traditional, entrenched perception. This construct stems from a historically ingrained notion that a 'firewall' divides the intelligence and policy communities, separating the actions taken within each institution. Although this firewall perception is not limited to the United States, it has acutely permeated the American mindset. The idea of a firewall has been reinforced through public discourse; when politicians publicly voice dissatisfaction with the quality of intelligence community products, they are subtly distancing themselves from the actions of the IC.

It is argued here that the firewall is an illusion. The reinforcement of the firewall perception has impacted the scope of after-action examinations, particularly in cases of failure. As government-commissioned inquiries concentrate unevenly on the intelligence community, they tend to limit investigation at the policy level. Further, these examinations often omit scrutiny of outcomes at a joint or *systemic* level. This is problematic; as the binary construct is ensconced in the American psyche, a repeated cycle of narrow investigations force-fit failure into one category or the other, and no one acknowledges the possibility that failure can occur within, or as the result of the formalised, systemic mechanism that inextricably binds the two communities.

The mechanism that integrates the communities is called the *requirements and priorities process* (R&P, or 'requirements process'). Through this process, intelligence and policy leadership determine US national security and foreign policy priorities, and establish the means to address them. Although the R&P process is integral to intelligence and policy jointery, it is seldom discussed, little understood, and neglected in investigations of national security outcomes. Omission of the R&P mechanism in investigations can lead to a misdiagnosis of the causes for failure. For instance, a malfunction within the R&P process can result in delays to, or denial of, the means necessary to conduct intelligence activities. These in turn can result in constraints to collection or analysis, generating a 'false positive' and giving the appearance of intelligence failure.

[9] A common behaviour of a particular group.

In acknowledging the presence of the R&P mechanism, one must also acknowledge that a binary construct (that compartmentalises responsibility) is insufficient to identify the foundations of success or failure. This research therefore argues that a systemic approach to investigation can provide a more accurate diagnosis of the root causes of failure. To this end, this research introduces a systemic model that not only illuminates, but centralises, the requirements and priorities process, to identify the impact of its components on the outcome of national security and foreign policy events. The proposed model addresses joint community functions of the R&P while concurrently examining the core functions of the intelligence and policy communities. This method allows simultaneous, systemic assessment of an event. The R&P-centric model addresses events at a macroscopic and microscopic level, and allows observation of a chain of causality. As a result, the model can mitigate misdiagnosis of intelligence failure, and allow for more effective recommendations for reform. To test its efficacy, the 'R&P-centric' model is applied against cases of unexpected social movement escalations that have historically been considered intelligence failures.

The proposed model introduces a significant change from the current approaches to investigation of foreign policy outcomes. In fact, throughout the course of this research, a standardised model for after-action investigations could not be identified. In other words, there is no common 'how-to guide' for examining the outcomes of national security or foreign policy events. This has been to the advantage of those who benefit from the binary construct. To underscore the value of an R&P-centric model, it is first necessary to disabuse advocates or beneficiaries of the premise that a firewall exists.

Whither the Firewall

At the outset, intelligence agencies are political things. The formation and development of national security agencies is in part dependent on the interests of bureaucrats, presidents, and legislators.[10] Even the Central Intelligence Agency, created to provide independent analysis, emerged from, and evolved to meet, the growing and changing needs of the consumer.

[10] Zegart, Amy B. *Flawed by Design: The Evolution of the CIA, JCS, and NSC*. (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999), p. 7.

Beyond the agencies, the leadership of central intelligence is essentially a political post. Since 1947, the head of the intelligence community (formerly the Director of Central intelligence, or DCI; currently, the Director of National intelligence, or DNI), gained position through nomination by the President and approval from the Senate.[11] Once appointed, the intelligence lead reports to the National Security Council, a body comprised primarily of Cabinet or Cabinet-rank members, the former who have also been presidentially appointed and ratified by the Senate.[12] This structure results in a significant amount of reach between the two communities. Leadership of the intelligence community is sometime selected from a population within the policy community, and senior members of the intelligence community have gone on to significant roles in the policy realm.[13]

At the top levels, poor relationships between the intelligence lead and his political counterparts can hamper the efficacy of the intelligence structure. This can result in a failure to secure the agreements necessary for coordination and conduct of intelligence functions. The intelligence director, in establishing support for his efforts, must walk a fine line of garnering support from the president, while cautiously avoiding angering Cabinet leaders who seek to protect their position and the status of their department-led intelligence agencies.

The Firewall Manipulation

An intelligence community that is designed for use by policy officials, and whose leader is appointed by the president, indicates a symbiotic relationship between the two institutions. Yet in spite of these factors, the notion of the firewall has remained in place. The firewall is a malleable tool; one which can be shifted, reinforced or erased altogether depending on the need of the user. For example, a senator or congressperson may feel absolved from failure to a certain extent because they were elected by their constituents, rather than appointed by

[11] United States Government. *National Security Act of 1947.* Sec. 102. Prior to 1976, ratification was conducted by the Senate Armed Services Committee (SASC), which arose through the merging of the Military Affairs and Naval Affairs committees through the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946. Today, the presidential nominee for Director of National intelligence (DNI) must be approved by the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence (SSCI). See: United States Government. *Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946.* http://legisworks.org/sal/60/stats/STATUTE-60-Pg812.pdf; and Snider, L. Britt. *The Agency and the Hill: CIA's Relationship with Congress, 1946-2004*. (Washington, DC: Center for the Study of Intelligence, Central Intelligence Agency, 2008), p. 331-52.

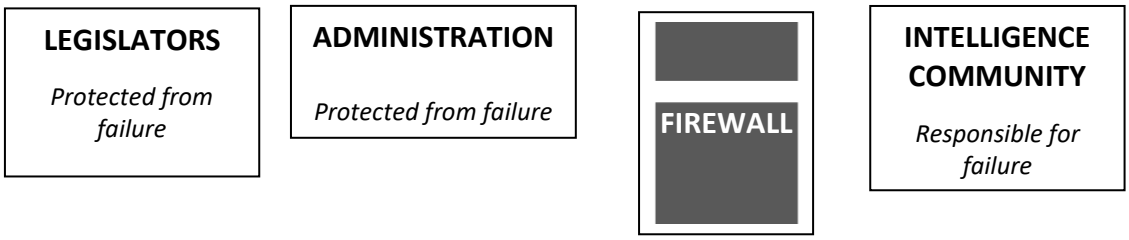
[12] For the most recent list of participants on the National Security Council, see: Obama, Barack. Presidential Policy Directive 1 (2009), http://fas.org/irp/offdocs/ppd/ppd-1.pdf?ref=Presidential

[13] For example, James Schlesinger was Deputy Director of the Office of Management and Budget before shortly taking the role of Director of Central Intelligence. He left the community to become Secretary of Defense. George H. W. Bush, former Director of Central Intelligence, ultimately became the President of the United States.

the president. Thus, as a member of the government, but apart from the administration, they can move the firewall to shield themselves, while attacking the president, his cabinet, and the intelligence community. In many cases, the party that does not control the White House tends to use this tactic in order to show weakness in their political opponents. A visualisation of this use of the firewall can be seen below:

Figure 1: Firewall as applied by political opposition

Figure 2: Firewall as applied by administration in power



In contrast, the president, or those appointed by him, tend move the firewall between themselves and the intelligence community, absolving all policy from guilt and deflecting responsibility to the latter. For example, in 2005, President George W. Bush took responsibility for failures in the Iraq War, but immediately deflected fault, stating that much of the intelligence that led to the decision to enter Iraq turned out to be wrong.[14] Both elected and appointed officials benefit from a public platform from which to vocalise their argument. Thus, in the immediate aftermath of failure, two stories are presented, and the public assesses where they perceive the firewall should be placed. The responsibility for failure then becomes a matter of perspective, which is sometimes drawn along party lines.

The administration in power has a particular advantage if their party also holds the majority in Congress. Presidential or Congressional committees created to investigate failure may

[14] Bush, George W. "President's Address to the Nation- In Focus: Renewal in Iraq." *National Archives and Records Administration.* 18 Dec. 2005. Web. 18 Jan. 2017. https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2005/12/20051218-2.html.

concentrate on activities in the intelligence community, diverting attention from policy activities, and avoiding possible indictment of party leadership. For example, between 2001 and 2006, the Republican Party had "unified" control of the government; they controlled the Executive Branch, and held the majority in both the Senate and the House of Representatives. Charles Lewis found that in the aftermath of the Iraq War, "congressional oversight focused almost entirely on the quality of the US government's pre-war intelligence" rather than the decision made by high-ranking US officials.[15] This deflection toward the intelligence community and away from policymaker actions is an application of the firewall.

Regardless of where the firewall is placed, intelligence tends to take the brunt of blame for failure, particularly in the aftermath of surprise. The community has been accused of failing to anticipate events such as the death of North Korean leader Kim Jung Il in 2011,[16] the fall of the Soviet Union,[17] or the attacks on September 11, 2001.[18] Intelligence tends to take the brunt of accusation for three reasons: first, the community carries an innate reluctance to divulge information which could compromise methods or classified information. Second, once accused, there is little recourse for the intelligence community in the face of the President or Congress. Finally, the criteria by which success and failure are defined are, at times, as malleable as the firewall itself.

Amorphous definitions of success and failure

The terms "success" and (more often) "failure" are commonly heard in the aftermath of surprise. Thomas Schelling characterises surprise as a bureaucratic thing that can stem from neglect of responsibility, or responsibility that is poorly defined or ambiguously delegated.[19] From an operational standpoint, surprise can stem from intelligence gaps, or over-classifying

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[15] Lewis, Charles. "The Lies We Believed (And Still Believe) About Iraq." *BillMoyers.com*, 27 June 2014. http://billmoyers.com/2014/06/27/the-lies-we-believed-and-still-believe-about-iraq/

[16] Landler, Mark, and Choe Sang-hun. "In Kim's Undetected Death, Sign of Nation's Opacity." *The New York Times*, 19 Dec. 2011. http://www.nytimes.com/2011/12/20/world/asia/in-detecting-kim-jong-il-death-a-gobal-intelligence-failure.html?pagewanted=all.

[17] Lowenthal, Mark M. *Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy.* 6th ed. (Los Angeles: CQ, 2015), p. 29-30.

[18] United States Government. *9/11 Commission Report: The Official Report of the 9/11 Commission and Related Publications*. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 2004

[19] Schelling, Thomas. Foreword. *Pearl Harbor: Warning and Decision*. By Roberta Wohlstetter. (New York: ACLS History E-Book Project, 2005).

information so that those who need it cannot access it. Organisationally, internal disagreements can cause delays or distract from the task, or assignments may remain incomplete if everyone assumes someone else is doing it. From the personnel perspective, analysts may fear that they will be accused of crying wolf once too often, or be reprimanded by higher authorities. Finally, from a political perspective, surprise may stem from waiting for certainty, which often comes too late.[20]

It is often in the aftermath of surprise that the meanings of success and failure become deliberately pliable; a tool to reinforce the firewall. The binary construct brings with it the tendency to categorise events as either intelligence success or failure, or policy success or failure. However, these definitions are subjective, and there is a propensity to skew failure toward intelligence by applying narrow characteristics. As Marrin points out, there are many meanings to intelligence failure, and each carries an assumption of the purpose of intelligence analysis.[21]

Generally, intelligence is considered successful if it provides timely, relevant, reliable, and actionable estimates to decision makers. If it does not meet these conditions, it has failed. Robert Jervis further argues that intelligence fails if estimates fall short of what is expected of good intelligence.[22] These conditions appear fairly reasonable, yet each of these values is subjective. Based on Jervis' argument, it is left to the consumer to determine whether intelligence reporting meets all of his or her particular conditions. As a result, failure is in the eye of the beholder. If intelligence is designed to inform the consumer, then the consumer has the power to determine whether the information provided was sufficient. Thus, one decision maker may consider a warning intelligence report unreliable if it does not meet an arbitrary degree of certainty. Another may feel an estimative intelligence report has too much background information, and is therefore irrelevant.

To a significant extent, policymakers may consider intelligence unsuccessful for two key reasons. The first is that often, decision makers have poor understanding of the functions and

[20] ibid

[21] Marrin, Stephen. "Evaluating the Quality of Intelligence Analysis: By What (Mis) Measure?" *Intelligence and National Security* 27.6 (2012): 896.

[22] Jervis, Robert. *Why Intelligence Fails: Lessons from the Iranian Revolution and the Iraq War*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2010), p. 2-3.

limitations of the intelligence community. Without the understanding of IC capabilities, they may set unreasonable expectations for intelligence community output. Second, as part of these unrealistic expectations, the intelligence community is sometimes expected to divine the needs of the policymaker and provide intelligence that the user needs, in the manner they prefer, and at the time they desire. Loch Johnson notes, this defies human capabilities, protective instincts, and technological feasibility.[23]

The definitions of intelligence success have also been met with increasingly narrow terms. In the hunt to define success, a decision maker may feel that intelligence is successful if it results in blocking a threat or exploiting an opportunity.[24] Erick Dahl, one of the few writers on the topic, argues that intelligence success depends on whether the report makes decision makers receptive to early warning.[25] Intelligence success is perhaps hard to articulate because it sometimes hard to ascertain. To the outside observer, the manifestation of success is a continuance of the status-quo; a thwarted event rarely gains attention beyond those involved in the operation.[26] Thus, the public is less likely to hear about success for decades, if at all (with exceptions where the public announcement of success strengthens an administration's position).[27] In contrast, failures tend to result in a change to the status-quo, generally causing a detrimental impact on national security or foreign policy. Failures with significant and visible impact, such as the loss of lives, become unavoidably public and can dominate the news cycle for months.

On the policy side, the definitions are more nebulous. In fact, there are few clear definitions of policy success or failure. In some cases, policy failure is contextualised as a contributor to intelligence failure. For instance, Berkowitz and Goodman suggest that if a decision maker provides inadequate guidance regarding their need for information, it can contribute to

[23] Ibid.

[24] Betts, Richard K. *Enemies of Intelligence: Knowledge and Power in American National Security*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), p. 187.

[25] Dahl, Erik J. *Intelligence and Surprise Attack: Failure and Success from Pearl Harbor to 9/11 and Beyond*. (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2013), p. 20.

[26] Betts, Richard K. "Analysis, War and Decision: Why Intelligence Failures are Inevitable". *World Politics,* vol 31, No. 1 (October 1978), p. 67.

[27] For example, the finding and killing of prominent members of a terrorist organisation.

intelligence failure.[28] In a national security context, policy success occurs when decision makers utilise intelligence and take actions that maintain the well-being of the nation and its interests. In contrast, failure can occur when warning is received, and policymakers take wrong, incomplete, or ineffective action. Policy failure can stem from many areas: ignorance of an emerging issue; bias bred from familiarity with the actors or the region; a desire to progress a predetermined political agenda; or a reluctance to acknowledge warning.

Although the intelligence community exists to inform policy, intelligence reports are only one component in a reservoir of resources that decision makers use to gain insight. Officials are entitled to draw conclusions that differ from intelligence assessments. However, as Jack Davis remarks, in the event of failure the official must accept the "burdens of self-deception, policy failure, and political censure when such outcomes prove to be the case."[29] However, this is rarely the case. Since the creation of formal intelligence oversight committees, investigations have concentrated heavily on intelligence failures and abuses (and it must be acknowledged that intelligence abuses do occur). Consequently, calls for reform are limited to intelligence agencies, ignoring the reach between the two communities.

Contextualising the R&P among intelligence texts

Perhaps partly as a result of consistent charges accusations of intelligence failure, books and articles on the matter are ubiquitous. These tend to fall into one of three categories. The first focuses on failures as they relate to specific historic events. These include Robert Jervis' examinations of the Iranian Revolution and the Iraq War[30]; James Wirtz's volume on The Tet Offensive[31]; and Glenmore S. Trenear-Harvey's encyclopaedic approach to historical intelligence failures.[32]

[28] Berkowitz, Bruce D., and Allan E. Goodman. *Strategic Intelligence for American National Security. (*Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989), p. 195.

[29] Davis, Jack. "Analytic Professionalism and the Policymaking Process: Q&A on a Challenging Relationship." *The Sherman Kent Center for Intelligence Analysis Occasional Papers* 4th ser. 2 (2003): 7. Central Intelligence Agency, Oct. 2003. https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/kent-csi/kent-vol2no4/pdf/v02n4p.pdf.

[30] Jervis. *Why Intelligence Fails: Lessons from the Iranian Revolution and the Iraq War*.

[31] Wirtz, James J. *The Tet Offensive: Intelligence Failure in War* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991).

[32] Trenear-Harvey, Glenmore S. *Historical Dictionary of Intelligence Failures* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014).

The second category approaches failure as a broader concept, seeking to identify and/or limit the causes of failure. For example, Richard Betts addresses various internal and external enemies of intelligence, and the politicisation of intelligence.[33] Richards Heuer examines schemas in the analyst's mind that can create cognitive biases, and sets forth tools for limiting these traps[34]; and Julian Richards examines of the skills and techniques required to conduct intelligence analysis.[35] Despite their best efforts, authors who offer methods to mitigate failure face an uphill battle. While these works address failures emanating from human error or cognitive bias, after-action investigations have defined intelligence failure in increasingly specific terms. For example, the 9/11 Commission reported that "the most important failure was one of imagination" on the part of the USIC.[36] Imagination is not a skill set that can be taught, nor can its presence or absence be proven. Further, investigations tend to characterise the whole of a failure according to one or two attributes. Again, in the case of 9/11, failure of imagination is construed as a root cause, rather than a derivative failure. Thus, intelligence success and failure is not based on one, or even a few specific definitions. Rather, it is a spectrum, with numerous conditions to be considered and interpreted.

Finally, the third category of writings on intelligence observes failure and reform from an organisational standpoint: Zegart argues that intelligence organisations have built-in flaws that hamper successful intelligence operations.[37] Terry Moe reasons that departments in the US government are subject to failure because of domestic influences and political perspectives.[38] It is in this category that the perception of the firewall, and the concept of the binary construct, are called most strongly into question.

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[33] Betts. *Enemies of Intelligence*.

[34] Heuer, Richards J., Jr, *Psychology of Intelligence Analysis* (Center for the Study of Intelligence, Central Intelligence Agency, 1999).

[35] Richards, Julian. *The Art and Science of Intelligence Analysis*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010)

[36] United States Government. *9/11 Commission Report: The Official Report of the 9/11 Commission and Related Publications*. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 2004) Executive Summary.

[37] Zegart, Amy B. *Flawed by Design: The Evolution of the CIA, JCS, and NSC*.

[38] Moe observes these faults in the Consumer Products Safety Commission, the Occupational Safety and Health Administration, and the Environmental Protection Agency. Gentry extrapolates the argument to incorporate the intelligence community. See: Terry M. Moe, "The Politics of Bureaucratic Structure", as found in Gentry, John A. "Intelligence Failure Reframed." *Political Science Quarterly* vol. 123, no. 2 (2008): 254.

John Gentry finds that some failures which on the surface appear to be intelligence or implementing-agency failings are actually the result of structural problems, where the root cause is a policy decision, or a bureaucratic defect.[39] He adds that the structure of the intelligence community hierarchy "is a widely recognized organizational recipe for bureaucratic infighting."[40] For instance, the CIA obeys the President, but reports to Congressional Oversight committees, which include supporters and detractors of the current administration. In this structure, the intelligence community can be leveraged for political purposes, suffering the crossfire of opposing parties. Thus, decades of persistent criticism and reform have created a cycle where agencies operate with an expectation of accusation. This has negatively impacted the intelligence community, causing agencies to become more risk-averse. Excessive precaution can detract from the timeliness and persuasiveness of estimates, resulting in less effective intelligence warnings.[41] As this cycle continues, a surprise or failure can lead to calls for procedural or structural reform, which are often less effective than anticipated.

In his article "Analysis, War and Decision: Why Intelligence Failures are Inevitable," Richard Betts takes a realistic approach to the efficacy of reforms in the intelligence community. He concludes that organisational or structural reforms to intelligence analysis can marginally mitigate failure, but will never eliminate it.[42] Sweeping reforms to the analytical system are more likely to result in temporary or emblematic changes, especially if those reforms strain the organisation's resources, or do not fulfil operational needs. Part of the difficulty with establishing reforms is that "it is usually impossible to disentangle intelligence failures from policy failures."[43] While the personnel within the two communities can be segregated, the functions, particularly of analysis and decision cannot; they are interactive processes.[44]

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[39] Gentry, John A. "Intelligence Failure Reframed." *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 123, no. 2, 2008, pp. 247–270.

[40] ibid

[41] Gentry, John A. "Intelligence Failure Reframed." *Political Science Quarterly* vol. 123, no. 2 (2008): 254.

[42] Betts, Richard K. "Analysis, War and Decision: Why Intelligence Failures are Inevitable". *World Politics,* vol 31, No. 1 (October 1978), p. 61.

[43] Ibid.

[44] Betts, Richard K. "Analysis, War and Decision: Why Intelligence Failures are Inevitable". *World Politics,* vol 31, No. 1 (October 1978), p. 66-67.

Betts argues that organizational solutions to intelligence failure hindered by three key issues: first, reforms addressing one analytic issue may cause problems elsewhere. Second, changes to the analytic processes will not overcome the intrinsic ambiguity within analysis. Finally, reform to a procedure or mechanism cannot offset the predispositions and time constraints of political consumers.[45] Because these are built-in features associated with any bureaucratic system, there can be no panacea to prevent intelligence failures. The goal then, is to incrementally improve the apparatus through modest refinements.[46]

The characterisations of success and failure suggests an interdependence between the institutions that negates the presence of a firewall. In seeking to limit the risk of failure, both communities must assess the costs and benefits of the available options. The intelligence community cannot address every hypothetical threat or vulnerability; resources are finite. Equally distributing resources across vulnerabilities does not guarantee sufficient coverage; some areas require more (or more diverse) resources. Finally, reinforcing resources in one area means potentially leaving a gap in another. The problem then, as Betts points out, becomes a matter of selecting priorities and attempting to hedge against uncertainty.[47] Determining the most effective priorities to limit uncertainty and achieve mutual objectives requires formal cooperation and agreement, and it is here where the requirements and priorities process becomes paramount. Yet a flaw in this process can cause a misalignment between policymaker needs and intelligence community capabilities.

Bringing Requirements and Priorities out of the Shadows

In Zegart's book, *Flawed by Design*, she writes, "Though the precise systematic relationship between organizational structure and policy outcomes is admittedly murky, we know it exists." [48] There are numerous facets of organisational structure that have been hidden in

[45] Ibid, p. 85
[46] Ibid, p. 84
[47] Ibid, p. 87

[48] Zegart examines the Central Intelligence Agency, the National Security Council, and the Joint Chiefs of Staff to identify the factors that impacted their evolution, positing that that these agencies were hampered from their start due to political compromise, rivalry, sabotage, and other conditions that bring about uncertainty. Of the three, only the National Security Council was able to evolve in a manner that beneficially impacted the organisation. See: Zegart, Amy B. *Flawed by Design: The Evolution of the CIA, JCS, and NSC*.

shadow, but have a verifiable impact on national security. One among them is the requirements and priorities process.

Within the universe of texts written about the US national security structure, there are no books dedicated wholly to the requirements and priorities process. General discussions of the mechanism appear in works covering broader institutional structures or issues, such as Mark Lowenthal's *Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy*[49]*;* Philip Davies' volumes, *Intelligence and Government in Britain and the United States*[50]*;* Michael Herman's *Intelligence Power in Peace and War*[51]*;* or William Leary's edited book*, The Central Intelligence Agency: History and Documents.*[52] Respectively, Lowenthal, Davies, and Herman provide an overview of the mechanism, and the changes that occurred to the mechanism over time. Herman presents a discussion of the R&P mechanism with references to the US and the United Kingdom. Leary aggregates primary source historical documents, some of which reveal some of the functions of the process over its various iterations.

In part, the requirements process is difficult to discuss because its methods and output remain classified for decades. While Americans have a general idea of the nation's highest priorities (i.e., enemy states and organisations), the vectors of intelligence targeting for remain a closely guarded secret. In many cases, the same targets and national security objectives remain on the list for years. In the absence of security clearances to access this information, one must rely on declassified or publicised executive orders, directives, and supplementary materials to assemble a picture of how the mechanism worked at any given point in time. By filtering these through these documents and assembling the pieces, it is possible to deduce which items have been given priority, and determine where that priority rests in the context of other concerns. At this point, the requirements and priorities process begins to come out of the shadows, and its impacts become observable.

[49] Lowenthal, Mark M. *Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy* (Los Angeles: CQ, 2015).

[50] Davies, Philip H. J. *Intelligence and Government in Britain and the United States: A Comparative Perspective. Vols. 1-2.* (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2012)

[51] Herman, Michael. *Intelligence Power in Peace and War*. (Cambridge: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1996)

[52] Leary, William M., editor. *The Central Intelligence Agency, History and Documents*. (University, Alabama, University of Alabama Press, 1984)

A more extensive overview of the R&P is provided in Chapter Two, however, it is easiest to first consider the process in terms of a business. In public and private sector organisations around the world, executives meet regularly to define their objectives, establish who will conduct the associated tasks, and distribute the resources and authorisations necessary to accomplish these goals.

In the US, the requirements process works in a similar manner, but on a grander scale. The government determines the most important objectives, or *priorities*, and then establishes the means to address them. The resources, authorisations, and departmental collaboration form a "triad of effective controls"[53] to guide intelligence community actions. When the four components are in place, they comprise a *mandate* for the intelligence community.

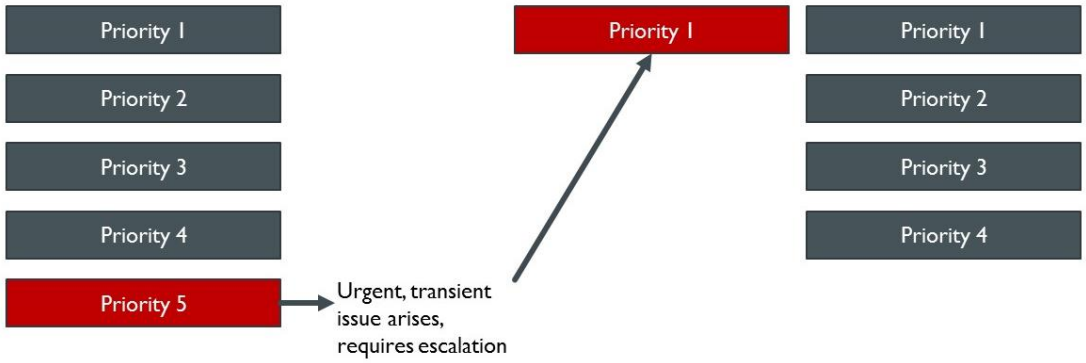
Requirements and Priorities: Mandate-level functions

Intelligence requirements—	R&P informs the hierarchy of issues that the intelligence community will address.
Budgets and resources—	R&P aids in development of federal intelligence budgets, and the dispersal of resources including staffing, collection channels, and technology.
Interagency cooperation—	R&P helps to determine which intelligence efforts will require interagency collaboration, and to what extent.
Operational clearance—	R&P provides justification for the authorisation of actions necessary to obtain information and produce intelligence.

Generally, the priorities that are identified tend to remain in place for a protracted timeframe. Occasionally, however, an unexpected event will arise in an area that is not of high priority to the US. In these instances, an urgent issue may become a temporary, or *ad-hoc* priority. Ad-hoc priorities require the same types of allocations that are afforded to other priorities, but for a shorter length of time. Ad-hoc priorities do not supersede other priorities, but stand alongside them. It can be visualised like this:

[53] Glees, Anthony, Philip H. J. Davies, and John N. L. Morrison. *The Open Side of Secrecy: Britain's Intelligence and Security Committee*. (London: Social Affairs Unit, 2006), p 67.

Figure 1: Visualisation of ad-hoc escalation



For the purposes of this research, the rapid escalation of an ad-hoc priority, and the subsequent adjustments to resources, authorisations, and collaboration, are called a *mandate shift.* Urgent events that require a mandate shift do not immediately get added to the formalised list of intelligence priorities.[54] If the event is expected to be temporary, such as a non-combatant evacuation operation (NEO), the joint communities address the incident and then de-escalate the priority. If the situation poses a long-term threat or requires long-standing observation or action, such as demonstrations in Syria evolving into civil war, the priority could be formally escalated in subsequent reviews of the R&P. However, even when formalised, this does not always mean it remain a top priority.

Application of an R&P-centric model

It is during these rapid escalations of ad-hoc priorities that the R&P mechanism becomes most visible. By examining historical cases where a mandate shift occurred, it is possible to:

1. Observe the functions of the requirement and priorities process;
2. Identify how components of the mechanism operate between the intelligence and policy communities; and
3. Isolate areas of strength or weakness in the execution of the R&P, particularly during a mandate shift, and identify any correlation of these conditions to outcomes.

[54] Lowenthal. *Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy*. 62

To this end, an R&P-centric model provides a standardised model that advances the means of investigation and allows an observer to pinpoint nested areas of strength and weakness. This approach allows the observer to reach past the compartmentalised binary construct, and evaluate success and failure as the result of a series of functions in a system-wide, inter-community mechanism. It must be noted that viewing outcomes in this light does not completely do away with binary categories; it cannot. All failures are not joint failures, and sometimes the responsibility for failure does rest squarely in one community. Therefore, the model accommodates success and failure institutionally, and on a systemic level.

An R&P-centric model can uniquely identify the impact of changes made at the mandate level as a situation escalates in intensity. For instance, when an unexpected event is deemed significant enough to trigger a mandate shift, it is possible to pinpoint when the priority was raised, and how mandate level functions were adapted to accommodate the change. Thus, each component is examined in isolation to determine whether a malfunction occurred, and if so, whether it created a domino effect that ultimately impacted intelligence or policy functions. Application of this model eliminates separate institutional investigations, forcing an acknowledgment of collaboration and accountability at the highest levels.

Assessing social movements: hypotheses for intelligence community failure

To test this model, three cases were selected, each involving rapidly escalating social movements. The methodology and criteria for case selections are discussed in greater detail in Chapter Four. The selected cases were chosen for two reasons: first, demonstrations generally begin as low priority items, and rise in urgency when they gain critical momentum or change in nature. Second, the intelligence community has consistently been accused of failure to warn officials of the potential for a social movement to take a trajectory that could impact foreign policy or national security. These criteria were selected to contrast with a common hypothesis which has emerged to explain why intelligence communities struggle with forecasting social movements. This hypothesis suggests that the intelligence community consistently fails to provide early warning due to the complex nature of social movements.

The Complex Nature of Social Movements

A premise arising from social science research on mass mobilisation and revolution suggests that intelligence communities struggle with inherent qualities of social movements, which make them difficult to predict or analyse. David Aberle suggests that the nature of social movements are defined by two factors: who is attempting to create change (from specific individuals to the total population), and the degree of change desired (from limited to radical).[55] He classes social movements into four categories: alternative, redemptive, reformative, and transformative.[56] The most impactful of these are transformative movements, where participants seek radical change for a total population, at an institutional level.[57] These movements are most likely to issue a direct challenge to a government, and are often conducted by actors in a lower echelon of society.[58] In part, transformative movements, and their likelihood of transitioning from a peaceful demonstration into aggression or violence, may arise from a sense relative deprivation— a perception that there is a discrepancy between what a group receives and what they feel they are entitled to. Ted Gurr argues that the possibility for collective violence depends on the intensity and scope of relative deprivation perceived among the participants.[59] Thus, the perception of greater deprivation leads to a greater threat for violence during mass mobilisation.

Social movements occur, in varying degrees and sizes, on a near daily basis. In most cases, these protests or demonstrations decline through attrition, negotiation, co-optation, or repression.[60] But in some instances, a social movement can transmute. In their heightened state, protests can destabilise a nation or otherwise pose a threat to domestic or foreign interests. Social scientists have created a distinction between social movements and their escalated states. Revolutions, genocides, and civil wars may begin as social movements, but alter under certain conditions. For instance, Charles Tilly refers to revolution as "a social

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[55] Aberle, David F., and Harvey C. Moore. *The Peyote Religion among the Navaho*. (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1982) p. 316-317.

[56] Ibid.

[57] Ibid.

[58] Skocpol, Theda. "Rentier State and Shi'a Islam in the Iranian Revolution." *Theory and Society* vol. 11 no. 3 (1982): 265-83.

[59] Gurr, Ted Robert. *Why Men Rebel*. (Princeton, NJ: Center of International Studies, Princeton University Press, 1970), p. 24.

[60] Miller, Frederick D. "The End of SDS and the Emergence of Weatherman: Demise through Success." *Social Movements of the Sixties and Seventies*. Eds. Victoria Johnson, Jo Freeman. (New York: Longman, 1983), p. 303-24.

movement advancing exclusive competing claims to control of the state, or some segment of it."[61] He argues that two paths can accelerate a social movement into revolution: the first is when a group desires transformations that are "incompatible" with existing powers. The second occurs when the movement's objectives change from negotiating with the existing power to eliminating it altogether.[62]

There are few theoretical works that explore the link between social movements and genocide, however Peter Owens and David Snow observe that the former is a significant factor in the latter. They argue that some social movements seek to generate panic by linking a sense of threat to a particular group.[63] In conditions where fears are amplified by comorbid factors (for example, a failing economy or civil strife), the panic generated by one group can lead to the targeting of another, resulting in violence toward the perceived threat group. In extreme conditions, a social movement born of panic and engaged in violence against a target group can escalate into genocide.

For policy officials, the expectation of early warning means that the intelligence community is expected to monitor and assess the *potential* for a social movement to escalate or transform. On the surface, this may not seem unreasonable; the mass mobilisation of a significant portion of a population does not occur in a vacuum. Alexis de Tocqueville described the French Revolution as "the abrupt and violent conclusion of a process in which six generations had played an intermittent part."[64] If this statement is true of revolution (or by extension, any escalation on a national scale), then arguably, the undercurrents of malaise are visible—at least to some extent—within civil society. Therefore, an argument could be made that warning failure occurs for one of two reasons: either the intelligence community missed the signals by failing to collect sufficient or accurate information, or they misinterpreted the signals and issued faulty analysis.

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[61] Tilly, Charles. *European Revolutions, 1492-1992*. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995), p. 10.

[62] Tilly, Charles. *From Mobilization to Revolution.* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Pub. Co., 1978), p 7-22.

[63] Owens, Peter B., and David A. Snow. "Genocide and Social Movements." *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Social and Political Movements* (2013). Blackwell Publishing Ltd. http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/9780470674871.wbespm466.

[64] De Tocqueville, Alexis, John Stone, and Stephen Mennell. *Alexis De Tocqueville on Democracy, Revolution, and Society: Selected Writings*. (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1980), p. 20.

However, this conclusion is an oversimplification of a complex problem. Timur Kuran argues that even when societies are discontented, individuals may be reluctant to be the first to publicly express their opposition.[65] This condition may create a false sense of security, where the ruling party and foreign observers feel the current system is widely supported, even if that support "would crumble at the most minor shock."[66] The undercurrents of displeasure are the kindling to social movements, and the causes of displeasure may vary from person to person. Further, when tensions within a social movement reach critical mass, even individuals engaged in demonstrations are often unaware of the direction a movement may take. The transformation of a movement is often in response to forces outside of the movement, usually the nation's leadership. This makes the task for the intelligence community more complex; the agencies may be able to anticipate the *actions* of a leader, but it becomes considerably more difficult to forecast the *reactions* of the movement.

Intelligence communities also run the risk of 'crying wolf' if the social movement is quickly dissolved. There is no guarantee that an uprising will be persistent or effective. Sustained revolutionary action requires two components: collective organization and resources on the part of the demonstrators, and a regime that has been weakened through foreign military pressure, or as the result of political splits between prevailing classes and the state.[67]

The US intelligence community is tasked with thousands of intelligence requirements that cover a spectrum of political, military, economic, scientific, technological, and other concerns that are concentrated at a state level.[68] Isolating the numerous societal factors that could potentially result in a sustained, irrepressible uprising may exceed the realistic scope of expectation placed upon intelligence. Agencies can isolate the drivers that kindled a movement, but the inherently chaotic nature of uprising can make the direction of the fire as difficult to predict as the spark that ignited it.

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[65] Kuran, Timur. "Sparks and Prairie Fires: A Theory of Unanticipated Political Revolution." *Public Choice* 61.1 (1989): 41-74. Print.

[66] Ibid.

[67] Skocpol, Theda. "Rentier State and Shi'a Islam in the Iranian Revolution." 266.

[68] Central Intelligence Agency. *A Consumer's Guide to Intelligence.* (Public Affairs Staff, 1994), p 42

Weaknesses in the R&P mechanism

While the above hypothesis can, to some extent, explain intelligence failure in cases of escalating mass social movements, it presupposes that intelligence failure is an automatic condition. What is lacking in the existing literature is the suggestion that the US intelligence community *does* successfully provide early warning of social movement escalation, when it is provided with the authorisation and means to do so. Despite decision maker accusations, empirical evidence suggests that US intelligence community consistently delivers accurate intelligence when they are directed to observe an issue. In the absence of political will, the community cannot expend finite resources on a task that their consumer considers unimportant.

Commissioned investigations into failure rarely question whether the intelligence community was given the direction and the means to observe an issue in the first place. This is a glaring gap in the common narrative; one that holds the intelligence community at fault for doing as it is told. Thus, while the above hypothesis attempts to addresses consistent intelligence failure regarding social movements, it carries a pre-suppositional fallacy and entrenches the firewall perception.

A more effective analysis of failure factors in political will, community structure, and the performance of the R&P mechanism needed to drive intelligence functions. Both Betts and Gentry address the former factors and touch upon components of the R&P mechanism, but fall short of referring to the process as a whole. Betts notes that the optimal processing of information is constrained by structure of authority and the allocation of time and resources.[69] Further, limiting intelligence failure, as noted earlier, becomes a matter of determining on which priorities to apply finite budgets and resources.[70]

Gentry observes that the intelligence community must contend with the rapid turnover of policymakers, who often have new targets, divergent priorities, and seek new product formats to convey the information.[71] Further, in the absence of an intelligence lead that

[69] Betts, Richard K. "Analysis, War and Decision: Why Intelligence Failures are Inevitable". *World Politics,* vol 31, No. 1 (October 1978), p. 67
[70] Ibid, 68-69

[71] Gentry, John A. "Intelligence Failure Reframed." *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 123, no. 2, 2008, pp. 256.

reports to –and has the support of– the president, with enough bureaucratic power to unify the community, the agencies will continue to argue over turf and resources.[72] To date, no DCI nor DNI has received this. The lack of strength in the DCI role hampers the components of budgets and interagency cooperation.

It is readily acknowledged that intelligence community structure, and its functional relationship with policy, play a significant role in the efficacy of intelligence output. Numerous assessments of the intelligence and policy structure have resulted in numerous reforms introduced to ameliorate these issues. Some are more successful than others, yet their impact is consistently overlooked when it is most necessary to observe the practical implications of these issues: in the aftermath of failure. An R&P-centric represents an advance in the common practices of after-action investigation. The model shifts the perspective from one of indictment to one of diagnosis.

A model that shifts toward diagnosis is critical; the consistent criticism of the intelligence community in the aftermath of failure can weaken the national security apparatus.[73] Joshua Rovner points out that the scapegoating of the intelligence community has a price. For example, in the aftermath of 9/11, scapegoating damaged morale in the USIC, and led to "an exodus of career officers", causing a large, costly reorganization of the intelligence community.[74] Applying a model which approaches failure from a systemic perspective allows discussion to move from what the intelligence community did wrong, to what the joint communities can do better. In this manner, the government has a better chance of retaining the cumulative years of knowledge dedicated to national security. As a matter of both economic and national security, it is worth seeking the root causes of failure, as well as the reasons why the accusations are perpetuated.

Thesis Overview

The goal of this research is not to add another category of failure to the arsenal of existing descriptors. Rather, its purpose is to examine outcomes at a macroscopic, systemic level; to identify the distinct modules that are shaped by intelligence and policy collaboration, and to

[72] Ibid

[73] Rovner, Joshua. "Why Intelligence Isn't to Blame for 9/11," *MIT Center for International Studies- Audit of the Conventional Wisdom* vol. 05 no. 13 (November 2005): 3.

[74] Ibid.

observe the impact of systemic functions on outcomes. In this regard, failure or success is not viewed as a binary outcome, but as the result of a series of nested outcomes that impact the whole.

To accomplish this, the thesis is divided into two sections. The first section addresses the historically entrenched perception of the firewall, and then positions this perception against the collaborative environment that is put into place by the requirements and priorities process. The second section sets forth a model to observe these collaborative functions as interdependent variables that influence the outcomes of national security events. A series of case studies provide practical application of the model and discussion of the impact of isolated components on the results.

Chapter Two contextualises the existing debates and perceptions that have entrenched the binary construct. The relationship between the US intelligence and policy communities is examined in further detail, extending the debates about proximity between the intelligence and policy communities, and outlining the architecture of the consumer/producer relationship. This understanding blurs the lines between the intelligence and policy communities, and calls to question the accuracy of forcible categorisation of failure into the intelligence or policy realm.

The chapter goes on to unpack the requirements and priorities mechanism, examining the process from obtaining potential needs to formalising national intelligence requirements. This section examines how the mandate affects the intelligence community at an interagency level, and places civilian and defence intelligence within the context of the federal government. Each key function of process is examined separately to provide uncover how it functions and to address the factors that can both help and hinder its successful execution within the broader process.

The application of the requirements and priorities process has long been a point of contention in the US. Chapter Three provides a history of the mechanism, beginning with the initial goals and intentions set forth by the National Security Act of 1947 and fluctuations within the intelligence director role over the course of centralised intelligence. The section continues by following the evolution of the R&P, the difficulties associated with the process over the last seven decades, including attempts, both major and minor to improves the system.

The second part of Chapter Three combines the explanations of the R&P and its history to underscore the influence of the process in the conduct of national security and foreign policy. Here, a model is proposed to examine the effects of each function on the making of intelligence products and national security policy.

The second section of the thesis applies the theory and model to empirical evidence. Chapter Four establishes the methodology and that will be applied to prove the hypothesis. In their book, *Process Tracing Methods: Foundations and Guidelines*, Dereck Beach and Rasmus B. Pedersen outline three models for process tracing. This chapter provides a brief examination of the distinctions between these methods and discusses the most practical applications of this methodology to the case studies. Chapter four also enumerates the factors involved in the selection of case studies from a broad population of potential events, and provides reasoning and sources of evidence that will be applied to each test case.

Chapters Five, Six, and Seven are comprised of empirical case studies of rapidly escalating of social movements. Each case is scrutinized through the binary classifications of intelligence and policy success and failure, and then observed through the zoomed-out lens of the systemic mechanism. Historical context for each case is provided, including the manner in which the R&P functioned at the time, the foreign policy objectives that were considered most consequential to the US, and where case stood in terms of those priorities. The cases are then tested against the R&P-centric model to assess the accuracy of the hypothesis: success or failure of mandate-level functions are significant contributors to the overall outcome of a national security issue. Through the application of process tracing, cases are observed for the presence of a mandate shift, and the successful realignment of mandate-level functions.

Chapter Five examines the events surrounding el Bogotázo, the 1948 uprising in Bogota, Colombia following the assassination of liberal presidential candidate Jorge Eliécer Gaitán. This marked the first in a series of accusations levied at the US Intelligence Community for failing to provide early warning of social movement escalation. The accusation that the US intelligence community missed "South America's Pearl Harbor,"[75] set the implicit

[75] "Call Bogota Revolt New 'Pearl Harbor', Doubt Marshall Aim." *Schenectady Gazette* (Schenectady, New York) 17 April. 1948: n. 1.

understanding that the USIC would be responsible for intelligence and assessment of mass mobilisations as well as adversarial threats. This case highlights the recurrent themes of the fluctuating definitions of failure, the use of failure as a partisan weapon, and the operational expectations and limitations that formed around the newly shaped centralised intelligence structure almost from inception.

In Chapter 6, the study examines the overthrow of the Shah of Iran in 1979. This case study is widely taught as an intelligence failure; despite the fact that the investigations commissioned to explain the failure occurred before the fall of the Shah, and focused almost exclusively on the functional flaws of the intelligence community. The case addresses the 'special circumstances' that made the Shah a high priority, but kept Iran at a low priority. The influence of this dichotomy is tested against to model to assess conditional priority on the output of intelligence.

Uniquely, Chapter Seven positions two aspects of the same case study against the model. For the US, the Rwandan genocide in 1994 was met with an immediate response to evacuate US nationals from the region. In contrast, support to the Rwandese, though both unilateral and multi-lateral efforts, were delayed considerably. This chapter first looks at the mandate-level functions as the evacuation progressed, and then contrasts the functions with the actions taken regarding the overall genocide.

In the last chapter, the efficacy of an R&P-centric model is discussed to identify the impact of systemic conditions on national security outcomes. The case studies reveal the importance of the requirements and priorities process as a key driver in establishing and accomplishing national security objectives. Further, as a low priority issues becomes critical in nature, cases indicate that the manner and timing of priority escalation can affect the outcome of joint community action, which, in some cases, influence the overall success or failure of national response. The cases are compared to one another with respect to the model, and emergent patterns are identified. These patterns are compared to the most recent accusation of early warning failure with regard to social movements: the Arab Spring. While there is no declassified information from which to glean empirical evidence, similar patterns emerge in the case which give speculation that the R&P problem remains a persistent condition. Thus, this chapter also discusses the benefit of applying the model to a broader population of cases.

Finally, the concluding chapter addresses why this mechanism, which is so influential, is rarely discussed in lieu of the perpetual cycle of misdiagnosis and reform. The discussion addresses perceptions of the public and those of the policymakers. Finally, an argument is presented for the benefits of consistent application of an R&P-centric model for the betterment of the national security structure.

The R&P is sometimes a dance, and sometimes a battle. In both cases, it is necessary to learn the steps in order to keep up. The next chapter addresses the entrenchment of the firewall from a historic perspective, and sets the groundwork to eliminate this perception, replacing it with a broader understanding of the mechanics of the requirements mechanism.

CHAPTER TWO: MECHANICS OF THE REQUIREMENTS AND PRIORITIES PROCESS

Destroying the Firewall: Debunking the Binary Construct

The binary construct, which has for decades given the perception that intelligence and policy actions are isolated from one another, stems in part from the structures put in place by the 1947 National Security Act.[1] Introduced by President Harry Truman, the Act created three new entities to support the coordination of national security. First, the National Security Council (NSC) was established and comprised of political figures including Cabinet members, advisors, and other senior leadership. The NSC was chaired by the President, and members of the Council were tasked with advising the President on domestic, foreign, and military policies relating to the national security.[2]

Second, the Act formalised the role of Director of Central Intelligence (DCI).[3] Under the Act, the DCI was given responsibility for collation and administration across the intelligence community. To support the DCI role, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) was created, superseding the Central Intelligence Group (CIG), and serving as a coordination point for community-wide efforts.[4] Uniquely, the CIA was not under the umbrella of a cabinet department, but was designed as a stand-alone entity.

The DCI reported to, but was not a member of, the National Security Council. The Director was to advise on matters of intelligence, and give recommendations regarding the coordination of intelligence. The NSC and CIA were linked, in the body of the DCI, by National Security Council Intelligence Directive 4 (NSCID-4), which called for the DCI to collaborate with the other intelligence agencies in order to prepare an outline of National Intelligence Objectives. The DCI would further identify the most important of these, which would be considered Priority National Intelligence Objectives. The NIOs and PNIOs were delivered to the NSC for review,[5] and in turn the NSC would deliberate and make recommendations to the President. The structure can be visualised as follows:

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[1] United States. Congress. *The* National *Security Act of 1947*. 80th Cong., 1 sess. Cong 253. 1947.

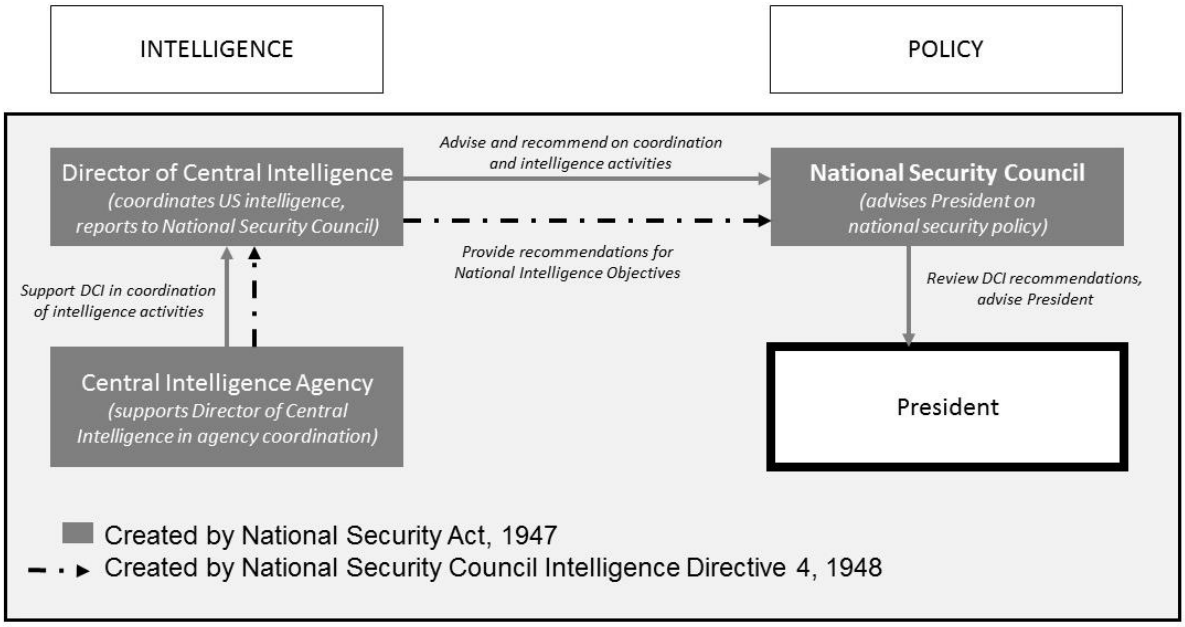
[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Davies, Philip H. J. *Intelligence and Government in Britain and the United States: A Comparative Perspective. Vol. 1*, p 104.

[5] United States. National Security Council. *National Security Council Intelligence Directive No. 4*. (Washington, DC. 1948)

Figure 2: Intelligence and Policy Relationship after 1947 National Security Act



In this regard, the structure implicitly stated that the DCI could coordinate and inform policy, but could not make policy decisions.[6] In turn, the CIA and the DCI were given a degree of autonomy; analytic judgements provided to the NSC were independent from departmental influence. This division of labour in national intelligence arguably gave the earliest rise to the binary construct; the separation of intelligence and policy—the firewall myth.

Despite the autonomy provided for the DCI and CIA, they were not exempt from being politicised. Since the introduction of the Act, the proximity of intelligence to policy and the role of the IC in the making of national security policy has been a great source of debate. In 1949, Sherman Kent argued that the intelligence community should maintain enough distance from policy to remain objective.[7] He feared that close proximity between the two communities could result in the misuse of the analysts' time, or cause the analyst to skew information to fit the needs of the policymaker. Later that year, Willmoore Kendall issued a vehement disagreement to Kent's stance, arguing that a separation between the

[6] Lowenthal, *Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy*. 2nd Ed., p 59.

[7] Sherman Kent joined the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) during WWII. Left the OSS and later joined the CIA to form the Office of National Estimates. See: Kent, Sherman. *Strategic Intelligence for American World Policy,* 1949*;* As found in Davis, Jack. "The Kent-Kendall Debate of 1949." *Studies in Intelligence* Vol. 35, no. 2 (Summer 1991): 37-50. *Studies in Intelligence 36*, no. 5 (1992): 91-103.

communities would deprive policymakers of the knowledge that the intelligence analysts hold.[8]

Throughout the years, several writers have offered a spectrum of perspectives on the issue. Roger Hillsman argued that intelligence should remain close to policy;[9] James Steiner stated that the DCI should not be constrained by the "red line" between intelligence and policy.[10] Walter Laqueur observed that the proximity is a moving target that changes based on the relationship between the president and the head of the IC.[11] This perennial argument is neatly summarised in what Stephen Marrin refers to as the "Proximity Hypothesis": if intelligence is close to policymaking, it can address the policy maker's interests, however this closeness may lead to negative politicisation.[12] Conversely, if intelligence is distant from policy, it can provide more objective products, but may not have relevance to the policy maker's needs. There is likely no universal solution,[13] but the long-standing debate over the optimal proximity has served to strengthen the notion that the two communities are stand-alone entities.

As noted in the previous chapter, the firewall itself is a malleable. The wall shifts to protect a portion of the government from the rest, or diminishes altogether. The firewall tends to be diminished when success occurs. For example, upon the capture of Osama bin Laden, US

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[8] Kendall joined the Office of Strategic Services during the war, and stayed on through the transition to the CIA. See: Kendall, Willmoore. "The Function of Intelligence: Strategic Intelligence by Sherman Kent Review by Willmoore Kendall." *World Politics*, Vol. 1, no. 4 (July 1949): 549-55.

[9] Hilsman served in the OSS, and later became the second Director for the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research. See: Hillsman, Roger. *Strategic Intelligence and National Decision.* (Glencoe, IL: Free Press. 1956)

[10] Professor James Steiner served in the CIA from 1972-2005. From 2006 until 2009, he was Intelligence Advisor to the Director of New York State's Office of Homeland Security. Currently, he is Program Coordinator for Homeland Security, Cyber Security, and Emergency Management and Public Service Professor at Rockefeller college in New York. See: Steiner, James E. *Challenging the Red Line: Between Intelligence and Policy*. (Washington, DC: Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, 2003)

[11] For instance, during the Dulles-Eisenhower years, the lines between intelligence and policy were blurred as the CIA became an instrument of foreign policy. However, the line became distinct during Nixon's term and relationship with DCI Helms. Nixon was at best indifferent, and at worst, mistrusting of the CIA. See: Laqueur, Walter. *The Uses and Limits of Intelligence*. (New Brunswick, NJ, U.S.A.: Transaction Publishers, 2009), p 71-94.

[12] Politicisation is a term often used with implied negative connotations, however, politicization has benefits as well. According to Betts, "Politicization is bad when it suppresses or distorts the truth to promote a political agenda; it can be good when it does not misrepresent but packages information in a way that prevents it from being shunted aside as irrelevant." In the context of this document, the terms "negative" and "positive" politicisation will be applied to distinguish the usage. See: Betts. *Enemies of Intelligence*, p 67.

[13] Davies, Philip H.J and Marrin, Stephen. "National Assembly by the National Security Council Staff 1968-80: An American Experiment in a British Style of Analysis?" *Intelligence and National Security*, Vol 24 no. 5 (2009): 644-673.

President Barack Obama publicly thanked the intelligence and counterterrorism staff who aided in the operation,[14] underscoring the links between the two communities.

However, when failures occur, the firewall is palpably present as policy and intelligence officials seek to shift blame to the other camp. For instance, the 2004 Senate Report on pre-war intelligence assessments of Iraq cited intelligence failures including groupthink, failures in analytic tradecraft, and other issues.[15] In response, senior intelligence officials fought against the report, arguing that Vice President Dick Cheney made several visits to CIA to question analysts on the Iraq issue, creating a politicised environment where analysts felt pressured to fit their assessments into pre-determined policy objectives.[16]

If blame shifting between the communities creates the perception of the firewall, then investigative committees—particularly those commissioned by the government— tend to fortify it. Committees often focus separately on the actions of intelligence and policy, and are inclined to limit their scope and recommendations to agency or department-level functions. Often, findings cite variations of failure related to poor intelligence collection or analysis.[17] These publicised findings create a perception of four possible outcomes—a binary construct where success or failure rests within one of the two institutions, based on their core functions. This innate interpretation is the epicentre of the misperceptions surrounding how intelligence operations are fulfilled.

Table 1: Assessment of outcomes per Binary Construct

	Intelligence (core functions: collection and analysis)
Success	
Failure	

OR

	Policy (core functions: decision making and response)
Success	
Failure	

[14] Phillips, Macon. "Osama Bin Laden Dead." *The White House*. 2 May 2011. https://www.whitehouse.gov/blog/2011/05/02/osama-bin-laden-dead

[15] United States. Senate Select Committee on Intelligence. *Report of the Select Committee on Intelligence on the U.S. Intelligence Community's Prewar Intelligence Assessments on Iraq Together with Additional Views*. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. G.P.O., 2004)

[16] Pincus, Walter, and Dana Priest. "CIA Brass Tells of Cheney Pressure: visits pushed Iraq Weapons Report." *Houston Chronicle*, 5 June 2003. http://www.chron.com/news/article/CIA-brass-tells-of-Cheney-pressure-2104492.php

[17] Betts, *Enemies of Intelligence,* p. 67.

According to H.S. Rowen, intelligence estimates can be issued in two ways; requests for intelligence can be "pulled" from policymakers, or finished assessments can be "pushed" out from the intelligence community.[18] The difference is important, particularly in instances of failure. If the intelligence is pushed out, there is no guarantee that it will be relevant to policymakers, and thus, the intelligence community could be faulted for failing to provide pertinent reporting. However, if requests are pulled from decision makers, then arguably, they can be held responsible for making requests that are irrelevant or insufficient to meet their own needs.

To a lesser extent than the debates around proximity, the determination of whether intelligence is "pushed" or pulled" has also been a source of dispute. Peter Scharfman argues that the US is engaged in a push architecture, where scheduled pieces of intelligence, such as weekly classified newspapers or daily intelligence briefings are pushed out.[19] Scharfman suggests that this approach sometimes leaves a chasm between what the intelligence produces and what the consumer really needs. This perspective is echoed by former Ambassador Robert Blackwill, who suggests that 'general purpose' intelligence such as the National Intelligence Daily did not support his mission, and therefore he spent little time reading it.[20] However, Jennifer Sims contests this argument, highlighting the flawed assumption although intelligence provides a service provided to decision makers, the latter is not removed from the process of deciding which issues require intelligence support.[21]

Michael Herman asserts that the US operates in a hybrid push-pull architecture. Here, the intelligence community pushes information, but consumers also make requests through a formalised mechanism.[22] Together, these requests shape both general purpose and bespoke

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[18] Rowen, H. S., as found in Herman, Michael. *Intelligence Power in Peace and War*. (Cambridge: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1996), p 295.

[19] Scharfman, Peter. 'Intelligence Analysis in the Age of Electronic Dissemination', *Intelligence and National Security*, Vol. 10, no 4 (1995): 201–202.

[20] Davis, Jack. "A Policymaker's Perspective on Intelligence Analysis." *Central Intelligence Agency*. 27 June 2008. Accessed via Web. Accessed 24 March 2015. https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/csi-publications/csi-studies/studies/95unclass/Davis.html.

[21] Sims is a former intelligence advisor to the Undersecretary for Management at the Department of State, and served as a staffer of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence. Sims, Jennifer. Which Assumptions Should Be Overturned? *Toward a Theory of Intelligence*, (Washington D.C. 2005), p. 23.

[22] Herman served from 1952 to 1987 in Britain's Government Communications Headquarters (GCHQ). Herman, Michael. *Intelligence Power in Peace and War*. (Cambridge: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1996), p 295.

intelligence. Requests made by policymakers can inform the intelligence community as to what is considered important, allowing the creation of both current intelligence and long-term estimates with the needs of the policymaker in mind.

Finally, Arthur Hulnick, like Herman, agrees that the hybrid push-pull architecture exists, but expands on the idea that the mechanism which controls this relay of information has been mishandled or broken. Thus, at times there are no updated requests to 'pull' from policymakers, leaving middle managers in the intelligence community to anticipate what their consumer will consider important.[23]

The mechanism that Herman and Hulnick refer to is the requirements and priorities process. However, the R&P is more than a conduit for the transmission of needs from consumer to producer; it also provides the means to address them. When the mechanism malfunctions, it not only impacts the ability to retrieve consumer desires, but can also delay or deny access to the means necessary to address them.

Those most familiar with the intelligence community acknowledge that a mechanism exists which binds the two communities, and is integral in the production of national security products and decision making. In light of this, one must reconsider whether the notion of a firewall can be validated. When put into perspective, the intelligence and policy relationship works in a similar manner to any other governmental agency. Policymakers collaborate with relevant agencies to achieve aims in food safety, education, economic stability, or other goals by providing formal requests and issuing the means to address them. The intelligence community operates in the same manner, but is perceived differently. Although the divide between intelligence and policy has permeated the American mindset for decades, it is not based on historical accuracy. *There is no firewall.*

Neglecting the requirements process creates gaps of information that can ultimately result in a misdiagnosis of outcomes; a false dichotomy. In the unending pursuit of national security optimization, observers must recognise and understand the process, its significance, and the impacts that can result from malfunctions at any stage.

[23] Hulnick was an officer with the Central Intelligence Agency for 28 years. Hulnick, Arthur S. "What's wrong with the Intelligence Cycle?" *Intelligence and National Security*, Vol 21, no 6 (2006): 959.

Understanding the Mechanism: Unpacking the Requirements and Priorities Process

In terms of national security and interests, the R&P process is the nexus of intelligence and policy cooperation. It is a key component in determining intelligence priorities, resources, operational authorisation, and interagency cooperation— all of which comprise the *mandate* for intelligence community action. Changes have been made to the process over time, [24] but the process remains largely the same:

1. Consultations are conducted with policy officials to gather an inventory of national intelligence needs.
2. The coordinating body in the intelligence community filters the list of needs; the remaining requests are sent to the lead IC official.
3. The lead IC official examines and adjusts the requests, and delivers recommendations to the National Security Council.
4. The NSC assesses and adjusts the recommendations. Once approved, the requests are formalised into intelligence requirements (IRs).[25]
5. The IRs are ranked in descending order according to their significance to national security and foreign policy.[26]
6. IRs are aligned with the agencies that are best suited to expedite the requests.
7. Each IR is given budget and resources.
8. Relevant agencies are provided with operational authorisations to conduct activities related to the requirement.

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[24] For a detailed discussion of the evolution of the R&P process in the US, see: Davies, Philip H. J. *Intelligence and Government in Britain and the United States: A Comparative Perspective. Vol. 1*.

[25] According to the United States Joint Chiefs of Staff, intelligence requirements, are defined as "Any subject, general or specific, upon which there is a need for the collection of information, or the production of intelligence." United States. Joint Chiefs of Staff. *Joint Publication 2-0: Joint Intelligence*. 2013. I-8.

[26] In 1963, DCI John McCone formalised four levels of priority determining which IRs would require maximum, intensive, major, or normal coverage. These categories are the prototype of the current intelligence requirement hierarchy which today prioritises needs on a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 is a target of the highest priority. See: United States of America. Director of Central Intelligence. *Director of Central Intelligence Directive No. 1/3: Priority National Intelligence Objectives.* By John A. McCone. 9 Jan. 1963. Office of the Historian. US Department of State, and Spiegel Staff. "Embassy Espionage: The NSA's Secret Spy Hub in Berlin." SPIEGEL ONLINE. 27 Oct. 2013. Accessed 09 Feb. 2014. http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/cover-story-how-nsa-spied-on-merkel-cell-phone-from-berlin-embassy-a-930205.html

9. Finally, guidelines are communicated to align intelligence activities with the formalised national intelligence requirements.[27]

Like cogs in a watch, the four *mandate-level functions*— intelligence priorities, budget and resources, operational authorisation, and interagency cooperation— are required to mobilise an intelligence directive. If a cog is misaligned, the process may not function effectively.[28]

Figure 3: Components of mandate-level functions

Collecting and Determining Intelligence Requests

At the start of the process, the intelligence community's coordinating body consults with policy officials to amass a comprehensive list of intelligence needs. In terms of intelligence architecture, this is an opportunity for producers to 'pull' requests and updates from policymakers. Through regular consultation, the aggregated list is refreshed to include emerging concerns, and eliminate issues that are no longer relevant.[29]

When consumers are actively engaged, the 'pull' architecture works to ensure that the full scope of intelligence needs is suitably represented. Unfortunately, the process has often been underutilised. Rather than providing a list of needs, some consumers expect producers to be aware of what they want, and to alert them to rising concerns in their area of focus.[30] When this occurs, middle managers in the intelligence community must essentially guess which items may be considered useful to "push" out. A wrong guess can lead to accusations that the intelligence community provides irrelevant information, but more importantly, it poses an accountability problem to both communities. As an adjunct to policy, the intelligence

[27] Clapper, James. "Intelligence Community Directive 204- National Intelligence Priorities Framework." United States. *Director of National Intelligence*. (Washington: 2015). https://www.dni.gov/files/documents/ICD/ICD%20204%20National%20Intelligence%20Priorities%20Framework.pdf

[28] A succinct descriptor of the mechanisms of integration and coordination can be found in: Davies, Philip H. J. *Intelligence and Government in Britain and the United States: A Comparative Perspective. Vol. 1,* p, 26-28.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Hulnick, Arthur S. "What's wrong with the Intelligence Cycle?" p 959.

community requires input from consumers.[31] If intelligence managers determine what should be considered important, it is tantamount to making policy recommendations.

Among consumers that do engage in the process, a different type of obstacle emerges: intelligence requests are rarely precise. Often, they are too vague, too specific, or otherwise unrealistic. This may be the result of policymakers either not knowing what they need, or lacking understanding of intelligence production and its limitations. As a result, consumers sometimes have difficulty articulating their needs.[32] As one experienced CIA analyst observed, "What do I do about Nicaragua?" is not a sufficient intelligence request.[33]

On the other end of this spectrum, some consumers articulate needs that are too specific, or contain too many sub-requirements. An overload of specificity may restrict the flexibility of intelligence collection and analysis, and weaken the output. Without clarification, producers must interpret the request to fit intelligence capabilities, while also managing expectations regarding the limitations of intelligence.

Finally, although some consumers may not engage in the process, the list of needs remains daunting. As a global stakeholder, the US intelligence community faces an exhaustive list of requests. Further, there is continuous pressure to prioritise an increasing number of needs. As such, the ranking of priorities is a precarious stage; the outcome determines how several billions of dollars in programming will be spent on intelligence collection and analysis. Once assets are allocated to one task they cannot be allocated to another.[34] Too many intelligence requirements can cause errors in prioritisation, and result in a strain on the intelligence community's finite resources.

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[31] Herman, Michael. *Intelligence Power in Peace and War.* p 287.

[32] Johnson, Loch K. *America's Secret Power: The CIA in a Democratic Society*. New York: Oxford UP, 1989. 81.

[33] Ibid.

[34] Johnson, Loch K. *National Security Intelligence: Secret Operations in Defense of the Democracies*. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2012), p 40.

Budget and Resources

Resources are the hidden factor that drive priorities.[35] Once priorities are established, negotiations are conducted to allocate budget and resources to each objective. The communities operate in a monopsony; a one-to-one internal market where intelligence is provided in exchange for continuing budget and resources.[36] As Davies, Glees and Morrison point out, the budget and resourcing are the "most effective and inescapable form of control for any government agency."[37] The drive for funding may also create competition among agencies seeking a greater proportion of resources.

During the budgeting process, intelligence requirements of the highest priority receive the greatest share of the budget. As the priority level decreases, so does the associated budget. In this manner, the budget serves as an indicator of what the government considers critical, important, or worthy of observation. Thus, the requirements and their correlation with the intelligence budget provides a list of explicit instructions and implicit restrictions; it sends a message to the intelligence community of where to expend its resources, and to what extent.

The intelligence budget is divided into the civilian and military intelligence programs. The military intelligence budget is devoted primarily to intelligence agencies which support defence operations. The civilian program is generally distributed among the rest of the non-military federal intelligence agencies. In its most current form, the civilian and military budgets are drafted separately, then combined to create a figure that supports all federal foreign and domestic intelligence activity. The division between the two budgets is not strictly binary; for example, some organisations under the Department of Defence (DoD) are allocated a portion of both budgets. The table below shows how resourcing is distributed among national and departmental intelligence agencies. Because priorities are inextricably to linked national security, and the budget is a direct indication of those priorities, it is shrouded in secrecy by necessity. Submissions for the military budget expressly state that they will not

[35] Lowenthal, Mark M. *Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy.* 2nd Ed. p 44.

[36] Glees, Anthony, Philip H. J. Davies, and John N. L. Morrison. *The Open Side of Secrecy: Britain's Intelligence and Security Committee*. (London: Social Affairs Unit, 2006), p 62.

[37] Ibid., 65.

release information beyond the general requested figure for the general budget.[38] Echoing this sentiment, Director of National Intelligence James R. Clapper, Jr. explained that releasing itemised budget information could allow foreign intelligence services to identify which issues are top priorities, and deduce some of the capabilities, sources and methods used to counter threats.[39]

Table 2: Budget category distribution among national and departmental intelligence agencies (2013)[40]

National Agencies	Budget
The Office of the Director of National Intelligence (ODNI)	Civilian
Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)	Civilian
National Counter-proliferation Center (NCPC)	Civilian
National Intelligence Council (NIC)	Civilian
National Counterterrorism Center (NCTC)	Civilian
National Counterintelligence Executive (NCSC)	Civilian
National Security Agency (NSA)	Mainly civilian, some military
National Geospatial-Intelligence Agency (NGA)	Mainly civilian, some military
National Reconnaissance Office (NRO)	Mainly civilian, some military
Departmental Agencies	**Budget**
Department of Homeland Security Office of Intelligence and Analysis (I&A) Coast Guard Intelligence	Civilian
Department of State Bureau of Intelligence and Research (INR)	Civilian
Department of Energy Office of Intelligence and Counterintelligence (OICI)	Civilian
Department of Treasury Office of Terrorism and Financial Intelligence (TFI)	Civilian
Department of Justice Federal Bureau of Investigation, National Security Branch (FBI/NSB) Drug Enforcement Administration Office of National Security Intelligence (DEA/ONSI)	Civilian
Department of Defense Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA)	Mainly military, some civilian
Army, Navy, Air Force, Marine Corps Intelligence	Mainly military, some civilian

Intelligence requirements and their associated budgets are often established several years in advance. In the US, as many as eight fiscal-year budgets are in use or being developed at any

[38] "DNI Releases Updated Budget Figure for FY 2015 Appropriations Requested for the National Intelligence Program." *Office of the Director of National Intelligence*. 30 June 2014. https://www.dni.gov/index.php/newsroom/press-releases/198-press-releases-2014/1141-dni-releases-updated-budget-figure-for-fy-2015-appropriations-requested-for-the-national-intelligence-program-14

[39] Gellman, Barton, and Greg Miller. "'Black budget' summary details U.S. spy network's successes, failures and objectives." *The Washington Post*. 29 Aug. 2013.

[40] United States. Intelligence Community Directive 104. *National Intelligence Program (NIP) Budget Formulation and Justification, Execution, and Performance Evaluation.* By James Clapper. 30 April, 2013.

point in a given year.[41] When planning future objectives, the intelligence and policy communities must determine future intelligence needs based on a best guess of the issues that will remain relevant.[42] Therefore, issues of a current yet fleeting urgency are unlikely to appear in long-term budget planning. To accommodate for this, the budget has built-in flexibility to address some 'ad-hoc' events—that is, transient, urgent issues in low priority regions that require immediate escalation.

The budget faces its share of complications. As stated previously, global involvement has expanded the list of intelligence requirements; however, the expansion of IRs is rarely balanced by an increase in resources or cuts to other requirements. Rather, existing resources are stretched to cover the existing priorities. When the budget is stretched thin by a large number of IRs, it can cause issues of high priority to receive fewer resources than required,[43] and leaves areas of lower priority with less funding. This increases the risk of collection gaps or other errors that could result in early warning failure.

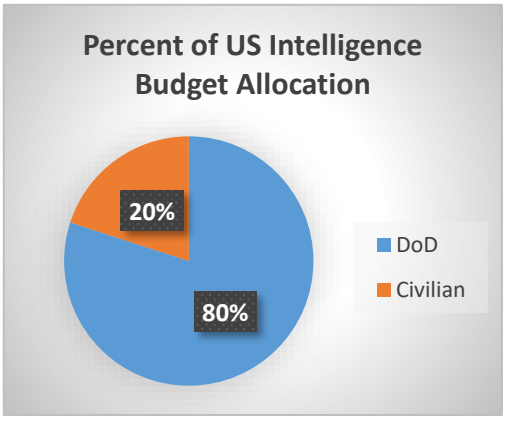

Figure 4: Current Division of US Intelligence Budget Allocation (NIP/MIP)

In the face of a finite budget, civilian and military intelligence agencies vie for programming funds, and the budget favours heavily toward agencies housed under the Department of Defense. Since the Cold War, the US has been engaged in a near-seamless series of cold and hot wars and threats of varying nature. In fact, since the inception of a centralised intelligence service, the US has not experienced a single year without engagement in conflict.[44] Thus, successive administrations have viewed American national security in more narrow and militaristic terms.[45] Because of this, the Department of Defence consistently

[41] Lowenthal, Mark M. *Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy*. 2nd Ed. 39.

[42] Grabo, Cynthia M., and Jan Goldman. *Anticipating Surprise: Analysis for Strategic Warning*. Washington, D.C: Center for Strategic Intelligence Research, Joint Military Intelligence College, 2002. 13.

[43] Betts. *Enemies of Intelligence*, p. 109.

[44] Grimmett, Richard F. "Instances of Use of United States Armed Forces Abroad, 1798 - 2004." *Instances of Use of United States Armed Forces Abroad, 1798 - 2004.* Congressional Research Service report RL30172. Naval Historical Center, 5 Oct. 2004. Accessed 19 Oct. 2014. http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/crs/rl30172.htm.

[45] Ullman, Richard. "Redefining Security." *International Security,* Vol. 8, No. 1. (Summer, 1983), p. 129

receives a significantly greater portion of the overall intelligence budget. Currently, the US Department of Defense (DoD) controls approximately 80% of the intelligence budget, which is distributed to agencies under the DoD umbrella, mainly the National Security Agency and the National Reconnaissance Office.[46] The current budget split is pragmatic: the majority of US intelligence agencies fall under the umbrella of the Department of Defence, and the DoD is the largest consumer of national intelligence. Organisations that fall under the DoD often have dual or multiple roles in responding to national, departmental, and tactical requirements; and some are legally designated as "combat support agencies."[47] In times of war or crisis, the needs of national defence are by necessity given higher priority.

A majority defence controlled budget results in side effects which impact the broader intelligence community. First, a budget controlled by the Defense Department tends to skew requirements toward defence-based prioritisation. Military and defence intelligence has consistently taken precedence in terms of intelligence operations, providing the Department of Defense an opportunity to acquire greater control of the budget over time.[48] For instance, despite Presidential orders giving the CIA primacy for human intelligence (HUMINT) collection and covert operations, the military has expanded its HUMINT capacity, diverting resources from the CIA.[49] This can cause friction in aspects of collaboration, such as a reluctance to share of best practices, or withholding of information, or stovepiping of intelligence.

Second, agencies that do not fall under the DoD umbrella share the remaining 20% of intelligence funding. This may lead to a rise in competition among the agencies. At the Cabinet level, senior officials may argue on behalf of their department to protect their agency's projects or operational advantages in a specific collection channel.[50] Civilian agencies may

[46] Glees, Davies, Morrison. *The Open Side of Secrecy: Britain's Intelligence and Security Committee*, p. 66.

[47] Commission on the Roles and Capabilities of the United States Intelligence Community. *Preparing for the 21st Century: An Appraisal of U.S. Intelligence.* (Washington, D.C: Government Printing Office, 1996), p. 49-50.

[48] The Church Commission states, "The Secretary of Defense has been given, in effect, a choice between a level of intelligence spending consistent with the DCI's planning target and one which matches his own view of overall DOD priorities and claims. Not surprisingly, Secretaries of Defense have tended to opt for the latter." See: *Final: Together with Additional, Supplemental, and Separate Views.* (Washington: U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1976)

[49] Wall, Andru E. "Demystifying the Title 10-Title 50 Debate: Distinguishing Military Operations, Intelligence Activities & Covert Action." *Harvard National Security Journal* Vol 3, no 1 (2011): 89-90

[50] Ibid.

also compete by seeking technological superiority, or responding to high-priority IRs—even if they are not best suited for the project.[51]

In some cases, leadership figures in the intelligence community may utilise a public platform to appeal for budgetary support. For instance, in July 2015, US Federal Bureau of Investigations (FBI) direct James Comey told CNN's Wolf Blitzer that the terrorist group Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) is a bigger threat to the US domestic security than al-Qaeda.[52] Comey publicly revealed this information as federal departments prepared submissions for their annual budget. It is likely he was aware that the announcement could potentially affect the distribution of billions of dollars marked for counterterrorism efforts.[53] The drive toward high priority, often militaristic requirements results in a redundancy of efforts, while leaving non-military or low priority tasks to languish or become more difficult to complete.

Finally, an unintended by-product of a DoD-dominated budget may impact the nature of estimates that are delivered. When all agencies are concerned with high-ticket issues, the estimates skew toward the military vein, leaving little dedicated to socio-geopolitical interests that are of significant importance to national security and interests.[54] Over time, the focus on high-priority IRs can result in a lacuna of estimative intelligence in lower priority regions, leaving less information available to guide long-term expectations of the policymaker.

These issues can lead to a trifecta of impacts: interagency rivalry and the stovepiping of information[55]; a redundancy of efforts; and lack of attention to lower priority issues or long-term, estimative intelligence. If not balanced carefully, the drive for budget can impact interagency collaboration, increase the risk of collection gaps, and result in weakened analysis or warning failure.

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[51] Lowenthal, Mark M. *Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy.* 2nd ed. 60

[52] "FBI Head: Khorasan Group Diminished; ISIS Bigger Threat than Al Qaeda." Interview by Wolf Blitzer and James B. Comey. *CNN*. (Aspen, Colorado, 23 July 2015).

[53] Schmitt, Eric. "ISIS or Al Qaeda? American Officials Split Over Top Terror Threat." *The New York Times.* 04 Aug. 2015. Accessed via nytimes.com.

[54] Goodman, Melvin A. "America Is Safer since 9/11." *The Christian Science Monitor*, 18 Sept. 2006. http://www.csmonitor.com/2006/0918/p09s01-coop.html.

[55] Lowenthal, Mark M. *Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy. 6th ed.* 172.

Interagency Cooperation

Some intelligence agencies have cultivated one or more specialised intelligence collection channels.[56] Achieving the objectives of IRs sometimes requires input from multiple agencies with specialised collection channels in order to order to draw from strategic, operational, or tactical concentrations. Thus, the R&P process establishes guidance for interagency collaboration. At this stage, the supporting structures for each task are defined, including the determination of the lead, and cooperating federal agencies.[57] Interagency cooperation allows each department to address the IR within their specialised arena, while sharing information and cooperating with their counterparts to address collection and analysis objectives.

At the federal level, agencies that are tasked with national priorities must also address priorities at the departmental level. These agencies are provided with federal funding to meet national intelligence requirements, and additional funding with respect to their departmental requirements. These competing mandates may become problematic.

Following federal disbursement of the budget for national intelligence requirements, senior managers determine the programming, or distribution of the funds within their department.[58] However, a department head and may feel that certain departmental issues take precedence over national IRs, or that the priority of certain IRs should be raised or lowered within the department. As a result, some departments, particularly State and Defense, would reprogram expenditure away from national priorities, shifting them toward departmental requirements.[59] This sometimes results in redundancy of efforts, inefficacy of collaboration, or a reduction to resources dedicated to lower priority issues.

Prior to 2005, the DCI was responsible for executing the national intelligence budget, but programming was regulated by the parent departments of each agency. To ensure effective

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[56] For example, the National Geospatial-Intelligence Agency specialises in geospatial intelligence (GEOINT), as well as signals intelligence (SIGINT), imagery intelligence (IMINT), and measurement and signature intelligence (MASINT).

[57] Interagency coordination most commonly refers to, but is not strictly limited to federal agencies. It can include cooperation between state, territorial, and local level agencies, as well as private agencies and NGOs. It can also include foreign agencies. See: United States. *Interorganizational Coordination during Joint Operations.* Joint Publication 3-08: Joint Intelligence. Defense Technical Information Center 2011. I-6. http://www.dtic.mil/doctrine/new_pubs/jp3_08.pdf.

[58] Lowenthal. *Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy*. 6th ed., p. 293.

[59] Davies, Philip H. J. *Intelligence and Government in Britain and the United States: A Comparative Perspective. Vol. 1,* p, 31.

collaboration on national requirements, successive administrations and intelligence leadership have employed task forces or working groups to facilitate interagency cooperation and prevent the stovepiping of information. However, these groups were limited in authority, and many governmental entities viewed these working groups suspiciously.[60] Thus, the task forces struggled to break down the barriers and effectively enforce interagency collaboration.

Since the enactment of the Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act (IRTPA) of 2004, the Director of National Intelligence has been granted additional reprogramming authority and the means to monitor and execute the civilian budget (currently called the National Intelligence Program, or NIP).[61] This has served to ensure that national requirements remain on task, with the hope of easing agency-level coordination.

Table 3:National and departmental agencies- budget and priorities dispersal, 2014

National Agencies	Budget	Priority Responsibilities
The Office of the Director of National Intelligence (ODNI)	Civilian	National
Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)	Civilian	National
National Counter-proliferation Center (NCPC)	Civilian	National
National Intelligence Council (NIC)	Civilian	National
National Counterterrorism Center (NCTC)	Civilian	National
National Counterintelligence Executive (NCSC)	Civilian	National
National Security Agency (NSA)	Mainly civilian, some military	National/DoD
National Geospatial-Intelligence Agency (NGA)	Mainly civilian, some military	National/DoD
National Reconnaissance Office (NRO)	Mainly civilian, some military	National/DoD
Departmental Agencies	**Budget**	**R&P**
Department of Homeland Security	Civilian	National
Department of State Bureau of Intelligence and Research (INR)	Civilian	National/STATE
Department of Energy Office of Intelligence and Counterintelligence (OICI)	Civilian	National/DOE
Department of Treasury Office of Terrorism and Financial Intelligence (TFI)	Civilian	National/Treasury
Department of Justice Federal Bureau of Investigation, National Security Branch (FBI/NSB) Drug Enforcement Administration, Office of National Security Intelligence (DEA/ONSI	Civilian	National/Justice
Department of Defense Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA)	Mainly military, some civilian	DoD
Army, Navy, Air Force, Marine Corps, Intelligence	Mainly military, some civilian	DOD/National

[60] Bogdanos M.F. "Joint Interagency Cooperation: The First Step" *Joint Force Quarterly*. No. 3. (2005): 11.

[61] Belasco, Amy and Erwin, Marshall C. *Intelligence Spending and Appropriations: Issues for Congress*. (Congressional Research Service, September 2013), p. 8. Accessed via fas.org.

Despite these changes, collaborative efforts sometimes remain hindered by territorial protection. This can impact a department or agency's willingness to engage information or resource sharing, and have a direct impact on ability to meet national objectives. For instance, the FBI and the CIA have a well-documented, decades-long schism that has impacted collaboration on domestic and international security.[62] Further, The National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States (also known as the 9-11 Commission) found that the government was unable to pool the intelligence necessary to guide and plan "joint operations involving entities as disparate as the CIA, the FBI, the State Department, the military, and the agencies involved in homeland security."[63]

Although the R&P provides determinations on interagency collaboration, and the IRTPA has given the DNI greater influence through control and audit of NIP, departments and agencies still sometimes acknowledge this responsibility at a superficial level. What remains is a redundancy of efforts, the stovepiping of information and a dearth of effective collaboration.

Operational Authorisation and Oversight

In addition to its other functions, the R&P also serves as an audit trail. The mechanism introduces a system of controls, providing authorisations and restrictions for activities conducted in the pursuit of information. Both action and expenditures are monitored to prevent operations from occurring without prior notification or approval.

The Executive branch, Congressional committees, and other organisations monitor intelligence community activities to ensure that "reasonable and lawful means" are used to obtain reliable intelligence.[64] Low-risk activities, such as the collection of open source information, require a low level of authorisation, whereas activities that carry a greater amount of risk, including that could detrimentally impact foreign policy, require higher levels of authorisation. For instance, the US Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 2008 (FISA)

[62] For further reading on the schism between the FBI and the CIA, see: Riebling, Mark. *Wedge: From Pearl Harbor to 9/11: How the Secret War between the FBI and CIA Has Endangered National Security*. (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2002).

[63] "9/11 Commission: Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States." (Washington, DC: US Government, 2004), p. 11.

[64] Obama, Barack (President). *Executive Order 13470 -Further Amendments to Executive Order 12333, United States Intelligence Activities.* 30 July 2008. http://Dodsioo.Defense.Gov/Library/Eo12333.Aspx

requires that the intelligence community provide justification for the electronic surveillance of targets located outside of the United States.[65]

When the 1947 National Security Act was passed, oversight of the intelligence community was not a priority concern. Rather, Congress gradually introduced a more organised system of oversight, introducing the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, and amending it with the 1974 Hughes-Ryan Act, which, among other things, required the President to describe covert activity to the relevant committees in a timely fashion prior to authorization of funds. In 1976 and 1977 respectively, the Senate and House of Representatives formalised Congressional intelligence oversight committees. The Intelligence Oversight Act of 1980 codified these mechanisms, requiring the heads of all government intelligence entities to keep congressional oversight committees informed and aware of current and emerging intelligence activities. The Act also caveats that the provision of information does not assume prior authorisation.[66]

Currently, the President's Intelligence Advisory Board (PIAB) and its component, the Intelligence Oversight Board (IOB) oversee compliance to federal law, executive orders, and presidential directives.[67] At the legislative level, the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence (HPSCI) and the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence (SSCI) monitor compliance in expenditures and activities, including covert actions.[68] Apart from these, the Office of the Inspector General, the National Security Council, and the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) each play a role in intelligence oversight. Further, activities conducted within the Department of Defense are subject to oversight by the DoD Intelligence Oversight Program (IOP), headed by its Senior Intelligence Oversight Official.

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[65] United States Congress. *US Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 2008*. 110-261, 110 Congress, U.S. Government Printing Office. (2008) (enacted).

[66] "S. 2284 — 96th Congress: Intelligence Oversight Act of 1980." www.GovTrack.us. 1980. 20 January 2017 https://www.govtrack.us/congress/bills/96/s2284

[67] "The President's Intelligence Advisory Board." *The White House.* The United States Government. https://www.whitehouse.gov/administration/eop/piab

[68] Van Wagenen, James. "A Review of Congressional Oversight." Central Intelligence Agency. 27 June 2008. https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/csi-publications/csi-studies/studies/97unclass/wagenen.html.

A complex, fragile process

In theory, the R&P is a streamlined, collaborative effort between intelligence and policy leadership. However, even when stakeholders in both institutions are diligent, there is still the potential for something to go wrong. In practical application, the system has been mired with problems. This mechanism and its associated issues are not unique to the US; globally, governments and intelligence communities struggle with their versions of the R&P process in varying degrees.[69] However, in the US, the process has been particularly troublesome.

Over the course of decades, successive reports have attacked the inefficiencies of the requirements and priorities process. To address this, senior leadership in the intelligence and policy communities have engaged in a series of attempts to create a sustainable, enforceable, and effective mechanism. However, these well-intentioned endeavours have either created problems in other areas, or added layers of bureaucracy to an already encumbered system. As a result, the R&P process has remained clumsy and ineffective, causing both politicians and the intelligence community to treat it with indifference, if not disdain.

[69] For example, the Canadian Intelligence system has struggled with coordination efforts. See: Wark, Wesley. "The Intelligence-Law Enforcement Nexus" in Commission of Inquiry into the Investigation of the Bombing of Air India Flight, *Research Studies Volume 1: Threat Assessment and RSCMP-CSIS Cooperation* (Ottawa: Public Works and Government Services, 2010), 147-183

CHAPTER THREE: A HISTORY OF REQUIREMENTS AND PRIORITIES, AND AN ANALYTIC MODEL

The history of the requirements mechanism illuminates the problems which have hindered its efficacy since the creation of centralised intelligence. Although often overlooked in after-action inquiries, the R&P has been addressed, with varying degrees of urgency, in a decades-long string of reviews on general intelligence activities. Over time, intrepid policy and intelligence leaders have sought to create the perfect balancing act— an R&P with the right number of IRs, the ideal programming, streamlined collaboration, and efficient authorisations—to facilitate national security and foreign policy needs. However, the majority of changes have affected who controls the process, how priorities are amassed and ranked, and how those needs are communicated and disbursed across the intelligence community. Despite the best of intentions, these changes have amount to little more than a rebranding of the process. In large part, effective change has stymied the intelligence community, in part because of the fluctuating role of the lead intelligence official, departmental competition, and an inability to create a universally accepted and widely utilised version of the mechanism.

The DCI, Coordination, and Relationships

The National Security Act of 1947 was passed amidst a series of bureaucratic battles. The War and Navy Departments in particular were concerned about preserving self-interests[1], and saw the centralisation of intelligence as a threat to their primacy. It was in this environment that the CIA and National Security Council were established, and the first directives regarding the role of the Director of Central Intelligence emerged.

The NSC issued National Security Council Intelligence Directive 1 (NSCID-1) of 1948, setting forth the Duties and Responsibilities for the DCI. Key among these duties, the DCI was responsible for the coordination of intelligence activities.[2] To maintain the relationships needed for coordination, the Directive also established the Intelligence Advisory Committee

[1] Zegart, Amy. *Flawed by Design: The Evolution of the CIA, JCS, and NSC*, p.10.

[2] National Security Council. "National Security Council Intelligence Directive No. 1- Duties and Responsibilities." (NSCID-1) 1947. Found in: Warner, Michael, ed. *Central Intelligence: Origin and Evolution.* (Washington, DC: CIA History Staff, Center for the Study of Intelligence, Central Intelligence Agency, 2001), p. 33-36.

(IAC), consisting of leadership from across the intelligence agencies, with the DCI as Chair.[3] Amid acrimonious conditions, the success of DCI and the CIA, both in coordination and the development of national priorities,[4] relied on an effective working relationship with Cabinet members and agency leadership.

The Central Intelligence Agency was only mentioned twice in the 1947 National Security Act, first to establish its creation, and then to ensure the transfer of information from the former Central Intelligence Group.[5] The CIA was anticipated to be a central coordination point for intelligence, however, the agency changed rapidly after its inception. The CIA quickly became a participant in the foreign operational environment, causing the role of the DCI to become the source of community-wide frustration. As the Agency expanded in capabilities, other agencies began to view them as a competitor. The DCI role, as head of the CIA and coordinator of Central Intelligence seemed, to many, a conflict of interest, spawning mistrust and resentment, particularly among agencies under the Cabinet departments.

Attempts were made to address this perception; between 1948 and 1953, fifteen NSCIDs were created to steer the DCI role into a strong unifying figure, but actually resulted in eroding the role's authority.[6] Even the key responsibility of coordinating intelligence activities proved problematic; the CIA could coordinate interagency efforts, but he could not compel agencies to comply with his efforts. If the DCI applied his statutory power to enforce coordination, it could lead to confrontation with senior Cabinet officials or agency heads, particularly in the Department of Defense. The 1971 Schlesinger report, citing the 1961 DoD Directive which established the Defense Intelligence Agency, stated "Powerful interests in the military opposed, and continue to oppose, more centralized management of intelligence activities."[7]

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[3] The Intelligence Advisory Committee (IAC) which was comprised of the Director of the FBI, and intelligence chiefs from the Departments of State, Army, Navy, and Air Force, and from the Joint Staff (JCS), and the Atomic Energy Commission. See: NSCID-1 in Warner, Michael, ed*., Central Intelligence: Origin and Evolution*, p. 33-36.

[4] As outlined by: National Security Council Intelligence Directive No. 4. See: National Security Council. "National Security Council Intelligence Directive No. 4- National Intelligence Objectives." 1947. United States, Department of State, Office of the Historian. Found at: https://fas.org/irp/offdocs/nscid04.htm

[5] United States. Congress. *The* National *Security Act of 1947*. 80th Cong., 1 sess. Cong 253. 1947.

[6] Warner, Michael, ed*. Central Intelligence: Origin and Evolution.* (Washington, DC: CIA History Staff, Center for the Study of Intelligence, Central Intelligence Agency, 2001), p. 7.

[7] The Schlesinger report, as found in: *Final Report of the Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities, United States Senate: Together with Additional, Supplemental, and Separate Views.* (Washington: U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1976)

The DCI could do little more than prod, urge, and suggest coordination efforts, but these attempts were often ignored as Cabinet-led agencies tended to their own departmental requirements.

Apart from coordination, the DCI was hampered with restrictions in his capacity to develop budgets and programming. While the role called for the director to determine the programming of resources, he could not enforce his decisions, nor could he punish agencies for disregarding his recommendations. Thus, as Davies notes, the DCI's option was to issue a 'sternly worded memo' or appeal to the President, yet there was no guarantee that the President would reprove the Cabinet member who reprogrammed the funds.[8]

Complicating the DCI's circumstances, successive presidents had afforded the NSC greater degrees of autonomy and influence,[9] and the DCI was increasingly side-stepped. For instance, as the NSC took more responsibility in the budget process,[10] it allowed departmental agencies to further circumvent the DCI, making the director's role increasingly impotent. Consequently, a vicious cycle emerged. As the community-wide role became more restrictive, DCIs spent a greater portion of their time cultivating CIA activities, where they had greater liberties. This in turn generated more mistrust from the community, who began to view the DCI "both umpire and pitcher."[11] Thus, the leadership role in three major aspects of the R&P were impeded: the DCI's role in coordination never fully materialised, he could not enforce efforts toward intelligence requirements, and the responsibility for programming was co-opted. Over the following years, the problem has vexed many administrations, frustrated successive DCIs, and resulted in a perpetual cycle of debates and role reform for the intelligence leadership.

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[8] Davies, Philip H. J. *Intelligence and Government in Britain and the United States: A Comparative Perspective. Vol. 1,* p. 31.

[9] "Milestones: 1945–1952 - Office of the Historian." *U.S. Department of State.* Accessed. 28 Mar. 2016. https://history.state.gov/milestones/1945-1952/national-security-act.

[10] Davies, Philip H. J. *Intelligence and Government in Britain and the United States: A Comparative Perspective. Vol. 1, p.* 152.

[11] Absher, Kenneth Michael, Michael C. Desch, and Roman Popadiuk. *Privileged and Confidential: The Secret History of the President's Intelligence Advisory Board*. (Lexington, KY: U of Kentucky, 2012), p. 44.

A Mobius Strip of Reform

Months before the establishment of the National Security Act, the requirements process that was in place prior to centralised intelligence had already begun to show problems. In January 1947, Theodore Babbitt from the Office of Reports and Estimates (ORE) issued a memo recommending that the issuing of National Intelligence Requirements for specific foreign areas be discontinued.[12] Babbitt contended that the process suffered from critical defects: the requirements were too detailed, inflexible, and redundant. He argued that these issues might hamper effective output from the ORE and the Central Intelligence Group (CIG, precursor to the CIA).[13] The memo served as a foreshadowing that would haunt the R&P process.

The R&P structure remained relatively unchanged between 1947 and 1973. In part because of the tenuous relationship between the DCI and the broader community, changes took the form of shunting the mechanism from one department or coordinating committee to another.[14] Initially, the DCI was tasked with duties relating to the collection and consolidation of intelligence needs, but by 1954, the Board of National Estimates had taken the lead role, working in conjunction with the Intelligence Advisory Committee.[15] By 1959, clandestine collection requirements were conducted by the Interagency Clandestine Collection Priorities Committee (IPC).[16] In 1963, the mechanism had come full circle, moving to the Office of the DCI (ODCI) as a function of the Secretariat of the US Intelligence Board (USIB) and the National Intelligence Program Evaluation (NIPE) staff. Finally, during the early 1970s, the DCI would

[12] Babbitt, Theodore. "Memorandum for the Director of Central Intelligence." Letter. 1947. https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP80R01731R003600060013-7.pdf

[13] Ibid.

[14] Since 1947, the US intelligence community has seen the creation and/or abandonment of a series of coordinating boards, oversight committees, fusion groups, and role or process modifications. For instance, Davies details no less than six coordinating boards that existed between 1947 and 2014: The United States Joint Intelligence Committee (1942-1961); Intelligence Advisory Board (1946-47); Intelligence Advisory Committee (1948-1958); United States Intelligence Board (1958-76) National Foreign Intelligence Board (1976-2005); National Intelligence Board (2007- current). See: Davies, Philip H. J. *Intelligence and Government in Britain and the United States: A Comparative Perspective. Vol. 1*, p. 36, 105.

[15] United States. Central Intelligence Agency. Office of National Estimates. *IAC-D-50/3, National Intelligence Objectives.* 3 December, 1954. https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP85S00362R000400070004-6.pdf

[16] *Director of Central Intelligence Directive No. 5/5: Charter for Interagency Clandestine Collection Priorities Committee*. February 1959. https://archive.org/stream/CIADocuments/CIA-822_djvu.txt

oversee R&P process with guidance from the USIB and the newly formed Intelligence Resource Advisory Committee (IRAC).[17]

The R&P function was mired in a series of ever-changing interagency groups, but none of these successfully addressed the problems within the mechanism. Meanwhile, a flurry of reports underscored the need for change. In 1956, Eisenhower's President's Board of Consultants on Foreign Intelligence Activities (PBCFIA) began issuing a string of recommendations on improving IC functionality. Throughout the board's eight reports, two major themes emerged: community-wide coordination, and duplication of intelligence efforts.[18] In the Board's final report in 1961, it was suggested that the DCI be separated from the CIA in order to attend solely to the duties of coordination.[19] Over the next several decades, calls to separate the DCI from the CIA became a recurrent theme.

Ten years after PBCFIA's first report, little had changed. A 1966 report on Foreign Intelligence Collection Requirements[20] lambasted the R&P process. The report emphasised that the mechanism was overburdened and ineffective, and the requirements amounted to "a lamentably defective document" driven by a "ritual justification" of any consumer's desire.[21] The report derided the list of thousands of intelligence collection requirements, from crucial to trivial, as far too long to be effective. Further, intelligence activities were too costly, there was little communication between producers and consumers, and senior intelligence officials were seen as unlikely to correct the situation.[22] In the aftermath of this report, no significant corrective action was taken. Two years later, the 1968 Eaton report underscored the same issues. Although the report was intended to cover emerging concerns in signals intelligence

[17] Nixon, Richard. Memorandum to the Secretary of State et. al. "Organization and Management of US Foreign Intelligence Community". 5 Nov. 1971; formalised into NSCID 1 on 17 Feb, 1972. Found in: Warner. *Central Intelligence: Origin and Evolution*, p. 75-88.

[18] Absher, Desch, and Popadiuk. *Privileged and Confidential*, p. 28-44.

[19] Ibid., 44.

[20] "Foreign Intelligence Collection Requirements" December, 1966. Referred to as the "Cunningham report" in the Church Commission inquiries. See: Wilderotter, James A. "Reports requested by the Senate Select Committee." Memorandum, 7 May 1975; and *Final Report of the Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities, United States Senate: Together with Additional, Supplemental, and Separate Views.* (Washington: U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1976)

[21] *Final Report of the Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities, United States Senate: Together with Additional, Supplemental, and Separate Views.* https://archive.org/stream/finalreportofsel01unit/finalreportofsel01unit_djvu.txt

[22] Ibid.

(SIGINT), among its first recommendations were calls for strengthening DCI's role, and attempting to rectify the R&P problem as it related to SIGINT functions.[23]

In 1969 and 1970, President Nixon commissioned reports on the state of the foreign intelligence community. A blue-ribbon panel led by Gilbert Fitzhugh was tasked with reporting on Department of Defense management, and James Schlesinger, Deputy Director of the OMB, was tasked with recommendations on improving intelligence community efficacy. The Fitzhugh panel found that defence intelligence lacked coordination and was not responsive to needs, and could benefit from reorganisation and centralisation of its leadership under the office of the Secretary of Defence (OSD). [24] Schlesinger's report was a yet another reiteration of the same list of concerns: a disorganised, competitive community; a failing, costly mechanism; an interminable list of requirements.[25] As others before him, Schlesinger called for reforms, including the strengthening of the role of the DCI and cutting costs while improving efficiency.[26] In response to these reports, Nixon enacted small reforms to the foreign intelligence community.[27] The DCI's authority was enhanced with regard to community-wide planning, review, and evaluation of programs and activities.[28] The DCI would also reconcile requirements within budget constraints, and annually submit a consolidated National Foreign Intelligence Program (NFIP) budget to the OMB. Nixon also reconstituted the US Intelligence Board, and established the National Security Council Intelligence Committee (NSCIC)[29], and the Intelligence Resource Advisory Committee (IRAC)[30], to work with the DCI in achieving these goals. These would be formalised into NSCID-1 in 1972.[31] The enhancement

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[23] Garthoff, Douglas F. *Directors of Central Intelligence as Leaders of the U.S. Intelligence Community, 1946-2005*. (Dulles, VA: Potomac, 2007), p. 60.

[24] These findings reaffirmed earlier a report submitted months earlier by Robert Froehlke. See: Garthoff. *Directors of Central Intelligence as Leaders of the U.S. Intelligence Community, 1946-2005*, p. 60-61.

[25] "The Evolution of the U.S. Intelligence Community-An Historical Overview." The Evolution of the U.S. Intelligence Community-An Historical Overview. Federation of American Scientists, 23 Feb. 1996. https://fas.org/irp/offdocs/int022.html.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Nixon Memorandum. 5 Nov. 1971.

[28] Ibid.

[29] To give guidance on intelligence needs and evaluation intelligence products from the perspective of the consumer.

[30] To advise the DCI on the allocation of resources among the approved requirements, and to ensure that there were no unwarranted duplications.

[31] National Security Council. "National Security Council Intelligence Directive No. 1- Duties and Responsibilities." (NSCID-1) 17 Feb, 1972. Found in: Warner. *Central Intelligence: Origin and Evolution*, p. 83-88.

of authority was a positive change for the DCI role, however the new updates still did not address the faltering mechanism. Meanwhile, Nixon dismissed DCI Richard Helms, and Schlesinger himself served a short stint as Director. During his three months in the role, he cut the number of CIA officers down by 7%, and in the aftermath of Watergate, issued a directive calling for employees to submit reports of CIA activity that were "outside the CIA's charter."[32] Schlesinger quickly went on to become the Secretary of Defense, and the DCI position was filled by William Colby.

KIQs and NITs: Attempts at Optimisation

It was Colby's arrival to the DCI role in 1973 that marked the first significant attempt to improve the R&P process. A reformist who had worked under James Schlesinger, Colby set himself a mission to reshape the community.[33] Colby immediately abolished the Office of National Estimates (ONE), which had produced highly-regarded intelligence estimates throughout the 1950s and 60s. Over time, the ONE's reputation diminished; it had been viewed as extension of the CIA because it was housed in, and staffed by the agency. In its place, Colby established the National Intelligence Council, to be comprised of a group of National Intelligence Officers (NIOs) that would come from across the community.[34] These officers would develop estimates and engage in consistent dialog on key issues with policymakers. With the benefit of these give-and-take discussions, Colby hoped to shape the intelligence community output to provide more sophisticated and relevant reports.

Colby also sought to streamline the existing R&P process which he felt "pretended to tell the community precisely what it should be reporting on."[35] He created a structure called "Key Intelligence Questions" (KIQs) which could identify current issues of major significance to policymakers. KIQs would serve the dual functions of compelling top-level customers to engage with the system, and confirming the most critical topics. This could then be used to

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[32] The Schlesinger Directive, issued 9 May 1973, states, "I have ordered all senior operating officials of this Agency to report to me immediately on any activities now going on, or might have gone on in the past, which might be considered to be outside the legislative charter of this Agency. I hereby direct every person presently employed by CIA to report to me on any such activities of which he has knowledge. I invite all ex-employees to do the same. Anyone who has such information should call my secretary and say that he wishes to talk to me about 'activities outside the CIA's charter'". See: Monje, Scott C. *The Central Intelligence Agency: A Documentary History*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 2008, p. 174.

[33] Garthoff. *Directors of Central Intelligence as Leaders of the U.S. Intelligence Community, 1946-2005*), p. 91.

[34] Immerman, Richard H. *The Hidden Hand: A Brief History of the CIA*. (Chichester, West Sussex: Malden, MA, 2014).

[35] Garthoff. *Directors of Central Intelligence as Leaders of the U.S. Intelligence Community, 1946-2005,* p. 117.

drive IC programming and direction, where the most pressing issues would be given highest priority.

The first set of KIQs, issued in early 1974, met with tepid response from both consumers and producers. The new system received little policymaker participation, and IC agencies argued that KIQs failed to sufficiently cover the whole of intelligence community efforts, and could compromise intelligence programming. However, Colby had never intended for the KIQs to accommodate all intelligence efforts; rather, they were an expression of the highest priorities. To accommodate the totality of intelligence targets, the DCI staff developed a comprehensive matrix of intelligence targets with a horizon of up to five years.[36] The matrix covered 120 nations against 83 intelligence topics. Each nation and topic combination was assigned a numerical priority from 1 to 7.[37]

It was Colby's intention that the KIQs and matrix would streamline and supersede the existing R&P mechanism, yet these innovations never took centre stage. Some agencies struggled to comply with the KIQs process, while others sought to opt out of the exercise completely. As a result, the new method of identifying national targets was conducted alongside the old, and these were conducted in addition to each agency's internal and departmental requirements.[38]

Colby argued that his matrix should replace the processes outlined in DCID 1/2, but by the end of 1974, his attentions began shift to other matters. In December, just months after the Watergate hearings ended, the "Family Jewels", compiled under former DCI Schlesinger's directive, were leaked by the New York Times. The Family Jewels was a 700-page document containing 20 years of reports on illicit CIA activities ranging from illegal surveillance and human experimentation on US citizens, to assassination plots against foreign leaders.

[36] Garthoff. *Directors of Central Intelligence as Leaders of the U.S. Intelligence Community, 1946-2005*, p. 91.

[37] *Final Report of the Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities, United States Senate: Together with Additional, Supplemental, and Separate Views.*

[38] Davies. *Intelligence and Government in Britain and the United States, Vol. 1*, p. 145.

Within weeks of the leak, the government had gone into damage control. The White House and each branch of Congress formed temporary[39] committees to investigate the activities of the intelligence community. In February 1975, Ford initiated the *President's Commission on CIA Activities within the United States*.[40] The commission was limited in its scope, focusing predominantly on CIA activities conducted on US soil, including the opening of mail and information collection on US citizens. The Commission's edited findings were issued in June of 1975,[41] ostensibly rushed to forestall findings at the Congressional level which could tarnish the administration. Meanwhile, the House of Representatives formed the *House Select Committee on Intelligence.* Chaired by Otis Pike, the Committed probed illicit activities, but also focused concerted effort on the intelligence community's budget and efficacy. The Committee's relations with the IC were acrimonious, and investigations hit several roadblocks.[42] As expected, the Pike Committee attributed the bulk of the responsibility for illicit CIA actions to the White House. The inquiry further concluded that the foreign intelligence budget was considerably larger than Congress had been told, and that budget oversight by Congress and the White House lay somewhere between "cursory and non-

[39] The congressional committees were precursors to permanent committees still in standing. In the Senate, the Church Committee was the predecessor to the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence. See: "S.Res.400- A resolution to establish a Standing Committee of the Senate on Intelligence Activities." United States. 94th Congress. May 1976. https://www.congress.gov/bill/94th-congress/senate-resolution/400.
In the House of Representatives, Resolution 658 was introduced to establish the House Permanent Select Committee on intelligence. See: "H.Res.658-Resolution to amend the Rules of the House of Representatives and establish a Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence." United Sates. 95th Congress. July 1977. https://www.congress.gov/bill/95th-congress/house-resolution/658.

[40] Known colloquially as the Rockefeller Commission, named after its chairman, Vice President Norman Rockefeller.

[41] The final report was significantly altered from within the White House. Sections concerning assassination plots against foreign diplomats were supressed, and the final report was edited by Deputy Assistant to the President, Dick Cheney. Among the edits was the removal of an extensive footnote commentary from former solicitor general Erwin Griswold, who argued that at least part of the CIA budgets should be made available to the public.[41] His comments were heavily edited and restated in the context of a recommendation to create a joint committee within congress to oversee intelligence agencies. See: "Ford White House Altered Rockefeller Commission Report." Ed. John Prados and Arturo Jimenez-Bacardi. *National Security Archive*, 29 Feb. 2016. Web. 21 Jan. 2017. http://nsarchive.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB543-Ford-White-House-Altered-Rockefeller-Commission-Report/; and Hills, Roderick. Memorandum: Working Copy of Rockefeller Commission Report. 4 June 1975. Found at https://assets.documentcloud.org/documents/2719476/Document-15.pdf (page 132, renumbered to p. 15, footnote 2).

[42] At a hearing on 31 July 1975, Elmer B. Staats, the Comptroller General of the General Accounting Office testified that they had no access to CIA budget details, and were unable to determine much or where the money was spent. In early August, former DCI William Colby refused outright to testify publicly on the intelligence budget. A day later he revealed privately that the greatest spending was dedicated to the USSR and China. Colby emphasised that without understanding the intricacies of the programs, the public could not draw any reasonable conclusions, and the release of budget information could be a threat to national security. See: Gerald K. Haines "The Pike Committee Investigations and the CIA." Central Intelligence Agency. 03 Aug. 2011. https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/kent-csi/vol42no5/html/v42i5a07p.htm

existent."[43] Senior CIA officials found the conclusions misleading and erroneous, and called for omitting nearly all references to the budget. Despite the Committee's objections, the House voted that the Executive branch should be allowed to censor the report.[44] Pike lambasted the decision. Days later, the committee decided that the report would not be released. Although the final report was never officially published, a draft was leaked to the *Village Voice* newspaper.[45]

Meanwhile, the Senate's *Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities*, chaired by Senator Frank Church, was the most comprehensive exploration into intelligence activities in US history. Submitted in April 1976, the report contained a history of intelligence agencies in the US since World War II, and examined reports of illicit actions by the community including plots to assassinate foreign leaders[46], CIA domestic spying and covert action abroad; NSA electronic surveillance, the FBI's Counter Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO), and joint CIA-FBI mail opening programs. The report also focused on the production of intelligence estimates, budgeting, and internal controls of the intelligence community.

The Church Committee also spent considerable space on the faltering R&P mechanism. The Committee amalgamated decades of reports on the state of the requirements and priorities process, and issued the collective findings as one overwhelming voice. The message remained the same: There has been no "no effective and systematic mechanism" to convert policymaker needs into intelligence requirements.[47] The Committee found that the greatest obstacle to improving efficient use of IC resources was the lack of communication between producers and consumers. Policymakers rarely took time to define their intelligence needs, and the when they did, the intelligence community was not always responsive. In fact, the

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[43] Ibid.

[44] Johnson, Loch K. *A Season of Inquiry: The Senate Intelligence Investigation*. (Lexington, KY: U of Kentucky, 1985), p. 182.

[45] Lowenthal. *Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy,* p. 506.

[46] President Ford hinted that the intelligence community had been involved in assassination plots. Rather than address them in the Presidential committee, the findings were passed on to the Church committee, who used the findings as a basis for further examination. See: Haines, Gerald K. "The Pike Committee Investigations and the CIA." https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/kent-csi/vol42no5/html/v42i5a07p.htm

[47] *Final Report of the Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities, United States Senate: Together with Additional, Supplemental, and Separate Views.* https://archive.org/stream/finalreportofsel01unit/finalreportofsel01unit_djvu.txt

Committee felt that overall, the real driver behind intelligence requirements was not the R&P process, but rather the collectors who utilised national intelligence requirements as a justification for their desired undertakings. Regarding community wide coordination, the DCI had been rendered impotent. While he could issue guidance, he could not enforce or compel the agencies to adhere to the national requirements. Therefore, internal requirements often supplanted his guidance. Further, because of the DCI's inability to define priorities, he also lacked the authority to allocate resources.[48]

Amid unprecedented scrutiny of the intelligence and policy communities, President Ford acted quickly to pre-empt Congressional findings which could likely cast a negative light on the Executive branch. Colby was dismissed on 4 November 1975. He had lost the President's trust by presenting the Family Jewels to Congress before sharing them with the White House. Colby was replaced by George H. W. Bush, whom Ford believed could close the acrimonious rift that had developed between the intelligence and policy communities in the wake of the Church, Pike, and Rockefeller investigations.

In February 1976, a month into Bush's tenure, Ford issued Executive Order 11905, before the Senate or House committees had submitted their findings. To address the most overt concerns, EO 11905 outlined restrictions on intelligence activities and established the Intelligence Oversight Board to address questions of legality. However, the Order also provided greater manoeuvrability for the DCI to address the issues related to national priorities. Ford established the Committee on Foreign Intelligence (CFI, which replaced Nixon's NSCIC), to be chaired by the DCI.[49] The Committee would control budget and resource allocation for the NFIP; establish the priorities for national (non-tactical) intelligence; and ensure compliance with the policy directions of the NSC. Ford also established the Operations Advisory Group (OAG) to provide policy recommendations and dissents to the president prior to special intelligence activities. He also abolished the United States Intelligence Board, allowing Bush to develop a new organisation with the goal of strengthening intelligence

[48] Ibid.

[49] Ford, Gerald (President). "Executive Order 11905- United States Foreign Intelligence Activities" Federal Register 44, no. 7703 (1976), as found in *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents*, Vol. 12, No. 8, 23 February 1976. Washington DC.

capabilities. Bush established the National Foreign Intelligence Board (NFIB) to address issues regarding intelligence policy.

The findings from the three commissions had also found that Congressional oversight of intelligence community activities and spending was lacking. Over the next two years, the House and Senate temporary intelligence committees would be formalised into the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence (HPSCI) in 1976, and the Senate Select Committee on intelligence (SSCI) in 1977. These committees were charged not only with conducting oversight duties on intelligence activities, but also were tasked with authorising funding for intelligence activities. Meanwhile, the National Security Council conducted supervisory controls, the Office of Management and Budget reviewed IC budgets, and the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board (PFIAB), advised the President on the quality of intelligence collection and assessment and oversight.

By the fall of 1976, Colby's KIQs had disappeared altogether. The forward to the final KIQs stated that the findings of report should not be applied to resource considerations.[50] Bush allowed the R&P to revert to its former state; his battles as DCI centred heavily on one issue: the intelligence budget. In previous years, budget oversight for the community had been limited to a small number of senior congressional members. In the wake of Watergate and the Family Jewels, two congressional committees—Church and Pike— had written that the annual intelligence budget should be disclosed to the public.[51] However, in part due to intervention by DCI Bush and President Ford, neither the Senate nor the House acted on the matter.

Another recommendation stemming from the findings was the was the consolidation of the intelligence budget. This raised hackles within the Department of Defense, which still remained staunchly opposed to centralised leadership in the form of the DCI. As chair of Committee on Foreign Intelligence, Bush found himself in a battle with leadership from the DoD, which already controlled 80% of the intelligence budget. Senior DoD leadership feared

[50] Garthoff. *Directors of Central Intelligence as Leaders of the U.S. Intelligence Community, 1946-2005*, p. 91

[51] Pike also believe that per the US Constitution, taxpayers should know what was being spent on intelligence community activity, and for what purposes. Article I, Section 9 of the US Constitution states: "No money shall be drawn from the Treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of public money be published from time to time."

that consolidated budget under the DCI would result in reprogramming funding away from DoD and DIA initiatives. Over the course of 1976, Bush navigated relations with the DoD, and by November of 1976, Bush, together with Deputy DCI Admiral Daniel Murphy, worked with the CFI and counterparts in Defence Intelligence to complete the first consolidated National Foreign Intelligence Program. However, a section within the summary of the budget noted that despite the restored authorities granted to the DCI, his role mostly applied to the review at the end of the budget cycle, with only figurative authorities regarding central controls.[52]

Bush's tenure ended as the incoming Carter administration replaced Ford; he was relieved of duty on 20 January 1977. Carter appointed Stansfield Turner to the role of DCI in March 1977. Like Colby, Turner was a reformist who sought to identify the priorities that were of greatest significance to intelligence consumers. In an effort to streamline the R&P, a challenge Colby failed to meet, Turner instituted National Intelligence Topics (NITs), a set of fifty-nine questions concerning the fifty-nine topics that were most significant to policymakers.[53] Turner felt that unlike Colby's KIQs, the NITs were superior because intelligence users participated in their formulation. In turn, they would provide more detailed guidance regarding intelligence requirements, and would be regularly updated. The NITs were launched in August of 1978 with significant policymaker involvement. However, by Turner's own admission, the first update, in December 1978, "was, frankly, not very successful."[54] Turner had found that despite his best efforts, his NITs had fared no better than Colby's KIQs. Within a year, however, the problems that haunted previous iterations of the R&P processes began to arise. Between the 1978 and 1979 updates, the list of priorities grew 45%, adding 30 additional topics and only removing three. Further, despite his initial success, Turner struggled to keep decision makers engaged in the process, and grappled with conveying and coordinating needs throughout the intelligence community.

By the end of his first year in office, Jimmy Carter had formalised his restructuring of the intelligence community through Executive Order 12036. The order was considerably more comprehensive than Ford's, closing loopholes that had been left open regarding intelligence

[52] Garthoff. *Directors of Central Intelligence as Leaders of the U.S. Intelligence Community, 1946-2005*, p. 147.

[53] Laqueur, Walter. *The Uses and Limits of Intelligence*, p. 94.

[54] Garthoff. *Directors of Central Intelligence as Leaders of the U.S. Intelligence Community, 1946-2005*. p. 146.

activities that were sanctioned or prohibited. Carter established the NSC-level Policy Review Committee (PRC), which established requirements and priorities for national foreign intelligence, and reviewed the NFIP to ensure that resource allocation addressed the priorities across NCS departments.[55] Carter also formed the Special Coordination Committee (SCC), a was a repurposing of Ford's OAG, but with the additional responsibility of conducting annual reviews of ongoing special activities and sensitive collection operations.

Carter's Executive Order also formalised the National Foreign Intelligence Board (NFIB)[56] to advise the DCI on the budget and facilitate exchanges of information between US agencies and with foreign governments. Further, the National Intelligence Tasking Center was created and staffed with military and civilian personnel who were tasked with translating requirements and priorities into specific objectives and targets for the intelligence community. Finally, the National Foreign Assessment Center was created, with cylinders for Policy Support, Regional and Political Analysis, Scientific Intelligence, and Weapons Intelligence.[57] They served as the analytical arm of the CIA, responsible for producing finished foreign intelligence. However, this organisational structure was short-lived. Ultimately, Turner's NITs process was retired in 1981, when Turner left the DCI post, and the incoming administration would restructure the intelligence community, superseding Carter's configuration.

In December 1981, President Ronald Reagan superseded Carter's Executive Order 11905 with EO12333, which would remain in place until 2004. Among the changes made, Reagan eliminated NSC-level working groups, including the Policy Review Committee and Special Coordination Committee. Groups below this level, including the National Foreign Intelligence Board and National Intelligence Tasking Center, were also deformalized. In their place, the DCI was charged with establishing National Foreign Intelligence Advisory Groups.[58] The groups were responsible for advising on issues of priorities, coordination, and interagency

[55] Carter, James (President). "Executive Order 12036- United States Intelligence Activities." Federal Register 43, no. 3674 (1978). Washington DC. https://fas.org/irp/offdocs/eo/eo-12036.htm

[56] Ibid.

[57] Immerman. *The Hidden Hand: A Brief History of the CIA*, p. 117.

[58] Reagan, Ronald (President). "Executive Order 12333- United States Intelligence Activities." Federal Register 46, no. 59941 (1981). Washington DC. https://www.cia.gov/about-cia/eo12333.html

exchanges of foreign intelligence, arrangements with foreign governments and similar matters—in short, the issues that the NFIB had addressed. Incoming DCI William (Bill) Casey kept NFIB in place. In addition, EO12333 gave the CIA exclusive authority to conduct covert activities (unless the President deemed that another agency would be more suited)[59] and the DCI role in managing the NFIP budget was slightly diminished. By January 1982, further changes had been made to intelligence structuring. DCI Casey restructured the National Foreign Assessment Center along geographical lines, and absorbed it into the Directorate of Intelligence.

Over the course of the 1980s, there was a push in Congress to engage the DCI in leading the broader intelligence community. However, cabinet-driven agencies, particularly those under the Department of Defence remained reluctant to relinquish controls. Thus, as occurred over previous decades, the DCI retreated into concentrating on the CIA, where he maintained significant control.[60]

Changes: The Cold War Ends, The War on Terror Begins

With the end of the Cold War, the nature of the priorities themselves shifted significantly. The Soviet Union had fallen, and with it, many priorities of the last decades evaporated. Bill Clinton, the first fully post-Cold War president, leveraged the change in priorities to redefine American foreign policy strategy and conduct an overhaul of the requirements and priorities mechanism.

Clinton imposed Presidential Decision Directive 35, which caused two major changes to the R&P structure. First, under this directive, priorities were placed in tiers of importance ranked 0 through 4. Tier 0 represented the most urgent and immediate concerns (usually military operations), followed by Tiers 1 and 1A, which respectively addressed consistently hostile nations (referred to as “Hard Targets”), and transnational issues impacting US security.[61] Second, modifications to priorities required presidential authorisation, and the directive

[59] Ibid.

[60] Center for the Study of Intelligence, ed. *The Creation of the Intelligence Community: Founding Documents.* (McLean, Va.: Central Intelligence Agency, 2007), p. 12.

[61] Nations at Tier 1 were also covered through a “Hard Targets process” to ensure that coverage gaps in intelligence were identified and addressed. See: House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence. "IC21: The Intelligence Community in the 21st Century." Staff Study. 104th Congress, 2nd Session. (Government Printing Office, 1996).

called for regular reviews, particularly of the highest intelligence priorities.[62] However shortly after its implementation in 1994, Clinton became embroiled in personal and domestic concerns, and review of priorities fell to the wayside throughout the remainder of his presidency.

By 1996, a staff study by HPSCI found that PDD-35 had worsened the requirements problem. The unequal distribution of priorities meant that lower tier requirements suffered greatly, and items at Tier 0, meant for short term crises, became filled with protracted conflicts. As a result, long-term estimates suffered.[63] Further, in the absence of regular presidential review, the intelligence community could not remove priorities as their significance changed. This left dead issues among the list of priorities, kept emerging issues at lower tiers, and caused a detrimental impact on other requirements, eventually breaking down the priority system.[64] Thus, for six years the USIC was in "a procedural straitjacket from which it could not escape."[65]

In 2000, the National Commission for the review of the National Reconnaissance Office warned that not only was the R&P process failing, but there was no mechanism to notify policymakers of the problems caused by assigning military force protection to Tier 0. Further, the report stated that the directive had not been reviewed to determine whether it had been properly applied, or whether it should remain in place.[66]

With no changes to the Directive, by the time George H. W. Bush took office in 2001, the National Security Agency had to contend with 1,500 formal requirements and 20,000 "essential elements of information" required by policymakers.[67] In May 2001, Bush issued National Security Presidential Directive (NSPD) 5, calling for a comprehensive review of

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[62] "An Interagency Working Group (IWG) will meet at least quarterly to identify and make recommendations regarding foreign policy issues or crisis situations which should be afforded Tier 0 status. The IWG will also review on an annual basis Tiers I A and I B and recommend changes as appropriate to the National Security Advisor." See: United States. National Security Agency. *The Communicator: NSA's Employee Publication*. 40th ed. Vol. III. Washington, DC (1995). https://www.nsa.gov/public_info/_files/communicators/Communicator-III-40.pdf

[63] House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence. "IC21: The Intelligence Community in the 21st Century." Staff Study. 104th Congress, 2nd Session. (Government Printing Office, 1996).

[64] Ibid.

[65] Davies, Philip H. J. *Intelligence and Government in Britain and the United States: A Comparative Perspective. Vol. 1.* 145.

[66] National Commission for the Review of the National Reconnaissance Office, Final Report (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 2000), p. 51.

[67] Zegart. *Spying Blind: The CIA, the FBI, and the Origins of 9/11*, p. 97.

intelligence, including: potential challenges and opportunities; the state of intelligence and counterintelligence operations; examinations of new methods of intelligence collection, analysis and distribution capabilities; and the reorganisation of the intelligence community's structure.[68] Bush appointed Brent Scowcroft to head the review commission.[69] The final study was completed in December 2001, however by that the report was never published, overtaken by greater events.

Due to the absence of regular reviews under PDD 35, on 10 September 2001, Afghanistan was considered a Tier 3 issue, and the US military had not ordered a new map of the nation for four years. [70] A day later, Afghanistan would become one of the most significant countries for US national security. The tragedy of September 11, 2001 dramatically underscored the need for change, and narrowed the administration's focus to a more militarised perspective. Although the Scowcroft report remains classified, it was reported that this commission, as others before it, recommended once again that the DCI be cleaved from the CIA. Further, he reportedly recommended that three technical collection agencies within the Department of Defense move under control of the DCI, as to give the Director broader controls.[71] Secretary of Defence Donald Rumsfeld and DCI George Tenet opposed the findings.

In the aftermath of 9/11, Rumsfeld proposed the creation of a new undersecretary of defence for intelligence. John Deutch, former Deputy Secretary of Defense and former DCI under Clinton, urged that this post could further upset the unequal balance of authority between the DCI and the Department of Defence.[72] The post could likely advance military objectives to the detriment of broader national interests; and a new deputy could potentially set budget priorities and refuse proposals put forward by the DCI.[73] Despite Deutch's public reservations,

[68] Bush, George W (President). "National Security Presidential Directive/NSPD-5- Intelligence." White House. Washington DC. (2001) https://fas.org/irp/offdocs/nspd/nspd-5.pdf

[69] Turner, Stansfield. *Burn before Reading: Presidents, CIA Directors, and Secret Intelligence.* (New York: Hyperion, 2005), p. 243-244

[70] Zegart. *Spying Blind: The CIA, the FBI, and the Origins of 9/11*, p. 97.

[71] Turner. *Burn before Reading*, p. 243-244

[72] Deutch, John. "The Smart Approach to Intelligence." *The Washington Post* [Washington, D.C.] 9 Sept. 2002: A17.

[73] Ibid.

the post was created under the National Defence Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2003,[74] and the DCI post was further weakened.

In 2004, the 9/11 Commission released a report of its findings, concluding, among other things, that there was a weakness in intelligence coordination.[75] This would become the final report to articulate coordination weaknesses as the result of the DCI's dual-hatted post. While the DCI was never cleaved from the CIA, Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act (IRTPA) of 2004 established the new position of Director of National Intelligence to head the USIC.[76] The move meant that the DCI would now become *DCIA*, remaining the head of the agency, responsible only for activities pertaining to the CIA, and reporting to the DNI.

In order to remove the mistrust from other agencies, a person holding DNI is prohibited from concurrently serving as the Director of the CIA or other intelligence agency. [77] The IRTPA also reignited the intentions of the National Security Act by restoring the DNI to a more significant role in the coordination and budgetary control of intelligence activities, including the responsibility for managing the execution of the National Intelligence Program (NIP), and the ability to "transfer and reprogram funds within the Program."[78] However the perennial problem of community-wide authority and collaboration still persisted. The technical collection agencies were never pulled from the Department of Defense, as Scowcroft suggested. Further, the DNI was not given direct authority over collection and analysis throughout the community. Finally, while the DNI could build the national intelligence budget, he could not enforce the execution of its programming across the agencies. The post that was aimed at correcting the weaknesses of the DCI was replaced with a post that was just as—if not more—feeble. Johnson states that in the DNI, the US intelligence community received an

[74] United States. Cong. House. Bob Stump National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2003. 107th Cong., 2nd sess. HR PUBLIC LAW 107–314. (Washington, D.C. GPO), 2002. https://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/PLAW-107publ314/pdf/PLAW-107publ314.pdf

[75] United States Government. *9/11 Commission Report: The Official Report of the 9/11 Commission and Related Publications*. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 2004) Executive Summary, p. 22

[76] "Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act of 2004, US Congress §§ 108-458 (2004).

[77] Ibid.

[78] Ibid.

intelligence director with "ambiguous authority, a small staff, and detached from most of the government's reservoir of intelligence analysts at Langley."[79]

Meanwhile in February 2003, President Bush issued National Security Presidential Directive 26 to address intelligence priorities. The Directive established the National Intelligence Priorities Framework, the R&P structure which is still in place today. Although the NIPF remains classified, components of the framework have been released through Intelligence community directives. The most recent, issued in 2015, states that the Deputy Director of National Intelligence for Intelligence Integration (DDNI/II) currently oversees the development and management of the Framework. Secretaries and Cabinet-level heads of departments and agencies are charged with providing input to the list of needs. In turn, the heads of IC elements, Functional Managers, and National Intelligence Managers (NIMs) will serve to inform the NIPF. Together, the President and the National Security Advisor determine the top-level issues, with specific consideration regarding the value of signals intelligence, per PPD 28.[80] The DNI approves the NIPF and establishes the priorities. The NIPF is reviewed quarterly, and published annually or on an ad-hoc basis as emerging issues arise.[81]

As the Obama administration exits office and is replaced by new faces, the R&P process is once again subject to change, as it has been since its inception. Each attempt to optimise, the process, whether on the policy or intelligence side, brings with a new series of problems—or at least a new vector of recurrent problems. The changes to the R&P process, whether over decades or in recent, years have amounted in large part to a Mobius strip of reform, creating further disdain and frustration. As one CIA official stated, "the 'requirements system' has few friends. It is untidy, encumbered by process, and generally unaccountable."[82] Yet it remains the necessary evil that binds the communities.

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[79] Johnson, Loch K. *The Threat on the Horizon: An inside Account of America's Search for Security after the Cold War.* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2011), p. 397.

[80] Obama, Barack. "Presidential Policy Directive/PPD-28 - Signals Intelligence Activities." *White House.* 17 January 2014. https://fas.org/irp/offdocs/ppd/ppd-28.pdf

[81] "Intelligence Community Directive 204-National Intelligence Priorities Framework". 2 January 2015.

https://www.dni.gov/files/documents/ICD/ICD%20204%20National%20Intelligence%20Priorities%20Framework.pdf

[82] Kennedy, Robert, ed. *Of Knowledge and Power: The Complexities of National Intelligence.* (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2008), p. 13.

Toward Optimising Investigation: A Model

Despite the pendulum of course correction and setbacks, the R&P is a vital, omnipresent function. As explained in chapter 2, the mechanism binds the communities and establishes the trajectory for national security and foreign policy intelligence targets. As a result, poor execution of the R&P process can manifest as weaknesses at any stage of the mandate-level functions. These *mandate-level failures* can cause a misalignment of the mandate with policy needs or intelligence capabilities.

This is not to say that all failures stem from the R&P process, or that the R&P process always fails. The R&P process, when conducted properly and adhered to, can lead to a higher chance of success in national security endeavours. It must also be acknowledged that some failures are indeed the result of errors made in either the intelligence or policy community. But in some cases, failure may be the result of a malfunction in one or multiple components at the mandate level. Further, where one component of the mandate-level functions performs properly, another may fail. As a result, it is possible to observe a situation where successes are nested within broader failures, and vice versa.

Importantly, failures stemming from the R&P cannot be classed as strictly intelligence or policy failure. Rather, they are collaborative failures. The integration of intelligence and policy in the process means there is a collective responsibility for malfunctions in the R&P. But problematically in the US, inquiries tend to avoid the idea of collective failure, perhaps in part because of the binary construct.

In the UK, Robertson warned in 1988 that it would be a grave error if the focus on public accountability were to obscure the real issue of intelligence requirements and management.[83] This rings true in the US as well; discussion of *systemic* success or failure, particularly in the R&P or its mandate-level functions, remains palpably absent. Davies is among the few who have called attention to this cavernous void in US and Western intelligence literature, noting that intelligence authors focus on single agencies while dispensing with the mechanisms that bind the communities together.[84] In the void of awareness, the binary construct is allowed to command public discourse. But the collective blindfold to the R&P does not facilitate greater

[83] Robertson, Ken G. "Accountable Intelligence—The British Experience." *Conflict Quarterly*. Winter 1988: 13-28.

[84] Davies, Philip H. J. *Intelligence and Government in Britain and the United States: A Comparative Perspective. Vol. 1*, p. 32.

understanding. This foundational mechanism has been troubled since its inception, and when mishandled, could arguably be the weakest link in the intelligence production chain. This raises the question*: if intelligence production is based on such a critical process, why is it not factored into investigations of failure?*

If the goal of these probes is to ensure that successes can be recreated, and mistakes can be corrected, then reasonably, both communities would benefit from including observation of the R&P process into after-action investigations. The current approach, relying on the binary construct, resists examination of processes that are conducted jointly. Because the tendency is to observe failures at a departmental or agency level, this approach is insufficient to accurately pinpoint causes of failure. In addition, there is no universal, or even commonly utilised model employed to examine the causes for outcomes, and certainly none that is applied at an institutional level. Thus, a model that introduces the R&P and factors mandate-level functions into examinations is likely to produce more in-depth, significant assessments.

It is proposed here that a new model can supersede the binary construct and take into consideration the influence of mandate-level functions within the R&P. In turn, this could cause a reconsideration of how national security events are examined. A formalised method of investigation, which incorporates the R&P process, can allow the full spectrum of intelligence and policy cooperation to be examined from the top down, addressing the mechanism, how it works when it is done right, and what can happen when it goes wrong. An expanded model makes it possible to hold both institutions, as well as the mechanism, accountable for outcomes, while still allowing an assessment of failures or weaknesses that may have occurred solely in the intelligence or policy realms.

The model focuses predominantly on the four mandate components derived from the R&P: level of priority, budgets and resources, interagency cooperation, and operational clearance. Because there are four key areas of observation, it becomes possible to assess whether malfunctions resulted throughout the entire shift, or whether a failure arose because one particular component of the mandate failed. This aids in showing nested successes and failures that can occur at the mandate level, and reconciles how some events that initially appeared to be failures can arguably be perceived as successes.

The R&P-centric model debunks the perception of the firewall, and uniquely examines intelligence and policy actions simultaneously. This forces acknowledgment of collaboration and accountability at the highest levels, and only after clearing this hurdle does it assess the unique roles of intelligence and policy.

As a result, where the binary construct looks like this:

	Intelligence (core functions: collection and analysis)	Policy (core functions: decision making and response)
Success		
Failure		

an R&P-centric model is expanded, as such:

Table 4: R&P-centric model

	MANDATE-LEVEL FUNCTIONS: DETERMINED BY COLLABORATIVE R&P PROCESS				BINARY MODEL		
	Priority level (or timely escalation)	Budget / resource adjustment	Functional interagency cooperation	Operational authorisations	**Intelligence** (core functions: compliance, collection, and analysis)	**Policy** (core functions: compliance, decision making and response)	OUTCOME
Success							
Failure							

The expanded assessment provides deeper observation of systemic functions, identifies nested successes and failures, and now provides multiple possible categories for outcomes:

1. **Intelligence** success or failure—where responsibility lies specifically within the intelligence community with direct impact on the outcomes.
2. **Policy** success or failure—where responsibility lies specifically in the policy community with direct impact on the outcomes.
3. **Mandate-level** successes or failure— where collaborative activities engaged in by both the intelligence and policy communities succeed or fail, with direct impact on the outcomes.[85]

[85] There is a possibility of individual, simultaneous successes or failures from the intelligence and policy communities.

The mandate level outcomes identify the collaborative responses between intelligence and policy. This offers an indication of whether the joint community leadership escalated the priority in a timely manner, with sufficient means, and toward the relevant trajectory. In sum, the proposed model forces simultaneous, system-wide observations, allowing examiners to capture rapid changes at the R&P and mandate levels. The model still accommodates outcomes that may occur at the agency, community, and institutional level, but also acknowledges that failure does sometimes stem from collaborative efforts.

As previously discussed, the existing definitions of success and failure are varied and subjective. Subjectivity cannot be wholly removed from the model, however success or failure in individual components of the model are determined by whether the objective was met. In terms of the overall outcomes, success or failure is established based on whether the final result detrimentally impacts national security or foreign policy.

Because the R&P is one of the most sensitive components of national security, the final list of priorities, and their associated budgets, tend to remain classified. Over time, some fragments of information are declassified, either through the voluntary release of information by the US government, or through requests through the Freedom of Information Act. In some cases, however, the information remains classified, and requests for release are declined. To an outside observer, this may make observation of the R&P process and its efficacy difficult to assess. However, it is still possible to examine the influence of the mechanism.

When urgent issues arise in a low-priority area, the influence of the R&P and mandate-level functions become significantly more visible. As discussed, the mechanism has built-in flexibility to accommodate 'ad-hoc' priorities. When this occurs, the urgent issue is 'shifted' from low priority to a higher position. Circumstances such as surprise events or unexpected conflicts which impact US national security or interest can trigger this *mandate shift,* causing the realignment of priorities and triggering adjustments through at all mandate-level functions.

In the simplest terms, a mandate shift comes about when an urgent event is identified and transmitted to intelligence and policy figures. If the leadership determines that the event is a substantial threat, they will initiate a realignment of the mandate-level functions for the intelligence community. These include raising the priority, providing resources, initiating

interagency collaborative efforts, and providing the necessary authorisations. Key officials or working groups utilise the incoming stream of intelligence to make policy decisions. If more information is necessary, they may issue new requirements to address the relevant threat vector.

The key characteristic of ad-hoc priorities is that they are considered transient. A shift which accommodates an urgent event does not lower the priority of other requirements; it only raises the priority of the urgent issue for a temporary period. If the crisis appears to have long-term ramifications, it will then be subject to scrutiny and if necessary, formalised into an intelligence priority.

If the R&P malfunctions during a mandate shift, it can result in problems with the mandate-level functions. Any one of these issues can delay or restrict action in subsequent stages of intelligence production[86], ultimately affecting the outcome of response. When these malfunctions occur, they closely resemble intelligence failure, or a false positive within the binary construct.

By applying this approach to events where a rapid mandate shift occurs, more light can be shed on how the R&P mechanism mobilises to accommodate the event. In this application, the model determines not only whether the mandate shift took place, but also the timing, vector, [87] and efficacy of the shift. If the mandate shift occurs in a smooth and timely manner, it will raise the priority level, and provide adjustments to resources, collaboration, and authorisation. This increases the likelihood of a successful outcome. If there are delays, restrictions, or otherwise prohibitive events which hamper a successful mandate shift, then potential for failure can arise, but now it is possible to pinpoint the nested successes and failures, and identify how they impacted the overall outcome.

[86] Intelligence production is commonly visualised as an "intelligence cycle," however, the concept of a cycle has been a contentious source of debate; it relays an oversimplified, sequential cycle despite the reality that many processes occur in parallel. Further, the cycle does not present an adequate representation of the relationship between intelligence and policy at each stage of the process. For this reason, this research applies the terms "intelligence production" or "lifecycle of an intelligence directive" in lieu of "intelligence cycle". See: Hulnick, Arthur S. "What's wrong with the Intelligence Cycle?" *Intelligence and National Security*, 21:6 (2006), p. 959-979; and Phythian, Mark. *Understanding the Intelligence Cycle*. (London: Routledge, 2013).

[87] Vector refers to the specific issue or issues that the intelligence community is asked to observe during priority escalation. An urgent issue may encounter a successful mandate shift, but the intelligence needs may be geared toward an incorrect objective.

With this in mind, three cases have been identified where the intelligence community was accused of failure to provide early warning. The events are tested against the proposed model is assess whether the model is feasible, and whether it is successful at pinpointing which component (or components) influenced the outcome of a response. Through process tracing, we can apply the approach methodically to re-examine the cases.

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY

As discussed, the binary construct characterises success or failure as the result of either intelligence or policy community actions. However, when armed with an understanding of the R&P, these attributions are found to be oversimplified, and their conclusions subject to misdiagnosis. It is hypothesised that a new model which incorporates observation of the R&P and mandate-level functions can supersede the current construct. The model examines the timing and the efficacy of changes during a surprise event, observing nested successes and failures. This will aid in reconciling root causes of failure that are overlooked in the existing construct.

Process Tracing

To test the utility of an R&P-centric model, historical cases of national interest will be resurrected and re-assessed. Selected historical cases with similar outcomes[1] are unpacked anew; historical evidence re-interrogated from the perspective of the R&P process and mandate-level functions. In doing so, it is possible to ascertain whether one or more components (or no components) of the R&P process can be perceived as causal mechanisms that result in the success or failure of national security/national interest objectives. This research will employ the Theory Testing (TT) process tracing method to test the new model.

Process tracing provides a more systematic approach to qualitative evidence than those offered by historical methodologies used in political science. Historical research reconstructs past events in consideration of the present, using qualitative or quantitative methods. Quantitative research is based on numerical measurements of specific aspects of phenomena to test causal hypotheses. In contrast, qualitative research tends to focus on one or a few cases, contextualising history through interviews or in-depth analysis of historical materials. In both methods, the researcher may examine one aspect of the events in extensive detail. Political scientists have argued the merits of quantitative and qualitative analysis—whether historical research is made stronger by using scientific methods or historic investigation. However, both methods ultimately rely on inferences made using empirical evidence. Process

[1] In these cases, the outcome is that the event was believed to be "missed" by the US intelligence and policy communities. That is, the event came as a surprise which required the communities to act quickly in order to put a greater degree of focus on the issue.

tracing, in this case provides a manner though which to engage with the evidence in a systematic manner. This method allows a research to organise the evidence from a case or cases in such a way that it captures the historical narrative while measuring the number of observations that align with an inference.

Social science researchers are increasingly utilising process tracing methods, which have proven valuable in examining causal mechanisms. Process tracing allows a researcher to express the steps between a hypothesised cause and an outcome.[2] In other words, one can make inferences regarding whether a causal mechanism is present in a particular outcome, and then test the evidence and assign a degree of confidence in the validity of the inference. Process tracing allows the examination of complex causal chains to identify effects of variables in different outcomes, and has the benefit of allowing strong in-case or between-case inferences. In contrast to other methods, process tracing concentrates on the causal mechanisms rather than causal relationships, allowing observations to be focused on potential cause(s) that drive an event, rather than how the cause affected the outcome. Beneficially, process tracing can be applied without a control group, allowing the method to be applied to historical cases where no control is possible. Historical evidence can be used to understand if, how, and why an intervention can lead to a change in the outcome. In the context of this research this is particularly useful; the hypothesis suggests that changes to the R&P process have influenced the outcome of a national security objective in historical cases.

Beach and Pedersen's book, *Process Tracing Methods: Foundations and Guidelines* identifies three nuanced variants of process tracing.[3] The variants differ on how they approach analysis of how a cause (X) can lead to an outcome (Y) in a case. They also differ based on the nature of the inferences introduced, and how causal mechanisms are treated. The first variant, "Theory-Testing", can be used when the researcher wishes to examine a new theory regarding causal mechanisms. To employ Theory-Testing process tracing, the researcher must know both the cause (X) and the outcome (Y), and believe there is at least a partial causal link between X and Y. Finally, the research must provide a theory regarding why X caused Y. The

[2] "Straws-in-the-wind, Hoops and Smoking Guns: What Can Process Tracing Offer to Impact Evaluation?" *Centre for Development Impact* (Apr. 2015) Institute of Development Studies, p. 2.

[3] Beach, Derek, and Rasmus Brun Pedersen. *Process-tracing Methods: Foundations and Guidelines*. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2013), p. 13-20

evidence can be tested to ascertain whether the mechanism is present, and whether it functioned as expected. The second variant, "Theory-Building", is used when no pre-existing theory is present. This allows a researcher to examine the evidence and create a generalizable theory of causal mechanisms. Theory-building is used when the research either knows X and Y, but is uncertain of the causal link, or the researcher only knows Y, but does not know X. The goal in Theory-Building process tracing is to devise a theory that explains why cause X led to outcome Y. The former methods are used to develop generalizable theories which can be translated to other situations. Unlike these, the "explaining-outcomes" method is more case-centric than theory-centric. Here, the goal is not to build nor test theories, but to seek a minimally sufficient explanation for an anomalous outcome. This is used when the researcher wishes to fully investigate Y without knowing what X is. The researcher then examines all contributing factors to devise a 'minimally sufficient' explanation for Y. This method is most adapted to single-case examinations, and is commonly used to explain historical events.

The method of seeking causal mechanisms has been recorded as far back as ancient Greece. Thucydides work, *History of the Peloponnesian War* (circa 400 BCE)[4]*,* has been recognised for stringent criteria for evidence collection and observations of cause and effect (without attributing events to the influence of a panoply of deities). In considerably more recent history, the methods for observing causal mechanisms were advanced by John Stuart Mill's 1843 work, *A System of Logic*, which provides five key methods for determining causation.[5] These methods, updated and adapted over time, have largely remained in place. For instance, in Theda Skocpol's *States and Social Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia, and China,*[6] she uses comparative historical analysis to establish valid associations to causes for revolution. Skocpol highlights two of Mill's key methods in her work. In the Method of Agreement, cases are selected which have many similarities (independent variables) but differing outcomes (dependent variable). If one factor is found to be different between the cases, it is likely that this difference is the cause for the different outcomes. In contrast, the

[4] Thucydides, Rex Warner, and M. I. Finley. *History of the Peloponnesian War*. (Harmondsworth, Eng.: Penguin, 1972)

[5] Known as "Mill's Methods", these include: method of agreement, method of difference, joint method of agreement and difference, method of residue, and method of concomitant variations. See: Mill, John Stuart. *A System of Logic, Vol. 1*. 1843.

[6] Skocpol, Theda. *States and Social Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia, and China.* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1979), p. 36-37.

Method of Difference, cases are selected that are as different as possible, but have the same outcome. If one factor to be similar across the cases, it is likely the causal mechanism for the outcome. Using these tools, she identified similar characteristics across three cases of revolution, and determined causal conditions which could lead to revolution: a "crisis of state" that cannot be met domestically because of institutional constraints, and patterns of class dominance, particularly the decline of "noble" classes in contrast to increasingly autonomous peasant classes.

Very recently, the concept of process tracing has gained notoriety beyond psychology and the social sciences. In Bennett and Checkel's 2014 edited volume, they noted that a number of political scientists have begun invoking the term, but without intimate understanding of the process. Their work, *Process Tracing: From Metaphor to Analytic Tool*[7], highlights examples of process tracing in the political science and international relations realms. Around the same time, Kay and Baker argued that process tracing offers potential for addressing the questions which motivate policy studies.[8]

Yet despite the upsurge of books and journal articles which discuss process tracing in political science, the methods have arguably been used in the political science realm for some time. In Graham Allison's 1971 *Essence of Decision Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis,* he poses three questions regarding decisions made during the Cuban Missile Crisis.[9] Allison observes the crisis from the "Rational Actor", "Organizational Behaviour", and "Governmental Politics" models, testing the evidence through these lenses in order to identify choices and outcomes within each of the models. Others have employed this method as well, including Hermann et al.[10], Layne[11], and Schimmelfennig.[12] However, in the field of intelligence studies, this process

[7] Bennett, Andrew, and Jeffrey T. Checkel. *Process Tracing: From Metaphor to Analytic Tool.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2015.

[8] Kay, Adrian, and Phillip Baker. "What Can Causal Process Tracing Offer to Policy Studies? A Review of the Literature." *Policy Studies Journal* 43.1 (2014): 1-21.

[9] Allison posed the questions: Why did the Soviet Union decide to place offensive missiles in Cuba? Why did the United States respond to the missile deployment with a blockade? Why did the Soviet Union withdraw the missiles? See: Allison, Graham T. *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1971.

[10] Hermann, Charles F., Janice Gross Stein, Bengt Sundelius, and Stephen G. Walker. "Resolve, Accept, or Avoid: Effects of Group Conflict on Foreign Policy Decisions." *International Studies Review* 3.2 (2001): 133-68.

[11] Layne, Christopher. *The Peace of Illusions: American Grand Strategy from 1940 to the Present.* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 2006).

[12] Schimmelfennig, Frank. "The Community Trap: Liberal Norms, Rhetorical Action, and the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union." *International Organization* 55.1 (2001): 47-80.

has not been significantly employed. The work that most closely approaches this opportunity is *Robert Jervis' Why Intelligence Fails: Lessons from the Iranian Revolution and the Iraq War*.[13] Jervis examines two cases of perceived intelligence failure in order to build a minimally sufficient reason for their occurrence. In terms of process tracing, he is seen to have employed the "explaining outcomes" method, which seeks a minimally sufficient explanation for the outcome of a case. Jervis examined two cases in isolation, and made inferences regarding their similarities. However, while Jervis sought to draw lessons from the outcomes of the two cases, he did not interact with the intricacies of the R&P mechanism. This raises the question: *is the minimally sufficient explanation actually sufficient*? This can be viewed as an opportunity in process tracing methods. Minimal sufficiency is in the eye of the beholder. For his part, Jervis identified a causal mechanism that met the minimal sufficiency to explain the outcomes for his readership. But his conclusions can arguably be mined down further to identify whether there are other, perhaps more deeply rooted causal mechanisms which impacted on the outcomes. Thus, the opportunity lies in the constant redefining of minimal sufficiency. The possibility for minimal sufficiency grows as the area of examination reduces.

Finally, process tracing provides the benefit of being applied in tandem with other methods in order to determine the significance of a causal factor in the outcome, or to increase confidence in a finding. The purpose of the method is to identify and assign confidence in causal sequences, but alongside other methods, it can be used to weight of the contributing cause to the outcome. Bafani and Mayne, for example, argue that process tracing can complement or strengthen findings conducted through contribution analysis.[14] Thus, process tracing alongside other methods can be used to increase the confidence in a finding, or measure the significance of the causal mechanism.

Procedure: Theory-Testing Process Tracing

Nestled between the causal mechanism and the outcome is a "black box" of unknown impacts. Unpacking this black box allows the researcher to assess whether and how the

[13] Jervis, Robert. *Why Intelligence Fails: Lessons from the Iranian Revolution and the Iraq War*.

[14] Contribution analysis is an evaluative method which requires plausibility, fidelity, a verified theory of change (ToC), and accommodation of influencing factors in order to infer causality. See: Befani, Barbara, and John Mayne. "Process Tracing and Contribution Analysis: A Combined Approach to Generative Causal Inference for Impact Evaluation." *IDS Bulletin.* 45.6 (2014): 17-36.

mechanism influenced the outcome. A good example of this is as follows: "If I drop a tennis ball and it falls to the ground, gravity is the 'mechanism' that explains why A (opening my hand) leads to B (the tennis ball falling)."[15] But in order to identify causal mechanisms, they must first be defined. The term 'mechanism' is ambiguous[16], and much like the term "policy failure", there is little consensus as to what defines a causal mechanism.[17] In the context of theory-building and theory-testing process tracing, mechanisms are comprised of an entity or entities which are engaged activities: it is a *thing* that *does* something. Beach and Pedersen have taken the approach of defining specific characteristics that distinguish a mechanism from an empirical events or intervening variable. A mechanism should display a "causal force" that can influence the outcome; it should exist independent of a particular event (in other words, at least an abstract form of the mechanism should be able to be applied to other cases; it is a singular causal mechanism, with components that be examined; and that it can be studied at a level that makes the most sense within a case.

In the context of this research, the causal mechanism to be examined is the change to the R&P as an event becomes more critical to US national security or interests. This meets the criteria as set forth by Beach and Pedersen: it is a single causal mechanism with components which can be examined; it exerts a causal force, both at and beyond the mandate level, and a form of the mechanism is found across governmental agencies, or indeed private sector companies, which determine priorities and associated resources, and may at time require immediate reconsideration of priorities when urgent, transient issues arise. Below are the components of the mechanism in the R&P process, highlighting the independent variables between the event and the outcome (the dependent variable).

[15] "Applying Process Tracing in Five Steps." Institute of Development Studies, *Centre for Development Impact*. CDI Practice Paper Annex, vol. 10 (April 2015): 3.

[16] Shaffer, Paul. "Two Concepts of Causation: Implications for Poverty." *Development and Change* 46.1 (2015): 148-66.

[17] Hedström, Peter, and Richard Swedberg. "Social Mechanisms: An Introductory Essay." *An Analytical Approach to Social Theory Social Mechanisms* (1998): 1-31.

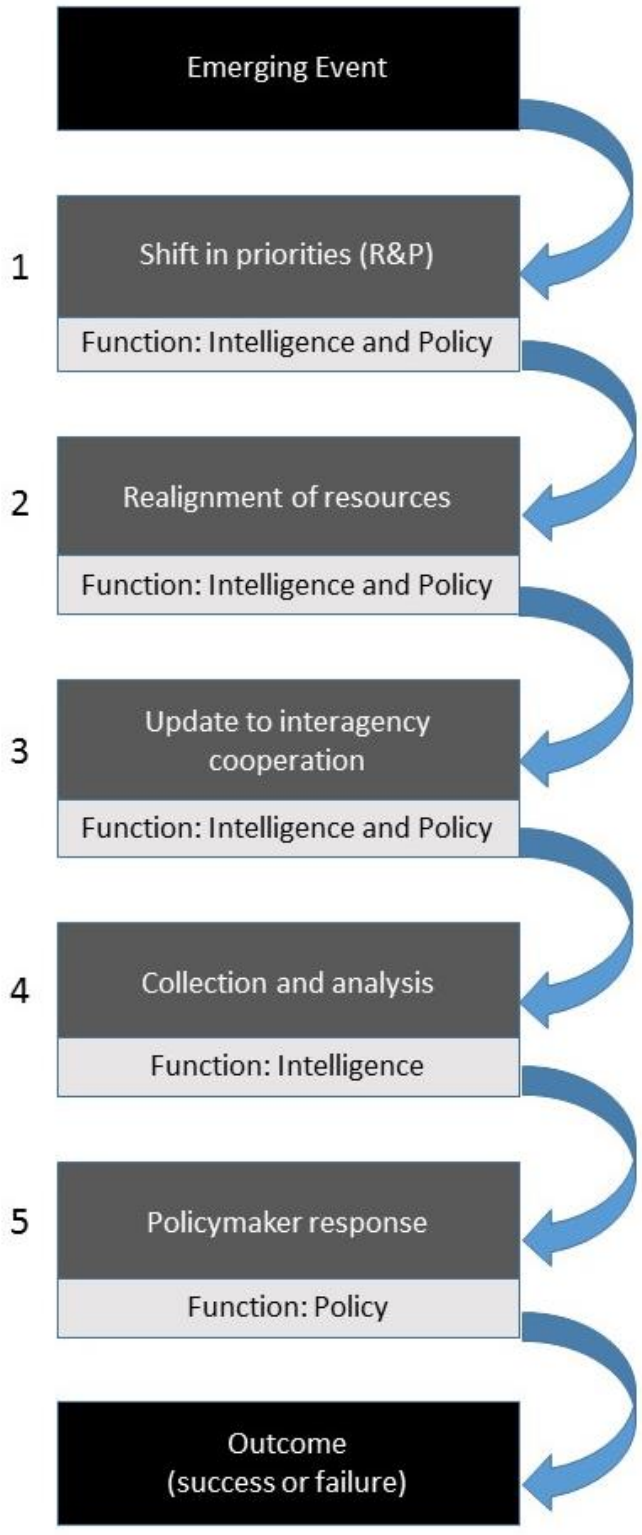

Figure 5: Tracing the Requirements and Priorities Process

If an event occurs in an area that has already been given the appropriate prioritisation, it remains "business as usual." However as shown above, if an event is either not aligned, or

misaligned with the existing requirements, the "mandate shift" comes into play in the R&P. As shown above, when an unexpected or misaligned event is considered significant to US national security or interests, the intelligence and policy community will escalate the issue in priority (1). This escalation causes a re-alignment of resources in order to direct the necessary staff and technology toward the event (2). Because certain technological resources or skill sets are housed in different intelligence agencies, the re-alignment also determines interagency cooperation—which agencies will be involved, and to what extent (3). With the new priority, budgets and cooperation in place, intelligence collection and analysis is focused on the needs determined jointly by the intelligence and policy community (4). The disseminated analysis is then delivered to the policymakers in order to determine a response or responses (5). With the exception of policy response, nearly all actions are conducted with joint input. The timeliness, the determination of allocation and cooperation, the direction of the nature of intelligence collected, and the response by the policymakers impact the course of US response, and ultimately impact the outcome of the event.

To test for the presence and function of the mechanism within theory-testing process tracing, the research must meet certain conditions. First, TT requires the development of a hypothesised causal mechanism. In order to conduct this stem, the stages between the causal mechanism and the outcome must be detailed. Because the R&P process has changed numerous times over the course of centralised intelligence in the US, these steps will be outlined at the beginning of each case, and will account for entities and activities which are involved in the mechanism. This requires a thorough review of existing literature and evidence to ensure that each component in the hypothesised causal mechanism can be empirically measured. Components that are believed necessary for the mechanism to function will be framed as a distinct hypothesis to be tested.

With the hypothesis established, it is possible to operationalise the causal mechanism by specifying the empirical evidence for causal links to determine whether a component of the mechanism functioned as expected. The evidence will also be tested to assess whether an event it is the result of a previous component in the mechanism or related to something outside of the it. Plausible alternative explanations are introduced which may explain the manifestation of an event, and then are tested against the evidence. Those in the intelligence world are likely to feel familiarity with this step; it is similar to the Analysis of Competing

Hypotheses (ACH) which a common method of intelligence methodology. In ACH, multiple alternative hypotheses are postulated and entered into a matrix, where the X axis lists the hypotheses, and the Y axis holds the various types of empirical evidence. The hypotheses are tested against empirical evidence to determine which scenario is most likely.[18]

After specifying the necessary types of evidence, primary and/or secondary information is collected for each observable manifestation of each component of the causal mechanism. Each piece of information is evaluated for validity, reliability, relevance, bias and limitations. The evidence is then placed into the hypothesis and weighed in order to assign with a reasonable degree of confidence that each component of the mechanism either does or does not exist. This is conducted through one or more of four tests. Four methods exist for testing the validity of the hypothesis regarding the causal mechanisms,[19] each carries a degree of uniqueness and certainty. Tests that have high uniqueness can show that a piece of evidence was sufficient to confirm the hypothesis. Tests with high certainty can demonstrate that a piece of evidence is necessary to the hypothesis, thus helping to rule out alternative hypotheses.[20] The strengths and weaknesses of each test can be measured, as shown below.

[18] Richards Heuer goes into great detail regarding the ACH process. See: Heuer, Richards J., Jr, *Psychology of Intelligence Analysis* (Center for the Study of Intelligence, Central Intelligence Agency, 1999), chapter 8.

[19] Van Evera, Stephen. *Guide to Methods for Students of Political Science*. (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1997)

[20] Beach, Derek, and Rasmus Brun Pedersen. *Process Tracing Methods: Foundations and Guidelines*

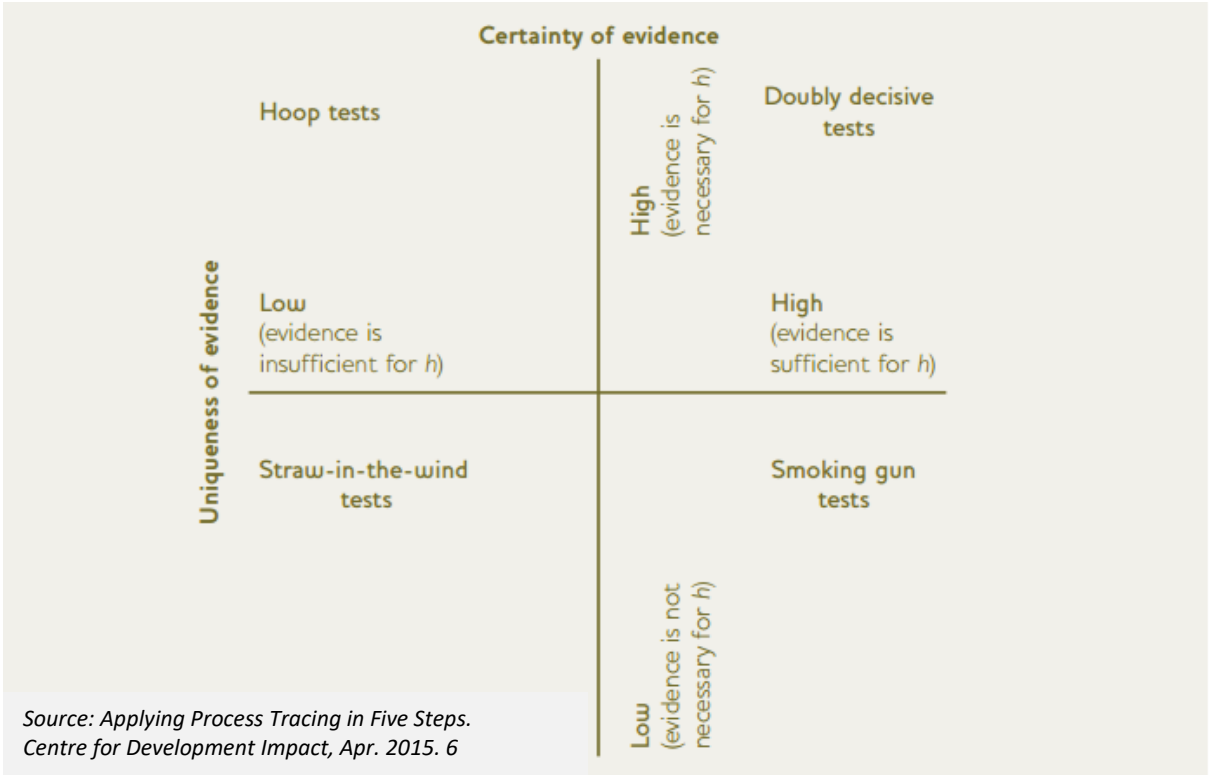

Figure 6:Measuring Uniqueness and Certainty through Process Tracing.

The diagram[21] illustrates the uniqueness and certainty provided by each type of test used in process tracing. Of the four tests, the "straw in the wind" is the weakest; while it verifies the plausibility of a hypothesis, it does little to qualify its certainty or uniqueness, making it of minimal inferential relevance.[22] The "smoking gun" offers high uniqueness but low or no certainty. In other words, passing this test will corroborate the hypothesis that a mechanism is present, but a flunked test does not necessarily mean the hypothesis fails. For example, a smoking gun seen in one's hand after a shooting can show proof of guilt, but the absence of the gun does not necessarily prove innocence.[23] "Hoop tests" are the opposite of smoking gun tests, in that they show high certainty but low uniqueness. Here, the hypothesis is made

[21] The diagram was created by the Centre for Development Impact, a department under the Institute of Development Studies (IDS), an institution for development research, based at the University of Sussex. The Centre's mission is to use "cutting edge research, knowledge and evidence" to aid in creating equal and sustainable societies. The Centre has applied process tracing in the context of advancing healthcare; case studies include impact evaluations of the universal healthcare campaign in Ghana, and observing hunger and nutrition in the context of political commitment in Tanzania. See: "Straws-in-the-wind, Hoops and Smoking Guns: What Can Process Tracing Offer to Impact Evaluation?" Institute of Development Studies, *Centre for Development Impact*. CDI Practice Paper Annex, vol. 10 (April 2015).

[22] Beach, Derek, and Rasmus Brun Pedersen. *Process Tracing Methods: Foundations and Guidelines*, p. 181.

[23] Ibid., 104.

to "jump through the hoops" in order to prove that the causal mechanism was present, while eliminating alternative hypotheses. As the hoop becomes smaller, confidence in the theory grows. Finally, "doubly decisive" are considered high in inferential relevance, as they combine the hoop and smoking-gun tests to provide both high certainty and uniqueness, increasing confidence in the hypothesis.[24]

In the context of this research, the nature of the cases and the material allows the application of doubly decisive tests in order to determine that a hypothesis has both high certainty and uniqueness. As will be discussed, the cases are robust, and the body of collected data is both highly valid and reliable. The evidence will be reviewed in two stages: first, under the assumption that the causal sequence is present (that X led to Y as expected), and then with the expectation that the causal sequence is absent (intervening causal processes and other independent variables led to Y), thus disproving the theory.[25]

Case Study Selection

In order to test the hypothesis that causal mechanisms stemming from the R&P process are present in intelligence and policy response to national security events, multiple cases will be employed in order to address consistencies or anomalies that may occur in each, and to show whether the mechanism is present in multiple events. The cases meet the criteria as outlined by Stephen Van Evera[26], as shown below:

[24] Ibid., 103-104.

[25] George, Alexander L., and Andrew Bennett. *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences*. (Cambridge, MA: MIT, 2005), p. 206-7.

[26] Van Evera, Stephen. *Guide to Methods for Students of Political Science*. Kindle location 1335

Case selection criteria for testing theories:	YES	NO
Data richness- sufficient evidence available to examine	X	
Extreme values on Independent Variable (IV), Dependent Variable (DV) or Condition Variable (CV) – variable is present in unusually large or small quantities. (This aids in determining whether the outcome could have resulted from factors other than that posed in the theory)	X (on IV)	
Competing theories make divergent predictions about the case	**X -** the competing theory suggests that failure results from USIC error in the collection or analysis stages.	
Resemblance to current problems	X	
Prototypical case characteristics	X	
Outlier cases (poorly explained by existing theories)		X
Intrinsic importance	X	
Good case for replication previous test	X	
Selected for previously omitted types of tests	X	

Figure 7: Criteria for case selection

In addition to these qualifiers, each case is similar in that—as far as declassified evidence has shown—neither the United States government, nor its intelligence community, was actively engaged beyond situational awareness of the region. This factor is key; in order to identify observable changes to an event's level of priority and the associated changes to its resources, the event must have come as a surprise which required a significant and immediate realignment of an event from low to high priority. This should not be taken to imply that the R&P model cannot be applied to events which are already assigned high priority. However, issues or events that already accommodate a high priority in the R&P are more likely to experience nuanced shifts that are more difficult to identify and test.

For example: if we assume that Russia is a high priority for the United States, then we can also assume that it is provided sufficient resources, collaboration, and authorisations necessary to observe Russian political, military, and other movements. During the 2016 election, the whole of the US intelligence community found that that Russian operatives had obtained and publicly released private correspondence from members of the Democratic National Convention (DNC), for the purpose of interfering with and influencing the outcome of the US election.[27] In response to this, a mandate shift could theoretically have been triggered to address the hacks. In this case, although Russia is high priority, the priority of signals

[27] Corera, Gordon. "Can US Election Hack Be Traced to Russia?" *BBC News*. BBC, 22 Dec. 2016. http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-us-canada-38370630

intelligence (SIGINT) with regard to Russia could be raised further still. This would then cause adjustments to the mandate-level functions necessary to address this threat vector. However, because Russia is already a high priority, we cannot be certain that a mandate shift was triggered. Sufficient resources may have already been dedicated to this intelligence channel, requiring no change. In fact, the FBI warned the DNC in 2015 that there was a possible breach,[28] suggesting that attention was already being given to the situation before the presidential election. Therefore, it becomes difficult to estimate whether a shift occurred, because the adjustment is likely to be less discernible.

In contrast, changes to low priority issues have the added benefit of being considerably more visible. Clinton's decision to avoid meddling in African concerns following the 1993 "Black Hawk Down" incident in Somalia left much of the continent at a low-priority status. Thus, when riots erupted in Rwanda and rapidly evolved to genocide, the situation required an immediate elevation of priorities, forcing resources to be generated where previously few were afforded. The significance and immediacy of this shift is such that it becomes visible in documentation and in the public eye, thus providing a wealth of primary and secondary source documentation, and in-the-moment interpretations and actions.

With this in mind, the rapid escalation of social movements proves a productive starting point for observing impacts on the R&P process. Rapid escalation, from small gatherings into meso- or macro-level uprisings is often a surprise; the intelligence community cannot determine the spark that will ignite the fire, nor can they anticipate how hot or long that fire will burn. Because social movements are likely to erupt quickly, they tend not to appear on the mandate unless they have been ongoing. Further, naturally occurring social movements are likely to be free of deception and denial. This is to the benefit of the research; a social movement that metastasises into an event of consequence for the US is likely to command a realignment of priorities. It is in the timing and the nature of these changes that we can identify the causal mechanisms, before and after the realignment, that could influence the outcome of the event. Thus, the specific criteria for the case studies selection is as follows:

[28] Ibid.

1) **The case occurred after the establishment of the CIA.** This eliminates events occurring prior to 1947, such as the 1917 Russian Revolution, or the Dersim Uprisings of Kurds against the Turkish government in 1937-38.
2) **The case occurred in a region that was of demonstrably low priority to the US government**. This eliminates high-profile targets and areas where the US was already engaged in, or considering military action.[29] This also eliminates non-combat events in high-priority areas, such as the 1989 revolutions surrounding the dissolution of the Soviet Union.[30]
3) **The event was a surprise to the US government and/or intelligence community.** A surprise to the US government indicates that there was no covert or overt US involvement or awareness of a potential event. This criterion removes cases such as the covert 1953 Iranian ouster of Prime Minister Mohammed Mossadegh[31], and the events leading to the overthrow of Chilean President Salvador Allende in 1973[32], or similar operations where the US may have had prior knowledge or involvement.
4) **The case was sufficiently significant to US interests or security to require a perceptible, rapid escalation of priority to prepare a plan of action.** This omits cases where events are acknowledged but no significant escalation of priority is observed. For example, the 1947-48 Malagasy uprisings against France in Madagascar did not pose a direct threat to the United States in terms of national interest or security.[33]
5) **The case involves *rapid* social movement escalation which significantly impacted the nation where it occurred.** These can include domestic destabilisation (uprising), a change in all or parts of the government (revolution), or wide-scale loss of life caused by a mutation of the social movement (genocide). This criterion particularly focuses on the speed of escalation. In tandem with previous items, this eliminates cases such as anti-colonial uprisings throughout Africa. The eventual de-colonisation of the continent had

[29] Including through bilateral and multilateral cooperation.

[30] Berkowitz, Bruce D. "U.S. Intelligence Estimates of the Soviet Collapse: Reality and Perception." *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence.* 21.2 (2008): 237-50. *Central Intelligence Agency*. 29 Feb. 2008.

[31] Dehghan, Saeed Kamali, and Richard Norton-Taylor. "CIA Admits Role in 1953 Iranian Coup." *The Guardian*. Guardian News and Media, 19 Aug. 2013.

[32] Central Intelligence Agency. "Summary of Response to Questions." *CIA Activities in Chile*. 18 September 2000. http://nsarchive.gwu.edu/news/20000919/01-02.htm

[33] "Pour Chirac, la répression de 1947 était 'inacceptable'". *Radio France International*. 22 July 2005.

been expected. Since the creation of the CIA (and prior to it), the United States had awareness of anti-colonial unrest throughout Africa, yet walked a middle ground between anti-colonialism and pro-independence.[34]

6) **The case has sufficient information available, through declassified primary source documents, public information and/or after-action hearings or investigations, to provide evidence for examination.** This eliminates events where insufficient evidence is available for consideration. For example, the Icelandic Pots and Pans Revolution of 2008 resulted in the resignation of the government and the creation of a new constitution.[35] However, very little information is available about US actions or observations, either through media or government sources, to provide sufficient evidence to examine.
7) **The case resulted in records showing accusation of partial or total intelligence community failure by the US government and/or in committee findings on the issue.** This serves as an alternative hypothesis to compare with the one set for there, that Requirements and Priorities have a foundational impact on the outcome of US national security endeavours.

The research focuses on the activities within the US national security institutions, so the size of the social movement is not a determinant for case selection. After all, less than one percent of the population participated in the successful overthrow of Soviet communism.[36] In terms of case exclusion, cases that do not fall into the social movement category are excluded, including events relating to terrorism.[37]

With few exceptions, mass social movements that were a surprise to the US, and resulted in significant impacts on US national interests, have tended to occur in areas that are considered

[34] Hubbard, James P. *The United States and the End of British Colonial Rule in Africa, 1941-1968*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2011.

[35] Önnudóttir, Eva H. "The 'Pots and Pans' protests and requirements for responsiveness of the authorities". *Icelandic Review of Politics & Administration*. 19 December 2016.

[36] Kurzman, Charles. *The Unthinkable Revolution in Iran*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2004), p. viii.

[37] It could be argued that terrorist organisations are a mutation of social movements, and their actions can cause significant havoc in a region or nation. However one-off events are likely be so transient that there is no measurable change to the R&P, as the US has prioritised global terrorism since the post-Cold-War era. Ongoing terrorist activity by certain groups or in heavily affected regions will hold a high level of priority.

low priority to the US government.[38] Thus, three cases have been selected: el Bogotázo uprising in Columbia (1948); the Iranian Revolution and overthrow of the Shah of Iran (1979); and the Rwandan Genocides (1994). Two of the studies, el Bogotázo and the Iranian Revolution, occurred prior to the end of the Cold War, when a great deal of focus in the USIC was dedicated to monitoring Soviet activity. By 1994, the Berlin Wall had fallen, and the US intelligence community faced significant restructuring following the perceived demise of the Communist threat. At the same time, Clinton enacted sweeping changes to the requirements and priorities. The Rwandan Genocide occurred during this overhaul.

Evidence collection and validity

In order to reconstruct the cases, the research will rely heavily on primary source evidence, supplemented with secondary source information. The quality of evidence is not judged by the number of observations, but by the strength of each observation. Further, not all evidence is equal; in some cases, the evidence may carry a degree of bias.[39] Each case carries with it benefits and drawbacks in terms of evidence collection. However, together they carry one unique benefit: when compared with many other nations, discussions about the US intelligence community has been comparatively open, both in terms of intelligence operations and historic events. This atmosphere provides a rich library of declassified information, as well as functional understanding of the systems and processes occurring within the departments.

Because of its age, there is a wellspring of declassified files on the 1948 el Bogotázo uprising. The research will rely heavily on primary source evidence from the CIA and other intelligence agencies, as well as declassified materials from government departments. However, because event occurred nearly seventy years ago, there is no one available that can be interviewed as a primary source subject. To accommodate for this, the evidence will be supplemented by

[38] The most notable exception to this occurred in South Africa and Rhodesia prior to the end of apartheid. In both cases, the social movements were diffused as governments were pressured through pre-emptive diplomacy to accommodate the majority black populations. However, these cases predominantly rested with primarily UK jurisdiction due to their historic colonial relationship. See: Cradock, Percy. *Know Your Enemy: How the Joint Intelligence Committee Saw the World.* (London: John Murray, 2002), p. 224-39.

[39] Despite the best efforts of the intelligence community, it is possible that even straightforward intelligence documents may contain traces of 'accidental bias', however the materials will be used to indicate when the document was issued, and the extent of urgency placed on the event.

secondary source materials that can provide context or highlight conflicts between primary source documents and the internal and public narrative.

Similarly, the Iranian Revolution of 1979 is rich in declassified primary source data from both the intelligence and policy communities. Declassified information includes National Intelligence Daily reports (NIDs) and cables transmitted from the Tehran desk of the National Foreign Assessment Center (NFAC) as well as directives issued to the agencies at the time of the crisis. In addition, government findings have been declassified; these can serve as an alternative theory to that which is being tested. However, because this case occurred nearly 40 years ago, there are few individuals who can be interviewed with regard to the event. To accommodate this, secondary source information will supplement the evidence.

2014 marked the 20th anniversary of the Rwandan genocide. In the lead up to the date, both the US and the United Nations have declassified numerous files relating to actions taken in the region, providing a fountain of documentation which can be used to cross-reference one another. In addition, domestic and international findings on the actions taken by the US intelligence community and government can be observed for inconsistencies. The anniversary of the event has also produced several interviews with key figures who discuss internal affairs at the time; these can be used to provide context, and can be measured against discussions and explanations that were given at the time of the event.

Each case contains reliable, insightful materials which can provide a solid evidence trail. This research utilises documents including presidential daily briefs, presidential directives and reviews, intelligence cables, and embassy wires, and public speeches. These documents are reinforced by contextual evidence including historic timelines; treaties or negotiations; news articles; and unobtrusive data including foreign travel agendas of public officials.[40] Together, this data creates an 'administrative mind map' that indicates the areas of focus that the US government considered high priority. By piecing sequential evidence together along with archival and trace documentation, such as committee hearings and findings, it is possible to discern whether and to what extent the unexpected event was on the administrative radar. In terms of secondary source documentation, the research also considers independent

[40] Webb, Eugene J., Donald T. Campbell, Richard D. Schwartz, and Lee Sechrest. *Unobtrusive Measures; Nonreactive Research in the Social Sciences*. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1966.

scholarly works written by authors who have intimate knowledge of either the events or processes involved in intelligence and government operations at the time.

All empirical data is filtered to determine which evidence is observable within the case. The content of the remaining data is contextualised according to the time and processes in place during the event. The evidence is also tested for trust; where a Hawthorne effect may cause result in intended or unintended bias in primary source information, either due to self-preservation or external pressures. The material is then cross referenced with other relevant pieces of evidence to triangulate the data. Triangulation ensures a more accurate, well-rounded understanding of the scenario. Finally, the probability of the evidence is evaluated. If the evidence is improbable to the manner that the mechanism is expected to work—that is, if it contradicts the traditional theories, it raises the confidence in the hypothesis.

In conclusion, if the hypothesis as stated in the R&P-centric model is correct, the evidence will support that changes in the requirements and priorities process generate observable manifestations which are shown to impact the outcome of the US intelligence and policy community responses. This will be tested against the existing "standard" model, which suggests that success or failure is the result of errors made in the intelligence or policy communities. The components of the R&P process, including the shift in priorities, realignment of resources, interagency cooperation, intelligence collection & analysis, and policymaker response, are independent variables which will be tested to determine whether they are present in the outcome. If this hypothesis is proven correct, theory can be transplanted into government organisations which utilise a process similar to the R&P, and who must address escalation of events (such as the Department of Health's need to respond immediately to a rise in swine flu).

The cases are presented chronologically, and each case is structured in the same manner: background information is provided to contextualise the event in terms of US priorities at the time, and where the event stood in terms of those issues. Because there are multiple iterations of the R&P, each case also provides an examination of how the mechanism functioned during the event. Before testing the hypothesis, the prevailing arguments are presented as a comparison point.

Collected evidence is put through hoop and smoking gun tests in order to determine the certainty and uniqueness of the event—that is, whether the observations of the evidence can be explained only through the R&P-centric model, or whether the evidence can also support an alternative hypothesis. The findings of each cases are addressed within the chapter, and the collective findings are compared and contrasted in the conclusion to identify relevant similarities and difference, and discuss why this hypothesis has been overlooked.

CHAPTER FIVE: EL BOGOTÁZO, 1948

"If the United States had the adequate intelligence service it should,
it would have known about Communist plans for the Bogotá uprising in advance."

Presidential Candidate Thomas E. Dewey, 13 April 1948 [1]

Dr. Jorge Eliécer Gaitán was the popular leader of Colombia's Liberal Party during the 1940s. He was outspoken and charismatic; a strong voice against the oligarchical and elite Conservative Party. Loved by many in Colombia, he was a favourite to win the presidential election in 1950. On 9 April 1948, Gaitán stepped out of his Bogotá office for lunch. Moments later he was dead, killed at the hands of an assassin.

Witnesses to the murder quickly formed an angry mob, shouting "Mataron al doctor Gaitán!" ("They killed Dr. Gaitán!"). The crowd accosted the drugstore where Gaitán's alleged killer, Juan Roa Sierra[2], had been hiding. Discovering him, the frenzied mob beat and stabbed Sierra to death, and dragged his "almost shapeless corpse" to the presidential palace, where they left his remains.[3] All the while, radio broadcasts urged people into the streets, some calling on the crowds to shed themselves of the Colombian government and "Yankee Imperialism."[4] Thus, "El Bogotázo", or "the Sacking of Bogotá", began.

Protestors, many wearing the red armbands of the Liberal party, poured into the streets of Bogotá. A mob attacked the main floor of the Capitolio Nacional, where the Ninth International Conference of American States was underway. Among the attendees were US Secretary of State George Marshall and a cadre of US delegates, who sought shelter amid the melee. Within ten hours of Gaitán's death, the ferocity of violence left government buildings,

[1] "Dewey Holds U.S. Lax in Colombia; Says in Appeal to Nebraska Surprise of Uprising Shows Our Intelligence Weak." *New York Times.* 13 Apr. 1948: 24.

[2] While speculation about at the time, it has come to light that Sierra killed Gaitán hours after the latter had successfully defended the man who had murdered Sierra's uncle. See: Darling, Arthur B. *The Central Intelligence Agency: An Instrument of Government, to 1950*. University Park: Pennsylvania State UP, 1990), p. 241

[3] Weyl, Nathaniel. *Red Star over Cuba: the Russian Assault on the Western Hemisphere*. (New York: Devin-Adair, 1960), p. 19.

[4] Davis, Jack. "The Bogotazo." Central Intelligence Agency. "The Bogotazo", Studies in Intelligence Volume 13, No. 4 (1969)

churches, and shops destroyed. Reporters compared the devastation in Bogotá to London during the Nazi Blitz.[5] More than 300 people had been killed and 450 were injured.[6]

Some among the US delegation saw red flags and arm bands amongst angry crowds. When Secretary of State Marshall contacted Washington, he reported that pro-Communist conspirators initiated the riots. The notion of a communist uprising in South America was a credible and significant threat. By April 1948, US had was preparing to conduct airlifts against Stalin's Berlin Blockade. Communists had already gained a foothold in Czechoslovakia, and were seeking to push their efforts in France and Italy. A Communist-orchestrated uprising, occurring at the same time and place as US-led conference on Pan-American solidarity, was not beyond imagining.

Almost immediately, accusations were levied against the intelligence community. Within 24 hours of the riots, US presidential nominee Thomas E. Dewey (R-NY) used the opportunity to castigate his opponent, President Harry Truman, and the Central Intelligence Agency.[7] How could the US intelligence community, responsible for constant vigilance against threats to the US, fail to see signs of the enemy in its own hemisphere? Congressman Clarence J Brown (R-OH) called for an immediate hearing into the intelligence community's failure to provide warning of a possible uprising.[8]

Hearings began six days after el Bogotázo. On 15 April, DCI Roscoe Hillenkoetter was called to testify on the CIA failure. It was the first time the fledgling community would be accused of failure to provide early warning of a mass social movement. *The CIA was six months old.*[9]

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[5] "Americans Safe, Marshall Says." New York Times. 10 Apr. 1948: 3.

[6] Aprile Gniset, Jacques. *El impacto del 9 de abril sobre el centro de Bogotá*. Bogotá: Centro Cultural Jorge Eliécer Gaitán, 1983, p.32

[7] Davis. "The Bogotazo."

[8] Ibid.

[9] The forerunner to the CIA, the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), was officially disbanded on 20 September 1945. From 1945 until the CIA's establishment in 1947, a series of "changing intelligence coordination systems passed in and out of existence," most notably the Central Intelligence Group (CIG), which cannibalised portions of Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) responsibilities, particularly those of the overseas Special Intelligence Service. The position of Director of Central Intelligence (DCI) was established in mid-1946, placing the newly appointed DCI in direct opposition to FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, who violently opposed the change. When the CIA was created on 18 September 1947, it absorbed the residual aspects of its forerunners. For more information, please see: Davies, Philip H. J. *Intelligence and Government in Britain and the United States: A Comparative Perspective. Vol. 1*; and Smith, Bradley F. *The Shadow Warriors: O.S.S. and the Origins of the CIA.* (New York: Basic, 1983).

Of the cases examined, El Bogotázo is unique for two reasons. First, the crisis occurred almost at the inception of the centralised intelligence, in a time where the infant CIA was fighting to establish its place within the government. The uprising would mark the first strategic surprise to the US government since Pearl Harbor, seven years earlier.

Because of the timing of El Bogotázo, this case marks a distinctive era in the Requirements and Priorities history of the United States. The intelligence community was undergoing major restructuring, and the first *formalised* R&P would not be established for years. However, a precursor to the requirements and priorities formula had been created in 1946 under the CIA's predecessor, the Central Intelligence Group (CIG).[10] While not yet formally codified, these mechanisms utilised the same mandate-level functions that are in place today. The intelligence community also had mechanisms to respond to ad-hoc escalations of priority, which would allow for prompt mobility of mandate-level functions when threats to foreign policy or national security arose.

Second, unlike the other cases presented, this case examines a crisis where there was no escalation of priority in Washington to cause the triggering of a mandate shift. With no change in priority, the subsequent changes to intelligence resources, cooperation, and authorisation never occurred. In part, this was due to a brimming turf war between the newly centralised intelligence community, and the long-established State Department.

El Bogotázo is widely regarded as an intelligence failure. However, by re-investigating the through the R&P-centric model, the research contextualises the rapid escalation of violence in the background of Colombian politics, and establishes Latin America's place in terms of other US national priorities at the time. The model then follows the performance of mandate-level functions throughout the crisis. With these factors addressed, it is possible to assess whether the label of intelligence failure is accurate, and how the how the definition of failure was shaped by figures in the intelligence and policy communities.

[10] Davies, Philip H. J. *Intelligence and Government in Britain and the United States: A Comparative Perspective. Vol. 1.* p. 184

Tinderbox: Political Unrest in Colombia

Politics in 20th-century Colombia was largely dominated by two major parties: the Liberals and the Conservatives.[11] Between 1914 until 1930, the Conservative party remained in power, with Liberal opponents waiting in the wings. Meanwhile, third party groups lacked the strength of the dominant parties. To expand their reach, they sought to influence key sectors of the population. Among these was the burgeoning Colombian Communist Party, *Partido Comunista Colombiano*. Prior to the group's official formation, its efforts heavily influenced the national labour movement. In 1928, the primordial group organised a labour strike among banana plantations workers to protest unfair labour practices against the multi-national export organisation, the United Fruit Company. The strikes enjoyed support from members of Socialist party and far-left members of the Liberal party, including Dr. Gaitán.

The US government, viewing the work stoppages as tantamount to subversion, demanded that Colombian officials put an end to the strikes. After a series of failed negotiations, on 5 December 1928, a crowd of workers near Ciénaga port near Santa Marta awaited their governor, who had agreed to meet with them. The governor never appeared. President Miguel Mendez called in the army; General Carlos Cortes Vargas ordered the workers to disperse. When they did not, military troops opened fire into crowd. The number of dead has ranged from 13 (by Vargas' own count) to 2000.[12] The Santa Marta Massacre galvanised factions of the Colombian population against the Conservatives. *Partido Comunista Colombiano* became an official party in 1930, and continued to influence and organise labour efforts. By 1948, the party had grown to 8,000 members.

By the 1930 election, a rift among the Conservatives led to the nomination of two candidates from the party. The candidates split the vote, allowing Liberal nominee Enrique Olaya Herrera to win the election and ending sixteen consecutive years of Conservative domination. At the topmost levels, transition of power was smooth, however supporters of the Liberal party enacted violent retribution against Conservatives through the remainder of 1930.[13]

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[11] With exception of Republican Union party leader 1910-1914, and a military junta 1953-1958.

[12] Bucheli, Marcelo. *Bananas and Business: The United Fruit Company in Colombia, 1899-2000*. (New York: NYU Press, 2005), p. 132

[13] Bailey, Norman A. "La Violencia in Colombia." *Journal of Inter-American Studies*. Vol. 9, No. 4. (Oct. 1967): 561-575.

Between 1930 and 1946, a series of Liberal administrations dominated the government. However, like the Conservatives in 1930, a rift within the party divided the group, and resulted in two Liberal presidential candidates: Gabriel Turbay and Jorge Eliécer Gaitán. The split amongst the candidates allowed Conservative nominee Mariano Ospina Perez to win the election. Again, the change in administration led to a rise in violence against the losing party, including the assassination of hundreds of Liberal figures.[14]

By 1948, the Liberal party healed their rift. Former nominee Gabriel Turbay had died of a heart attack in November 1947, and Gaitán, whose popularity rose rapidly, was appointed party leader and presidential candidate for the 1950 election. Friction between the Liberal and Conservative leadership was acute. Violence against Liberal supporters and leadership remained frequent; Gaitán warned the Conservative government to put an end to "political murders." By March 1948, no action had been taken to protect Liberal party members. Gaitán pulled his party out of the Cabinet just weeks before the Conference of American States began on 30 March.[15]

On 9 April, Gaitán was killed as he left his office for lunch. Widespread rioting ensued within minutes. Far from mitigating the frenzy, several police officers who had great respect for Gaitán joined in the rioting. Conflicting reports proliferated in the media. President Ospina Perez declared that Communists instigated the rioting.[16] Other Conservatives felt that Communists did not start the riots, but sought to capitalise on the chaos. Still others said that the riots were the direct result of passions raised at the assassination of Gaitán, who had become one of the most beloved men in Colombia.[17] Representative Donald Jackson (R, CA), who was present for the Conference, wrote that "red flags were in profusion," and he personally saw hammer and sickle flags.[18] A New York Times article suggested that hours before Gaitán's assassination, the Colombian Communist party met to plan a demonstration against the conference, and speculated whether Gaitán's murder was a component of the

[14] Ibid., 565

[15] "Focus on Bogota." *New York Times.* 11 Apr. 1948: 116.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Barrett, David M. *The CIA and Congress: The Untold Story from Truman to Kennedy*. (Lawrence, Kan.: U of Kansas, 2005), p. 34

plan.[19] Meanwhile, reports declared that Colombia would break diplomatic ties with the Soviet Union.[20] A day later, the government declared they had made no such statement. Colombia would formally sever ties with Russia the following month, making no statement regarding Gaitán's assassination.[21]

Three days into the melee, the Colombian government declared martial law, and the army was called in to restore calm. Amid the chaos and devastation, the Conference was temporarily halted. Perhaps to avoid deeper political friction, by 12 April, the coalition government of Conservatives and Liberals was repaired. Restive calm was restored in Bogotá within a week, allowing the conference to resume on 15 April.[22] In the US, however, the ramifications reverberated heavily.

The Prevailing Arguments

El Bogotázo has been referred to as the first failure in CIA history. Within 24 hours of Gaitán's murder, politicians, primarily among the Republican party, demanded answers regarding the nature of the failure and the culpability of the CIA. Hearings were rapidly arranged and began on 15 April, six days after Gaitán was slain. During DCI Rear Admiral Roscoe Hillenkoetter's testimony, he testified that the CIA had known, and issued warning to the State Department, that something may occur during the conference. Hillenkoetter read excerpts from classified intelligence dating back to 2 January 1948. The testimony was released to reporters, making it one of the first authorised publications of top-secret intelligence in US history.[23] The DCI emphasised that *most* of the reports had been disseminated to the State department, some were censored by lower-ranking figures at State who did not want to unduly agitate their leadership.

Despite Hillenkoetter's testimony, Stephen Spingarn, of the Counterintelligence Corps of the Army wrote a report that found that CIA did not have the capabilities necessary to rapidly

[19] "The Warning of Bogotá" *New York Times.* 12 Apr. 1948: 20.

[20] "Bogotá Breaks with Russia." *New York Times.* 13 Apr. 1948: 26.

[21] "The Break: Colombia." *Vestkusten* [San Francisco, CA] 20 May 1948, 21st ed.: 5. https://cdnc.ucr.edu/cgi-bin/cdnc?a=d&d=VEST19480520.2.68

[22] Hulen, Bertram D. "Pan-America Talks Resume in Bogota." *New York Times.* 15 Apr. 1948: 1,17.

[23] Ibid.

provide *properly evaluated* information to policymakers.[24] The State Department argued that the CIA failed to identify the specific nature of the threat. Tensions were rife between the Agency, the military, and the State Department, as the latter two felt that CIA presence impeded their primacy, particularly on matters abroad. A CIA failure was an opportunity to limit the agency's manifestation outside the US.

The accusation of intelligence community failure in Bogotá was broadcast to the public because 1948 was a presidential election year. Those seeking political office leveraged the notion of failure most, including presidential nominee Thomas Dewey and other down-ticket Republican candidates. Incumbent Democrat Harry Truman had fought for the creation of the Agency and signed it into being; a failure so early into their existence was a political windfall for their opponents. Harkening the tremors that shook the US after World War II, el Bogotázo was dubbed the "South American Pearl Harbor."[25] It was an opportunity to accuse Truman and his administration of failing to prevent a second tragedy in the Americas. Dewey and others clung to the same argument as the State department. The *specific* nature of the crisis was not forecast; therefore, it was an egregious failure for America in the face of Communism. Within the CIA, some officers felt the agency had incurred a legitimate failure stemming from inadequate forecasting,[26] and a failure to truly understand the political climate in Colombia.

Tracing the R&P process up to El Bogotázo

The first formalised priorities did not appear until 1950.[27] However, the first requirements and priorities formula was created during the tenure of DCI Hoyt Vandenberg, under the CIA's predecessor, the Central Intelligence Group (CIG) in late 1946. The first National Intelligence Requirement (NIR) was tested on issues relating to China. However, it was met with pushback from the Director of Military Intelligence, Major General Stephen Chamberlain.[28] Significantly, the process had already been met with concern. In 1947, a memo from the Office of Reports

[24] Darling. *The Central Intelligence Agency: An Instrument of Government, to 1950*, p. 240

[25] "Call Bogota Revolt New 'Pearl Harbor', Doubt Marshall Aim." *Associated Press* 17 Apr. 1948: n. 1.

[26] Davis, Jack. "The Bogotazo."

[27] Montague, Ludwell L. "Priority National Intelligence Objectives." *Studies in Intelligence*. Vol 5. Spring Issue. 1961. Central Intelligence Agency. https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/kent-csi/vol5no2/html/v05i2a01p_0001.htm.

[28] Davies, Philip H. J. *Intelligence and Government in Britain and the United States: A Comparative Perspective. Vol. 1.* p. 184

and Estimates (ORE) said that the National Intelligence Requirements were too detailed, inflexible, and redundant.[29] Before the matter could be settled, the National Security Act of 1947 had reset the intelligence structure in the United States.

Soon after the Act was in place, a series of National Security Council Intelligence Directives (NSCID) provided a process to establish priorities and associate them with the resources, interagency cooperation, and authorisations—the mandate level functions that are still in place today. Thus, while not yet codified as a requirements and priorities process, the foundations of the mechanism did exist. In accordance with NSCID-4, issued in December 1947, the DCI was responsible to collaborate with other agencies to recommend a comprehensive list of priorities, called National Intelligence Objectives (NIOs).[30] Among this list, the DCI should select items of critical interest. These then, would become *Priority* National Intelligence Objectives (PNIOs). These would then be applied the appropriate resources necessary to conduct intelligence operations. Further in terms of cooperation, NSCID-2 outlined the process for coordination of intelligence abroad.[31]

The newly organised intelligence community had a spoke-and-wheel structure, where the CIA putatively served as the hub; a central coordinating point for the various intelligence agencies. Under DCI Hillenkoetter, intelligence requirements were formalised through the National Security Council, and those intelligence requirements guided collection, analysis, and production of intelligence. Where short-term assessments were needed, the CIA would create and disseminate the intelligence based on policymaker needs. For longer estimates, intelligence from the various agencies would be funnelled to the CIA's Office for Reports and Estimates (ORE) for the production of national intelligence.

Further, the NSC directives issued at the inception of the CIA provided the means to conduct ad-hoc escalation of urgent issues; to trigger a mandate shift. NSCID-1 outlined the responsibilities of the DCI in the case of an impending crisis situation. The DCI was to

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[29] Babbitt, Theodore. "Memorandum for the Director of Central Intelligence." Letter. 1947. https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP80R01731R003600060013-7.pdf

[30] United States. National Security Council. *National Security Council Intelligence Directive No. 4*. Washington, DC. 1948.

[31] United States. National Security Council. "National Security Council Intelligence Directive No. 2- Coordination of Collection Activities Abroad." 1948. Department of State, Office of the Historian. Found at: https://fas.org/irp/offdocs/nscid02.htm

immediately inform the Intelligence Advisory Committee (IAC) and any relevant officials and agencies. The IAC would convene and provide the DCI their views on the matter, and he would then develop and disseminate a national intelligence estimate.[32] The members of the National Security Council could then determine what action, if any, should be taken.

Latin America amongst US Priorities

Latin America was important to the US in the context of preventing the spread of communism into the Western Hemisphere. However, it is likely that Gaitán's assassination and the ensuing riots might have gone relatively unnoticed in the US if it had occurred at another time. The frequency of uprisings in Latin America, and their distance from the US, made them almost forgettable to the American public. Even Colombia, which experienced comparatively few uprisings, was not without its share of political violence. As such, it was not simply Gaitán's assassination and the aftermath that captivated American attention. The US had an 80-person delegation at the Conference of the Americas, and they had come face-to-face with the element that had guided US national security since the War ended. According to Secretary Marshall and others present in Bogotá, the threat of communism was in their own backyard.

The end of World War II brought an emerging Cold War between the US and the Soviet Union. By 1948, the second Red Scare was underway in the US, and anti-Communist sentiment was rampant. The House Committee on Un-American Activities had become a permanent fixture on Capitol Hill, and nearly every aspect of US national security was geared toward preventing the spread of communism, particularly in Europe. The US and the Soviets come into direct opposition regarding multiple post-war initiatives. In Germany, Soviet leader Joseph Stalin had blocked ground and maritime access to Allied-controlled parts of Berlin. Allied forces responded with a joint initiative to air-lift supplies to the blockaded areas. Meanwhile, Austria and its capital, Vienna, had been divided into quadrants of Allied and Soviet control. Western forces, expecting a similar blockade in Vienna, prepared to conduct a similar airlift program

[32] "National Security Council Intelligence Directive No. 1- Duties and Responsibilities." (NSCID-1) 1947. Found in: Warner, ed. *Central Intelligence: Origin and Evolution*, p. 33-36

in the eventuality that Stalin would act.[33] Finally, both the US and the USSR actively engaged in influencing the 1948 general election in Italy, which would be held on 18 April.[34]

With the goal of communist containment, the US adopted a strategy of economic engagement in both Europe and Latin America. In June 1947, Secretary of State George Marshall introduced the European Recovery Program (ERP, or "Marshall Plan"). The ERP was an economic program had the primary aim of rebuilding war-torn European nations by removing trade barriers and modernising industry. The program would have the secondary effect of stemming the spread of communism.[35] The bill was authorised by Congress (voting almost nearly along party lines[36]) and signed into law by President Truman on 3 April 1948.

In Latin America, the US took a two-pronged approach. During and after the War, Nazi and Communist figures had established a presence in Latin America, particularly in Argentina and Chile. Their presence prompted fears of regional security, and commanded a strengthening of hemispheric relations. To that end, in 1947 the US and seventeen Latin American nations signed the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance in Rio de Janeiro.[37] The binding principle of the treaty was mutual assistance and common defence of the Americas, "especially related to their democratic ideals."[38] In other words, an attack against one nation, particularly in opposition to the ideals of democracy, should be considered, and responded to, as an attack against them all. From the perspective of the US, the Rio Treaty served to strengthen US defences on its southern flank.

The second approach taken in Latin America was to develop stronger economic and trade relations. Many countries needed economic development, and had—for the most part—

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[33] Bischof, Gunter, Anton Pelinka, and Dieter Stiefel. *The Marshall Plan in Austria*. (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 2000), p. 178.

[34] O'Hare McCormick, Anne. "From Bogota to the Italian Election Not a Long Jump." *New York Times.* 14 Apr. 1948: 26.

[35] Initially, the ERP offer was extended to the Soviet Union, however it was rejected by Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Molotov, who urged Soviet allies in Eastern Europe to do the same. See: Statement by Molotov; 2 June 1947. http://www.cvce.eu/content/publication/1999/1/1/f692bc11-0049-4b78-ba99-bc0ac81aedeb/publishable_en.pdf

[36] House Vote #109. "S 2202. Promote the general welfare, national interest, and foreign policy of the US through necessary economic and financial assistance to foreign countries which undertake to cooperate with each other in the establishment and maintenance of economic conditions essential to a peaceful and prosperous world. Adoption of conference report." United States. 80th Congress. 2 April, 1948. https://www.govtrack.us/congress/votes/80-1948/h109

[37] *Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance (Rio Treaty).* September 2, 1947. www.state.gov/p/wha/rls/70681.htm

[38] Ibid.

welcomed a "Latin-American Marshall Plan."[39] To the US, the International Conference of American States was a trifecta. Marshall could reinforce the importance of anti-communist collaboration, establish an Inter-American Defence Council per the Rio Treaty, and reveal economic development package that the President had requested for Latin America.

On 8 April 1948, Truman asked Congress for a $500 million loan for Latin America. That evening at the conference, Secretary Marshall announced the president's request. The number was met with silence.[40] A week earlier, Congress had authorised an initial payment of $5.3 billion for the European Marshall Plan.[41] The variance in these numbers showed the delegates that mathematically, the US considered the rebuilding of European nations and the containment of communism in Europe a greater priority than in Latin America.

The Mandate Shift

The rapid escalation of events in Bogotá while a US delegation was present was of concern to the US government, however, in this instance no mandate shift was ordered. In the aftermath of the events, Hillenkoetter's testimony was released to reporters immediately after hearings on CIA efforts in Colombia. These reports contain the only declassified intelligence regarding Gaitán and el Bogotázo. The DCI's statements provide illuminating information.

The CIA had attempted to alert the State Department that an event of a critical nature was likely to occur in Bogotá at the time of the conference. One particular report, dated 23 March, warned of the possibility of violence "aimed primarily at embarrassing the American delegation and its leaders."[42] The missive warned that "Communist inspired agitators" may attempt "personal molestation" of Secretary of State Marshall.

Hillenkoetter testified that the US ambassador to Colombia and the State Department's advance delegate in Bogotá vetoed escalation of warning through the State Department. In response to this statement, a representative from the State Department testified that

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[39] Argentina had initially opposed the proposal, but relented. See: " Focus on Bogota." *New York Times.* 11 Apr. 1948: 116.

[40] Ibid.

[41] Ginsburgh, David. "50 Years Ago: Marshall Unveils Plan for Europe." *United States Department of Defense.* 29 May 1997. http://archive.defense.gov/news/newsarticle.aspx?id=43358

[42] "Communist Threat to the United States through the Caribbean." Hearings before the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws of the Committee on the Judiciary. US Senate, 86th Congress, 1st session (1959).

Secretary of State Marshall had known about the warnings through State Department reporting, and brushed them aside prior to his departure, saying it was "quite ridiculous" to be intimidated by protests "from Communists, or anyone else."[43] His sentiment was echoed by W. Averell Harriman, Secretary of Commerce, who also had forewarning but added, "but it is impossible to consider that the United States can be stopped from carrying on its business with other countries because of these threats."[44] Thus, CIA and State Department warnings were dismissed by two top-ranking cabinet members, and was disseminated no further. As a result, there was no escalation of priority, and no mandate shift was triggered. In the R&P-centric model, the absence of a priority escalation, despite the presence of early warning, constitutes a failure in the first component of the process.

	MANDATE-LEVEL FUNCTIONS: DETERMINED BY COLLABORATIVE R&P PROCESS				BINARY MODEL		
	Priority level (or timely escalation)	Budget / resource adjustment	Functional interagency cooperation	Operational authorisations	Intelligence (core functions: compliance, collection, and analysis)	Policy (core functions: compliance, decision making and response)	OUTCOME
Success							
Failure	X						

Release of Resources

Despite Freedom of Information Act filings and successive lawsuits, the CIA has refused to release budget information on its earliest years.[45] Primary and secondary source reporting at the time provides information on the resources that were made available during the three days of rioting. For instance, the State Department had organised a pool of news and radio correspondents accredited to the Conference in Bogotá to relay round-the-clock information back to Washington.[46] The Army had made available a plane from the Panama Canal Zone, should Secretary of State Marshall seek to leave Colombia. Marshall declined this option,

[43] Davis. "The Bogotazo."

[44] "Harriman Blames Reds in Colombia." *New York Times.* 22 Apr. 1948: 10

[45] Wolf v. Central Intelligence Agency Federal Bureau of Investigation. United States Court of Appeals, District of Columbia Circuit. 16 Jan. 2007. *Findlaw.* 16 Jan. 2007. Web. http://caselaw.findlaw.com/us-dc-circuit/1157693.html

[46] "Washington Sends More Bogota News." *New York Times.* 11 Apr. 1948: 3.

opting instead to wait out the turmoil and see whether the Conference would resume or relocate.[47] However, a telegram from Ambassador Willard L. Beulac on 11 April stated that the planes would evacuate lower echelon female members from the US and other delegations, and one American pool correspondent. Beulac stated that the decision was prompted by a serious food crisis, and not the situation at large.[48] A second Army plane from the Canal Zone carried first-aid supplies from the American Red Cross.[49]

Apart from these disclosures, primary and secondary source do not indicate that additional resources made available specifically to the CIA or other intelligence agencies during the crisis in Bogotá. With no supplemental support, the second component of the mandate-level functions was not completed, and is therefore considered a failure.

	MANDATE-LEVEL FUNCTIONS: DETERMINED BY COLLABORATIVE R&P PROCESS				BINARY MODEL		
	Priority level (or timely escalation)	Budget / resource adjustment	Functional interagency cooperation	Operational authorisations	**Intelligence** (core functions: compliance, collection, and analysis)	**Policy** (core functions: compliance, decision making and response)	OUTCOME
Success							
Failure	X	X					

Interagency Cooperation

The CIA was formed amid opposition and turf battles emanating from military intelligence and the State Department. When Hillenkoetter became DCI in May 1947, senior leaders were contending with the structure of the new intelligence community. One key issue was to establish a line of demarcation between the CIA and other department-led agencies, and determine the extent of the DCIs power. In June 1947, Hillenkoetter sidestepped the issue by asking the National Intelligence Authority to withdraw the powers which allowed the DCI to

[47] "Report Says U.S. Planes Are Set to Aid Marshall." *United Press* 10 Apr. 1948.

[48] Beulac, Willard L. "710.J/4–1148: Telegram from the Ambassador in Colombia (Beaulac) to the Acting Secretary of State." U.S. Department of State, U.S. Department of State, 11 Apr. 1948

[49] "Bogota Disavows Break with Soviet." *New York Times.* 10 Apr. 1948: 3

act as the "agent" for the Secretaries of State, War, and Navy.[50] He had hoped that this gesture would improve relationships with the agency leads that had been opposed to centralisation, yet it did little to assuage the atmosphere of tension.

The short-term estimates that had previously been provided by the State Department, the military, and the FBI were now to be provided by CIA.[51] Longer estimates were to be the result of collaborative efforts between the agencies, led by the DCI. However, the shift in responsibility was perceived as infringing upon the roles of the established department, and Hillenkoetter could not compel agencies to collaborate on longer estimative papers, per his duties outlined in the National Security Act.[52] As a result, Hillenkoetter faced an uphill battle in fostering interagency collaboration. It was in this environment that the CIA warnings were issued regarding a threat to the International Conference of American States in Bogotá.

Further complicating matters, the directives created by the National Security Council to define the roles of the DCI and CIA also included restrictions that hampered the agency's escalation of certain warnings. For example, upon learning of a possible threat to Secretary Marshall, Hillenkoetter had considered taking the warning to Undersecretary Robert Lovett in the State Department. However, doing so would be a violation of NSCID-2, which says that all relevant intelligence should be sent to the field representative most concerned, and the senior US representative in that region would responsible for the coordination dissemination of intelligence.[53] Thus, Hillenkoetter directed the warning to the State Department's advance delegate in Bogotá, O.J. Libert.

The CIA had just replaced the FBI in Bogotá, and was perceived as encroaching on State Department territory. Hillenkoetter noted that US diplomats in South America were not

[50] United States. Department of State. Hillenkoetter's Tenure as Director of Central Intelligence". *Foreign Relations of the United States, Emergence of the Intelligence Establishment, 1945-1950*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1996, pp 746-756.

[51] Montague. "Priority National Intelligence Objectives."

[52] McDonald, J. Kenneth, and Michael Warner. *Central Intelligence: Origin and Evolution and U.S. Intelligence Community Reform Studies Since 1947 - Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) Reports*. (Washington, DC: Central Intelligence Agency, Center for the Study of Intelligence, 2001), p. 9.

[53] United States. National Security Council. "National Security Council Intelligence Directive No. 2- Coordination of Collection Activities Abroad." 1948. Department of State, Office of the Historian. Found at: https://fas.org/irp/offdocs/nscid02.htm

supportive of the CIA, and in many places, hostile.[54] Libert, in concert with the US Ambassador to Colombia, declined to escalate the warning.[55] Hillenkoetter faced a choice: on one hand, he could circumvent NSCID-2, which could result in risking his own reputation and that of the CIA, and perhaps destroy his ability to generate future goodwill with Cabinet members and department leadership. On the other hand, he could acquiesce and follow the directive in hopes of building credit for himself and the Agency. The DCI chose the latter. Later, Hillenkoetter would call this decision a mistake, and government-appointed committee would find that the DCI and CIA had not successfully coordinated CIA activities.[56]

History places the brunt of responsibility on Hillenkoetter's shoulders, however complying NSCID-2, it can be argued that the mechanism, not the DCI, was at fault. NSCID-1 called for the DCI to furnish the information to the other members of the Intelligence Advisory Committee in the case of an impending crisis.[57] However, in this instance, the order was in conflict with NSCID-2, which says that all relevant intelligence information should be sent to the field representative most concerned; in turn, that representative would be responsible for the coordination and transmission of the material.[58] It is unlikely that the directive was intended to tie the DCI's hands in such a manner, however the mechanism in place restricted the ability to enforce collaboration and dissemination. Further, leadership figures in both the intelligence or policy community failed to enforce collaboration, and failed to assuage the antagonistic relationship in light of the emergency. Collaboration failed therefore, based on the R&P-centric model.

[54] Darling. *The Central Intelligence Agency: An Instrument of Government, to 1950*, p. 240

[55] White, William S. "Marshall Scoffed at Early Warnings on Reds in Bogota." *New York Times*. 16 Apr. 1948: 1, 6.

[56] Montague. "Priority National Intelligence Objectives."

[57] "National Security Council Intelligence Directive No. 1- Duties and Responsibilities." (NSCID-1) 1947. Found in: Warner, ed. *Central Intelligence: Origin and Evolution*, p. 33-36

[58] United States. National Security Council. "National Security Council Intelligence Directive No. 2- Coordination of Collection Activities Abroad." 1948. Department of State, Office of the Historian. Found at: https://fas.org/irp/offdocs/nscid02.htm

	MANDATE-LEVEL FUNCTIONS: DETERMINED BY COLLABORATIVE R&P PROCESS				BINARY MODEL		
	Priority level (or timely escalation)	Budget / resource adjustment	Functional interagency cooperation	Operational authorisations	**Intelligence** (core functions: compliance, collection, and analysis)	**Policy** (core functions: compliance, decision making and response)	OUTCOME
Success							
Failure	X	X	X				

Operational Authorisations

Prior to the escalation in Bogotá, the CIA had reported from sources within the Liberal and communist parties in Colombia. There appear to be no explicit limitations regarding contacts or sources. However, because no mandate shift occurred, there was also no increase in operational authorisations that may have allowed the intelligence community greater access through HUMINT or other collection means. No further CIA officers were deployed to Colombia, and no meetings are recorded to indicate that operational authorisations were increased. In short, this function did not occur.

	MANDATE-LEVEL FUNCTIONS: DETERMINED BY COLLABORATIVE R&P PROCESS				BINARY MODEL		
	Priority level (or timely escalation)	Budget / resource adjustment	Functional interagency cooperation	Operational authorisations	**Intelligence** (core functions: compliance, collection, and analysis)	**Policy** (core functions: compliance, decision making and response)	OUTCOME
Success							
Failure	X	X	X	X			

Intelligence Functions

Prior to el Bogotázo, CIA reporting suggested that the nature of the threat in Colombia would be communist-inspired. One exception, however, warned that an official in a Latin American country aided *Gaitánistas* in procuring weapons to in support of a revolutionary coup.[59] It is only in the aftermath of the riots that the CIA was able to broaden the picture and factor the political and economic situation in Colombia. A 12 May 1948 issue of the *Review of the World*

[59] "Marshall Scoffed at Early Warnings on Reds in Bogotá." *New York Times.*

Situation as it Relates to the Security of the United States acknowledges that el Bogotázo is more "attributable to the basic political and economic tensions prevalent in Latin America than to international Communist conspiracy."[60] The CIA maintained that the Communists did want to discredit the conference, but rather than instigating, they leveraged the "spontaneous reaction of Liberal partisans."

The review was released a month after the uprisings. If the intelligence community was aware of this information at the time of his testimony, Hillenkoetter's selected statements and excerpts would likely have reflected on the political climate and the accusations levied against the Conservative government by Liberal supporters. However, the DCI's testimony centred around the threat by communist organisations, suggesting that this information was not available until the aftermath of el Bogotázo, rather than the result of increased collection and analysis during the uprising.

	MANDATE-LEVEL FUNCTIONS: DETERMINED BY COLLABORATIVE R&P PROCESS				BINARY MODEL		
	Priority level (or timely escalation)	Budget / resource adjustment	Functional interagency cooperation	Operational authorisations	**Intelligence** (core functions: compliance, collection, and analysis)	**Policy** (core functions: compliance, decision making and response)	OUTCOME
Success							
Failure	X	X	X	X	X		

Policymaker Response

On 10 April, the day after Gaitán was assassinated, conference delegates debated whether to relocate the proceedings. The delegations from Venezuela, Dominican Republic, Mexico, and Cuba offered to host the conference in their respective capitals, should it become necessary to leave Bogotá. The delegation from Argentina suggested that the US bring in troops to secure Bogotá airport.[61]

Secretary Marshall declined to discuss the Argentine suggestion, as "besides being a grave decision for my Government" it needed unanimous approval from the delegates, which was

[60] Davis, "The Bogotázo."

[61] United States. Department of State. Marshall, George. "710.J/4–1048: Telegram from the Secretary of State to the Acting Secretary of State." 10 Apr. 1948.

not forthcoming.[62] He emphasised that it was "not only important but imperative" that the conference continue in Bogotá; it would serve as a message to revolutionary movements in Colombia and elsewhere.[63]

As a result, there was no significant political or military response to the uprising in Colombia from the US. Leadership was concerned for the well-being of the US delegation, but sought a resumption of the conference in hopes of continued relationship-building with Latin American nations. Unlike the worker's strike in 1925, the US made no threats or warnings to the Colombian President.

Marshall waited for the rioting to subside, and when the conference resumed, he used the uprising as a hemispheric unifier against the threat of communism. At the end of the conference, sixteen nations signed the American Treaty on Pacific Settlement, or "Pact of Bogotá", on 30 April 1948.[64] The conference also chartered the Organisation of American States (OAS), which established "an order of peace and justice, to promote their solidarity, to strengthen their collaboration, and to defend their sovereignty, their territorial integrity, and their independence."[65] Thus, apart from the evacuation of lower echelon female members of the delegation (and one member of the press corps), all members of the delegation were safe and US interests were upheld. The conference ended on 2 May 1948; Marshall returned to the US in political triumph at achieving hemispheric unity.

[62] ibid

[63] ibid

[64] The treaty states that within the Western Hemisphere, countries at odds with one another would not resort to threats, force, or coercion, but should seek peaceful resolution through the UN Security Council. See: Organization of American States. "American Treaty on Pacific Settlement 'Pact of Bogotá'" 30 April, 1948. Treaty doc. http://www.oas.org/juridico/english/treaties/a-42.html

[65] Organization of American States. Charter of The Organization of American States. April, 1948. http://www.oas.org/en/sla/dil/inter_american_treaties_A-41_charter_OAS.asp#Chapter_I . The OAS has had a lasting legacy; in 2016, the OAS was comprised of all 35 independent states of the Americas, and has granted permanent observer status to 69 states, as well as to the European Union (EU). See: "Who we are." *Organization of American States*. http://www.oas.org/en/about/who_we_are.asp.

	MANDATE-LEVEL FUNCTIONS: DETERMINED BY COLLABORATIVE R&P PROCESS				BINARY MODEL		
	Priority level (or timely escalation)	Budget / resource adjustment	Functional interagency cooperation	Operational authorisations	**Intelligence** (core functions: compliance, collection, and analysis)	**Policy** (core functions: compliance, decision making and response)	OUTCOME
Success						X	
Failure	X	X	X	X	X		

Outcome

In the absence of a mandate shift, there was no escalation of priority or subsequent changes to mandate-level functions with regard to budget, collaboration, or authorisations. As a result, intelligence reporting on the full circumstances of the uprising, or societal factors in Colombia, did not come to the fore prior to or during el Bogotázo. The policy outcome was not a success *because* of the joint functions of the R&P, but *despite* the failure to trigger a mandate shift.

In Washington, success at the conference quickly overshadowed investigations into the early warning failure. El Bogotázo faded into the background, another amongst the uprisings that dotted Latin America's historical landscape. Yet despite the political success, early warning failure *did* occur. The communities failed to effectively employ the mechanisms necessary to trigger the escalation that could have provided more intelligence regarding the nature of the threat in Bogotá.

	MANDATE-LEVEL FUNCTIONS: DETERMINED BY COLLABORATIVE R&P PROCESS				BINARY MODEL		
	Priority level (or timely escalation)	Budget / resource adjustment	Functional interagency cooperation	Operational authorisations	**Intelligence** (core functions: compliance, collection, and analysis)	**Policy** (core functions: compliance, decision making and response)	OUTCOME
Success						X	
Failure	X	X	X	X	X		X

Discussion

It is first important to note the divergent outcomes of intelligence and policy; despite the melee that ensued following Gaitán's death, Secretary Marshall returned to Washington with

reports of a unified hemisphere. The policy community appeared to enjoy success because conference was success. To a certain extent, the policy community, was able to disassociate themselves from lack of actions taken during el Bogotázo. Meanwhile, the intelligence community appeared to have failed because they could not forecast that Gaitán's assassination would result in days of anarchy and chaos.

In this instance, we see the movement of the firewall in action. Opposition to the administration used the events in Bogotá to claim that the newly centralised intelligence community was a failure, and that Truman and the Democrats were directly responsible. Governor Dewey, running for president as a Republican, railed against the restructuring of the intelligence community, saying that Truman "cut off our ears and put out our eyes in our information services around the world."[66] The opposition, in this instance, moved the firewall to associate the failure to the administration and the intelligence community.

In contrast, policy leadership in power deflected fault onto the intelligence community. President Harry Truman stated that he was as confused as everyone else; he knew that there would be demonstrations in Bogotá, but had no indications that anyone would be shot.[67] In this manner, Truman shielded himself and his administration from the failure, deflecting blame on to the intelligence community. [68]

DCI Hillenkoetter was called to testify about the intelligence community failure on 15 April, 1948. It is during this time that pliable application of the definition of failure comes into play. In this instance, we see two examples stemming from the same accusation. First, the State Department argued that the CIA failed to identify the *specific* nature of the threat. During his testimony, Hillenkoetter provided excerpts from a series of warnings about communist-inspired organisations preparing to disrupt the Conference; and insurgent access to, and storage of, contraband weapons.[69] Hillenkoetter also read from a CIA report dated 30 March, opening day of the Conference. The warning indicated that the Colombian communists were intending to act on "a program of agitation and molestation against the United States,

[66] ibid

[67] Darling. The Central Intelligence Agency: An Instrument of Government, to 1950, p. 240

[68] See Figures 1 and 2, page 12.

[69] White, William S. "Marshall Scoffed at Early Warnings on Reds in Bogota." *New York Times*. 16 Apr. 1948: 1, 6.

Chilean, Brazilian and Argentine delegations," hoping that the "imperialist delegations" would leave with "an impression of failure and loss of prestige."[70] Although the intelligence community issued these warnings, they did not specifically forecast that someone (in general, or Gaitán in particular) would get killed, and the ensuing riots would wreak havoc throughout the city. In this instance, the definition of failure is shaped by policymaker expectations, with no regard to the limitations of intelligence.

Second, apart from divining the specific nature of the unrest in Colombia, early warning was provided to suggest that the delegation could be in danger. Hillenkoetter argued that although these warnings were issued, the State Department had prevented their further dissemination. The DCI, bound by the constraints of NSCID-2, could not take the warnings to Undersecretary Robert Lovett in the State Department, lest he be in violation. In turn, Lovett publicly accused the CIA of failing to issue him with warning.[71] Is the intelligence community at fault if policy leadership will not accept the estimates? Or is it incumbent upon the intelligence community to compel policy to listen? In this instance, the definition of failure is defined not by the quality of the report, but the ability to convince policymakers to accept it.

In learning about the constraints within NSCID 2, Clare Hoffman, committee chairman of the investigation, found that CIA had "performed its duty."[72] Representative Clarence Brown, once virulently outspoken about the CIA failure, apologised to the DCI and called for a copy of the directive that established the State Department's ability to censor CIA warning, stating, "Otherwise, we might as well turn the intelligence community over to the State Department and let those dumb clucks run it."[73] Directive 2 was not established by the DCI, but was the creation of the National Security Council. Thus, the NSC should share part of the blame for failure for denying the DCI coordination authority for intelligence activities abroad.[74]

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[70] Hillenkoetter's testimony was reported to journalists, and later re-emerged during a Congressional hearing on the threat of communism emanating from the Caribbean. See: "Communist Threat to the United States through the Caribbean." Hearings before the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws of the Committee on the Judiciary. US Senate, 86th Congress, 1st session (1959)

[71] Hinton, Harold B. "U.S. Not Warned of Bogota Riots- Lovett Says State Department Had No Advance Knowledge Uprising Was Imminent." *New York Times.* 15 Apr. 1948: 18

[72] Barrett. *The CIA and Congress*, p. 36

[73] Ibid., 37

[74] Darling. The Central Intelligence Agency: An Instrument of Government, to 1950, p. 243

Although the hearing had cleared the CIA of wrongdoing, the implication remained in place that the CIA and DCI Hillenkoetter had failed. The Agency had not yet earned its place within the US government, and became a punching bag in the name of political leverage. As Darling explains, "There had to be a scapegoat, so […] it nominated he Director of Central Intelligence and the Agency."[75] In an election year, the hearings against the CIA were motivated, at least in part, by a need to be perceived as strong opposition against the Truman administration and its initiatives. The panel at Hillenkoetter's the hearing was comprised of Republicans and only one Democrat, Representative John W. McCormack (MA).

Republicans such as Dewey, Brown and Devitt were most outspoken against the CIA, particularly as the election year *required* outspoken criticism of the incumbent Democrat who had signed the Agency into being. Following the hearings, Representative Edward Devitt (R-MN), continued to refer to the revolt as a "fiasco" of American intelligence, and demanded an overhaul of the infant system.[76] He lost his election to Eugene McCarthy.

The fallout from Hillenkoetter's hearing was not the castigation of the CIA that many had expected. Rather, the State Department was admonished for censoring or using veto power on CIA reports. After the trial, Representative Clarence Brown, who had been won over by Hillenkoetter's statements, now redirected accusations of intelligence fiasco toward the Truman Administration and the State Department.[77] Brown intended to make Marshall testify on whether he received early warning of the uprising. However, upon the Secretary's return nearly a month after the conference, his efforts were touted as a victory and the inquest was soon forgotten.

A movement grew in Congress to remove the State Department's veto power over CIA dispatches from abroad.[78] The State Department fought back, asserting that despite what was claimed, they had "received no warnings of assassinations or major rioting."[79] Robert Lovett,

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[75] Ibid., p. 240

[76] "Marshall Faces Inquiry." *New York Times*. 26 Apr. 1948: 5

[77] Davis. "The Bogotázo"

[78] White, William S. "A "Pearl Harbor" in Bogotá Charged." *New York Times.* 17 Apr. 1948: 7.

[79] Ibid.

acting Secretary of State in Washington told reporters that although they had warnings of demonstrations, they expected of parades and picketing, as often occur in Washington.[80]

Further, State Department representatives despised that the DCI had released sensitive information to the public. A draft National Security Directive was issued, entitled "Protection of Intelligence Sources and Methods from Unauthorised Disclosure."[81] The directive stated that any demand for disclosure of classified material should be "respectfully declined." In this form, the draft directive ignored the rights of Congress to examine the activities of the CIA. A modified version of this draft would become formalised as NSCID-11 in 1950.[82]

Shortly following the uprising, two reviews were conducted on the CIA's functions. The NSC called for external, comprehensive review of the CIA. Allen Dulles, William Jackson, and Matthias Correa submitted the report in 1949, identifying three key weaknesses in CIA structure and activity. First, the CIA lacked sufficient coordination of intelligence activities. Second, the ORE was producing estimates based on its own research. Thus, some members of the intelligence community were not fully included in the development of estimates, and the CIA was viewed as a competitor to the more established agencies, rather than operating in the collaborative function that was intended. Finally, they argued that the failure of the CIA to operate within its designed parameters was due to a failure on the part of the DCI to ensure that the CIA carries out its assigned functions.[83] To accommodate these concerns, the report called for the DCI to utilise coordinating bodies, such as the Intelligence Advisory Committee, to ensure that intelligence was utilised from all relevant agencies, and provided "the most authoritative statements" to policymakers. The report also called for structural changes to the office of the DCI.[84]

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[80] Hinton, Harold B. "U.S. Not Warned of Bogota Riots- Lovett Says State Department Had No Advance Knowledge Uprising Was Imminent." *New York Times.* 15 Apr. 1948: 18

[81] Barrett. *The CIA and Congress,* p. 38

[82] National Security Council. "National Security Council Intelligence Directive No. 11- Security of Information on Intelligence Sources and Methods." Washington, DC. 6 January 1950. https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1945-50Intel/d430

[83] Dulles, Allen W., William H. Jackson, and Mathias. F. Correa. "Central Intelligence Agency and National Organisation for Intelligence: A Report to the National Security Council." 28 Feb. 1949. https://archive.org/details/THECENTRALINTELLIGENCEAGENCYANDNATIONALORGANIZATIONFORINTELLIGENCERDP86B00269R001100090001-9

[84] Ibid.

President Truman appointed former President Herbert Hoover to chair the "The Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government," also referred to as the First Hoover Commission. Within the Commission, a group headed by Ferdinand Eberstadt was tasked with observing national security infrastructure. Similar to the Dulles-Jackson-Correa report, the Eberstadt report also found weaknesses in CIA organisation and direction across the community. Further, the report found two conflicting problems; first, estimates were not sufficiently responsive to policymaker needs, and second, estimates were created without access to all necessary and relevant information.[85] The Hoover Commission called for a senior level evaluation board to work on intelligence evaluations, and urged "relations of mutual confidence" between CIA and policymakers.[86]

Meanwhile in Colombia, many regard the assassination of Dr. Gaitán as the start of nearly two decades of sustained extreme violence, known as “La Violencia.”

These reports in the aftermath of el Bogotázo contributed to changes in the structure of the intelligence community. The Hoover Commission stated that the CIA’s greatest need was “the establishment at a high level of a small group of highly capable people, freed from administrative detail, to concentrate upon intelligence evaluation.”[87] By 1950, the Board of National Estimates (BNE), and the Office of National Estimates had been created to address these concerns.

By examining the case through the R&P-centric model, the chain of events in each component are brought to the forefront. In the first component, the priority level of the emergency was not escalated, in part due to a “deaf-captain” syndrome on the parts of Secretaries Marshall and Harriman. There is no record to suggest that an IAC meeting was convened, and the subsequent components in the model were therefore not triggered. As a result, the intelligence community received no shift in resources, no directive toward interagency cooperation on the matter, and no supplemental authorisations to address the issue.

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[85] Eberstadt. Ferdinand (Chair). “The Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, Task Force Report on National Security Organization”, January 1949. https://archive.org/stream/EberstadtCommitteeReport-IndexofRecommendationseberstadtrecom/Eberstadt%20Committee%20Report%20-%20Index%20of%20Recommendations%20eberstadt_recom_djvu.txt

[86] Hoover, Herbert. "Hoover Commission Report on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government." (1949).

[87] Ibid.

This raises the question: could an R&P-centric investigation have influenced the recommendations and reforms carried out after el Bogotázo? It seems likely. Jack Davis states, that while el Bogotázo was a dramatic event in the agency's firsts year, "it is difficult […] to point with confidence to any specific impact on the course of affairs."[88] The findings from commissioned investigations raised significant concerns, but led to limited changes. For instance, the Eberstadt report contradicts itself. It first states that estimates were not responsive to policymaker needs, but then follows that the IC did not have access to the relevant information.[89] Without sufficient access to information, the IC cannot become more responsive. Further, more information cannot guarantee a policymaker's attention. Thus, this assessment does not address the first component of the R&P, nor any of its successive processes.

The broader First Hoover Commission report called for the establishment of a small group to concentrate on intelligence evaluation.[90] Yet the creation of BNE and ONE did little to ameliorate the issues that presented during el Bogotázo. In fact, between 1947 and 1973, the R&P would only be addressed by moving the process from one department to another. Had a model been in place to address the components of process, commissions may have been more equipped to generate reforms that would improve key factors within the mechanism, rather than concentrating concern on its ownership.

[88] Davis, Jack. "The Bogotazo." Central Intelligence Agency. "The Bogotazo", Studies in Intelligence Volume 13, No. 4 (1969)

[89] Eberstadt. Ferdinand (Chair). "The Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, Task Force Report on National Security Organization", January 1949. https://archive.org/stream/EberstadtCommitteeReport-IndexofRecommendationseberstadtrecom/Eberstadt%20Committee%20Report%20-%20Index%20of%20Recommendations%20eberstadt_recom_djvu.txt

[90] Ibid.

CHAPTER SIX: IRANIAN REVOLUTION, 1979

"If we wanted information on the opposition leaders and on the military in Iran, we should have turned it into an unfriendly country. Then we would have targeted them and developed sources. But we can't do much with opaque regimes headed by friendly authoritarian figures."

—CIA Analyst, December 1978[1]

The overthrow of the Shah in 1979 was a critical turning point in Western relations with Iran. Prior to the revolution, Iran had been a vital ally to the US. Iran was a bulwark against Soviet Russia; a finger in the dam against Communism. In terms of the Middle East, Iran had served as regional police and a crucial ally to Israel. Finally, Iran was a significant trade partner; as one of the world's largest oil producing countries, as much as 87% of the nation's crude went to the US, Europe, and Japan.[2] Over a brief period of time, Iranian political perception of the US had gone from "great ally" to "Great Satan." The rapid change of this important relationship has left academics and practitioners contemplating a singular question for nearly four decades: "How did we miss it?"

Unlike the black swan event in Bogotá, the mood against the Shah built up over years, making the slow changes almost imperceptible. These changes were less visible to the US, at a time when other events overshadowed Iranian domestic concerns, and when the significant changes were being made to the requirements process itself. Internally commissioned investigations on the revolution focus on a narrow timeframe, beginning in mid-to-late 1977 and ending in November of 1978. These reports have shaped the telling of the story, assigning and describing failures before events had fully come to pass. However, there is a gap of examination between November 1978, when the US became alarmed by events surrounding the Shah, and February 1979, when Ayatollah Khomeini declared the Islamic Republic of Iran. This gap creates three intrinsic assumptions:

1) Early warning predicates an outcome of success or failure.

[1] https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1978/12/17/cia-shah-ties-cloud-iran-data/2d82c4fe-7d3b-41d5-8d44-02472e573cfb/

[2] Curtis, Glenn E, Eric J Hooglund. *Iran: A Country Study*. (Washington, DC: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress: U.S. G.P.O, 2008). Accessed at: https://www.loc.gov/item/2008011784

2) Warning was issued too late for the US to make any effectual response in Iran, and therefore;
3) Everything occurring after November 1978 is also, by default a failure.

Early warning is a significant advantage, but alone, it does not predicate the outcome of an event. Success has occurred with little warning, and failure with a great amount. For instance, can the success or failure of a fire department be measured before the alarm has been rung to indicate a fire? If the alarm is rung late, the building may be destroyed, but lives may be saved. Should this then still be counted as a complete failure?

What has gone unremarked regarding the Iranian crisis is the series of inter-community functions that went into effect once the alarm was raised. Each of the mandate-level components can have independent successes or failures, which together can influence the outcome. When they work smoothly and rapidly, success at that stage can be achieved and still receive little or no notice. However, a malfunction within any of these areas can become a stumbling block which could ultimately result in failure. Examining the Iranian revolution through the R&P process takes the investigation beyond the date that the alarm was rung, to observe the efficacy of each mandate-level function. From here, we can see multiple layers of functionality that ultimately impacted the outcome of US response.

The history of the Iranian revolution is complex and multi-layered. Numerous writings have addressed isolated aspects of this event, ranging from economic, ideological, and political disagreements.[3] While these considerations are important to the historical retelling of the crisis, this research does not revisit these aspects in detail. Rather, here, the focus is on the events which correlate to the requirements and priorities process within United States government and intelligence community, and the impacts resulting within or as a result of this process.

[3] Among many sources on this topic, see: McGlinchey, Stephen. *US Arms Policies Towards the Shah's Iran*. (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2014); Moaddel, Mansoor. *Class, Politics, and Ideology in the Iranian Revolution*. (New York: Columbia UP, 1993); or Amuzegar, Jahangir. The *Dynamics of the Iranian Revolution: The Pahlavis' Triumph and Tragedy* (Albany: State U of New York, 1991).

The Shah, the US, and the Revolution

Mohammad Reza Pahlavi ascended to the throne in 1941 as the result of the Anglo-Soviet invasion and occupation of Iran.[4] Although the Persian Empire declared neutrality in World War II, the Shah's father, Reza Shah, had maintained friendly relations with Nazi Germany. Fearing that these ties could threaten Allied access to oil fields and supply lines, British and Soviet forces invaded Iran, and eventually pressured Reza Shah to abdicate. The Shah agreed to go into exile on the condition that his family would remain in power, leaving the throne to his 20-year-old son.[5] Allied forces occupied Iran throughout the war, with British forces controlling the south and Soviet forces in the north. In the war's aftermath, Moscow refused to withdraw from Iran at the deadline of 2 March 1946, and expanded their military presence south. The Shah filed a complaint to the newly formed United Nations, which passed Resolution 2, calling on Iran and the Soviet Union to resolve their conflict.[6] Soviet forces remained in place until May 1946, by which time Muscovite powers had founded the Communist Tudeh party in Iran. The event left the young ruler with a lifelong distrust of the Soviet Union.[7] As the Cold War grew more ominous, the Shah's wariness of the Soviets, and Iran's proximity to the Soviet Union made him an ideal ally to the West.

By 1951, the Shah's domestic influence began to wane as National Front leader Mohammed Mosaddegh rose to power on a platform of nationalism. Fearing a loss of authority and sensing an opportunity to quiet his opposition, the Shah appointed Mosaddegh to the role of Prime Minister. Mosaddegh nationalised Iranian oil in May 1951, sparking retaliatory actions from the British government, including the pullout of skilled workers from Iranian plants, and a de facto blockade on the sale of Iranian oil. Despite the detrimental impact on the Iranian economy and society, Mosaddegh's popularity continued to rise. In contrast, the Shah's support had declined. In 1953, the Shah went into exile in Italy, fearing he had lost the support of the nation amid a torrent of protest. A joint UK and US covert operation successfully

[4] Azimi, Fakhreddin. I*ran: The Crisis of Democracy; From the Exile of Reza Shah to the Fall of Musaddiq*. (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2009), p. 5.

[5] Ibid., 37.

[6] United Nations Security Council. "S/RES/2: The Iranian Question" (January 1946), available from http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/2(1946)

[7] Milani, Abbas. *The Shah*. (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), p. 113.

overthrew Mossadegh and restored the Shah to power.[8] It was only after the Shah's return from temporary exile that he began to feel legitimately in control of Iran.

By 1957, the Shah, aided by CIA and Israel's Mossad, developed SAVAK, a secret intelligence and policing service attached to the office of the Prime Minister.[9] Feeling confident in his outlook, the ruler began to focus on his legacy; by 1963, he had implemented his White Revolution, a strategy for vast, rapid social and economic reform. Meanwhile, the Shah's relationship with the west continued to deepen.

As the Cold War continued, Iran became an increasingly crucial ally to the US, and by 1969 had become the number one purchaser of American weaponry.[10] In the US, the Nixon Doctrine was adopted, declaring that allies facing nuclear or other aggression would be furnished with military and economic assistance in accordance with US treaty commitments.[11] As a subset of this doctrine, Nixon adopted a "Twin Pillars" policy in the Middle East, calling on Iran and Saudi Arabia to be the guardians of US interests in the Gulf region. The Shah agreed eagerly. Tasked by the US with the dual roles of regional police and a deterrence to Communist expansion, the Nixon administration opened the doors to Iranian purchase of US weaponry. The Shah was issued a "blank check", wherein his future requests for non-nuclear arms purchases would not be second guessed. Between 1972 and 1973, Iranian purchase of US weapons had jumped from $500 million to $2.5 billion.[12]

While becoming an ever-more important client to the US, the Shah was not always a "good faith" ally. He felt that Iran was destined to become one of the five most powerful nations in the world, and desired to exert his power externally.[13] When the British withdrew from the Gulf Region in 1971, the US had hoped Iran would become a protector of the newly formed states. In contrast, days before the British exit, Iranian forces took control of the Greater and

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[8] Byrne, Malcolm. "CIA Confirms Role in 1953 Iran Coup." *National Security Archive*. 19 Aug. 2013. http://nsarchive.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB435/

[9] Library of Congress, Federal Research Division. *Iran: A country Study*. 276

[10] McGlinchey, Stephen. *US Arms Policies towards the Shah's Iran*. (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2014), p. 4

[11] Nixon, Richard. *Address to the Nation on the War in Vietnam.* November 3, 1969. http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=2303

[12] Shawcross, William. *The Shah's Last Ride: The Fate of an Ally*. (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1988), p. 168

[13] Ibid., 167

Lesser islands of Tunbs, part of the newly formed United Arab Emirates. Rather than regional policing, the Shah sought regional dominance, and openly rejected the presence of a US naval base in Bahrain, perceiving it as rivalry to his own power.[14]

By 1974, the Shah had expressed interest in obtaining nuclear capabilities, and carried these discussions through the Ford and Carter terms. In the face of the ongoing Strategic Arms Limitations Talks (SALT)[15], successive US administrations conveyed concern for further nuclear proliferation. President Carter in particular sought to curb the Shah's ambitions; he was dubious of the Nixon Doctrine, and disconcerted by the Shah's heavy-handed domestic policies. Carter ended the "blank check" protocol that had been cultivated through the Nixon and Ford years, but agreed to engage in discussions of nuclear facilities.[16] The Shah had intentions to build 20 nuclear reactors with an electrical output of 26,000 megawatts by the end of the century.[17] To meet these aims, he leveraged his power with the US; an NID from July of 1977 indicated his intentions to host Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev prior to visiting the US in November. The report suggests that the Shah's disclosure of this information was an attempt to remind the US that he had "considerable room for manoeuvre."[18] By May 1978, the US and Iran had drafted a cooperation agreement for the peaceful use of nuclear energy.[19]

However, by the time the agreement was drafted, the Shah was in trouble. The White Revolution had led to the displacement and disenchantment of many Iranians, and some, particularly among the mullah class, viewed the Shah's liberalisation program as forced Westernisation.[20] The Shah's enforcement of rule had been perceived as increasingly

[14] Pollack, Kenneth M. *The Persian Puzzle: The Conflict between Iran and America*. (New York: Random House, 2004), p. 105.

[15] "Interview with the Shah." Department of Defense National Military Command Center. Cable. June 1974. http://nsarchive.gwu.edu/nukevault/ebb268/doc01a.pdf

[16] Presidential Directive 13 required a review of all arms sales to demonstrate that transfers contribute to US national security. See: Carter, James. "Presidential Decision Directive 13: Conventional Arms Transfer Policy" (Washington, DC: White House, May 1977).

[17] United States. Department of State. Briefing Memorandum from Alfred L. Atherton, Jr. to Secretary Vance. "Your Meeting with the Shah". 30 April 1977. DNSA: 1R01164

[18] United States. Central Intelligence Agency. "National Intelligence Daily- 23 July 1977". CIA CREST CIA-RDP79T00975A030200010087-0

[19] "United States. Department of Defence. "U.S.- Iran Nuclear Cooperation Agreement" Joint Chiefs of Staff. Cable. May 1974.

[20] Moin, Baqer. *Khomeini: Life of the Ayatollah*. (New York: Thomas Dunne, 2000), p. 163

Draconian by portions of the population, leading to rising animus.[21] In mid-1977, sporadic protests against the Shah had become more commonplace, increasing in size. Demonstrators condemned the regime's corruption and the brutality used by SAVAK, and accused the Shah of subservience to the United States. Meanwhile, across Iranian bazaars and mosques, copies of cassette tapes were being widely distributed, containing recordings of anti-Imperial speeches by the Shah's long exiled foe, Ayatollah Khomeini.

Khomeini was exiled to Iraq in 1965 for repeated criticism of Shah's regime. Sensing his growing influence, in October 1978, the Shah asked the Iraqi government to send Khomeini further afield. The Ayatollah headed to Paris, taking advantage of the "no visa" policy between France and Iran. Despite the distance, his anti-imperial messages were still delivered and heard throughout Iran.

It is important to note that while the revolution has been characterised as an Islamic movement, for the most obvious reasons, this is a gross oversimplification of many complex factors. The bulk of protestors coalesced against the Shah, but not for an Islamic republic. In the midst of the Cold War, efforts, particularly labour-based movements, were seen as leftist, and could create targets of the individuals involved. However, while the mullahs were not a protected class, they had a long-standing agreement with the Shah: he wouldn't interfere with their religious function if they didn't interfere with his politics. For this reason, information exchanges were most easily conducted in mosques and Islamic centres. Further, Khomeini had made the ideal of an Islamic republic sound Utopian. Promoting the philosophies in his 1970 publication, he promised, among other things, an end to unjust punishment, bureaucratic waste, class divisions, and western debt and influence.[22] The notions were an appealing message to the devout and non-devout alike.

Meanwhile, the Shah's pendulum of liberalisation and repression roused the masses. Anti-Shah demonstrations grew more vehement and violent, and by late 1978, had shown no sign of slowing. On 16 January 1979, amid unceasing anti-monarchy demonstrations, the Shah went on "holiday." He would never return to Iran. After months of seeking temporary

[21] Nolan, Janne E., and Douglas J. MacEachin. *Discourse, Dissent, and Strategic Surprise: Formulating U.S. Security Policy in an Age of Uncertainty*. (Washington, D.C.: Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, 2006), p. P19

[22] Khomeini, Ruhollah. *Islamic Government: Governance of the Jurist.* 1970. Translated by Hamid Algar. (Tehran: Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imam Khomeini's Work, 2002)

residence in various countries, the Shah ultimately found asylum in Egypt. He died in Cairo in July 1980.

Khomeini made a triumphant return to Iran on 1 February, nearly 15 years after his exile, and declared himself the Supreme Leader of the new Revolutionary Government. In the coming days, the military would find itself split between loyalty to the Shah or the Ayatollah, and dissent had filtered, sometimes violently, through the ranks. By mid-afternoon on 10 February, military generals found themselves in extensive negotiations with the Ayatollah's representatives. Mehdi Bazargan, Prime Minister of the Revolutionary government, suggested that all Iranian military forces should declare neutrality. The next day, the Iranian Supreme Council of the Armed Forces held their largest meeting in history, with 27 of 29 military commanders present. The Shah was gone and the civilian government was in disarray; the leaders determined that the military role was not to engage in political fighting, but to safeguard the country against foreign enemies.

By 2 pm on 10 February 1979, a communiqué was issued over Iranian radio: The High Council of the Armed Forces had unanimously declared its neutrality. The revolution ended the 2500-year Persian Empire. Khomeini announced that the new government would be based on sharia (Islamic) law, and to oppose the government would be to oppose the law of Islam.[23]

Despite his attempts, Prime Minister Bakhtiar could not assemble a functioning civilian government that could resist the strength of the Ayatollah's revolution. He left Iran for France in April of 1979.

The Prevailing Arguments

"Iran is already a multilevel failure that is likely to haunt the agency for years."

—Washington Post, December 1978[24]

History, in the form of after-action findings, has recorded the Iranian Revolution as an intelligence failure. By his own admission, Director of Central Intelligence, Admiral Stansfield Turner, said the greatest failure of the CIA during his tenure was "inadequately emphasizing"

[23] Moin. *Khomeini: Life of the Ayatollah,* 204.

[24] Hoagl, Jim. "CIA-Shah Ties Cloud Iran Data." *The Washington Post*. 17 Dec. 1978

the threat to the Shah in 1978.[25] The intelligence community has been faulted for crippling problems which hindered collection and analysis of the Shah's opposition and the national mood in Iran. Milo Jones and Phillipe Silberzahn highlight two key problems: few agents in Tehran had an understanding of Iranian society, and the intelligence community failed to provide early analysis of an Iran without the Shah at the helm.[26]

Others believe that the IC did successfully provide early warning, which was ignored by policymakers. Robert Bowie, the former head of the National Foreign Assessment Center, argued, "I think certainly by September '78 we [CIA] had a better grasp of the situation than the policy establishment, but we were providing intelligence they were not necessarily interested in using."[27]

These arguments are underscored by declassified documents which indicate concern for the Shah's durability and Iran's stability as early as 1972. For instance:

- A CIA analysis from May 1972 warned that within Iran's privileged groups were individuals "whose opposition to the Shah's government is nearly total."[28]
- A July 1972 report from the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research (INR) warned that a "a violence-inclined 'youth underground' has taken root in Iran", which could affect the nation's long-term stability.[29]
- A May 1975 NIE warned that the Shah's repressive policies could result in dissent, terrorism, and anti-US overtones, and ultimately impact the political institutions which could maintain stability after the Shah.[30]

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[25] Turner, Stansfield. *Intelligence for a New World Order*. (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1991), p. 154

[26] Jones, Milo, and Philippe Silberzahn. *Constructing Cassandra: Reframing Intelligence Failure at the CIA, 1947-2001.* (Stanford, CA: Stanford UP, 2013)

[27] Jeffreys-Jones, Rhodri, and Andrew, Christopher M. "Telephone interview with Robert Bowie". 6 April 1994. Washington DC

[28] Intelligence Report 2035-72, Washington, May 1972. Central Intelligence Agency, OCI Files, Job 79T00832A, Box 9, 46. Office of Current Intelligence.

[29] State Department, Bureau of Intelligence and Research. "Intelligence Note RNAN-18, Prepared by the Bureau of Intelligence and Research Washington." National Archives, RG 59, Central Files 1970-73, POL 23-8 IRAN.

[30] Central Intelligence Agency. "National Intelligence Estimate: Iran" NIE 34–1–75. Washington, 9 May 1975. Central Intelligence Agency, NIC Files, Job 79R01012A, Box 496, Folder 3. Secret.

- A briefing memorandum to Secretary of State Cyrus Vance in April 1977 warned, "There is wide concern […] that Iran is needlessly over-armed and that the 30,000 Americans there […] would be hostages in the event of a conflict."[31]

Those who hold the policymakers responsible have argued that politicians took for granted the longevity of the Shah's reign. Historian Barry Rubin writes that the failure can be traced to an "overdependence on seemingly changeless factors."[32] This is a recurrent theme; the reliance on the status quo can often result in selective blindness. Iran's importance as vendor, client, and geopolitical partner was embodied in the Shah himself. The Iranian parliament was a rubber-stamp organisation, and all political decisions were ultimately made by the Shah. In short, to the US, he *was* Iran. Thus, the US readily agreed to Shah's request that the US give a wide berth to Iranian domestic policy. Janne Nolan and Douglas MacEachin argue that in this political climate, reports about the Shah's waning power would be viewed as subversive or damaging to the US.[33] Rhodri Jeffreys-Jones and Christopher Andrew argue that the US Embassy in Tehran produced warnings which were stifled by Ambassador William Sullivan, who was not initially convinced of the crisis, and that in Washington, cables absent of urgent information were given too low of a classification to draw any attention.[34]

Internally commissioned post-mortem investigations have found fault in both communities. Robert Jervis was tasked by the National Foreign Assessment Center (NFAC) Director Robert Bowie to assess the early warning failure in Iran.[35] NFAC, an organisation created by DCI Stansfield Turner, was a merger of the Directorate of Intelligence and National Intelligence Officers, and served as a focal point for intelligence production at a national level,[36] with stations in key areas around the world. His investigation spanned from mid-1977 to the first week of November in 1978. The report cites several failures, including weak analysis in NFAC

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[31] United States. Department of State. Briefing Memorandum from Alfred L. Atherton, Jr. to Secretary Vance. "Your Meeting with the Shah". 30 April, 1977. DNSA: 1R01164

[32] Rubin, Barry M. *Paved with Good Intentions: The American Experience and Iran*. (New York: Oxford UP, 1980), Preface.

[33] Nolan, Janne E., and Douglas J. MacEachin. *Discourse, Dissent, and Strategic Surprise: Formulating U.S. Security Policy in an Age of Uncertainty*. (Washington, D.C.: Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, 2006), p. 27

[34] Jeffreys-Jones, Rhodri, and Andrew, Christopher M. *Eternal Vigilance?: 50 Years of the CIA*. (London: Frank Cass, 1997), p. 144

[35] Jervis, Robert. *Why Intelligence Fails: Lessons from the Iranian Revolution and the Iraq War*.

[36] Snider, L. Britt. *The Agency and the Hill: CIA's Relationship with Congress, 1946-2004.* (Washington, DC: Central Intelligence Agency, Center for the Study of Intelligence, 2008), p. 204

cables from the Tehran office, and the fact that the bulk of intelligence collected was provided by SAVAK or other elites in the Shah's circle.[37] Over time, NFAC arguably became a relay for what the Shah wanted Washington to know. For instance, NFAC cables tended to treat student protests as isolated and relatively insignificant opposition. This perspective is consistent with the Shah's; accounts by Fereydoun Hovdeya, Iranian Ambassador to the United Nations, show that as late as June of 1978, the Shah believed the demonstrations were being held by fanatic fringes of Iranian society, unappealing to wider masses.[38] Further, agents at NFAC were aware that SAVAK withheld a great deal of information, but neither they, nor anyone at the CIA, alerted intelligence consumers.

Jervis correlates problems surrounding intelligence collection directly to Iran's low priority. The bulk of US staff in Tehran was unfamiliar with Iranian history, culture, or language, therefore understanding of key information sources, such as Farsi-language newspapers or cassettes of Khomeini's speeches, was minimal. Further, limited contacts with opposition parties or non-elite segments of Iranian society meant that the US put greater trust in SAVAK's reliability than should have been afforded.

Critically, Jervis also faults both communities for being unaware of the Shah's hidden illness. In 1973, the Shah was diagnosed with slow-growing cancer. He kept his condition secret for years, and began to accelerate his modernisation plans. Jerrold Post explains, "the Shah superimposed his personal timetable on the political timetable."[39] Had either of the communities been aware that the Shah was ill, it is likely that estimates of a post-Shah Iran would have been generated sooner, or with more frequency.

Another internal investigation by the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence also found both communities responsible for failure to foresee the threat to the Shah.[40] The report found that current intelligence reporting was timely and accurate, but information from opposition sources, as well as long-term analysis, were notably absent. Ultimately, any

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[37] Jervis, *Why Intelligence Fails: Lessons from the Iranian Revolution and the Iraq War*, 34.

[38] Hoveyda, Fereydoun. *The Fall of the Shah*. (New York: Wyndham, 1980), p. 3-38.

[39] Post, Jerrold, as found in Adelman, Ken. "The Mind of a Leader" *Washingtonian Magazine*. 1 Nov. 2007. Web. 7 Apr. 2012. http://www.washingtonian.com/articles/people/the-mind-of-a-leader/.

[40] United States. House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, Subcommittee on Evaluation. "Iran: Evaluation of US Intelligence Performance Prior to November 1978." (Washington: Government Printing Office), p. 1-8

warnings raised by the IC were insufficient to get the attention of top policymakers until October of 1978.[41]

The HPSCI report adds that policymakers must assume even greater responsibility for the failure, due to "unwritten considerations" that hindered covert and overt field collection in Iran.[42] Further, consumers did not request analysis of the Shah's stability, even while negotiating weapons sales and determining significant policies in the region.

The report's conclusion notes the interesting dichotomy of the role of the CIA in Iran. On one hand, the Agency had considered itself a booster to the Shah's power, particularly since the overthrow of Mohamed Mosaddegh in 1953. But on the other hand, it was expected to provide sound analysis of the situation in Iran. The difficulty stemming from the dual role of the agency was compounded by the dual-hatting of the DCI. As the President's chief adviser, and the head of for CIA operations, his role put him between acquiescing to the political mood in the US, and the need to realistically relay the political mood in Iran.

Both the NFAC and HPSCI reports focus on a time range beginning in mid-to-late 1977, and ending in early November of 1978, when the threat to the Shah became undeniable.[43] These reports do not consider actions taken between November 1978, when Iran was escalated as an intelligence priority, and February of 1979, when the Shah went into exile and Ayatollah Khomeini took de facto control of the government. During this time, the requirements and priorities mechanism should have triggered an escalation of Iran's priority. If the R&P process was functioning properly, the escalation of Iranian events would force a mandate shift, causing greater resources and attention to be delivered to the events surrounding the Shah.

Tracing the R&P Process through the Revolution

By the time of the Iranian Revolution, the R&P process had experienced a cycle of troubles for decades. The problems that haunted the mechanism from the start remained unchanged. The mechanism suffered from poor utilisation by producers and consumers; long, unfiltered lists of needs; poor coordination resulting in costly duplication of intelligence efforts; and the inefficacy of the DCI role in developing, coordinating, and enforcing national priorities. During

[41] Ibid.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Jervis, Robert. *Why Intelligence Fails*, 16.

the mid-1970s, DCI William Colby made the first significant attempt to overhaul the mechanism with his creation of Key Intelligence Questions, however the strategy proved ineffective, and lapsed within two years of its inception.

The next attempt to improve the R&P process began in 1977, when Stansfield Turner came to the DCI role. Like Colby, Turner wanted to create a streamlined R&P mechanism which, through regular updates between the communities, would act as a living document of intelligence target rankings. Turner instituted National Intelligence Topics (NITs, sometimes referred to as NITs of Current Interest, or NITCI), initially a set of fifty-nine topics with subtopics that were most significant to policymakers.[44] The NITs introduced by Turner were divided into six categories: Advanced Countries; the USSR and Eastern Europe; China; key developing countries; less developed countries; and global issues[45] (later versions would add a category called critical areas of continued concern[46]). From declassified reports of the era, it is possible to infer that priorities were also rated "A", "B", or "C"; where A represented items of the highest priority, and C represented the lowest.[47] Turner had confidence that his NITs would be superior to Colby's KIQs; policymakers had greater input in determining the topics, and these in turn provided more detailed guidance for the intelligence community.

Turner rolled out the NITs process shortly after President Jimmy Carter issued Executive Order 12036, which entailed a comprehensive reorganization of the intelligence community. Carter established two NSC-level groups; the Policy Review Committee (PRC) and the Special Coordination Committee (SCC).[48] The PRC, chaired by the DCI, was tasked with establishing requirements and priorities for national foreign intelligence, and ensuring that resources and capabilities were responsive to requirements across NSC departments. The SCC, chaired by the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, would conduct annual reviews of ongoing special activities and sensitive collection operations.

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[44] Laqueur. *The Uses and Limits of Intelligence,* p, 94

[45] "Revised List of National Intelligence Topics." Letter to Director of Central Intelligence from Taylor, James H., Comptroller. 31 Aug. 1979. CIA-RDP86B00269R001400070003-6 CIA Research Tool (CREST)

[46] Director of Central Intelligence. *National Intelligence Topics.* July 1979. CIA-RDP86B00269R001400070001-4 (CREST)

[47] "Revised List of National Intelligence Topics." Letter to Director of Central Intelligence from Taylor, James H., Comptroller.

[48] Carter, James (President). "Executive Order 12036- United States Intelligence Activities." Federal Register 43, no. 3674 (1978). Washington DC. https://fas.org/irp/offdocs/eo/eo-12036.htm

Carter's Executive Order also formalised the National Foreign Intelligence Board (NFIB),[49] to advise the DCI on the budget and facilitate as exchanges of information between US agencies and with foreign governments. Carter also established the National Intelligence Tasking Center (NITC), staffed by military and civilian personnel and responsible for translating requirements and priorities into specific objectives and targets for the intelligence community. By the end of 1977, the Requirements and Priorities Process functioned as follows:

1. Consumer intelligence needs were amalgamated and delivered to Director of Central Intelligence.
2. The DCI would modify and organise the needs, and submit recommendations to the NSC Policy Review Committee.
3. PRC reviewed the DCI recommendations, and determined whether resource allocations were properly aligned to intelligence requirements.
4. Sensitive Foreign Intelligence Collection Operations would submit proposals for needs which required special (covert) collections operations. These would be sent through the DCI, and then through the SCC for review.
5. NSC would modify and/or approve the recommendations, which were formalised into NITs.
6. Upon NSC approval, the National Foreign Intelligence Board would advise the DCI on coordination of requirements, budget programming, and domestic and foreign intelligence arrangements.
7. NITC would translate the intelligence requirements into specific objectives within the intelligence community, and resolve conflicts of priority within or between agencies.
8. Both the SCC and PRC would meet regularly to assess the quality of intelligence products and changing intelligence requirements.[50]

The new R&P process was untested as the troubles in Iran began to unfold. The first set of intelligence targets based on the NITs was issued in August 1978. The process enjoyed

[49] Ibid.

[50] If necessary, all NITC responsibilities and authorities of the DCI could be transferred to the Secretary of Defence at the discretion of the President. In regular practice exercises, the would temporarily assume the responsibilities of the DCI during regular practice exercises. See: Carter, Jimmy (President). "Executive Order 12036- United States Intelligence Activities."

significant involvement from both intelligence consumers and producers and initially appeared to be a successful remodel of the troubled R&P mechanism. Turner was convinced that the NITs would encourage policymakers to engage more regularly with the product, and the targets had covered enough ground that agencies would not fear a detrimental impact to intelligence programming.

Apart from the semi-annual update of intelligence priorities, another measure of the NITs success would be its ability to scramble for unexpected, urgent events. If successful, the NITs process would generate a rapid change in mandate-level functions.

Iran amongst US Priorities

By the late 1970s, Iran was mainly important in the context of other concerns. Iran's proximity to the Soviet Union and the Middle East made the nation useful in the context of other US priorities, but Iran itself was not given a great deal of attention. In April 1977, two months into Carter's inauguration, a memo from Assistant for National Security Affairs, Zbigniew Brzezinski, highlighted the most critical issues to US foreign policy. These included: USSR and Eastern Europe, SALT, the Middle East, Latin America, Trilateral Relations, China, Africa, Defence, North-South relations, International Economics. [51] Iran was given no specific mention.

At the end of the year, Carter celebrated New Year's Day 1978 in Iran, issuing a televised toast in which he praised the Shah's leadership and called Iran "an island of stability in one of the more troubled areas of the world."[52] Although turbulence would begin in Iran shortly after this toast, Carter dedicated much of his focus in 1978 on the Soviet Union, China, and the Arab-Israeli matter. These priorities, coupled with the Shah's request to stay out of domestic affairs, kept Iran off the radar.

[51] Brzezinski, Zbigniew. "Weekly National Security Report #7." Memorandum from the President's Assistant for National Security Affairs (Brzezinski) to President Carter. Washington. April 1, 1977. Carter Library, National Security Affairs, Brzezinski Material, Brzezinski Office File, Subject Chron File, Box 125, Weekly National Security Report: 2–4/77.

[52] "Jimmy Carter: Tehran, Iran Toasts of the President and the Shah at a State Dinner." 31 Dec. 1977. The American Presidency Project. http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=7080.

A week into the new year, an article in the state-run *Ettela'a* newspaper attacked Khomeini, accusing him of being a British agent.[53] By this point, Khomeini had been exiled for over a decade. While much of Iran's youth was unaware of the Ayatollah, older generations were familiar with him and his son Mostafa, who had died while in exile in Najaf, Iraq under mysterious circumstances two months earlier.[54] The article reinvigorated the Khomeini name, sparking a series of protests in Qom, a town which was a holy site for Shia'a Muslims, and where Khomeini had lived prior to exile. The protests were repressively put-down by the military; seventy people were killed. Per the Shi'a Islam mourning cycle, marches ensued every 40 days in commemoration of the dead. Each of these protests was also repressed, bringing greater numbers to successive protests honouring the recently fallen. In retrospect, these events are commonly viewed as the beginning of the revolution against the Shah. However, to the eyes of the US these were sporadic protests held by students or outliers of mainstream society, and were of little consequence. Thus, by the time the first set of NITs were created in August 1978, Iran remained a priority C item.

The increasing frequency and scale of events did little to alter US perceptions. On 19 August, unknown men barred the doors of the Cinema Rex movie theatre in Abadan and set the building alight. Over 400 men, women and children were killed. SAVAK claimed that it was the act of the mullahs, who had opposed the influx of western culture into Iran, but word quickly circulated that the fires were in fact started by SAVAK.[55] Far from generating concern in the US, a memorandum to Ambassador Sullivan, who had just returned to Tehran from holiday, was entitled, "While you were away…the place really didn't turn to crap, but it might have looked like it." [56] The note glazed over the theatre incident as a transient event. Within 10 days, Sullivan sent a telegram notifying Washington that the Shah had plans to "transform

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[53] Helen Chapin Metz, ed. *Iran: A Country Study*. Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987. http://countrystudies.us/iran/21.htm

[54] Axworthy, Michael. *Revolutionary Iran: A History of the Islamic Republic*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013) p. 99

[55] Hiro, Dilip. *Iran Under the Ayatollahs*. (New York: Routledge, 1975), p. 74

[56] Stempel, John. "While You Were Away..." Memorandum to William Sullivan, 22 August 1978. Over 120 declassified primary source documents were compiled chronologically and can be found in Byrne, Malcolm, ed. The Carter Administration and the *"Arc of Crisis": Iran, Afghanistan, and the Cold War in Southern Asia, 1977-1981*. Wilson Center. Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, 25 July 2005. https://www.wilsoncenter.org/publication/the-carter-administration-and-the-arc-crisis-iran-afghanistan-and-the-cold-war-southern#sthash.6HlITqmq.dpuf

his authoritarian regime into a genuine democracy."[57] True to his word, Shah conducted a massive reshuffling within his government, including sacking Prime Minister Jamshid Amouzegar. His replacement, Jafar Sharif-Emami, enacted immediate, sweeping efforts to compromise with anti-Shah groups. These included setting up a ministry of religious affairs, releasing jailed clerics, abolishing the royal calendar, lifting censorship, and dismissing officials who attempted to suppress anti-Shah protests. These actions were consistent with President Carter's entreaties to improve Iran's human rights record, and were perceived as a step toward restoring calm. Further, Carter trusted Sullivan, and Sullivan supported the Shah.

Aside from the Carter administration's 1978 priorities, Iran didn't receive attention for some time because of a common assumption among policymakers and the intelligence community: The Shah had two equal and opposite methods to maintain control of Iran. The first method was the Shah's policies of liberalisation; allowing the freedoms of press and protest could calm, and possibly divide the opposition. Failing that, the monarch could call on his military and police force to clamp down on dissent. On this part, the INR noted that Persians had lived under authoritarian rule for millennia, and the Shah's tactics had not "exceeded traditional bounds."[58] The US viewed the Shah's late August compromises as efforts toward the former, and the administration appeared placated. However, two weeks later, the Shah defaulted use of force. The event would be considered the point of no return.

In early September, celebrations marking the end of Ramadan morphed into a series of anti-Shah demonstrations. Over the course of three days, protests throughout Iran increased in size and intensity, causing the government to declare martial law and curfews in Tehran and eleven other cities. On Friday, September 8, 1978, thousands of protestors gathered at Jaleh Square in Tehran despite the curfew. The military was mobilised and opened fire on the crowd. Reports of casualties differed; Iranian government sources ranged between 20 and 30, with foreign sources reporting considerably higher. William Sullivan, US Ambassador to

[57] Sullivan, William. "Recommendation for President to Shah Letter." Telegram to Cyrus Vance and Zbigniew Brzezinski, 29 August 1978. Found in Byrne. As found in Byrne, Malcolm, ed. The Carter Administration and the *"Arc of Crisis": Iran, Afghanistan, and the Cold War in Southern Asia, 1977-1981*.

[58] United States Department of State, Bureau of Intelligence and Research. *The Future of Iran: Implications for the US.* (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, January 1977), p. 4

I/ran at the time, states the figure was around 200.[59] After this date, now referred to as Black Friday, Iran went into a crisis situation; protests against the Shah became larger, more consistent, and more vehement.

Yet Black Friday had the unfortunate timing of occurring during the Camp David negotiations between Egypt's President Anwar Sadat, and Israel's Menachem Begin.[60] Rather than redirecting focus onto Iran, the turmoil heightened the concern for strengthening stability in the Middle East. Further, despite rising hostility against the Shah, the US maintained faith in the ruler's longevity and ability to control the situation. A September 28 Intelligence Appraisal from the Defense Intelligence Agency stated that the Shah was expected to remain in power for the next 10 years.[61] This analysis reinforced a CIA study issued a month earlier, which maintained that "Iran is not in a revolutionary or even pre-revolutionary situation."[62] Thus, for two months following the events of Black Friday, Iran remained at a low priority despite consistent, intense anti-Shah protests.

The Mandate Shift

On the morning of 2 November, amid heavy rioting throughout Iran, a telegram from US Ambassador William Sullivan in Tehran was sent to the State department. The first lines read: "Summary: A military takeover is feasible, but at heavy long-term cost for U.S. interests as well as for Iran. End summary."[63] By 6 pm, the SCC convened for their first urgent review of US policy in Iran since the crisis began.[64] Secretary of State Cyrus Vance did not participate.

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[59] Sullivan, William H. *Mission to Iran* (New York: Norton, 1981), p.162

[60] Jimmy Carter Library. "Jimmy Carter Presidential Daily Diary." http://www.jimmycarterlibrary.gov/documents/diary/1978.

[61] Precht, Henry. Interview with Charles Stuart Kennedy, Oral Historian of the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training. "The Iranian Revolution: An Oral History with Henry Precht, Then State Department Desk Officer." *Middle East Journal.* Volume 58, No. 1, Winter 2004. 10

[62] Jervis, *Why Intelligence Fails,* 45.

[63] Telegram, William Sullivan to State Department, "Looking Ahead: The Military Option," November 2, 1978. As found in Byrne, Malcolm, ed. The Carter Administration and the *"Arc of Crisis": Iran, Afghanistan, and the Cold War in Southern Asia, 1977-1981*.

[64] Sick, Gary. *All Fall Down: America's Tragic Encounter with Iran*. (New York: Random House, 1986), p. 78

On the following Monday, 6 November, Vance chaired the first and only Policy Review Committee meeting that would be held through the course of the crisis.[65] This would be the only interagency meeting to be chaired by Vance. The PRC meeting concluded with a call for intelligence on the Iranian military's loyalty to the Shah, and the actions of opposition groups.[66]

These meetings, held a month before the scheduled December update of the NITs, rang the alarm on the critical situation surrounding the Shah. By international comparisons, which will be discussed later, the timing was delayed. A mid-December memorandum from the State Department's Iran desk to the INR stated that the US position in Iran was seriously weakened by "delayed perceptions, hesitancy to make hard choices, our unwavering support for the Shah and the anti-Americanism that has flourished."[67]

It is at this point, just as Iran was deemed a critical priority, that the two major investigations into US response to Iran end their examinations. An investigation by HPSCI began immediately following the shift, and was completed by January 1979, before the Shah had departed from Iran. As a result, these reports do not address the critical functions triggered by the mandate shift. Nor do they observe the multi-layered efforts that were launched once the bell was sounded.

Arguably, the mechanism necessary to escalate the priority of events in Iran functioned smoothly. Per the processes in place, an urgent need was transmitted to the relevant authorities. In this case, Sullivan's cable, delivered to the State Department and transmitted to key officials, set the wheels in motion. The SSC and NSC, DCI convened to address the need. By nature of their makeup, these meetings incorporate communication between the intelligence and policy community. The NSC, in the form of Brzezinski, approves the escalation of the issue. The PRC, in the body of Vance, authorised collection and analysis on opposition

[65] Reporting from Gary Sick indicates that Cyrus Vance chaired the meeting, despite protocol indicating that the DCI should chair PRC meetings. A declassified memorandum from NFAC to the DCI indicates that DCI Turner was asked to open the meeting with an update on the current situation, but does not indicate that he was to serve as chair. See: CIA National Intelligence Officer for the Near East and South Asia to Director of Central Intelligence, "PRC Meeting on Iran, 6 November 1978." Memorandum, November 3, 1978. As found in Byrne, Malcolm, ed. The Carter Administration and the *"Arc of Crisis": Iran, Afghanistan, and the Cold War in Southern Asia, 1977-1981*.

[66] Sick, Gary. *All Fall Down*, p. 90-91.

[67] Precht, Henry. "Seeking Stability in Iran." Memorandum to Harold Saunders. December 19, 1978. As found in Byrne, Malcolm, ed. The Carter Administration and the *"Arc of Crisis": Iran, Afghanistan, and the Cold War in Southern Asia, 1977-1981*.

groups and the military's loyalty to the Shah. The National Foreign Intelligence Board, led by DCI Turner, addressed coordination of requirements.

To be clear, the *system* for authorising an ad-hoc escalation functioned as it should, evidenced in the changes to mandate-level functions. However, the efficacy of the mandate shift relies heavily on a singular independent variable: time. The mandate shift occurred in early November 1978. By this time, the US Embassy in Tehran was aware that other nations had for months, already examined the Shah's prospects and the future of Iran. For instance, in May of 1978, France had already determined that the Shah would be gone within a year.[68] By mid-August, the Israeli government had an emergency evacuation strategy in place for Israeli expats.[69] By these standards, US acknowledgment of the crisis was late. Therefore, despite the successful conduction of the shift, the late date of the event hindered the triggering of subsequent mandate-level functions. As a result, it is a failure.

	MANDATE-LEVEL FUNCTIONS: DETERMINED BY COLLABORATIVE R&P PROCESS				BINARY MODEL		
	Priority level (or timely escalation)	Budget / resource adjustment	Functional interagency cooperation	Operational authorisations	**Intelligence** (core functions: compliance, collection, and analysis)	**Policy** (core functions: compliance, decision making and response)	OUTCOME
Success							
Failure	X (late)						

Release of Resources

By the time of the first NIT review in December 1978, events surrounding the Shah were considered critical, but transient. The administration continued to believe that the monarch would retain his power, therefore Iran remained a category C priority with ad-hoc escalation.

US intelligence budget information prior to 2005 has not been declassified, but it is possible to deduce the 1979 intelligence budget and programming allocation through other declassified primary source documents. Critically, a 1994 congressional document reveals that President Bill Clinton requested an increase to $17.8 billion for the National Foreign

[68] Jones, Milo, and Philippe Silberzahn. *Constructing Cassandra,* p. 95

[69] Bar-Joseph, Uri. "Forecasting a Hurricane: Israeli and American Estimations of the Khomeini Revolution." *Journal of Strategic Studies* (2013): 1-25.

Intelligence Program. In a Senate discussion on the budget, Congressman Howard Metzenbaum (D-OH) disclosed that this intelligence budget is "more than double what it was in 1979."[70] In a letter to President Clinton, Metzenbaum specifically stated that the 1994 NFIP, after being trimmed, was still a 110% increase from 1979. Thus, it can be determined that the NFIP budget in 1979 was around $8.47 billion.[71]

The 1975 Church Committee findings disclose that the NFIP programming 1975 was apportioned as follows: 65 cents of each dollar were directed toward the Soviet Union and U.S. commitments to NATO; 25 cents were dedicated to U.S. concerns in Asia, particularly China; seven cents went to the Arab-Israeli conflict; around two cents to Latin America; and about a penny to the rest of the world.[72]

Because priorities are established with long-term considerations in mind (often a five-year outlook), the top-tier priorities are slow to change. Reinforcing this evidence are the Carter administration's key objectives: SALT II negotiations with the Soviet Union; normalisation of diplomatic ties between the US and China; and the establishment of a truce between Egypt and Israel. Thus, it can be reasonably assumed that these top-level priorities were not heavily impacted by programming changes in the three years following the Church inquiry.

As a priority C item among the "rest of the world" category, Iran would have shared less than 1% of the $8.47 billion intelligence budget in 1978. Based on the Church Commission estimations, portions of this money were ostensibly directed toward situational awareness in parts of Asia, parts of Europe, and the whole of Africa. As a result, staffing dedicated to Iran, both in the US and abroad, was limited. The CIA normally had up to 10 officers in Iran at any given time, but of these officers, none was dedicated to Iran's internal issues. Six or seven officers concentrated on the Soviet Union and China, while the others focused on Iranian domestic matters only as they related to the US-Iran alliance, such as oil, arms, and other economic concerns.[73] An interagency working group report issued October 1976 called for an

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[70] US Senate Congressional Record. *Intelligence Budget*. April 21, 1993. http://fas.org/irp/congress/1993_cr/s930421-budget.htm

[71] When adjusted for inflation, the spending power of the 1979 NFIP at 1994 levels is equal to approximately $3.82 billion.

[72] *Final Report of the Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities, United States Senate: Together with Additional, Supplemental, and Separate Views.*

[73] Bill, James A. *The Eagle and the Lion: The Tragedy of American-Iranian Relations*. (New Haven: Yale UP, 1988), p. 402.

additional reporting officer in Tehran.[74] Officials at the State Department did not agree to the request.[75] Further, by 1978, the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research had had no full-time analyst focusing on Iran.[76]

Assigning ad-hoc priority to Iran required additional resources to be released. Because of the classified status of budget information, there are no hard numbers issued to the escalation. However, through declassified documents and historical record, it is possible to identify the speed and change of resources dedicated to the crisis. For instance, shortly after the escalation, President Carter initiated a White House task force on Iran. The force would work under Brzezinski and would be led by Former Undersecretary of State George Ball.[77] The task force was charged with conducting a long-term assessment on Iran for the NSC. The report was submitted to the White House on 12 December 1978.

Within the State Department, the INR had assembled the resources necessary to produce a report on Prime Minister Bakhtiar's prospects in Iran in January 1979.[78] Meanwhile, Undersecretary for Political Affairs David Newsom was tasked with creating a working group to provide information to the SCC. The working group comprised staffers across various agencies, and delivered feedback to the SCC for eight weeks.

Travel by key representatives, to meet with the Shah or members of the Iranian government or military, was also initiated. In early November, Carl Clement, George Griffin, and Stephen Cohen of the State Department travelled to Iran and split up to observe the situation in various cities.[79] Because Iran's payment system for weaponry had collapsed, the DoD sent Eric von Marbod, the senior defence representative in Tehran, to meet with the Shah and

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[74] Central Intelligence Agency, Human Resources Committee. "Focus Iran: An Intelligence Community Review of Reporting by Human Resources from the United States Mission in Iran." November 4, 1976. As found in: Byrne, Malcolm, ed. The Carter Administration and the *"Arc of Crisis": Iran, Afghanistan, and the Cold War in Southern Asia, 1977-1981*.

[75] Central Intelligence Agency, Human Resources Committee. "Focus Iran: Part II: Action and Review." December27, 1976. November 4, 1976. As found in: Byrne, Malcolm, ed. The Carter Administration and the *"Arc of Crisis": Iran, Afghanistan, and the Cold War in Southern Asia, 1977-1981*.

[76] House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence. Subcommittee on Evaluation Staff Report. *IRAN: Evaluation of US intelligence Performance Prior to November 1978.* April, 1979.

[77] Precht, Harry. "Press Guidance on Iran" Cable to US Embassy in Tehran. Doc. no. 1978STATE312516 https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/1978STATE312516_d.html

[78] United States Department of State, Bureau of Intelligence and Research. Analysis, "Bakhtiar's Prospects in Iran." 5 January 1979. NLC-SAFE 17 C-16-9-8-9, JCL

[79] Bill. *The Eagle and the Lion*, p. 250.

draft a memorandum of understanding.[80]Additional officials deployed to Iran throughout the crisis for various purposes. By January early 1979, General Robert Huyser was deployed to Tehran to meet with Iran's military leadership and encourage their support of Bakhtiar. Thus, where resources were initially limited, the mandate shift resulted in the rapid initiation of strategies and mobilisation of resources, both in the US and Iran.

The mandate shift created a rapid, significant increase to the resources dedicated to the crisis. This was immediately demonstrated by the rapid creation of task forces and working level groups. In addition, resources were allocated for travel to Iran by US representatives addressing the crisis, and the expenses therein. Budget figures have not been released regarding the actual cost of accomplishing intelligence and policy related tasks in Tehran, Washington, Paris or elsewhere. However, the rapid pace of establishing these efforts suggests that the adjustments to resourcing was successful.

	MANDATE-LEVEL FUNCTIONS: DETERMINED BY COLLABORATIVE R&P PROCESS				BINARY MODEL		
	Priority level (or timely escalation)	Budget / resource adjustment	Functional interagency cooperation	Operational authorisations	**Intelligence** (core functions: compliance, collection, and analysis)	**Policy** (core functions: compliance, decision making and response)	OUTCOME
Success		X					
Failure	X (late)						

Interagency Cooperation

As a low priority target, Iran had not warranted a significant amount of interagency cooperation. In reality, information sharing on Iran between departments — or even within departments— was minimal. In large part, this was a condition of Iran's priority level. Iran's key feature, in terms of its intelligence value, was its proximity to the Soviet Union and the Middle East. Thus, collaboration in Iran often related to outward issue, with the exception of trade and other matters that brought Iran up to eye-level. However, on the occasions that request specific to Iran required interagency cooperation it was at best faltering.

[80] "An Oral History with Henry Precht, Then State Department Desk Officer." *Middle East Journal,* p. 10

Prior to the mandate shift, there was little communication among contacts working on Iran. The CIA was distant in proximity to other agencies, which made regular communication difficult (this was before secured phone lines were the norm), and the Agency had few contacts with academics and outside experts. Within the Agency, "formal norms" and the vertical structure of the organisation prevented collegial discussions among those who had worked on Iran.[81] Beyond the CIA, there was limited communication amongst political analysts on Iran within relevant offices, such as the Office of Regional and Political Affairs or the Office of Economic Affairs.

Declassified documents provide a dismal picture of interagency cooperation. In 1976, a multi-agency working group called for increased biographic reporting on key officials in Iran.[82] The CIA and DIA were tasked to work jointly toward these efforts, but departmental priorities hindered cooperation. While the CIA felt, the reports were of importance, the Department of Defence had put a relatively low priority on biographic reporting, focusing more on Iran's military bases and order of battle. Because there were limited resources in the region, all requests for a biographic study were met with a series of questions to determine whether the assessment was necessary.[83] Thus bureaucratic hoops obstructed cooperation. At the same time, officials from both the CIA and DIA believed that some biographic information already existed. The working group noted that the US Security Assistance Organization in Iran had already obtained extensive information regarding Iranian armed forces and personalities. This information had not been made available to analysts in Washington. Repeated calls were made to push this data through the chain of information, but there had been limited improvement.

Perhaps the most damning condemnation of cooperation prior to the mandate shift is the failed interagency attempt to draft a National Intelligence Estimate on Iran. In June 1978, the National Security Council had requested an NIE on Iran, which would be developed through multi-agency efforts. While the INR did not have dedicated personnel focusing on Iran, George Griffin, INR division chief for South Asia, participated in the drafting of the estimate.

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[81] Jervis. *Why Intelligence Fails*, p. 22-23

[82] Central Intelligence Agency, Human Resources Committee. "Focus Iran: An Intelligence Community Review of Reporting by Human Resources from the United States Mission in Iran." November 4, 1976.

[83] Ibid.

The CIA had issued previous optimistic assessments of the Shah's outlook, and intended to echo those perspectives in the coming NIE. Griffin, among analysts from other departments, ardently and repeatedly opposed those views, arguing for a more realistic assessment. The draft NIE got as far as cautioning that the period through mid-1979 would be critical in determining whether the Shah could preserve the Pahlavi dynasty and the existing political system.[84] Unfortunately, substantive disagreements between analysts, and particularly between the CIA and Griffin, left the report floundering for several months. When the draft report was submitted to the National Foreign Intelligence Board, it was criticised roundly for "mediocre quality, static in tone, and striking a strange note of optimism."[85] By early September, DCI Turner had quietly set aside the unfinished report.[86] Thus, the document most likely to have stirred concern was the one never completed. In the absence of an NIE, decision makers were left to rely on piecemeal reporting, and the opinions of officials present in the region.[87]

The problems with interagency cooperation can to some extent be attributed to partitions that had been placed between the departments at the topmost levels. Differences amongst lead department officials, which will be discussed in subsequent sections, had created a pervasive atmosphere of distrust which filtered between departments and down through agency-level functions.

For instance, in Tehran, Ambassador Sullivan had regularly sent reports on the Shah's prospects, which until November 1978, had remained relatively positive. Gary Sick, a staffer in the National Security Council, cynically wrote that that Sullivan kept the reporting optimistic, knowing that, "once the system jolted into crisis mode, the center of action would

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[84] United States Intelligence Community. Draft National Intelligence Estimate, "Iran NIE." September 1978. November 4, 1976. As found in: Byrne, Malcolm, ed. The Carter Administration and the *"Arc of Crisis": Iran, Afghanistan, and the Cold War in Southern Asia, 1977-1981*.

[85] Bill. *The Eagle and the Lion*, p. 408

[86] House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence. Subcommittee on Evaluation Staff Report. *IRAN: Evaluation of US intelligence Performance Prior to November 1978.* April, 1979.

[87] It has been argued by Andrew and Jeffreys-Jones that warnings coming from the US Embassy in Tehran were stifled by Ambassador William Sullivan, who was not initially convinced of the crisis. His resolve was consistent with UK Ambassador Sir Anthony Parsons, who was convinced the Shah would survive the upheaval in Iran. Unlike the Carter administration, which displayed equally steadfast support, UK Prime Minister James Callaghan warned the Foreign Office to avoid being influenced by Sir Anthony, stating, "I wouldn't give much for the Shah's chance." See: Jeffreys-Jones and Andrew. *Eternal Vigilance?, p, 144*; and "The Shah? He's as Safe as Houses..." *The Independent*. 30 Dec. 2008. http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/the-shah-hes-as-safe-as-houses-1216238.html

shift away from the embassy to Washington, where his control would be limited."[88] In contrast, Sullivan states that he expressly requested instruction from Washington.[89]

Days after Sullivan's initial missive prompted the mandate shift, Sullivan sent another cable entitled "Thinking the Unthinkable."[90] The message acknowledged that the Shah's authority now existed primarily because of his military backing, and urged US leadership to consider their options should the Shah evacuate his role. It was the first time Carter had heard that the Shah may not survive. The President immediately demanded to know why this information had not been shared, writing to DCI Turner, his Secretary of State, and his Adviser for National Security Affairs. He added that he was "dissatisfied with the quality of political intelligence," a direct blow to Turner, who, as DCI and chair of the NFIB was responsible for coordination.[91] Meanwhile, Sullivan, who was waiting for a response, never received one.[92] The embassy did not receive direction from the State Department, or anyone in Washington, throughout November and December.[93] Personal and professional divisions drove a fissure into the chain of information.

In Washington, the mandate shift seemed to create equal and opposite problems within interagency cooperation. Across the board, eagerness for cooperation on Iran was such that it resulted in gridlock. However, the need for secrecy resulted in a lack of communication. Everyone wanted to know, but no one wanted to share.

Immediately after the shift, small SCC meetings were convened with selective attendees who were intimately aware of the situation and could speak freely to one another. However, these meetings were sporadic and concentrated on issues of energy and commerce without significantly addressing imperative frameworks for high policy. Further, government actions at this critical juncture of the crisis resulted in great national intrigue. Leaks from these

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[88] Sick. *All Fall Down*, p. 77.

[89] Sullivan. *Mission to Iran*, p. 170.

[90] Sullivan, William. Cable to State Department. "Subject: Thinking the Unthinkable." 9 November, 1978. November 4, 1976. As found in: Byrne, Malcolm, ed. The Carter Administration and the *"Arc of Crisis": Iran, Afghanistan, and the Cold War in Southern Asia, 1977-1981*.

[91] Sick. *All Fall Down*, p. 90

[92] Sullivan. *Mission to Iran*, p. 204

[93] Ibid., p. 170

confidential SCC meetings made their way into the media, setting in a pervasive atmosphere of paranoia among its membership. Senior officials, convinced the leaks were coming from other departments, chose to limit their views during these meetings, relying on backchannel communications for more information.[94]

By 26 December, nearly two months after the mandate shift, Cyrus Vance established a working group to be led by Undersecretary for Political Affairs, David Newsom.[95] Newsom was not short on willing participants; US ties with Iran cut across nearly all US interests, and several departments could claim justification for involvement. At the first meeting, nearly twenty officials had assembled, some with little acquaintance of the security situation in Iran. Leaks were nearly instantaneous; reports of the private meeting were carried in the Washington Post the next day.[96] By the third meeting, representatives from twelve State Department bureaus and members of eight other agencies had attended. It was the last that would be held; Newsom opted to create five subcommittees to meet regularly and report to the SCC on the most pressing issues. The strategy appeared to work; the subcommittees provided contextual information to the SCC through the Shah's exile.[97] The committees also heeded Newsom's orders not to discuss U.S. policy on Iran with reporters. By January 1979, functionality at the interagency level was established, but remained faltering.

	MANDATE-LEVEL FUNCTIONS: DETERMINED BY COLLABORATIVE R&P PROCESS				BINARY MODEL		
	Priority level (or timely escalation)	Budget / resource adjustment	Functional interagency cooperation	Operational authorisations	**Intelligence** (core functions: compliance, collection, and analysis)	**Policy** (core functions: compliance, decision making and response)	OUTCOME
Success		X					
Failure	X (late)		X				

[94] Sick. *All Fall Down, p.*144

[95] Vance, Cyrus. "Subject: Evening Reading." Memorandum from Cyrus Vance to President Carter. December 26, 1978. November 4, 1976. As found in: Byrne, Malcolm, ed. The Carter Administration and the *"Arc of Crisis": Iran, Afghanistan, and the Cold War in Southern Asia, 1977-1981*.

[96] Sick. *All Fall Down*, p. 145.

[97] Ibid.

Operational Authorisations

Arguably, the greatest problem facing intelligence collection was the result of two great restrictions: limited contact with opposition sources, and limitations on reporting domestic events. Iran's artificially low priority was a carryover from Nixon's tenure, when the Shah began to complain vociferously that the US was too concerned with Iranian domestic policy.[98] To appease a vital client and ally, the Nixon administration acquiesced, and successively, DCIs Schlesinger, Colby, Bush, and Turner agreed to the unwritten understanding. Almost immediately, CIA reporting on Iran dropped to a volume below that of the late 1940s.[99] US agencies in Tehran were staffed with few people who had previous experience in Iran, and fewer who could speak Farsi.

As part of the US acquiescence to the Shah, communication with foreign contacts was limited to those of the Shah's choosing, such as the Iranian Foreign Ministry or SAVAK.[100] Further, collection was limited to information geared at Soviet movements or other tangential events from which Iran provided a strategic viewing post. These restrictions, although never officially put in writing, remained in place through three successive presidencies.

As a result of these restrictions, contact with foreign sources and reporting on domestic affairs remained minimal until late 1977. The CIA had one contact within secular nationalist forces and none within religious opposition.[101] Reporting which came through from NFAC Tehran and the Embassy predominantly took the form of current intelligence, focusing on isolated incidents and threats to American expatriates in the region. There were no comments from opposition sources.

Thus, on this matter, Washington was a desert of information. In the absence of opposition reporting, CIA and Embassy reporting indicated that the threat to the Shah was based in the Communist Tudeh Party, the National Front, or the growing number of moderates within

[98] Pollack. *The Persian Puzzle*, p. 106.

[99] Ibid.

[100] Jervis, Robert. *Why Intelligence Fails*, p. 41

[101] Bill. *The Eagle and the Lion,* p. 402

Iranian society.[102] The influence of the mullahs or fundamentalist Muslim organisations was largely seen as second-tier, although an embassy cable in May 1978 was the first to identify Khomeini as an influential figure."[103]

It wasn't until the second quarter of the year when the CIA began to report information from the Shah's opposition. The Department of State's *Morning Summary* did not mention insights gained from opposition sources until September 1978, in the wake of Black Friday.[104] It would be two months before the restrictions would be lifted. A CIA source said that despite the increasing intensity of the protests, DCI Turner "continued to forbid any reporting on dissidents" fearing that their discovery by SAVAK could result in an international incident." [105]

Once the mandate shift was evoked, constraints on opposition contacts in Iran evaporated immediately, but a ban remained in effect on contacting dissidents outside of Iran.[106] Still, reporting began to incorporate information on the array of opposition sources. At this point, the role of Ayatollah Khomeini, who had been seen as an outside agitator, began to emerge. A 30 November *National Intelligence Daily* feature article provided the first significant reporting on the diversity of opposition sources, commenting first on the Islamic opposition and the role of Khomeini.[107] The report noted, "It is Khomeini who rallies the greatest number of supporters among the lower classes—a reflection both of the clergy's longstanding animosity toward the Shah and the ability of the clergy to disseminate propaganda, relay instructions, and provide a place for meetings in the mosques."

In the brief period following the mandate shift, an influx of information regarding Iranian occurrences and opposition sources reached Washington. Within weeks, the intelligence communities had zeroed in on the hitherto blurry factions, their powers, and their leadership.

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[102] Sullivan, William. "The Iranian Opposition." Airgram to State Department. 1 February 1978. November 4, 1976. As found in: Byrne, Malcolm, ed. The Carter Administration and the *"Arc of Crisis": Iran, Afghanistan, and the Cold War in Southern Asia, 1977-1981*.

[103] "An Oral History with Henry Precht, Then State Department Desk Officer." *Middle East Journal,* p. 10

[104] House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence. "Iran: Evaluation of US Intelligence Performance Prior to November 1978."

[105] Hersh, Seymour. "Brzezinski Is Said to Have Rejected Warnings About Problems in Iran." New York Times. 21 Dec. 1978: 1.

[106] Ibid.

[107] https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP79T00975A030900010098-1.pdf

Six weeks after the mandate shift, the US government had gone 180 degrees. Far from restricting contact with the opposition, by mid-December some factions within US policymaking were considering the creation of a disavowable channel of communications with Khomeini.[108]

	MANDATE-LEVEL FUNCTIONS: DETERMINED BY COLLABORATIVE R&P PROCESS				BINARY MODEL		
	Priority level (or timely escalation)	Budget / resource adjustment	Functional interagency cooperation	Operational authorisations	**Intelligence** (core functions: compliance, collection, and analysis)	**Policy** (core functions: compliance, decision making and response)	OUTCOME
Success		X		X			
Failure	X (late)		X				

Intelligence Functions

To some extent, the quality and quantity of intelligence collection can arguably be linked to the extent of limitations placed upon local staff. Restricted access hampered the collection of certain types of intelligence, and sources that were authorised, such as SAVAK or other officials approved by the Shah, were likely to give selective information. Staffers in Tehran did not speak the language or understand local norms, and could not sufficiently garner information from common sources such as newspapers or merchants (the latter of which may have been reluctant to speak to Westerners on such issues).

Apart from hindrances to collection however, the quality of intelligence analysis had been highlighted as a source of disappointment in both the NFAC and HPSCI evaluations. Jervis concluded that NFAC had "produced a steady stream of summaries of recent events with minimal commentary, analysis and prediction."[109] The HPSCI findings judged the assessments "no better than fair", due to sporadic reporting on current intelligence and the failure to address whether the Shah would survive the threats facing him.[110]

[108] Report, George Ball to President Carter. Issues and Implications of the Iranian Crisis. December 12, 1978.

[109] Jervis, Robert. Why Intelligence Fails: Lessons from the Iranian Revolution and the Iraq War. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 2010. 43

[110] House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence. "Iran: Evaluation of US Intelligence Performance Prior to November 1978."

With authorisations granted to speak to opposition sources, officers in Iran were able to collect from a greater number of sources, which in turn could be transmitted for production and analysis. As a result, declassified cables from NFAC and the Embassy in Tehran show an increase not only in the frequency of reporting on domestic events, but also in their scope. Current intelligence was relayed in the form of situation reports, which came more frequently carried an angle of analysis. Reports also broadened to focus on the threat to the Shah in a broader context. True to US priorities, one of the first reports after the mandate shift was an assessment of Iran-Soviet relations.[111] Information was filtered into the *National Intelligence Daily* reports at a higher rate and a higher priority than in previous months. By 13 November, the NID began to include more and significant information regarding opposition forces operating in Iran.[112] The reports also addressed issues that coincided with discussions being held by the SCC. While SCC discussions concentrated on issues such as oil, energy, and personnel,[113] reports such as the 30 November NID, provided insight to Iranian oil production and exports. These became at once relevant and useful to the policymakers.

The most ominous analysis arrived via NFAC cable on December 30, 1978. The Shah's options were "narrowing rapidly."[114] The feature article in the *National Intelligence Daily* warned that the Shah had two options left: use the military to suppress dissent, or abdicate**.**

Despite the new in-depth assessments, intelligence products were not an unequivocal success. At latter stages of the revolution, a psychological profile on the Shah was produced. President Carter liked psychological profiles; he had studies the profiles of Sadat and Begin prior to the Camp David meetings.[115] However, the profile on the Shah lacked in quality and was, as noted by Precht, "so bland it was worthless."[116]

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[111] http://www.foia.cia.gov/sites/default/files/document_conversions/5829/CIA-RDP79T00975A030900010066-6.pdf

[112] United States. Central Intelligence Agency. "National Intelligence Daily- 13 November, 1978." CIA CREST CIA-RDP79T00975A030900010070-1

[113] Sick, Gary. *All Fall Down*, p. 145

[114] United States. Central Intelligence Agency. "National Intelligence Daily- 30 November, 1978. CIA CREST CIA-RDP79T00975A030900010098-1

[115] Glad, Betty. An Outsider in the White House: Jimmy Carter, His Advisors, and the Making of American Foreign Policy. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 2009. 144-145

[116] "An Oral History with Henry Precht, Then State Department Desk Officer." *Middle East Journal,* p. 10

Perhaps the greatest mistake among the intelligence community was the failure to produce the long-awaited document that the NSC had requested in June. By mid-November, frustration had mounted at the absence of an NIE. A memorandum to Brzezinski revealed growing frustration geared directly at NFAC, stating, "This is the basic analytical judgment you and the President require and NFAC is seriously remiss for not producing it to date. Apparently, they would rather avoid the issue than take a chance on doing their job and possibly coming up with the wrong answer!"[117] There is no indication that this NIE was completed prior to the Shah's exile. It is perhaps the absence of this document that casts the greatest shadow over the success of intelligence collection and analysis following the mandate shift.

	MANDATE-LEVEL FUNCTIONS: DETERMINED BY COLLABORATIVE R&P PROCESS				BINARY MODEL		
	Priority level (or timely escalation)	Budget / resource adjustment	Functional interagency cooperation	Operational authorisations	**Intelligence** (core functions: compliance, collection, and analysis)	**Policy** (core functions: compliance, decision making and response)	OUTCOME
Success		X		X			
Failure	X (late)		X		X		

Policymaker response

In November 1978, the US focus was on several foreign policy issues. The administration drew closer to the SALT II negotiations, and Cuban engagement in the Ethiopia directed attention to Soviet involvement in the Horn of Africa. Carter was engrossed in normalising relations with China, and negotiating the Middle East peace talks. Between mid-November and mid-December, Secretary of State Cyrus Vance spent a great deal of time out of the country on official visits to Ottawa, London, and Cairo, and Tel Aviv.[118] In mid-December, Vance was called home to stand with the President as he announced normalised relations in China.[119] It

[117] Hoskins, Samuel. "Subject: Basic Questions on Iran to be Posed at SCC Meeting." Memorandum to Zbigniew Brzezinski. 20 Nov. 1978. November 4, 1976. As found in: Byrne, Malcolm, ed. The Carter Administration and the *"Arc of Crisis": Iran, Afghanistan, and the Cold War in Southern Asia, 1977-1981*.

[118] State Department Archive: Official Travel Calendar of Cyrus Vance. https://history.state.gov/departmenthistory/travels/secretary/vance-cyrus-roberts

[119] "China Policy." Office of the Historian. U.S. Department of State. https://history.state.gov/milestones/1977-1980/china-policy

was only upon his return that he was fully read into the situation in Iran by George Ball. In the six weeks since chairing the PRC meeting on the Iran Vance received few updates. Ball remarked he was "struck by Vance's ignorance on events in Iran."[120] Certainly, there were other pressing matters, but the fact Vance had been unapprised of the scope of the situation is indicative of the type of breakdown that was occurring in the policy realm.

The political landscape surrounding the crisis can best be characterised as discordant. From senior levels down, policymakers divided into factions: those who showed unwavering support for the Shah, and those who felt his demise was imminent. These factions were further subdivided; supporters were divided again on how to restore the Shah's power. Those who felt he would leave disagreed on how to address his potential replacement. In some cases, the discord escalated to acrimony which spilled over into the US media. The varying opinions and unrelenting security leaks impacted not only policy response, but also the information sharing necessary to drive policy response. Ultimately, the Iranian Revolution would overshadow Carter's successes in China, Egypt, and Israel, and become the defining characteristic of Carter's one term in office. Brzezinski later wrote, "…by setting in motion circumstances that led eventually to the seizure of the American hostages in Tehran, the fall of the Shah contributed centrally to Carter's political defeat."[121]

Rivalry

At the top most level, President Carter took the bulk of his advice from National Security Affairs Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski, and Secretary of State Cyrus Vance. The two had disagreed previously on multiple issues, and the Iran crisis proved no different. Brzezinski, a Polish-born American, was staunchly anti-Communist. To his mind, every foreign policy concern was considered in the shadow of the Cold War. He feared that the absence of the Shah could weaken containment of the Soviet Union, and allow their influence to reach the Persian Gulf. Brzezinski promoted an "iron fist" approach, in which the US should encourage the Shah to use repressive force against the demonstrators. As momentum gathered against the Shah through November and December, the iron fist approach expanded to consider

[120] Emery, Christian. *US Foreign Policy and the Iranian Revolution: The Cold War Dynamics of Engagement and Strategic Alliance.* (Hampshire: Palgrave McMillan, 2013), p. 44.

[121] Brzezinski, Zbigniew. *Power and Principle.* (Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1983), p. 389.

support for a military-led coup in Iran, which would result in a military-controlled government with the Shah at the helm.[122] He was backed by Secretary of Defence Harold Brown, Secretary of Energy James Schlesinger, and to a lesser extent, DCI Turner.[123]

In contrast, Vance, backed by Vice President Walter Mondale and members of the State Department, staunchly disagreed with Brzezinski's approach, finding it "antithetical" to what the Carter administration stood for.[124] Vance urged a political approach the Shah should Shah negotiate with opposition forces to transition Iran into a constitutional monarchy.[125] As tensions mounted and hypothetical scenarios were exchanged regarding Iran's future, bitterness and rivalry increased between the two key officials. At lower levels, harmony among staffers fared no better. At the State Department's Iran desk, Henry Precht had concluded that the Shah's days were limited. This put him in direct opposition to Gary Sick, a long-time acquaintance and staffer within the National Security Council, who agreed fervently with Brzezinski and the iron fist approach.[126]

As an entity outside of policymaking, the CIA avoided much of the political infighting, but did not escape the melee unscathed. The memo of reprimand DCI Turner had received from Carter in November—for failure to notify him that the Shah was in trouble— had been a hard blow.[127] Weeks later, on 1 December, Carter stated in a public news conference that he was concerned about the intelligence community's trend toward electronic intelligence, "to the detriment of gathering political intelligence and assessing it."[128] This was likely in reference to Turner's cuts of 820 CIA operatives in October 1977. Turner argued that this was an economic decision, not because of increased reliance on electronic intelligence. Further, identifying the intentions of opposition forces requires authorisations for HUMINT, and until early November, that authorisation was not in place in Iran. DCI Turner felt that Carter had

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[122] Schmitz, David F. *The United States and Right-wing Dictatorships, 1965-1989*. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2006), p. 179.

[123] Pillar, Paul R. *Intelligence and U.S. Foreign Policy: Iraq, 9/11, and Misguided Reform*. (New York: Columbia UP, 2011); Bill. *The Eagle and the Lion,* p. 251

[124] Pillar. *Intelligence and U.S. Foreign Policy*, p. 196

[125] Ibid.

[126] Daalder, Ivo H., and I. Destler M. *In the Shadow of the Oval Office: Profiles of the National Security Advisers and the Presidents They Served: From JFK to George W. Bush*. (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2009), p. 113.

[127] Turner. *Burn before Reading*, p. 173

[128] Bradsher, Henry S. "Carter Unhappy with CIA Stress on Technology." *Washington Star*, Washington, DC. 1 Dec. 1978: A-1

been turned against him.[129] He was essentially relegated to the background; as events in Iran escalated in late 1979, he found that he and the CIA had been relegated out of the inner circle in favour of the DIA.

Middle East Policy historian James Bill charted the US organisations involved in Iran policy. According to his observations, influencers during the Iran crisis included:

1. National Security Council (chaired by Zbigniew Brzezinski)
2. Department of State (Cyrus Vance)
3. Department of Defense (Harold Brown)
4. Department of Energy (James Schlesinger)
5. Central Intelligence Agency (Stansfield Turner)
6. Department of Treasury (W. Michael Blumenthal)
7. Additional input from special adviser George Ball, and privately from the Rockefeller group, John J. McCloy, Henry Kissinger, Charles Kirbo, Walter Mondale, and Hamilton Jordan.[130]

In the midst of many voices, Carter remained an ardent supporter of the Shah, but was torn as to which measures, and to what extent, the US should engage. He shared Vance's mindset on the world, but was riveted by the persuasive and forceful arguments made by Brzezinski. Carter initiated a working group under George Ball to provide a neutral assessment of the Shah's prospects. Ball returned in mid-December with an assessment[131]; the Shah's days as an absolute monarch were over. Ball provided two key suggestions. The first was that the Shah create a "Council of Notables" to whom he could transition power. These figures in turn would be mandated to create the new government. Second, as the success of this endeavour

[129] Hersh, Seymour. "Brzezinski Is Said to Have Rejected Warnings About Problems in Iran." New York Times. 21 Dec. 1978: 1

[130] Bill contends that this list is in order of most to least influence over Carter and foreign policy decisions pertaining to Iran. See: Bill. *The Eagle and the Lion, p.* 243

[131] The report was given to Carter and Brzezinski, and over the latter's objections, disseminated to key members of the National Security Council, the acting Secretary of State (Vance was out of the country), the Secretaries of Defence and Treasury, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the DCI. *See:* Ball, George W. *The Past Has Another Pattern: Memoirs*. (New York: Norton, 1982), p. 460

relied on the support of the people, and the people followed Khomeini, the US should open a disavowable channel of communication with the Ayatollah.[132]

Ball met with Carter and Brzezinski on 11 December to discuss the findings. With regard to the former suggestion, the Council of Notables would have been a viable solution months earlier, but now seemed to come too late. As for the latter, opening a channel of communication with Khomeini would be tantamount to ending support to the Shah. Carter rejected both suggestions. Ball felt that Carter had been influenced by Brzezinski, who opposed the idea.[133] His suspicions increased when in the same meeting, Carter intimated that Brzezinski suggested would fly to Iran to bolster the Shah's resolve. Ball responded, "with all due respect, that is the worst idea I have ever heard."[134] Following Ball's persuasive argument, Brzezinski reluctantly stayed in Washington.

On 16 December, Vance, who had just returned from the Middle East, contacted Ball to discuss the report and to be read into the situation. As old friends, Ball confided:

"I found a shockingly unhealthy situation in the national security council, with Brzezinski doing everything possible to exclude the State Department from participation in, or even knowledge of, our developing relations in Iran […]."[135]

Such was the nature of the policy community in December 1978. The mounting rivalry ultimately drove a fissure through inter-departmental relations.

Circumvention

The increasing competition and mistrust led the State Department and the NSC circumventing the other in an effort to further their respective causes with Carter. In December, Brzezinski, opened back-channel communications with Iran's ambassador to the US, Ardeshir Zahedi. Brzezinski issued his recommendations directly to Zahedi, unbeknownst to the State Department or to the US embassy in Tehran.

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[132] Ball, George. "Issues and Implications of the Iranian Crisis," Report to President Carter. December 12, 1978. November 4, 1976. As found in: Byrne, Malcolm, ed. The Carter Administration and the *"Arc of Crisis": Iran, Afghanistan, and the Cold War in Southern Asia, 1977-1981*.

[133] Daalder and Destler. *In the Shadow of the Oval Office*, p. 114-115

[134] Ball. *The past Has Another Pattern*, p. 461

[135] Ibid., 462

In Tehran, Ambassador Sullivan issued an unfortunate surprise to Carter and Brzezinski. Sullivan had been on the middle ground; like Brzezinski, Sullivan had supported the Shah, but like Vance, he preferred a strategy of negotiating a transition of power. However, by the time Ball's report came in, Sullivan had concluded that the Shah's time was up. Sullivan disagreed with the Council of Notables recommendation, but encouraged with opening a line of communication with Khomeini. Sullivan's opinions on the Shah would find him increasingly side-lined. Thus, messages to Zahedi, which should have been filtered through Sullivan, were sent without his knowledge. Once Secretary Vance became aware of the situation, he was incensed. He confronted Brzezinski and notified the president as Precht notified Ambassador Sullivan.[136] But by this time, Zahedi had already made preparations to leave for Tehran to bolster the Shah's resolve.[137]

The rift continued to divide the White House and the NSC from the State Department. As a result, far from engaging in information sharing, each department seemed prone to withholding. This is evidenced the same letter from Precht, which states:

"I presume you are aware of the Top-Secret list of questions that was sent over the weekend for the Shah. I have not been shown the list, such is the level of distrust that exists in the White House toward the State Department and egotistically, I feel, toward myself."[138]

Precht was not wrong; Brzezinski had no faith in him, or the State Department. In an NSC weekly report on 26 January, Brzezinski tells Carter that the government appears "amateurish and disorganized" as a result of officials in the State Department speaking so often to the press.[139] Precht had spoken publicly on the *MacNeil-Lehrer NewsHour* (in an interview years later, Precht said, "White House people suspected me but I can assure historians that I did not leak." [140]). Brzezinski continued, "I am afraid I see no remedy to this problem short of a

[136] Precht, Henry. "Seeking Stability in Iran." Letter to William Sullivan. December 19, 1978. November 4, 1976. As found in: Byrne, Malcolm, ed. The Carter Administration and the *"Arc of Crisis": Iran, Afghanistan, and the Cold War in Southern Asia, 1977-1981*.

[137] Sullivan. *Mission to Iran*, p. 170

[138] Ibid.

[139] Brzezinski, Zbigniew. "NSC Weekly Report #86." Washington, 26 Jan. 1979. Memorandum to President Carter. Carter Library, National Security Affairs, Brzezinski Material, Brzezinski Office File, Subject Chron File, Box 126, Weekly National Security Report: 1–2/79.

[140] "An Oral History with Henry Precht, Then State Department Desk Officer." *Middle East Journal,* p. 10

significant shake-up, particularly in the State Department," mentioning the Iran desk first in a list of others who displayed the "undisciplined and unprofessional conduct that characterizes various parts of the bureaucracy in the State Department." [141]

The State Department felt that only Brzezinski had Carter's ear, and sought to balance the scales. In early January 1979, Ambassador Sullivan and Secretary Vance developed a plan to send an emissary to Ibrahim Yazdi, an official close to Khomeini. They had convinced President Carter of the idea and selected Theodore Eliot, a diplomat who had served in Tehran and was fluent in Farsi, to fly to Paris. On 5 January, however, Sullivan received a cable notifying him that the mission had been cancelled. Brzezinski had persuaded Carter that a meeting with Khomeini's people could signal a withdrawal of US support, potentially damaging the civilian government under the leadership of Prime Minister Shapour Bakhtiar.[142] Outraged, Sullivan sent a telegram to Secretary Vance, calling the decision a "gross and perhaps irretrievable mistake", and asking (with the backing of General Huyser), to engage Secretary Brown in this "plea for sanity."[143]

Leaks

News of disputes within the administration had filtered into the media for months. Carter feared that the conflict between Vance and Brzezinski gave the appearance that the administration was "divided and indecisive on foreign affairs."[144] More troubling was that disclosure of confidential information at working level meetings and among top level officials had also been disclosed regularly.

In December, Russian news agency *Pravda* reported that a "special group" had gone to the US Embassy to look for politicians to be included in a new government, and offer "recommendations as to the form in which the Shah could keep his power." Various US

[141] Brzezinski, Zbigniew. "NSC Weekly Report #86." Memorandum to President Carter.

[142] Bill. *The Eagle and the Lion*, p. 250

[143] Sullivan, William "USG Policy Guidance." Telegram to Cyrus Vance. 10 Jan. 1979. November 4, 1976. As found in: Byrne, Malcolm, ed. The Carter Administration and the *"Arc of Crisis": Iran, Afghanistan, and the Cold War in Southern Asia, 1977-1981*.

[144] Hoagl, Jim. "Carter Orders State Dept. To Contain Policy Disputes." The Washington Post. 8 Feb. 1979. https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1979/02/08/carter-orders-state-dept-to-contain-policy-disputes/3c519b65-94c6-4530-9e80-03281ce6f4bf/

officials had visited Tehran and met with the Shah and other key leadership figures,[145] but the suggestion of recommendations had been a component of Ball's report, which was classified as Secret. Pravda warned that the events in Iran were being guided by the US hand. The publication of such a report was dangerous; it would only galvanise opposition to the Shah.

By February 1979, the leaks had continued. Carter called an urgent meeting to address the problem. Once the attendees had gathered, he marched into the room and railed, "I am telling you that if this happens again, the person who is guilty is going to be fired and not only is he going to be fired but his superior is going to be fired. We are going to put a stop to this. I can't tolerate this kind of disloyalty,"[146] Carter left the room. News of the meeting was leaked the next day.[147]

Action, Inaction

Historic accounts have often characterised the Shah as a vacillating figure, but it could be argued that, on the matter of Iran, Carter was equally indecisive. Carter had been prepared to send Brzezinski to the Shah, and later to send an emissary to Khomeini, but changed his mind on both counts. In fairness to Carter, the revolution was a complex situation: first, it was a popular uprising driven by Islamic leadership, which had never happened before. Second, as reliant as the US was on the Shah, Carter did not want to appear as though he was infringing on another nation's sovereignty, given that US actions were being watch carefully by leadership in the Soviet Union and the Middle East, and most importantly, by the Iranian people. Finally, Carter wanted to concentrate his efforts on other administration-defining priorities. He hoped that the Shah would take matters into his own hands, particularly as any decision that was suggested in Washington created a new round of arguments among top policymaking officials.

Thus, apart from directing the intelligence and policy communities to provide increased assessments, few solid policy decisions were made in the two months following the mandate

[145] The Associated Press added that a State Department official said a few extra people to Teheran to help with visa requests and to report on political developments. "Pravda Says U.S. Team Seeks to Preserve Shah." *New York Times.* 29 Dec. 1978: A4.

[146] "An Oral History with Henry Precht, Then State Department Desk Officer." *Middle East Journal,* p. 10

[147] Hoagl, Jim. "Carter Orders State Dept. To Contain Policy Disputes."

shift. The most notable: by 10 December, the administration had issued orders to evacuate non-essential employees and dependents of embassy staff in Iran. Sullivan initially opposed this decision, fearing it would indicate that the US had lost faith in the Shah. Ultimately, the safety of American expats was more important, and the government compromised by notifying the Shah.[148]

In mid-January, Sullivan again raised Ball's suggestion to initiate direct contact with Khomeini. Carter instead opted to contact Khomeini indirectly, through the French government. Following Sullivan's outraged reply, and incensed Carter was prepared to fire the Ambassador on the spot for insubordination. Vance convinced the President that firing Sullivan in the midst of the crisis would be a great misstep.[149]

Weeks later, at an NSC meeting on January 3, 1979, President Carter and his advisers agreed to send General Robert Huyser, deputy commander of the U.S. forces in Europe. Once in-situ, his role was to bolster support of the Shah within the Iranian military. In the event that the Shah should leave, he should urge the military to support a civilian government under Prime Minister Shapour Bakhtiar. It was later determined that if Bakhtiar was unable to quell the protests, Huyser should urge the military to stage a coup and wrest control of the government. Vance, Huyser and Sullivan disagreed outright with any suggestion of a coup. Carter determined that the coup would be a last resort, and that Bakhtiar should be given sufficient time to restore order. Huyser's presence in Iran was problematic; he had been deployed and tasked with providing unsolicited advice to the Shah's top military leaders without the Shah's knowledge. Upon his discovery, Ambassador Zahedi notified the Shah, and urged him to have Huyser arrested. The Shah did not act.

On 14 January, Carter at last authorised a meeting between Walter Zimmerman, an American diplomat in Paris, and Ibrahim Yazdi, a chief Diplomat to Khomeini.[150] Yazdi had previously worked as a doctor in Texas, and had met with Henry Precht in Washington prior to flying to Paris to work for Khomeini.[151] Zimmerman urged Yazdi to convince Khomeini to his imminent

[148] "An Oral History with Henry Precht, Then State Department Desk Officer." *Middle East Journal,* p. 10

[149] Carter, Jimmy, and Don Richardson. *Conversations with Carter.* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1998), p. 230.

[150] Emery, Christian*. US Foreign Policy and the Iranian Revolution*, p. 44.

[151] "An Oral History with Henry Precht, Then State Department Desk Officer." *Middle East Journal,* p. 10.

return to Iran. The hope was that the delay would buy time for Bakhtiar as the Shah was preparing to go on "vacation".

Following the Shah's departure on 16 January 1979, several generals were prepared to stage a coup to overthrow Bakhtiar. Sullivan urged them to give the prime minister time. However, it became apparent that Bakhtiar could not fill the new cabinet, and was unable to restore order to Iran, particularly after Khomeini's eventual return on 1 February.

On the night of 10 February, fighting erupted at Tehran's Doshan Tappeh air force base between several cadets who sided with either the Shah or the Ayatollah.[152] Seeing that turmoil was spreading through the military, several Iranian generals agreed that the time for a coup was necessary. Lieutenant General Abdol Ali Badrei, commander of Iranian ground forces, finalised the plans. However, because the ranks within the military and security forces were divided, supporters of Khomeini were well placed to notify the Ayatollah of all government movements. In a monumental failure of operational security, a staffer in Badrei's office secretly took copies of the coup plans. When he was dismissed for the evening, he contacted a morning newspaper. The operation was exposed.[153]

The last, perhaps most feeble attempt by the US was the establishment of a Persian language broadcast of Voice of America. However, by February 6, 1979, the program still required six weeks before completion. Carter impatiently commented that efforts should have started months earlier. Paul Henze at the NSC wrote, "The creation of these essentials requires a great deal more time than 3–4 months. Three or four years is more likely to be the optimum time for such an accomplishment."[154]

The actions taken by the Carter administration were not enough to keep the Shah in power, nor to support a civilian based government under Bakhtiar. As it became clear that the Islamic Republic would endure, the administration entrusted that Khomeini's strong opposition to

[152] Iran: Country Study Guide. (Washington, DC: International Business Publications, USA, 2005), p.37.

[153] Sahimi, Muhammad. "The Ten Days That Changed Iran." *PBS-Tehran Bureau*. PBS, 3 Feb. 2010.

[154] Henze, Paul. "Memorandum from Paul Henze of the National Security Council Staff to the President's Assistant for National Security Affairs Brzezinski". 6 February 1979. Carter Library, National Security Affairs, Brzezinski Material, Brzezinski Office File, Subject Chron File, Box 112, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty/Voice of America: 1–9/79.

Communism would create a common ground for relations between the two countries. The hostage crisis in November 1979 would prove otherwise.

Impact on the Shah

The first half of the 1970s not only increasing military aid and regional power issued to the Shah, but an increase into the customs associated with Western culture.[155] These, along with ever more stratification among the economic classes, had galvanised opinion in Iranian society that the monarchy was being propped up by America. However, Carter's tough stance on human rights had captured the attention of Iranian society. A president that was tough on human rights gave the appearance that the US would no longer be the ally it had been. In a sense, it gave Iranians permission to protest, knowing that the Shah would have to appease the US in order to maintain his position of power. This may have been a force multiplier to events in Iran. In reality, however, Carter gave the Shah a wide berth. The President was focused on other matters and hoped that he would find a decisive Shah that would use the means available to him, including SAVAK and the military, to restore order. He gave no appearance that he would "punish" the Shah for exerting power over his people.

For the Shah's part, he was eager to maintain that his relationship with the US remained strong. For instance, in the aftermath of Black Friday, Egyptian President Anwar Sadat, Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Began and US President Jimmy Carter each called the Shah from Camp David to send words of encouragement. Carter issued a carefully worded message showing support for the Shah and urging continued liberalisation. The call from President Carter particularly pleased the Shah, and the message was published in the newspaper. To the Iranian populace, it appeared that the US was in support of the violent repression of protests, and Carter would not be the human rights champion they had hoped for. This, along with numerous televised visions of Carter vocally supporting the Shah throughout the last quarter of 1978, served to entrench anti-American sentiment in the region.[156]

[155] For instance, video footage of Carter's New Year speech shows the Shah drinking champagne. In a Muslim country with traditional Persian values, this image was a mismatch.

[156] Carter, James. "Personal Note to the Shah." Letter, to Shah Reza Mohamed Pahlavi. 28 September, 1978. November 4, 1976. As found in: Byrne, Malcolm, ed. The Carter Administration and the *"Arc of Crisis": Iran, Afghanistan, and the Cold War in Southern Asia, 1977-1981*.

The Shah was of two minds regarding US support. On one hand, he relied on the US, and on the other, he began to distrust it. Henry Precht received a visit from Henry Kissinger shortly after his return from Iran. Kissinger reported that the Shah could not figure out how "a bunch of ignorant mullahs" could lead protests that were well organised and effective. The Shah had concluded that the CIA was behind the mullah's strength. He speculated that this occurred for one of two reasons: either the Americans felt that he was too cosy with the Soviet Union, or that the Americans, together with the Russians, had sought to divide Iran into spheres of influence, as occurred between the British and the Soviets when the Shah first ascended to power.[157] Kissinger was not the only one who heard this story; Sullivan repeated, almost verbatim, the same discussions with the Shah.[158]

Efforts such as the Huyser mission, which was initiated without his knowledge or consent, solidified these beliefs. Further, the shah was being pulled in two directions by the US. Through Ambassador Zahedi, he was encouraged to suppress dissent. Through the State Department, he was persuaded to negotiate with the opposition. The Shah became increasingly paranoid of US intentions but simultaneously sought advice from US officials.

	MANDATE-LEVEL FUNCTIONS: DETERMINED BY COLLABORATIVE R&P PROCESS				BINARY MODEL		
	Priority level (or timely escalation)	Budget / resource adjustment	Functional interagency cooperation	Operational authorisations	**Intelligence** (core functions: compliance, collection, and analysis)	**Policy** (core functions: compliance, decision making and response)	OUTCOME
Success		X		X			
Failure	X		X		X	X	

Outcome

The Shah left Iran on 16 January. The Ayatollah returned on 1 February. The military declared neutrality on 10 February. Within a week, Revolutionary Tribunals had found guilty four of the Shah's key military generals. Nematollah Nasiri, head of SAVAK, Manuchehr Khosrodad, air force commander; Reza Naji, martial law administrator of Esfahan, and Mehdi Rahimi,

[157] "An Oral History with Henry Precht, Then State Department Desk Officer." *Middle East Journal,* p. 10.

[158] Sullivan. *Mission to Iran*, p. 157.

head of police, were executed. By the end of February, nearly all traces of the 2500-year reign of Persian monarchy were gone. In April, Prime Minister Bakhtiar fled to France.

It was not until the August 1979 NIT review, six months after the formation of the Islamic Republic, that Iran was deemed a category A intelligence priority.[159] Carter's attempts to build relations with the revolutionary government were stopped short when, on November 4th, 1979 students seized control of the US embassy, taking 52 American hostages.

	MANDATE-LEVEL FUNCTIONS: DETERMINED BY COLLABORATIVE R&P PROCESS				BINARY MODEL		
	Priority level (or timely escalation)	Budget / resource adjustment	Functional interagency cooperation	Operational authorisations	Intelligence (core functions: compliance, collection, and analysis)	Policy (core functions: compliance, decision making and response)	OUTCOME
Success		X		X			
Failure	X		X		X	X	X

By tracing these functions, three things are established. The first is the importance of timing. Had the mandate shift come earlier, the flow of resources and authorisations could have provided greater access to information, and given time to assess the situation on the ground in Iran. Ultimately this information could have driven critical, realistic discussion which led to the completion of the missing NIE. Second, individual functions within the mandate shift rely on compliance. This is particularly relevant to interagency cooperation, where the dual sins of leaking confidential information and failing to share information were committed.

Finally, the interdependence of these components comes to light, in contrast with the binary construct. To characterise the revolution simply as a failure of early warning eliminates the actions taken by the intelligence community once they were given the resources and authorisations necessary to focus on the target. When these are delayed, intelligence cannot succeed. Intelligence is doomed to fail if the conditions necessary to conduct intelligence are not met. In the absence of resource, cooperation, and authorisation, it is unfeasible, that

[159] "Revised List of National Intelligence Topics." Letter to Director of Central Intelligence from Taylor, James H., Comptroller.

intelligence could have succeeded in providing the timely, relevant information needed in order for policymakers to make firm decisions with the awareness of long-term ramifications.

The collection and triangulation of evidence from multiple primary and secondary sources, passes the smoking gun test. The mechanism, in this case, the mandate shift and processes therein, are present and visible in the case of the Iranian revolution.

In terms of the hoop test, the evidence suggests that independent processes within the mandate shift are among the factors that caused the ultimate failure to foresee the threat to the Shah, or take action. This eliminates the existing hypothesis; the historical simplification which suggests that the failure can be reduced simply to intelligence or policy failure. While both the intelligence and policy communities are ultimately responsible for the outcome, the failures cannot be whittled down to the definitions of "intelligence failure" and "policy failure" as defined in previous chapters. Rather, the string of interconnected functions which bind the communities led to a series of actions, each of which had its own measure of success or failure.

Discussion

Despite the best intentions of DCI Colby and his KIQs, and later DCI Turner and his NITs, the reorganisation of the requirements and priorities process did little to impact its efficacy. The NITs were designed to provide global coverage, and identify topics that were most significant to policymakers.[160] But beyond establishing priorities, little was done in the way of addressing the processes and functions, particularly in instances of ad-hoc escalation. As a result, Turner continued to struggle with "man-in-the-middle" problems; the DCI could not foster enthusiasm for the reforms among policymakers, nor could he obtain sufficient trust in the process at the agency level. This significantly hindered the community's ability to respond to a man when low-priority Iran became one of the most critical issues facing the government.

Turner's reforms faced the organisational hurdles explained by Betts. The DCI could enact no change that would offset the predispositions, idiosyncrasies and time constraints of the decision makers.[161] Further, his modifications to the priorities component of the R&P created knock-on effects further down the mechanism. In seeking a panacea, Turner attempted to

[160] Laqueur. *The Uses and Limits of Intelligence,* p, 94
[161] Ibid, p. 85

conquer the immovability of the establishment. Like Colby before him, he was ultimately unsuccessful.

Those who argue that the Iranian Revolution was an intelligence failure maintain that the USIC did not give early or sufficient warning of the threat to the Shah. The apologist argument would suggest that the intelligence failure occurred because revolutions are difficult to forecast. Theda Skocpol, a world-renowned expert on the factors that cause revolution, admitted total surprise at the outbreak of events in Iran.[162] She was not alone; failure to foresee the overthrow of the Shah occurred among many governments. In the US, the government was resolved that the Shah would remain in power, only realising the danger he was in three weeks prior to his exile. The United Kingdom's analysis followed closely to that of the US, as did the French and German estimates.[163] Similarly, the Soviet Union expected him to re-establish himself as the ruler. These conclusions were also made in China[164], Turkey, and Pakistan.[165] Even the Ayatollah Khomeini, who became the Supreme Leader of the Islamic Republic of Iran, was searching for a new host nation before his French visa expired in April 1979.[166] In the US, DCI Turner lamented, "There was no master revolutionary plan that spies could steal, no single revolutionary headquarters in which to place a single agent."[167]

While it is true that the nature of revolution is hard to grasp, it is also true that the USIC was successful in identifying the Shah's main opposition, and their intentions, once they were given the direction and means to do so. However, these came too late. Thus, it was not the nature of revolution, but the timeliness and efficacy of the mandate shift that impacted intelligence output.

Most after-action findings on Iran either ignored or only skimmed the surface of the root causes. For instance, Jervis acknowledges that most of the failures stem from the low priority that Iran was given, but does not go further into this assessment. He found weaknesses in

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[162] Skocpol, Theda. "Rentier State and Shi'a Islam in the Iranian Revolution." *Theory and Society* 11.3 (1982): 265

[163] United Kingdom. Foreign and Commonwealth Office. *British Policy on Iran 1974-1978*. By N. E. Browne. (London: 1979)

[164] Zonis, Marvin. "Iran: A Theory of Revolution from Accounts of the Revolution." *World Politics* 35.4 (1983): 602.

[165] Hoveyda, Fereydoun. *The Fall of the Shah*, p. 15-17.

[166] Heikal, as cited in Kuran, Timur. "Sparks and Prairie Fires: A Theory of Unanticipated Political Revolution." Public Choice 61.1 (1989): 41-74. Print.

[167] Turner, Stansfield. *Secrecy and Democracy. (*Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1985), p. 117.

collection, particularly that the bulk of intelligence was provided by SAVAK and the Shah's inner circle,[168] but failed to address how the artificially low priority created the constraints that led to this setup.

Similarly, HPSCI noted the "unwritten considerations" that hindered covert and overt field collection,[169] but did not factor in the mood and receptivity toward this information prior to 6 November. As others pointed out, the policy community took for granted the Shah's permanence,[170] and some argued that reports contradicting the Shah's longevity would be seen as subversive.[171] However, these examinations did not incorporate reforms to address this cognitive bias. In fact, few recommendations for reform were given, and those centred around improving intelligence analysis, rather than addressing the systemic malfunctions.

The Iran crisis, perhaps more than any other case, displays the jointery between intelligence and policy, and the impacts that can occur when the requirements and priorities mechanism is ineffective. Here again, the binary perspective creates a cut-off, distorted image. In contrast, the R&P-centric model provides a panoramic view of the events surrounding Iran.

Reports prior to 6 November 1978 show that the agencies had developed some warnings to indicate strong undercurrents of civic displeasure in Iran. However, the extent of reporting and its dissemination were hampered by aforementioned factors. Further, the intelligence community failed to complete the NIE, a report that may have provided the most urgent early warning to policymakers. Thus, by limiting the focus of investigations to actions taken prior 6 November 1978, a case could be made (somewhat) for the binary assessment of intelligence failure. That is, the *core functions* of collection and analysis failed to generate timely, relevant, and actionable information for policymakers.

However, the R&P-centric model expands the timeframe and accounts for circumstances affecting core intelligence and policy functions before and after the mandate shift. Observing

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[168] Jervis, *Why Intelligence Fails: Lessons from the Iranian Revolution and the Iraq War*, 34.

[169] Ibid.

[170] Rubin, Barry M. *Paved with Good Intentions: The American Experience and Iran*. (New York: Oxford UP, 1980), Preface.

[171] Nolan, Janne E., and Douglas J. MacEachin. *Discourse, Dissent, and Strategic Surprise: Formulating U.S. Security Policy in an Age of Uncertainty*. (Washington, D.C.: Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, 2006), p. 27

the shift through the four mandate-level functions demonstrates the changes to intelligence community mobilisation after the mandate shift.

For instance, Iran's level of priority prior to the mandate shift had been established years earlier. During the Nixon administration, the Shah asked that the US avoid engaging in Iranian domestic affairs. In appeasing their ally and client, the US intelligence and policy communities at once gave the Shah a high priority, while keeping his nation at a low priority. The need to keep the Shah in power, and the expectation that he would remain the ruler (either through liberalisation or force) resulted in a significant delay in escalation. This timing, perhaps more than any other factor, hindered effective warning and response to the crisis, causing a domino effect that resulted in the delay of subsequent mandate-level functions.

Despite the delay, once the shift was triggered, some functions were immediately effective. For example, resources were quickly released, which allowed for greater collection capabilities on the Shah and his opposition. Similarly, the function of operational authorisation triggered relatively effectively. Prior to the escalation, both intelligence and policy leadership understood Iran to be a viewing perch, not an object of focus. But following the PRC meeting on 6 November, the unwritten rule of speaking only to those permitted by the Shah fell away. Once authorisations to speak to opposition were granted, collection operations began to increase. The intelligence community could provide information on, and commentary from those sources. National Intelligence Daily reports consistently provided current intelligence, and within weeks they had identified key figures, including the exiled Khomeini, as a threat to the monarchy.

Overall, the efforts taken after the mandate shift allowed the intelligence community to produce reliable, relevant assessments. However, interagency collaboration remained hampered. Prior to the mandate shift, there were indications of poor cooperation. Turner's NITs process was relatively untested as the crisis began, and among the agencies, it was unpopular. As the crisis emerged, the hidden problems within the mechanism began to surface. For example, before the escalation, the community failed to complete the joint production of the National Intelligence Estimate, which had been asked for in June, September, and again in November. The failure to produce this NIE should have signalled that collaborative efforts as outlined by the R&P were not being held to standard. Rather than

enforcing collaboration to address the weaknesses that were pointed out in the draft sent to NFIB, the NIE was set aside; a failing of the collaborative environment.

Priority escalation had no refining effect on this function. Information sharing among agencies was further hampered by leaks and interdepartmental rivalries that had filtered down from top level officials. It took the efforts of working groups, such as those led by David Newsom, to eventually stimulate cooperation. However, this only became effective around late December 1978, nearly two months after the shift.

An earlier triggering of priority escalation, or even a realistic appraisal of Iran during the requirements process, *may* have caused intelligence and policy leadership to reconsider the nation's artificially suppressed priority level. This may have had an impact on pre-determined collaborations regarding Iran, or allowed problems with collaboration to be addressed sooner. At the same time, the release of resources and authorisations would have provided supplementary information at an earlier date, allowing the intelligence community to provide more robust estimates sooner. Yet the delay in escalation led to a postponement in every mandate level function. Thus, investigations that concluded just as the shift was triggered give a picture of early warning failure—but this is a false positive, or at least a simplistic, binary positive.

Though the R&P lens, the picture changes. Prior to the mandate shift, the intelligence community operated within the constraints they were provided. Yet once the mandate shift was triggered, the intelligence community, despite some flaws in collaboration, were overall successful in providing relevant and reliable information to policymakers. Unfortunately, the green light came too late. The delay in priority escalation generated a delay of the core intelligence functions, leaving the agencies on the back foot. Further, the failure to streamline interagency collaboration continued to impact timely collection and analysis.

Regardless, in the aftermath of the overthrow of the Shah, and the subsequent Iran hostage crisis, the intelligence community structure changed once again. There was a changing of the guard in the White House, and by the end of 1981, President Ronald Reagan superseded Carter's Executive Order 11905 with EO12333.[172] Among the changes put into place, NSC

[172] Reagan, Ronald (President). "Executive Order 12333- United States Intelligence Activities." Federal Register 46, no. 59941 (1981). Washington DC. https://www.cia.gov/about-cia/eo12333.html

working-level groups, including the PRC and SCC were eliminated. The National Foreign Intelligence Board and National Intelligence Tasking Center were deformalized, but modified and kept in place under DCI William Casey. Reagan's intelligence structure would remain largely in place until 2004, with modifications made by subsequent presidents. Meanwhile, the role of the DCI had once again become a point of contention; Congress pushed for the DCI to have a greater role in leading the broader intelligence community, while cabinet-driven agencies remained loathe to surrender controls. The NITs that Turner had such high hopes for had been swept away, and the original system had returned. Changes to the R&P process would not be attempted again until the end of the Cold War, and the arrival of the Clinton Administration.

CHAPTER SEVEN: RWANDA- US EVACUATION AND GENOCIDE, 1994

Examining the requirements and priorities process as it pertained to the Rwandan genocide offers an interesting comparison. The US quickly triggered a mandate shift for a Non-combatant Evacuation Operation (NEO) to extract US nationals, giving it a high priority. In contrast, there was no urgent escalation regarding the overall genocide. Because these two trajectories occur within the scope of the same event, comparing them provides an understanding of the impact of the mandate, both in its presence and its absence.

On 6 April 1994, a private plane carrying the Presidents of Rwanda and Burundi was shot from Rwandan airspace, killing both leaders. An uneasy truce had replaced years of civil war between the ethnic Hutu and Tutsi tribes in Rwanda, yet despite the hope for calm, tension remained palpable. The crash was the spark that lit a wildfire; immediate and widespread violence broke out as Hutu-led militias and their extremist allies embarked on ethnic genocide that became the fastest, most efficient extermination in the 20th century. Over the course of 100 days, nearly a million Tutsis and Hutu moderates were killed.

The tragic weeks in Rwanda have been viewed as a global failure. The US, a vital contributor to UN multi-lateral peacekeeping operations, was accused of failing to initiate timely intervention. In later years, members of the Clinton administration expressed great regret in delaying actions that could have slowed the rapid pace of genocide.[1] However, in the first days of the crisis, the US was guided by internal concerns and a pre-established characterisation of the erupting violence in Rwanda. Anticipating a renewed civil war, Washington had one immediate mandate: evacuate the Americans.

Rwandan tribal friction leading up to genocide

Although friction between the ethnic tribes in Rwanda predates colonialism, tensions increased when Belgium took control of the region in the 1930s. Colonisers conducted a census across the population, identifying people of Hutu (85%), Tutsi (14%), or Twa (1%) origins and issuing ethnic identity cards.[2] These identity cards served as a catalyst for an apartheid system that favoured the minority Tutsis, whom the Belgians perceived as the

[1] "Ghosts of Rwanda. Anthony Lake." Interview. *PBS.* 1 Apr. 2004. Web. 7 June 2014.

[2] Gourevitch, Philip. *We Wish to Inform You That Tomorrow We Will Be Killed with Our Families: Stories from Rwanda*. (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1998), p. 56-57.

superior tribe. A Tutsi feudal monarchy had governed in Rwanda for centuries, and the wealthiest among Rwandans tended to be Tutsi.

In 1959, a revolution in Rwanda led to the overthrow of the Tutsi monarchy, and by 1962, Rwanda gained independence from Belgian rule. In the aftermath of the revolution, the historically disenfranchised Hutu majority took power and began to conduct "societal purges" of ethnic Tutsis, causing many to flee to neighbouring countries. This continued into the 1990s, with most refugees fleeing to nearby Burundi, Uganda, Tanzania, and Zaire.[3] While first welcoming, the continued influx of Rwandan refugees had caused both a political and economic strain on host nations, causing many to enact legislation on refugee control. For instance, Tanzania's Refugees Act of 1965 was designed to restrict refugee rights to discourage others from coming.[4] Uganda's 1969 Control of Alien Refugees Act categorised Rwandan refugees as a special class, requiring permits for their status, permitting arbitrary detention, and preventing them from becoming citizens.[5] In 1979, Tutsi refugees in Uganda the Rwandese Refugee Welfare Foundation, to help Rwandans after the fall of Ugandan dictator Idi Amin. A year later, the group changed their name to the Rwandese Alliance for National Unity (RANU). The group was driven by intellectual discussions of returning to their home nation.

By 1986, Rwandan Tutsis Fred Rwigyema and Paul Kagame had become high-ranking members of Yoweri Museveni's military. The two had joined Museveni's rebel front in 1979, which led to the overthrow of Idi Amin. When Museveni took control of the government, he named the Tutsis as senior officers in the Ugandan military, creating backlash among ethnic Ugandans.[6] Kagame who had long considered himself a Ugandan, had become acutely aware that he was perceived as a foreigner. Together with Rwigyema, he established a network of Tutsi refugees within the Ugandan army, with the intentions of conducting an attack on

[3] Mamdani, Mahmood. *When Victims Become Killers: Colonialism, Nativism, and the Genocide in Rwanda*. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 2001), p. 161.

[4] Amnesty International. Protecting Their Rights: Rwandese Refugees in the Great Lakes Region. Rep. no. AI Index: AFR 47/016/2004. (2004): 8.

[5] Uganda: Control of Alien Refugees Act, Cap.64 of 1960, 13 July 1960. http://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6b4d2c.html

[6] Kinzer, Stephen. *A Thousand Hills: Rwanda's Rebirth and the Man Who Dreamed it*. (Hoboken, N.J. John Wiley & Sons. 2008), p. 51-53.

Rwanda. At a 1987 convention RANU renamed itself to the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), established a military wing, and agreed to return to Rwanda by any means, including force.[7]

On 1 October 1990, members of the RPF within the Ugandan military left their posts and invaded northern Rwanda. Over the course of several days, the RPF had pushed nearly 40 miles into Rwandan territory, however the Rwandan military, with greater numbers and superior equipment provided by France, forcibly turned back the insurgent group. The RPF regrouped and continued a long-term guerrilla campaign. The ensuing civil war lasted until an unsteady ceasefire agreement was negotiated in July 1992. The warring factions, mediated by Belgium, France, the US, and the Organisation of African Unity, entered negotiations in Arusha, Tanzania. The process was slow going; Rwandan Hutus felt the Belgians were responsible for the Tutsi dynasty. The Tutsis felt the French, as patrons of the Rwandan government, were biased toward the Hutus.[8] As an outsider to the history of Rwanda, the US was viewed as an impartial participant. For their part, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs George Moose and others within the African Affairs Bureau played a supportive role in inching the Arusha Accords into fruition; agreement would lead to greater security in a tumultuous region. In October 1993, the factions agreed to a 22-month transitional period to establish power-sharing in the Rwandan government and military.[9]

To support the Arusha Accords, UN Security Council Resolution 872 established the peacekeeping mission 'United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda' (UNAMIR).[10] UNAMIR was to remain in place for a period of six months to ensure implementation of terms of the peace agreement. After the six-month period ended in April 1994, renewal of the mission would subject to review. The UN sent 2,500 military personnel, led by Canadian Lieutenant General Romeo Dallaire.

Far from easing tensions, the Arusha Accords led to greater suspicions, particularly among Rwandan Hutus, who believed that RPF sought to reinstate a Tutsi Government and enact

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[7] Prunier, Gerard. *The Rwanda Crisis: History of a Genocide*. (New York, NY: Columbia UP, 1995), p. P73.

[8] "George Moose, US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs." Interview. *Frontline*. PBS, 21 Nov. 2003. http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/ghosts/interviews/moose.html

[9] PAD, Rwanda. "Peace Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Rwanda and the Rwandese Patriotic Front." *Arusha, Tanzania.: United Nations* (1993).

[10] United Nations Security Council. "S/RES/ 827" (5 October, 1993) available from http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N93/540/63/PDF/N9354063.pdf?OpenElement.

vengeance on the Hutus. This notion reinforced the importance of the idea of "Hutu Power"; the Hutus would not allow domination by those they perceived as alien. Thus, rather than working toward the points set forth in the accord to reunify Rwandans, relations between the tribes further strained.

On 11 January 1994, Dallaire, Commander of UNAMIR, sent a fax coded “most immediate” to the UN detailing information from a half-Hutu, half Tutsi informant who sought protection for himself and his family. The informant, “Jean-Pierre”, was a top-level trainer for the *Interahamwe*, a Hutu paramilitary organisation that enjoyed the support of the ruling party, the National Republican Movement for Democracy and Development (MRND).[11] Jean-Pierre explained that the Interahamwe’s sought to protect Rwanda’s capital, Kigali, from the RPF. Among the most striking disclosures, the informant revealed that the MRND sought to provoke the RPF to incite a civil war, and Belgian troops were to be provoked and, if necessary, killed to guarantee Belgian withdrawal from Rwanda.[12] Ominously, the Jean-Pierre also revealed that since the start of the UNAMIR mission, all Tutsis in Kigali had been registered with the government, likely for the purpose of their extermination. He estimated that “in 20 minutes his personnel could kill up to 1000 Tutsis.”[13]

The fax, now known as the “genocide fax,” was sent to the UN headquarters in New York, but received little attention. Dallaire was instructed to take no action, and to report Jean-Pierre to the MRND—the very group the informant was implicating.[14] In the US, military liaison to the Arusha process, Lieutenant Colonel Tony Marley, considered the fax to be nothing more than a histrionic message from a well-meaning neophyte who was “didn’t know what he was talking about.”[15] Weeks later, Dallaire sent another message warning that adherence to the

[11] The informant was later identified as Abubakar Turatsinze. See: "The Rwanda "Genocide Fax": What We Know Now." Dobbs. Michael, ed. National Security Archive Electronic Briefing Book No. 452. *National Security Archive*, 9 Jan. 2014. http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB452/.

[12] Dallaire, Romeo. "Outgoing Code Cable- Request for Protection for Informant." Letter to Baril/DPKO/UNations/New York. 11 Jan. 1994. *National Security Archive*. http://nsarchive.files.wordpress.com/2014/01/19940111-request-for-protection-for-informant.pdf

[13] Ibid.

[14] Dobbs, ed. "The Rwanda "Genocide Fax": What We Know Now."

[15] Power, Samantha. "Bystanders to Genocide." *The Atlantic*. Atlantic Media Company, 01 Sept. 2001. http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2001/09/bystanders-to-genocide/304571/?single_page=true.

Accords had diminished considerably, and time was running out, as “any spark on the security side could have catastrophic consequences."[16]

Dallaire’s premonitions were realised on 6 April 1994, when the Rwandan President’s personal plane was shot down, carrying him and the President of Burundi. Immediately after the crash, *Radio Television Libre des Mille Collines*, a privately-owned radio station and prominent extremist outlet, called for a final war to "exterminate the cockroaches” and “cut down the tall trees,” slogans referring to elimination of the Tutsis.[17]

In Kigali, Colonel Théoneste Bagosora, Rwandan Army staff director, had gathered an assembly of officers and stated that upon the death of President Habyarimana, the army needed to take charge. Dallaire, who was present at the meeting, reminded the officers that Prime Minister Agathe Uwilingiyimana would be next in the order of succession.[18] The officers snickered. The next morning, Prime Minister Uwilingiyimana, along with other moderate cabinet officials and high-ranking Tutsis, were singled out for extermination.[19] Bagarosa would become the ringleader of the genocide.

The Hutu-led MRND and its extremist allies embarked one hundred days of ethnic genocide. By the end of April, the worst of the massacres had been conducted. Human Rights Watch estimated that nearly half of the Tutsi population of Rwanda had already been killed,[20] and the RPF announced on 29 April, “the genocide is almost completed.”[21] Over one hundred days, Tutsi and moderate Hutus men, women and children were killed at an average rate of six souls every minute.

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[16] United Nations Security Council. *Report of the Independent Inquiry into the Actions of the United Nations During the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda*. UN document S/1999/1257, 16 December 1999. Found at http://www.un.org/Docs/sc/letters/1999/1257.

[17] "Valentina's Nightmare." *Frontline*. PBS. Show #1509, Boston, MA, 1 Apr. 1997. Television. Transcript.

[18] Power, Samantha*. A Problem from Hell: America and the Age of Genocide.* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2007), p. 330.

[19] United States of America. Department of State. Bureau of Intelligence and Research. SPOT Intelligence Report 0845: RWANDA/BURUNDI: Turmoil in Rwanda. Kigali, Rwanda: 7 April, 1994. National Security Archive. Web. 15 Feb. 2014. http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB119/Rw4.pdf.

[20] Des Forges, Allison Liebhafsky, Timothy Paul Longman, and Jemera Rone. *"Leave None to Tell the Story": Genocide in Rwanda.* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 1999), p. 220

[21] Cohen, Jared. *One-hundred Days of Silence: America and the Rwanda Genocide.* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007), p. 130

The Prevailing Arguments

In March 1998, Bill Clinton, speaking from Kigali airport said, "We in the United States and the world community did not do as much as we could have and should have done to try to limit what occurred."[22] Hindsight had haunted the administration. The tensions in in Rwanda were known as the US helped to broker the peace talks. The prospect of the Arusha Accords brought an intrinsic understanding that the region was on the verge of a historic moment—one that could go incredibly well, or horribly awry. As the latter outcome unfolded, policymakers in Washington were accused of indifference, apathy, and in some cases, deliberately hampering UN intervention.[23]

Six years after the genocide, professor and former White House staffer Alan Kuperman argued that President Clinton could not have known that genocide was occurring until around 20 April. Through the available documentation, Kuperman identified five factors to support his argument: intelligence depicted the breakdown of peace as a civil war; the violence was reported to be slowing; early death counts were grossly underestimated; focus was almost exclusively on Kigali; and no credible or knowledgeable observers raised the prospect of genocide until the end of the second week.[24] These factors, he argued, were the fault of the US intelligence community, for failing to commit in-country resources to "a tiny state in a region of little strategic value." [25]

Kuperman's defence contains some accurate points. For instance, in the first days after the 6 April crash, the violence was depicted as a civil war, and one report on 8 April indicated a "glimmer of hope" that the fighting had slowed.[26] However, his defence of the administration is indicative of the firewall mindset: *if the administration is free from guilt, the intelligence community must be at fault.* In this mindset, Kuperman failed to acknowledge two key factors: first, the US intelligence community cannot commit in-country resources without the consent

[22] Bennet, James. "Clinton Declares U.S., with World, Failed Rwandans." *The New York Times.* 25 Mar. 1998.

[23] Carroll, Rory. "US Chose to Ignore Rwandan Genocide." *The Guardian*. Guardian News and Media, 31 Mar. 2004.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Kuperman, Alan J. "Rwanda in Retrospect." Foreign Affairs 79.1 (2000): 94.

[26] Assistant Secretary of Defense for SO/LIC "Subject: Rwanda: Current Situation; Next Steps." Memorandum for the Secretary of Defence. 8 April, 1994.

of the policymakers. Second, the community was operating within guidelines set the by the administration prior to the emergency.

Kuperman's argument again shows how failure to incorporate the requirements and priorities process into factors of success or failure can lead to misdiagnosis of fault. In this instance, a mandate was issued to evacuate Americans from Rwanda, and the joint intelligence and policy community functioned to those goals. When the mandate expired, a new mandate was not created to elevate the crisis in Rwanda. The distinction in the results is striking, but does not equate to failure on the part of the intelligence community.

In the US: Changes at the end of the Cold War

Since the 1947 National Security Act, the principal requirements of the intelligence community were relatively static, centred around monitoring Soviet activity throughout the Cold War. The strength of the Soviet Union had begun to decline under Ronald Reagan, and the Cold War officially ended on George H. W. Bush's watch in late December 1991. On 20 January 1993, President Bill Clinton became the first president to enter office in a post-Cold War era. The administration faced the challenge of defining American power in a new world, and identifying needs for a post-Cold War intelligence community.

In preceding decades, the bulk of intelligence requirements, if at times muddled, were understood; the Soviet Union ranked highest, followed closely by Soviet satellite nations, and nations that could spread communism or succumb to it. Although the requirements process had historically been fraught with difficulties and lack of communication, the threat of Soviet actions, whether political or military, held the highest ranks of national priorities. Debates did not address *whether* to prioritize Soviet issues, but *which aspects* to prioritise. With the omnipresent spectre abated, the list of requirements and their associated priority levels could no longer be taken for granted.

The US needed to redefine its foreign policy strategy, and in the vacuum of requirements, policymakers voiced an array of disparate needs. Debates arose as to which concerns would be most pressing in the long term. As the cacophony of potential priorities grew, the implementation of an effective requirements process became increasingly vital to the function of the intelligence community.

A secondary effect of the end of the Cold War was an expansion of multilateral peacekeeping efforts, no longer hampered by fear of conflict with the USSR.[27] To the US, these efforts were considered a cost-effective means to advancing US interests and alleviating suffering abroad. However, the US had committed forces to overseas deployments in Africa, the Caribbean, Europe and the Middle East, and the multiple engagements were costly. This was at odds with the expected peace dividend gained by reducing the cost of Cold War efforts in defence and intelligence. Clinton's administration, which ran on an internal slogan of "It's the economy, stupid!" sought to curb spending and grow the economy. Every decision was made with a fiscal strategy in mind, and domestic policy was the administration's top priority. This meant that in national security and interest realms, the focus concentrated on consolidating efforts, reducing waste, cutting costs, and improving efficiency.

Upon taking office, Clinton tasked a team from the Vice President's National Performance Review to identify actions and collaborations that could create a more unified intelligence community. As had been reported in previous findings, the review identified that the drive for budget allocations and new programs created competition. While previous reports had lambasted the duplication of efforts across agencies, the review argued that eliminating all duplication could risk the elimination of competitive analysis.[28]

In general, the report called for a more centralised, integrated community with cross-agency collaboration. Specifically, emphasis was placed on collaboration between the DCI and the DoD. Together, the DCI and Deputy Secretary of Defence would work toward the IC's post-Cold War mission, meeting with key stakeholders to establish policy and direction. Further, as the US had troops deployed in various locations, the report stated that the DCI should work with the Secretary of Defence to establish a "reinvention lab" to increase support to ground troops during military operation.[29]

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[27] Clinton, William. "Presidential Decision Directive/NSC-25- U.S. Policy on Reforming Multilateral Peace Operations." White House, Washington DC: 1994. http://fas.org/irp/offdocs/pdd/pdd-25.pdf

[28] National Performance Review (U.S.). *The Intelligence Community: Accompanying Report of the National Performance Review,* Office of the Vice President. (Washington, DC: The Review, 1993), p. 14

[29] Ibid., 31

Apart from DCI/DoD collaboration, the report also called for additional changes: first, the DCI should establish a requirements process which "continually tracks the needs of the IC customer."[30] Second, the National Intelligence Council should take the lead in cross-INT fertilisation, bringing together efforts from political, economic, and military analysis. Finally, the Intelligence Oversight Board, brought in under President Ford, should be merged into the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board (the last of these was accomplished by Executive Order 12863 in September 1993).[31] PFIAB was tasked with assessing the quality of intelligence, and a standing committee within the group, the Intelligence Oversight Board, would ensure that the community was working within the scope of the law.

In addition to restructuring the intelligence community, the administration also sought to curb spending on UN engagements. In March 1993, a presidential review was conducted to identify the conditions which would govern US policy on multilateral engagements.[32] The report was completed under Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, Anthony Lake, and the findings recommended a series of strict and limiting guidelines regarding US voting, support for, and engagement in multilateral peace operations with the United Nations.[33]

Together, the findings of these two reviews informed domestic and international strategy for national security organisation and broader peacekeeping initiatives, and shaped the development of USIC mandates for the first decade after the Cold War.

Tracing the R&P process in the run-up to the Rwandan Genocide

The day he assumed office, Clinton issued Presidential Decision Directive/NSC-2, establishing three layers of functionality within the NSC.[34] At the topmost level was the NSC Principals Committee (NSC/PC), a senior interagency forum responsible for review, coordination, monitoring and development of national security policy. Among its remits were the discussion

[30] Ibid., 10

[31] Clinton, William (President). *Executive Order 12863 President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board*. Federal Register 58, no. 48441 (1993). White House, Washington DC.

[32] Clinton, William. "Presidential Review Directive/NSC-13- Multilateral Peacekeeping Operations." (White House, Washington DC) 1995. http://fas.org/irp/offdocs/prd/prd-13.pdf

[33] Clinton, William. "Presidential Decision Directive/NSC-25- U.S. Policy on Reforming Multilateral Peace Operations." White House, Washington DC: 1994.

[34] Clinton, William J. Presidential Decision Directive/National Security Council-2. January 20, 1993. Washington DC. http://fas.org/irp/offdocs/pdd/pdd-2.pdf

and resolution of foreign policy issues that did not require the President's participation. Below this was the NSC Deputies Committee (NSC/DC), a senior subcabinet interagency group to focus on implementation and review of foreign policy objectives, as well as reviewing and monitoring interagency working groups. This group was responsible for day-to-day crisis management. Finally, a series of permanent and ad hoc interagency working groups (NSC/IWGs) were established to review and coordinate presidential decisions in key policy areas as needed.

The DCI did not have chairmanship in these groups, but had statutory membership in the NSC/PC. A year earlier, the Intelligence Organisation Act of 1992 had for the first time specified as statute the roles of the DCI: the title serves as head of the intelligence community, principal advisor to the president, and head of the CIA.[35] The DCIs foremost responsibilities were to establish collection and requirements priorities, and to review and authorise the National Foreign Intelligence Program.[36]

In keeping with his economic strategy, Clinton tasked his appointed DCI, R. James Woolsey, with making sharp cuts to NFIP. However, Woolsey was reluctant to enact reductions that could hamper the efficacy of the intelligence community. Using recommendations from the Vice Presidential National Performance Review, Woolsey leveraged the call for closer collaboration with the DoD which controlled the Tactical Intelligence and Related Activities (TIARA) budget. He worked closely with the Deputy Secretary of Defense, and through collaborative efforts, the departments managed to integrate programs and areas of responsibility.

By late 1993, the DCI and DoD leadership had established a new budget category: JMIP, or the Joint Military Intelligence Program. JMIP would cover all DoD programs that did not fit into the civilian NFIP budget, but could be better managed than they would be under TIARA. The creation of this third budget category allowed Woolsey to sidestep some cuts from the

[35] Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, "S. 2198 and S. 421 to Reorganize the United States Intelligence Community," 102d Congress, 2d Session. Washington, DC, (1992), p. 2.

[36] Ibid.

overall NFIP budget, however it weakened his relationship with the Office of Management and Budget and some among White House staff.[37]

Regarding the requirements structure, the mechanism had already begun to undergo changes under former President Bush and his DCI, Robert Gates. An attachment to Bush's National Security Directive 67 (1992) introduced a list of post-Cold War priority categories: "critical 1, 2, and 3," and "valuable".[38] Bush had also approved a broad restructuring of the intelligence community, including the creation of a Community Management Staff (CMS), improved coordination and management across the four major collection disciplines, and initiatives to improve intelligence support to military operations (SMOs).[39]

To affect these changes, Gates created a task force under the newly appointed CMS Deputy to create a simplified requirements process. The task force called for community issue managers to determine critical questions that should be addressed, and national intelligence strategies to address collection and analysis steps for each agency. Gates approved the process shortly before his tenure ended at the end of Bush's term, and established collection and production boards to coordinate agencies along substantive issues rather than intelligence disciplines.

In March 1993, Woolsey issued DCID 3/26, establishing a National Intelligence Collection Board under the DCI.[40] The NICB's focus was wholly to ensure that customer's collection needs were met, and the collection strategies were functional, up-to-date, and fit within the all-source, Intelligence Community-wide strategies. They were also to address information gaps in NIEs as identified by the National Intelligence Officers and offer guidance on improving collection, particularly in areas of high current or anticipated importance.

Under Woolsey, the intelligence community adopted a tiered prioritisation scheme, where every nation would be categorised. Within the scheme, Tier 1 was reserved for enemy states,

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[37] Garthoff, Douglas F. *Directors of Central Intelligence as Leaders of the U.S. Intelligence Community, 1946-2005*, p. 243

[38] Ibid., 221

[39] Bush, George H. W. (President). "National Security Directive 67- Intelligence Capabilities: 1992-2005." White House. Washington DC (1992)

[40] *Director of Central Intelligence Directive 3/26- National Intelligence Collection Board*. (1993) R. James Woolsey. 1 Mar. 1993. Office of the Historian. US Department of State

and Tier 4 issues were reserved for countries required “virtually no effort”.[41] He also included a Tier 0 for issues required crisis coverage on a short-term basis.

Continuing Gates’ efforts, Woolsey also incorporated Community Issue Managers to coordinate IC efforts in their substantive areas. A group of Issue Coordinators would be responsible for developing "Strategic Intelligence Reviews" (SIRs). To accomplish this, the coordinators would meet with high-level policymakers to understand and develop a prioritised statement of their near-term and enduring intelligence needs. Those needs would then be evaluated against current collection and analysis to identify their value, priority, intelligence gaps or other shortfalls.[42] The strategy for the new R&P process, called the National Intelligence Needs Process, was completed in late 1993. By early 1994, staff of the CMS and the National Intelligence Council had begun to collect a list of intelligence needs from senior policymakers.

The process was not formalised until President Clinton signed PDD 35 in 1995, by which time Woolsey had resigned after intense scrutiny following the arrest of CIA officer Aldrich Ames on the charge of espionage in 1994. However, internally, the structures for the National Intelligence Needs Process had already been set in place. The full details of the process as ordered in PDD-35 remain classified, however it is possible to piece together components of how the process functioned at the time of the Rwandan crisis:

1. Community Issue Managers and Issue Coordinators gather list of immediate and long-term needs from high-level policymakers.
2. Needs were converted into SIRS, and recommendations submitted to DCI
3. DCI reviews and modifies needs, submits recommendations to NSC
4. NSC reviews recommendations to ensure they are in line with foreign policy strategy, modifies as necessary and submits to executive for approval
5. Executive modifies, approves, formalises needs
6. Community Issue Managers and direct and monitor implementation of needs and coordination of efforts

[41] Garthoff, Douglas F. *Directors of Central Intelligence as Leaders of the U.S. Intelligence Community, 1946-2005*, p. 227

[42] House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence. "IC21: The Intelligence Community in the 21st Century." Staff Study.

7. NICB ensures that collection strategies are functional, collaborative, and capable of meeting customer's collection needs.
8. IWGs meet regularly to monitor function of intelligence process, in concert with NCIB and relevant members of NSC committees
9. PFIAB conducts reviews to assess the quality of intelligence; IOB review ensure the IC is working within the scope of the law

Priorities were addressed with a two-pronged approached, where emphasis was placed upon support to military operations (SMOs) and support to policy operations (SPOs).[43] Guidance also addressed support to law enforcement; and counterintelligence.[44] In the context of these categories, priorities were ranked as follows:

- Tier 0 - Crisis coverage required (short term, 3-12 months).
- Tier 1 - Countries that are enemies/potential enemies.
- Tier 1a - Topics of highest priority.
- Tier 2 - Other countries of high priority.
- Tier 3 - Low priority countries commanding some effort.
- Tier 4 - Low priority countries requiring less coverage.[45]

Notably, Tier 1 was reserved for nations that could become belligerents against the United States, and Tier 1a was reserved for issues that could become a threat. In terms of nation-state threats, Anthony Lake's 1994 article in *Foreign Policy* magazine addressed the threat emanating from "backlash" states, including Cuba, North Korea, Iran, Iraq, and Libya.[46] These nations would fit Tier 1 nations. Transcripts of Clinton speeches indicate that Tier 1a priority was given to trans-national threats, including global narcotics rings, terrorism, organized crime, and the threat of proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.[47] Further, with the

[43] "A Perspective on Intelligence Reform from Outside the Beltway." *The Final Report of the Snyder Commission*. Ed. Edward Cheng and Diane C. Snyder. The Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University, Jan. 1997. Web. 22 Jan. 2017. http://fas.org/irp/eprint/snyder/chap2.htm

[44] Pike, John. "Intelligence." *Intelligence Operations*. Global Security. http://www.globalsecurity.org/intell/ops/

[45] Jeffrey T. Richelson, Federation of American Scientists, Central Intelligence Agency, Joint Chiefs of Staff, as found in: Arkin, William M. "At DIA, Excess Is in the Details." *The Washington Post*. 6 Dec. 1999. http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/national/dotmil/arkin120699.htm

[46] Lake, Anthony. "Confronting Backlash States." *Foreign Affairs*. 28 Jan. 2009. https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/iran/1994-03-01/confronting-backlash-states

[47] United States of America. White House. Office of the President. *Presidential Decision Directive 35- Intelligence Requirements*. Federation of American Scientists, 2 Mar. 1995. http://fas.org/irp/offdocs/pdd35.htm

focus on support to military operations, areas where US troops were deployed would fit the category of short-term emergencies placed at Tier 0. The bulk of attention was given to items at Tiers 0, 1, and 1a, leaving fewer resources for lower items. Rwanda, neither great ally nor great threat, received little in the way of intelligence priority or resourcing.

Rwanda amongst US Priorities

Rwanda was not an essential nation to US security or interests. Prior to the genocide, the nation was not a major trading partner; imports and exports between the nations were under $10 million in 1992 and 1993.[48] As a landlocked country in central Africa, the region held no strategic value in terms of military bases or naval ports, and was distant from areas of vital interest to the US.

The relationship between the nations was largely diplomatic; George Moose contextualised Rwanda in terms of security concerns for US allies in Africa, particularly Zaire, Uganda, and Tanzania. When asked where Rwanda stood in terms of priority, Moose considered Rwanda "maybe" a third-tier issue.[49] A 1996 report from the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence reveals that Rwanda received very little intelligence coverage, indicating that it may have ranked in the Tier 4 category.[50]

As war in Rwanda and neighbouring Burundi escalated in the early 90s, the US called for calm in the region, but concentrated on greater emergencies such as enforcing no-fly zones in Iraq, the Bosnian conflict (which would later evolve into another genocide), and the fallout from the military coup in Haiti. Apart from diplomatic engagement, the administration was particularly reticent to engage in Rwanda because of the recent past.

In 1992, George H. W. Bush's sent military forces on a humanitarian and peacekeeping mission to Somalia. By autumn of the following year, mission creep expanded the engagement in to a plan to restore government and order in the war-torn nation. Under Clinton, a key mission for the forces was Operation Gothic Serpent—a strategy to capture

[48] Branch, Foreign Trade Data Dissemination. "Trade in Goods with Rwanda." US Census Bureau Foreign Trade Division. https://www.census.gov/foreign-trade/balance/c7690.html#1993

[49] "George Moose, US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs." Interview. *Frontline*.

[50] House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence. "IC21: The Intelligence Community in the 21st Century." Staff Study.

warlord Mohamed Farrah Aidid and his lieutenants, who controlled Mogadishu.[51] On 3 October, intelligence from Joint Special Operations Command (JSOC) had identified to location of Aidid and his lieutenants. The capture operation was expected to take under an hour, however Aidid's men were prepared for the invasion, and close combat engagement ensued. Over the course of two days, the Battle of Mogadishu had left 73 US troops injured and 18 killed.[52]

To the American public, Somalia did not take centre stage until video emerged showing the body of an American soldier being dragged through the streets. With public outcry against the mission and political will depleted in Congress, Clinton announced that US troops would be withdrawn from Somalia within six months. The final troops left the theatre in March 1994, two weeks before the Rwandan genocides began.

For the US, the events emerging in Rwanda were out of bounds. On the heels of Somalia, the government became disinclined to get actively involved in foreign interventions, particularly in Africa. The US cleaved to the criteria for engagement as set forth by the 1993 National Security Strategy, which called for areas of engagement to be of significant interest to the US.[53] Apart from those with responsibilities in Africa, few in the administration were familiar with Rwanda. For instance, Lieutenant General Wesley Clark, director of strategic plans and policy for the Joint Chiefs of Staff at the Pentagon, recalls that upon learning of the crash, staff officers asked, "Is it Hutu and Tutsi or Tutu and Hutsi?" Later in a meeting with top advisors, Secretary of State Warren Christopher needed an atlas to locate the country."[54]

Fear of post-Somalia public backlash extended deep into the administration. Richard Clarke, Chairman of the Counterterrorism Security Group and overseer of peacekeeping policies, feared that intervention would result in congressional backlash and public outcry. To this end, with considerations gleaned from Lake's review on multilateral peacekeeping operations

[51] Cenciotti, David. "Operation Gothic Serpent." *The Aviationist*. 5 Oct. 2013. http://theaviationist.com/tag/operation-gothic-serpent/

[52] Kiger, Patrick J. "Behind the Battle of Mogadishu." National Geographic. 9 May 2016. http://channel.nationalgeographic.com/no-man-left-behind/articles/behind-the-battle-of-mogadishu/

[53] *National Security Strategy of The United States*. White House, Washington, DC: Crisis Response, 1993. National Security Archive. http://nssarchive.us/NSSR/1993.pdf.

[54] Power, Samantha. "Bystanders to Genocide."

already in effect, he began to assist in the development of a Presidential Directive to reform multilateral peace operations.[55] The directive would be designed to close gaps left open by the 1993 National Security Strategy, setting rigorous standards for US approval of, and involvement in, UN efforts.

When determining which operations to support at the UN, the US would consider (among other things) whether the mission advances U.S. interests, is conducted on a multilateral basis, mitigates a threat to international peace and security, and has an exit strategy.[56] If a UN measure called for ground troop or other forms of active participation, the conditions became considerably more stringent. In total, sixteen considerations were listed for determining whether to support peacekeeping activities. Seven of these guided US voting on operations that did not involve American troops; a further six factors were added if the US was to deploy troops, and three more if the troops would be engaged in combat.[57]

Backlash from Somalia was not the only consideration factored into the development of the new directive. In keeping with economic concerns at the fore, the government sought to reduce costs, as the US footed nearly one third of the UN peacekeeping costs. Clinton had voiced concerns about management inefficiencies, and aimed to reduce US funding to 25%.[58]

Finally, Clinton acknowledged that support for operations should be built within Congress and amongst the American public. Congress would be briefed on operations, and consulted if they may require US engagement.[59] In sum, the directive would set strict guidelines for approving peacekeeping operations, limit US involvement by the most rigorous conditions, cut a large share of spending on UN peacekeeping, and seek Congressional and public support for future operations. While the directive was not formalised until May 1994, the doctrine it contained was already set in motion. Congressman David Obey (D-WI) said the document offered "zero degree of involvement, and zero degree of risk, and zero degree of pain and confusion."[60]

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[55] United States of America. White House. Office of the President. *Presidential Decision Directive 25: Clinton Administration Policy on Reforming Multilateral Peace Operations*. Federation of American Scientists, 6 May 1994. Web. 30 Nov. 2013. http://www.fas.org/irp/offdocs/pdd25.htm.

[56] Ibid.

[57] Power, Samantha. "Bystanders to Genocide."

[58] Ibid.

[59] Ibid.

[60] Hamilton, Nigel. *Bill Clinton: Mastering the Presidency*. (New York: Public Affairs, 2007), p. 687.

Thus, when the plane crash killed the presidents of Rwanda and Burundi, the question of engagement was moot. So soon after the failed intervention in Somalia and the return of the last remaining troops, it was highly unlikely that Congress or the American public would look favourably upon sending a new deployment. The focus instead was to identify any Americans at risk, and escort them to safety.

The Mandate Shift

Throughout the conflict, no high-level meeting was convened to discuss the events in Rwanda. However, evidence of a mandate shift can be seen from the documented reports from the US intelligence community and statements made by President Clinton. Shortly after the plane crash on 6 April, Acting Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Prudence Bushnell sent an email to Secretary of State Warren Christopher reporting the deaths of the presidents of Rwanda and Burundi. The crash occurred just before 2100 local time (1500 EDT), and Bushnell's memo was written before official announcements told Rwandans that President Habyarimana had been killed.[61] At the time of the memo, US embassies in Kigali and Bujumbura reported relative calm in the capitals, "although an increase in sporadic gunfire and grenade explosions was noted in Kigali." The Bushnell memo concluded that Americans were believed safe, but warned that if the crash was deliberate, it could result in widespread violence in either or both countries.

The following morning, the National Intelligence Daily featured an update on the crash, warning that "as Hutus in Rwanda seek revenge on Tutsis, the civil war may resume and could spill over to neighbouring Burundi."[62] By 0845 EDT, the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research, issued a report based in part on information from US Ambassador to Rwanda, David Rawson. The report assessed that "rogue elements of the Hutu military, possibly the elite presidential guard," had been responsible for shooting down the plane. The report added that military elements may also be responsible for the execution of Prime

[61] Email: From Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Prudence Bushnell to Secretary of State Christopher Warren. Subject: Death of Rwandan and Burundi Presidents in Plane. April 6, 1994.

[62] Central Intelligence Agency. "National Intelligence Daily 7 April, 1994". (Cable) CIA CREST RDP79T00975A031300240001-7

Minister Agathe Uwilingiyimana and the seizure and killing of several other Rwandan cabinet officials, including the senior ranking Tutsi.[63]

A second update from the INR was distributed in the early afternoon; the US defence attaché in Kigali reported that the presidential guard in Kigali was "out of control" in the streets, while all other military units remained in their barracks.[64] The memo declared that the State Department had mobilised a 24-hour Task Force led by Bushnell effective 1300 EDT, 7 April 7 to monitor the situation and coordinate the US response.[65] By 1500, President Clinton issued a public statement of condolences, calling on elements of the Rwandan forces to cease the seeking out and murdering of Rwandan officials.

Despite the absence of a high-level meeting, the creation of the working group indicates authorisation for an escalation from higher authorities. In terms of the broader scope, the US had not yet identified the extent of the events in Rwanda; the priority for the US was the immediate evacuation of US nationals. These efforts become visible in short order; by 1600 EDT on 8 April, reports from the Kigali Embassy to the US Department of State indicated that a group of 24 American expats were organising a convoy to travel to neighbouring Burundi. Over the course of 48 hours, a plan had emerged to transport citizens overland into safety. A report by HPSCI also described Rwanda "as country that had little, if any, intelligence coverage suddenly becoming a top tier priority."[66] In this case, the mechanism to conduct the mandate shift, while emanating from mid-level figures, functioned smoothly and rapidly.

[63] US Department of State. Bureau of Intelligence and Research. SPOT Intelligence Report, 08:45. RWANDA/BURUNDI: Turmoil in Rwanda. 7 April, 1994.

[64] US Department of State. Bureau of Intelligence and Research SPOT Intelligence Report, 13:00. Rwanda/Burundi: Violence Update, No. 2. 7 April, 1994.

[65] Ibid.

[66] House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence. "IC21: The Intelligence Community in the 21st Century." Staff Study.

	MANDATE-LEVEL FUNCTIONS: DETERMINED BY COLLABORATIVE R&P PROCESS				BINARY MODEL		
	Priority level (or timely escalation)	Budget / resource adjustment	Functional interagency cooperation	Operational authorisations	Intelligence (core functions: compliance, collection, and analysis)	Policy (core functions: compliance, decision making and response)	OUTCOME
Success	X						
Failure							

Release of Resources

A 1994 congressional document reveals that President Bill Clinton requested an increase to $17.8 billion for the National Foreign Intelligence Program.[67] Spending was stratified mainly across the top tiers of priorities, and focused heavily on support to military operations. Because of this weighting, considerably fewer resources were in place for nations or issues at lower tiers. Further, a US official recalled, “Anytime you mentioned peacekeeping in Africa, the crucifixes and garlic would come up on every door."[68]

In Rwanda, the US embassy was small. It did not have CIA operations or representatives, nor did it have a defence attaché or political officers. Present in the region were Ambassador David Rawson, his deputy chief of Mission, Joyce Leader, and few other embassy officers. Together, they provided the bulk of intelligence and information on the ground. Additionally, there was a representative for the US Agency for International Development (USAID).

When the crisis began, the urgency to evacuate US nationals escalated Rwanda to a Tier 0 priority. In Washington, resources were immediately made available in the form of a working group under Bushnell, and a 24-hour situation room in was immediately established to field constant calls and ensure the rapid evacuation of expats. Secretary of State Christopher issued a cable to the embassies in Rwanda and Burundi, tasking them to ensure that all

[68] Power, Samantha. "Bystanders to Genocide."

necessary resources were made available for contact with the working group in Washington.[69] In Kigali, the responsibility lay with Rawson and Leader. They maintained efficient communication and on the ground planning to hasten the evacuation. As such, despite the limited on the ground resources in Rwanda, support from resources available in Washington and Burundi helped to speed the process.

	MANDATE-LEVEL FUNCTIONS: DETERMINED BY COLLABORATIVE R&P PROCESS				BINARY MODEL		
	Priority level (or timely escalation)	Budget / resource adjustment	Functional interagency cooperation	Operational authorisations	Intelligence (core functions: compliance, collection, and analysis)	Policy (core functions: compliance, decision making and response)	OUTCOME
Success	X	X					
Failure							

Here however, it must be noted that while Rwanda had escalated to Tier 0, resources were geared *only* toward evacuation of expats. In the broader scope of the Rwandan crisis, no changes were made. The doctrine set forth to limit engagement in peacekeeping operations, was in place, and resources for multilateral engagement were not released. The decision to put economic concerns first would come back to haunt the US.

Interagency Cooperation

Because Rwanda was not a critical area to the United States, intelligence assets dedicated to the nation were minimal prior to the escalation. As such, interagency cooperation prior to the escalation was negligible. Apart from State Department involvement in the Arusha accords, there was no significant need to create working groups for matters in the region. However, because the intelligence community became highly centralised and collaborative under the Clinton administration, the community could quickly establish interagency collaborative efforts. In matters of crisis, the formation of rapidly created ad-hoc working groups had been outlined in NSC/2. The working group under acting Secretary Bushnell included representatives from:

- African Affairs (AF)
- Bureau of Consular Affairs (CA)
- Bureau of Intelligence and Research (INR)
- Legislative Affairs (H)

[69] United States. Department of State. "Subject: WGRWO1: Working Group formation to deal with the situation in Kigali and Bujumbura." Cable from Secretary of State. 7, April 1994.

- Public Affairs (PA)
- Bureau of Diplomatic Security (DS)
- Bureau of International Organization Affairs (IO)
- Bureau of Political and Military Affairs (PM)[70]

By 8 April, the working group had received enough information to identify where the Americans were, and to establish evacuations by overland convoy. Collaborative efforts in Washington, Kigali, and Bujumbura, allowed for immediate planning. The Assistant Secretary of Defense for Special Operations/Low-Intensity Conflict confirmed that the Government general in Rwanda had promised to provide military escort for personnel from the American Embassy.[71] They would leave on 9 April and drive overland to Bujumbura.

	MANDATE-LEVEL FUNCTIONS: DETERMINED BY COLLABORATIVE R&P PROCESS				BINARY MODEL		
	Priority level (or timely escalation)	Budget / resource adjustment	Functional interagency cooperation	Operational authorisations	Intelligence (core functions: compliance, collection, and analysis)	Policy (core functions: compliance, decision making and response)	OUTCOME
Success	X	X	X				
Failure							

Operational Authorisations

Because of the speed of the operation, the intelligence community was authorised to collect the information necessary to identify and evacuate Americans as rapidly as possible. The community was not hindered in its ability to collect information from sources in the region. The 8 April memo indicates that the State Department needed to authorise the overland road convoy to Burundi[72], however the authorisation came rapidly, as evidenced by subsequent messages. Had the working group on Rwanda needed further authorisations, they would have been escalated to the National Security Council Deputy Committee, and if necessary, up to the Principal Committee. The one top-level limitation that was put in place was beyond the remit of the intelligence community. Approximately 300 US Marines were deployed to Burundi to assist with emergency evacuations. While they were authorised to assist from

[70] Codes identified in cable from Secretary of State.

[71] Memorandum for the Secretary of Defence. "Subject: Rwanda: Current Situation; Next Steps." From Assistant Secretary of Defense for SO/LIC. 8 April, 1994.

[72] Ibid.

Burundi, they were to avoid engagement inside Rwanda unless absolutely necessary. However, the overland convoy did not require assistance.

	MANDATE-LEVEL FUNCTIONS: DETERMINED BY COLLABORATIVE R&P PROCESS				BINARY MODEL		
	Priority level (or timely escalation)	Budget / resource adjustment	Functional interagency cooperation	Operational authorisations	Intelligence (core functions: compliance, collection, and analysis)	Policy (core functions: compliance, decision making and response)	OUTCOME
Success	X	X	X	X			
Failure							

Intelligence Functions

In the years leading up to the genocide, the CIA had issued warnings of potential instability in Rwanda. A January 1993 report warned of possible widespread ethnic violence[73], and in December the CIA reported that as much as 40 million tons of small arms had been transferred to Rwanda from Poland, via Belgium.[74] By January 1994, analysts predicted that if violence were to erupt again in Rwanda, the worst-case scenario would involve as many as half a million-people dying.[75] Those most familiar with the region expected that renewed violence would take the form of civil war.

The intelligence community was highly centralised under the Clinton administration. When the plane crash occurred, the intelligence community, operating in a collaborative environment, could work swiftly and effectively. On the ground, staff at the Kigali embassy maintained contact with Washington amid planning the evacuation. Communication also filtered in from other sources, including US embassies in Burundi, Tanzania, and Uganda. In Washington, collected from embassy sources and other open and closed source materials. These were analysed and disseminated through the National Intelligence Daily reports and the Presidential Brief.

[73] Power, Samantha. Power, Samantha. *A Problem from Hell: America and the Age of Genocide.* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2007), p. 338.

[74] Ibid.

[75] Ibid

A picture of the events rapidly became available: a SPOT report from the INR on the morning of 7 April had identified that the plane was shot down by "rogue Hutu elements of the military—possibly the presidential guard."[76] The NID of the same day warned that Hutus in Rwanda may seek revenge on Tutsis, and civil war could resume and spill into Burundi."[77] By the next, the NID revealed that the "presidential Guard, gendarmerie, and military" were responsible for the killing of the Prime Minister and several government officials.[78] Further, the extremists had killed two Belgian civilians and 10 Belgians. The report warned that foreign nationals, including about 300 US citizens, remained at risk in Kigali.

Over the course of the crisis, The INR processed information from State Department stations and contacts; the NSA had intercepted messages within Rwanda, monitoring the hate-radio that had spurred the genocide, and the National Reconnaissance would later be tasked with obtaining satellite imagery of the devastation. DCI Woolsey or his deputy, Admiral William Studeman kept Clinton and Lake apprised of the situation with morning briefs, and shared information in daily working group meetings.[79]

	MANDATE-LEVEL FUNCTIONS: DETERMINED BY COLLABORATIVE R&P PROCESS				BINARY MODEL		
	Priority level (or timely escalation)	Budget / resource adjustment	Functional interagency cooperation	Operational authorisations	Intelligence (core functions: compliance, collection, and analysis)	Policy (core functions: compliance, decision making and response)	OUTCOME
Success	X	X	X	X	X		
Failure							

Policymaker Response

Information was rapidly provided by the intelligence community in Washington, and from embassy and other sources in the region. Daily working groups between the intelligence,

[76] United States of America. Department of State. Bureau of Intelligence and Research. SPOT Intelligence Report 0845: RWANDA/BURUNDI: Turmoil in Rwanda. Kigali, Rwanda: 7 April, 1994. National Security Archive. http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB119/Rw4.pdf.

[77] United States. Central Intelligence Agency. "National Intelligence Daily 7 April, 1994". CIA Washington, DC, 1994. National Security Archives: MORI DOCID 638200

[78] United States. Central Intelligence Agency. "National Intelligence Daily: April 8, 1994." Washington, DC, 1994. National Security Archives: MORI DOCID 638201

[79] "The U.S. and the Genocide in Rwanda 1994: Information, Intelligence and the U.S. Response." *National Security Archive.* 24 Mar. 2004. http://nsarchive.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB117/

policy and military community served to keep information flowing. Armed with this information, decision makers, particularly at the Africa desk, could rapidly organise and authorise an overland convoy.

	MANDATE-LEVEL FUNCTIONS: DETERMINED BY COLLABORATIVE R&P PROCESS				BINARY MODEL		
	Priority level (or timely escalation)	Budget / resource adjustment	Functional interagency cooperation	Operational authorisations	Intelligence (core functions: compliance, collection, and analysis)	Policy (core functions: compliance, decision making and response)	OUTCOME
Success	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Failure							

Outcome

On 9 April at 0700 DST, five convoys departing from Kigali and other points, set out for Bujumbara. By 1335 EDT, the US Embassy in Bujumbura reported that the final official convoy from Kigali had crossed into Burundi. By 1410, the last vehicle had safely crossed the border.[80] Hours later, a second cable stated that the last convoy had arrived at their location at 1712, with Ambassador Rawson.[81] That same day, Secretary of State Warren Christopher appeared on the television news program “Meet the Press” to provide an update to the evacuation. "In the great tradition, the ambassador was in the last car, so that evacuation has gone very well."[82] On 12 April, Bill Clinton issued a letter updating congress on the evacuation details: Approximately 240 U.S. citizens were evacuated from Rwanda, and most were flown by U.S. C-141 aircraft to Nairobi, Kenya. Twenty-one citizens chose to remain in Rwanda for various reasons, and while US forces were stationed nearby, there was no necessity for them to enter Rwanda. It did not become necessary for U.S. forces to enter Rwanda. The update concluded:

[80] United States Department of State. Executive Secretariat. Operations Center. TFRW01 Situation Report No. 24 Situation as of 1500 EDT, 04/10/94

[81] United States Department of State African Affairs. Situation Report No. 25 as of 1715 EDT, 04/10/94. Rwanda Documents Project, 10 April 1994. http://www.rwandadocumentsproject.net/gsdl/collect/usdocs/index/assoc/HASHbd8b/c3012368.dir/4124.pdf.

[82] Power, Samantha. "Bystanders to Genocide."

"I am pleased to report that these operations were successful, that no hostilities were encountered, and that no casualties were suffered by U.S. forces in this operation."[83]

The structure set in place by the Clinton administration prior to 6 April 1994 created a centralised intelligence community that functioned collaboratively when crisis-level mandate shift arose. As a result, mandate-level functions, including resources, interagency cooperation and authorisations worked smoothly. This created an environment in which the intelligence could provide information rapidly, and policymakers could make rapid decisions.

From the moment of the plane crash on 6 April, it took approximately 24 hours for the community to identify and relay in the NID the number of Americans present in the region. Within another 24 hours, the intelligence community provided sufficient information for invested policymakers to determine and establish overland convoys to Burundi. By 10 April, the last of five convoys, coming from Kigali and other parts of Rwanda had arrived safely in Bujumbura.

	MANDATE-LEVEL FUNCTIONS: DETERMINED BY COLLABORATIVE R&P PROCESS				BINARY MODEL		
	Priority level (or timely escalation)	Budget / resource adjustment	Functional interagency cooperation	Operational authorisations	Intelligence (core functions: compliance, collection, and analysis)	Policy (core functions: compliance, decision making and response)	OUTCOME
Success	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Failure							

Comparing the US Evacuation to the Genocide non-mandate

As evidenced above, the intelligence and policy communities under the Clinton administration had the means and the mechanism in place to work swiftly and effectively in the face of an urgent mandate shift. Prior to escalation, the intelligence community had seen a shift toward support to military operations. Despite the absence of military deployment inside Rwanda, the shift toward SMOs had served to benefit the operation, as the intelligence

[83] William J. Clinton: "Letter to Congressional Leaders on the Evacuation of United States Citizens from Rwanda and Burundi," April 12, 1994. *The American Presidency Project*. http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=49961.

community was prepared to provide current intelligence necessary for policymakers to issue guidance and make rapid-fire decisions.

The primary concern for the Clinton administration at the start of the fighting was the immediate evacuation of Americans at risk in Rwanda. Once their safety was assured, the mandate was rapidly de-escalated, and the urgency among senior officials waned. The interagency working groups continued daily meetings on Rwanda, but no longer did they have the interest of top-level leadership. Anthony Lake stated, "I was obsessed with Haiti and Bosnia during that period, so Rwanda was, in William Shawcross's words, a 'sideshow,' but not even a sideshow—a no-show."[84] Echoing this sentiment, on the morning of the final convoys' arrival in Burundi, Senate minority leader Bob Dole (R-KS) said, "I don't think we have any national interest there. The Americans are out, and as far as I'm concerned, in Rwanda, that ought to be the end of it."[85]

The political will to engage (although not militarily) in Rwanda did not manifest until later into the crisis. Thus, a mandate shift requiring immediate action was never put into place. In part, the decision stemmed from an expectation of violence in the region, and characterisation of that violence as a civil war. Warnings from the CIA indicated that the nature of the violence would veer toward renewal of civil war. War in Burundi between ethnic Hutus and Tutsis had broken out in 1993, and the perception was that the same could occur again in Burundi or Rwanda. A 14 March Africa Review from the Directorate of Intelligence warned that the RPF had threatened to return to war if progress was not made toward a coalition government.[86] The civil war in Burundi had resulted in the deaths of nearly 50,000 civilians, and the same was expected in Rwanda.

However, the US was not without warning of possible genocidal intentions in Rwanda. Apart from Dallaire's warning from informant Jean-Pierre, there had been other indications that the events of 1994 would dissolve into genocide. In early 1992, Johan Swinner, Belgian ambassador to Rwanda, warned that the "Akazu", a secret extremist group that included

[84] Power, Samantha. "Bystanders to Genocide."

[85] Ibid.

[86] United States. Central Intelligence Agency. Directorate of Intelligence. Africa Review. 14 March 1994.

President Habyarimana's wife and family, was planning to exterminate the Tutsis and internal Hutu opposition in Rwanda.[87] In October 1992, Professor Filip Reyntjens revealed to the Belgian senate a "Zero Network" organisation in Rwanda, which "constituted a death squad on the Latin American Model." The Zero Network had already tested their genocidal tactics in the Bugesara Massacres of March 1992.[88] In August of 1993, B.W. Ndiaye, Special Rapporteur for the UN, reported that while on an inquiry in Rwanda in April, the MDR, an opposition party in Rwanda, had already acknowledged with regret the massacres of civilian populations.[89] As integral partners to the United Nations, this information would have been transmitted to the US intelligence community.

Despite external reports, when the plane crash occurred, the 7 April NID characterised renewed violence as the resumption of civil war that could impact Rwanda and spill into Burundi.[90] Similar warnings appeared in the NIDs on 8-9 April, which indicated that Tutsi rebels were moving north to protect their kinsmen in Kigali, risking the renewal of civil war.[91] Underscoring this, an outgoing UNAMIR situation report dated 12 April states that "war between the RGF and the RPF is going on."[92]

By 13 April, however, the tenor of warnings from the US intelligence community changes. The NID indicates that rebel Tutsis moving into Kigali were doing so to protect kinsmen from "rampaging government troops."[93] Reports had also filtered in from the Red Cross and other on the ground sources to indicate a different nature to the violence. On 10 April, Herve Le Guillouzic, medical coordinator of the International Committee of the Red Cross, told Reuters that the death toll had risen dramatically: "Yesterday, we were talking about thousands of

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[87] Cohen, Jared. *One-hundred Days of Silence: America and the Rwanda Genocide*. (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007), p. 29

[88] Prunier, Gerard. *The Rwanda Crisis: History of a Genocide*. (New York: Columbia UP, 1995), p. 168

[89] United Nations. Commission on Human Rights. *Question of The Violation of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms in Any Part of the World, with Particular Reference to Colonial and Other Dependent Countries and Territories*. Report by Mr. B.W. Ndiaye. Special Rapporteur, 8 to 17 April 1993. E/CN.4/1994/7/Add.1. 11 August 1993

[90] United States of America. Central Intelligence Agency. "National Intelligence Daily: April 7, 1994." Washington, DC: 4, 1994.

[91] "National Intelligence Daily: April 8, 1994."; and United States. Central Intelligence Agency. "National Intelligence Daily: April 9, 1994." Washington, DC, 1994. National Security Archives: MORI DOCID 638203.

[92] United Nations. UNAMIR- Kigali. "Situation Report: 12 April, 1994." National Security Archive, 7 Apr. 2014. http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB466/pdf/19940412d.pdf.

[93] United States. Central Intelligence Agency. "National Intelligence Daily: April 13, 1994". Washington, DC, 1994. National Security Archives: MORI DOCID 638198

dead. Today we can start with tens of thousands." The same article reports that a member of the Belgian branch of Doctors without Borders reported that 8,000 people had been killed in Kigali alone.[94]

After 13 April, the NIDs no longer references to civil war; the 18 April NID identifies "rogue elements of the military *and Hutu civilians* intent on killing Tutsis" (emphasis added).[95] The 20 April NID uses the phrase "slaughtering Tutsi civilians", and the word genocide appears for the first (and only) time on 23 April. By 26 April, the NID states that "an accurate death toll may never be available" with eyewitness accounts supporting an estimate of 500,000.[96]

By 9 May, a report from the Defense Intelligence Agency identifies two strains of violence, citing an "an organized, parallel effort of genocide" alongside the civil war. [97] The DIA states the original intent was to kill only the political elite supporting reconciliation. Over time, however, government lost control of the militias who were massacring Tutsis. [98]

While the urgency of the situation became apparent, there was still no political will to re-escalate Rwanda to crisis level. In fact, far from escalation, the events spurred Anthony Lake to hasten the process of formalising PDD 25. Thus, when compared to the evacuation, there were significant distinctions at each stage in the mandate-level functions. Rwanda had dropped from a Tier 0 issue. When it was de-escalated, many of resources that had been made available at the start of the crisis disappeared when the last car arrived in Bujumbura. In terms of interagency collaboration, the working group on Rwanda did continue daily meetings, with discussion covering humanitarian and diplomatic efforts. Senior-level officials did not attend the meetings.

Intelligence reporting continued to cover Rwanda, and the National Intelligence Daily reports provided regular updates on the situation. However, Ambassador Rawson and Deputy

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[94] McFadden, Robert D. "Western Troops Arrive in Rwanda to Aid Foreigners." *The New York Times*. 09 Apr. 1994. http://www.nytimes.com/1994/04/10/world/western-troops-arrive-in-rwanda-to-aid-foreigners.html.

[95] United States. Central Intelligence Agency. "National Intelligence Daily: April 18, 1994." Washington, DC, 1994. National Security Archives: MORI DOCID 638206

[96] United States. Central Intelligence Agency. "National Intelligence Daily: April 26, 1994." Washington, DC, 1994. National Security Archives: MORI DOCID 638208

[97] United States of America. Defense Intelligence Agency. "Rwanda: The Rwandan Patriotic Front's Offensive." 9 May 1994. Washington, DC: 4, 1994.http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB53/rw050994.pdf

[98] Ibid

Ambassador Leader, who had returned from Kigali, were the most valuable resources of information, and yet, they were never fully utilised. Upon her return, Leader was tasked with drafting the daily State Department summaries on Rwanda. However, she was told to rely on media reporting and US intelligence reports. In terms of authorisation, she was not allowed to contact her sources in Rwanda. It could be speculated that having fewer contacts and first-person information kept the crisis abstract, particularly at a time when the government was reluctant to acknowledge that genocide was in fact taking place.

A declassified discussion paper from the Rwanda working group lists short-term policy objectives and five points of discussion. Below each, there are feedback comments, many of which contain cautions to avoid language that could lead to engagement in Rwanda.[99] Most telling among the points, a suggestion for a Genocide investigation was met with the comment, "Be Careful. Legal at State was worried about this yesterday-—Genocide finding could commit USG to actually 'do something.'"[100]

Public acknowledgment of genocide would have triggered US action in accordance with the Geneva Convention, and forced a mandate escalation. The government was extremely cautious to avoid this terminology, and avoid a new mandate in Rwanda. In observing the absence of the mandate shift, we can identify the breakdown of mandate-level structures that inform decision making and outcomes.

	MANDATE-LEVEL FUNCTIONS: DETERMINED BY COLLABORATIVE R&P PROCESS				BINARY MODEL		
	Priority level (or timely escalation)	Budget / resource adjustment	Functional interagency cooperation	Operational authorisations	Intelligence (core functions: compliance, collection, and analysis)	Policy (core functions: compliance, decision making and response)	OUTCOME
Success			X		X		
Failure	X	X		X		X	X

[99] "The U.S. and the Genocide in Rwanda 1994: Evidence of Inaction." *The U.S. and the Genocide in Rwanda 1994: Evidence of Inaction.* Ed. William Ferroggiaro. National Security Archive, 20 Aug. 2001. http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB53

[100] United States. Office of the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Middle East/Africa Region, Department of Defence. "Discussion Paper- Rwanda." 1 May 1994. http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB53/rw050194.pdf.

Only on 25 May, nearly two months in to the killings, did the government begin to use the phrase "acts of genocide," still reluctant to call it outright genocide. An exchange between State Department Spokeswoman Christine Shelly and a reporter on 10 June 1994 shows that the media was aware of the semantics:

CHRISTINE SHELLY: We have every reason to believe that acts of genocide have occurred.

REPORTER: How many acts of genocide does it take to make genocide?

CHRISTINE SHELLY: That's just not a question that I'm in a position to answer.[101]

Apart from sending troops, the US government was reluctant to spend money on other options of non-engagement. On 5 May, a request had come through from Deputy National Security Advisor Sandy Berger for US engagement in the jamming of *Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines*, which was integral is spreading anti-Tutsi propaganda.[102] The request was denied by Frank Wisner, Under Secretary of Defense, who claimed that ground based operations in mountainous terrain would be ineffective, and airborne operations would cost $8500 per flight hour. Wisner urged focus on relief efforts in neighbouring countries.[103]

On 17 May, the UNSC issued a resolution saying that 'acts of genocide may have been committed', and agreed to send 5,500 troops to the region, known as UNAMIR II. However, deployment of those troops was delayed by an inability to obtain national contributions of troops and equipment, and disagreements between the Pentagon and UN over the financing of the operation.[104] The White House intervened on 19 June, and began transporting armoured personnel carriers from Germany to Uganda.

The Clinton administration relented in July, when Clinton went before Congress to request $320 million emergency aid and announced the deployment of 4000 troops to Zaire. The

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[101] "Valentina's Nightmare." *Frontline*. PBS. Show #1509, Boston, MA, 1 Apr. 1997. Television. Transcript.

[102] A 2012 study found that 10 percent, of the participation in the violence during could be attributed to the effects of the radio, and a further 9 percent of victims were killed because of radio propaganda. David, Yanagizawa-Drott. "Propaganda and Conflict: Theory and Evidence from the Rwandan Genocide." *Institute for International Economic Studies, Stockholm University* (21 November 2009) (2012).

[103] Memorandum from Under Secretary of Defense for Policy to Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security, National Security Council, "Rwanda: Jamming Civilian Radio Broadcasts", 5 May 1994. Confidential. National Security Archive. http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB53/rw050594.pdf

[104] "Timeline: 100 Days of Genocide." *BBC News*. 4 June 2004. http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/3580247.stm.

troops would assist in relief efforts only—not peacekeeping. Ultimately, the US, so intent on maintaining a budget, spent $237 million in aid. Had the administration approved a mandate escalation, or UN reinforcements when they were requested, the cost would have been only $30 million.[105]

Discussion

Rwanda represents a dichotomy of the best and worst aspects of the Tier system. Had an R&P-centric model been in place to examine the actions taken during the crisis, it might have reflected the striking difference in response. The successful evacuation of US expats benefitted from the speed and acuity of being a Tier 0 operation. However, the genocide itself received sluggish and reluctant escalation of priority. In some respects, the delay in response can be measured by the loss of lives.

A 1996 report by HPSCI staff found that the tier system had been applied too rigidly, and PDD-35 had worsened the requirements problem.[106] The report highlighted two two critical factors: first, Tier 0, which was established to address short-term crises, had become a holding place for prolonged conflicts. This was a double-edged sword; resources were dedicated to current intelligence, while long-term estimates suffered.[107] Further, the top-heavy distribution meant the top five or six requirements were provided with the bulk of resources, while lower priority issues were left to "languish with leftovers at best."[108]

Second, under PDD 35, adjustments to any priorities would require presidential sign-off. But as Clinton became embroiled in political trials, presidential review of priorities tapered off. As a result, emerging issues remained at a lower tier, while issues that no longer commanded urgent attention still maintained high priority.

An R&P-centric approach to the events in Rwanda may have driven home the impact of flawed R&P mechanism. First, because priority escalation is the first stage of the mandate, the requirement of presidential review should have been addressed early on, particularly as it

[105] Leitenberg, Milton. "US and UN Acts escalate genocide and increase costs in Rwanda", As found in Fein, Helen. *The Prevention of Genocide: Rwanda and Yugoslavia Reconsidered*. (New York: Institute for the Study of Genocide, 1994).

[106] ibid

[107] ibid

[108] House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence. "IC21: The Intelligence Community in the 21st Century." Staff Study.

became more apparent that Clinton would be unable to conduct regular reassessments. Second, the cost of after-the-fact aid was nearly eight times greater than the expected cost of UN reinforcement. The Clinton administration was heavily focused on economic concerns, and the reluctance to enter Rwanda was a decision based considerably on cost-saving measures. Although $237 million is a negligible amount in the overall US budget, extrapolated over multiple events, the number could, and did, rapidly increased. Benjamin Franklin's old adage becomes appropriate: "an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure." Nowhere is this truer than in the failure to review the emerging issue of the growth and movements of Al Qaeda; the US is still paying the costs.

As it stands, however, no actions were taken to rectify the R&P during the Clinton administration. By 2000, a report warned that the process was failing, PDD 35 itself had not been reviewed, and there was no mechanism to communicate to decision makers the problems caused by assigning military force protection to Tier 0.[109] By the time George H. W. Bush took office in 2001, the NSA had a list of 1,500 formal requirements and 20,000 "essential elements of information."[110] In May 2001, Bush tasked National Security Advisor Brent Scowcroft with leading a comprehensive review of intelligence. The report had a December 2001 deadline, however, the findings would come too late. When the September 11th attacks happened, Afghanistan was considered a Tier 3 issue, and the US military had not ordered a new map of the nation for four years.[111]

The Scowcroft intelligence review arrived in December 2001, despite the fact that events had overtaken the report. However, like reviews throughout previous decades, the findings called for a restructure of the intelligence community. Further, it stated that the DCI should be separated from the CIA.[112] The report was the first in a series of events that would see the end of the DCI role in the US.

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[109] National Commission for the Review of the National Reconnaissance Office, Final Report (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 2000), p. 51.

[110] Zegart. *Spying Blind: The CIA, the FBI, and the Origins of 9/11*, p. 97.

[111] Zegart. *Spying Blind: The CIA, the FBI, and the Origins of 9/11*, p. 97.

[112] Turner. *Burn before Reading*, p. 243-244

Secretary of Defence Donald Rumsfeld proposed the creation of a new Undersecretary of Defence for Intelligence. The post was created under the National Defence Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2003,[113] and the DCI position was further weakened. The next year, the 9/11 Commission found, as had been argued for decades prior, that there were weaknesses in intelligence coordination, stemming from the DCI role.[114] This was the final blow to the dual-hatted role of DCI as intelligence lead.

The 2004 Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act (IRTPA) of 2004 established the new position of Director of National Intelligence to head the USIC.[115] The Director of Central Intelligence would now become *Director of the Central Intelligence Agency*, and would report to the DNI. But again, this would not be a panacea. Once more, Betts' calls for incremental reform were superseded by sweeping change. Yet these changes did little to imbue the new intelligence lead with the necessary authority. More importantly, they did not adequately address the root flaws in the requirements and priorities process. Arguably, the restructuring of the community under the DNI amounted to little more than another rebranding, leaving the same foundational problems in place.

[113] United States. Cong. House. Bob Stump National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2003. 107th Cong., 2nd sess. HR PUBLIC LAW 107–314. (Washington, D.C. GPO), 2002. https://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/PLAW-107publ314/pdf/PLAW-107publ314.pdf

[114] United States Government. *9/11 Commission Report: The Official Report of the 9/11 Commission and Related Publications*. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 2004) Executive Summary, p. 22

[115] "Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act of 2004, US Congress §§ 108-458 (2004).

CHAPTER EIGHT: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Is an R&P-Centric Model effective?

This research has argued the utility of observing national security and foreign policy events through a standardised model which centralises the requirements and priorities process. To test this hypothesis, a model was created which observes the four mandate-level functions within the R&P process, as well as actions taken solely by the intelligence and policy communities. The model provided an examination of outcomes at a macroscopic, systemic level, making potential systemic influences easier to identify and isolate.

The cases that were tested had similar characteristics, including a perceptibly low level of priority, and unexpected or emerging conditions that could merit escalation to a higher priority. Each case also had a richness of data, an alternative theory (as set forth in the binary construct), and a resemblance to current problems as they relate to the R&P process. The model was applied to interpret whether an observable mandate shift could be identified, and whether it was conducted in a timely and effective manner.

The application of the model appears effective, and the hypothesis appears valid. Where sufficient evidence is available, it is possible to observe not only the presence or absence of a mandate shift, but the conditions surrounding the decision of whether to escalate the issue. Through the model, it is possible to observe nested success or failure in each component, as well as community-level responses from intelligence and policy. These together provided indicators of root causes of the outcome.

A challenge to the case selection was that without sufficient security clearance, observations were hampered by an inability to access classified information. This makes it considerably more difficult for an outside observer to apply the model to events where little or no information has been declassified. As a result, mature cases were selected in order to ensure that there was sufficient declassified evidence to engage in the examination. An observer with sufficient security clearances would possess the ability to examine recent or current events, or shifts within high priority items, where the vector of collection and analysis is required to change. Here again, it must also be noted that while this research examines low priority targets that required rapid escalation, mandate shifts do also occur in high priority areas. In these cases, the change is less visible, as it may require an adjustment toward a particular

vector of the priority, or a specific channel of collection.[1] It may change the level of interagency or interdepartmental cooperation, a nuanced change may (especially in the absence of appropriate clearances) become considerably more difficult to observe. For those with sufficient clearance, the model would provide a means to address systemic mechanisms that have long been overlooked.

A benefit to the model also exists as a result of the secondary function of the R&P. Although the mechanism first functions as a strategy map, its second purpose is to serve as an audit trail. With minor changes to the model (such as renaming the success/failure categories to "sufficient" or "insufficient") the model could be applied during reviews of intelligence (or other) priorities. In the case of national security, evidence could then be aggregated through feedback channels between the intelligence and policy communities. This could serve to identify whether sufficient mandate-level means are being provided to address national intelligence requirements, or ad-hoc requirements. Similarly, the model could be used to identify whether mandate-level means are being utilized in a manner that allows for all national priorities to be addressed.

Because the model was not developed specifically for these cases, its general application has transitive properties which allow it to be tested against other cases of national security or interest. Beyond this, the model could be applied, with relevant adjustments, beyond this scope. A version of the requirements and priorities process exists in varying forms, and under various names, across areas where a mission and a strategy exist. For example, implementation of the Affordable Care Act (Obamacare), increasing support for veterans, or modifying the national education system would all require the establishment of priorities, and the subsequent provision of resources, authorisations, and collaboration. In terms of audits and isolating root causes for outcomes, the model could be modified to address functions as they relate to other departments.

[1] For instance, as mentioned previously, Russia has historically been a high priority issue to the US. Similarly, the protracted war and presence of the so-called "Islamic State" in Syria are likely to have increased the priority of Syria. As Russia began intervention in Syria, A shift from Russian intervention in Ukraine to intervention in Syria is less likely to command a *major* alignment in budgets or resources from the US desks that cover Russia or Syria. In all likelihood, the agencies will have had situational awareness of Russian intentions in Syria long before the engagement.

Case Comparison

With the efficacy of the model established, it becomes possible to identify recurrent patterns that emerged among the cases. A brief summary of the findings is as follows:

El Bogotázo

The creation of the CIA and the National Security Act was met with pushback, particularly from military intelligence departments that did not want to submit to a centralised organisation. Thus, from the beginning, the CIA and its leadership contended with Cabinet and agency level heads who were reluctant to encourage collaboration through the Director of Central Intelligence, as defined in NSCID 1. At the time of el Bogotázo, US priorities centred heavily around post-war Europe, concentrating on European recovery and preventing the spread of communism to the West. In terms of the western hemisphere, the requirements structure was not sufficient to address regional concerns. Although hemispheric security was a vital component of US policy, the spectre of threat in the region contradicted assumptions made by high-level policy officials. The intelligence community was prevented from escalating warning information by an unofficial "veto power" from the State Department, the latter of which provided its own intelligence to their departmental head. When the threat of violence in Colombia was raised, it was dismissed. The absence of collaboration may have hindered the intelligence community's ability to underscore the threat to the American delegation. Therefore, budgets, authorisations and collaborations were not organised amongst intelligence and policy leadership. Finally, the failure in Bogotá became a matter of perspective, as officials used increasingly narrow terms to define what would have equated to intelligence success.

Iranian Revolution

The changes to the R&P and the intelligence community structure during DCI Turner's tenure did little to correct for the problems within the mechanism, particularly in terms of how it addressed ad-hoc emergencies. Unlike el Bogotázo, the events in Iran were slow moving, steadily increasing over the course of years. Early intelligence reporting hinted at the potential for emerging concerns. With little budget devoted to the region, and bigger political irons in the fire, both the intelligence and policy communities took for granted that the Shah would be able to overcome the problems with his population, either through increased

liberalisation, or suppression of dissent. As a result, the escalation of the R&P was delayed considerably; other nations had months earlier identified that Iran was in a state of crisis. The mandate shift did successfully trigger, and all mandate-level functions were executed successfully. As a result, the means necessary for increased collection and analysis on the crisis were provided, and the intelligence community was able to provide accurate and reliable estimates. However, the delay in escalation meant that the timeline for response was considerably shorter. By the time the policy community was making decisions with regard to response, the Shah's days were numbered. Further, Iran was not formally escalated to a higher priority until 1979 NIT review, six months after the formation of the Islamic Republic, and three months before the infamous Iran hostage crisis that would play a role in preventing Carter's re-election.

Rwandan Genocide

By 1994, both the R&P structure and the intelligence community were once again undergoing change following the Cold War; the former becoming a considerably more restrictive process, driven by presidential authorisation. A near-singular desire drove the Clinton administration to resuscitate the failing economy, and in the aftermath of the Battle of Mogadishu, leadership was reluctant to engage troops in a region where they had few interests. As the situation escalated in Rwanda, the Clinton administration expected violence to take the shape of civil war, and their primary objective was the immediate evacuation of US nationals. To that end, the requirements and priorities process was initiated within hours of the beginning violence, and the rapid mobilisation of mandate-level functions allowed successful monitoring and response. In under 100 hours, all US nationals that wanted to evacuate the nation had successfully done so. Upon successful completion of the objective, Rwanda was all but taken off the radar. It would not escalate again until July, when Clinton sent troops to Zaire to engage in relief efforts. The transfer of military troops escalated the priority of Rwanda (and the region). Because the restructure of the intelligence community concentrated heavily on collaborative efforts, the working groups that had convened in the early days of the Rwandan violence had remained in contact and provided relevant, reliable, and actionable information. However, the delay in re-escalating events in Rwanda proved costly in terms of lives and economy. By the end of the genocide, approximately one million people had been killed, and the Clinton administration, so eager to prevent unnecessary

expenditures, spent seven times on relief than what the UN initially asked for in military reinforcements.[2]

Cross-Case Comparison

Among the three cases, el Bogotázo showed no indication of a mandate shift, while the Iranian Revolution showed a delay in priority escalation and the release of mandate-level functions. In Rwanda, there was an immediate and smooth escalation of priority for the NEO, but the overall genocide was not met with a similar urgency. Across these cases, five key patterns arose: first, where unexpected events occurred and the overall outcome was a failure in regard to national security or foreign policy, there was a reflexive tendency to fault the intelligence community in the immediate aftermath. The exception to this case was the evacuation of US nationals during the start of the Rwandan Genocide. In this case, the outcome was successful, and because the US government was aware that violence was ongoing, and appeared to wilfully deny the nature of the violence, attempts to fault the intelligence community would be groundless.

Second, in cases of failure, the intelligence community was accused of failing to provide sufficient information on a low-priority topic. However, once the topic was escalated, a third pattern was observed; generally, when the intelligence community was directed to observe an emerging concern, *and* was provided with the means to do so, they tended to produce accurate, reliable, and valid estimates. The exception to this was el Bogotázo, where the priority of the event was not escalated, and warning reports were suppressed.

An unexpected fourth pattern that ran through the cases was some evidence of artificial suppression of priority. In 1948, Secretary of State George Marshall dismissed the warnings of unrest in Colombia, despite the fact that an 80-member US delegation was attending the International Conference of American States. To Marshall, the major threats were emanating from Europe. In the Western hemisphere, he refused to be intimidated by protests “from Communists, or anyone else."[3] As a result, the resources needed to identify the nature of the threat were hamstrung, and existing intelligence estimates were prevented from going up the

[2] Leitenberg, as found in Fein, Helen. *The Prevention of Genocide.*

[3] Davis, Jack. "The Bogotazo."

chain of command. As a result, additional intelligence support necessary to ensure the safety of the US delegation in Bogotá was constrained.

Artificial suppression of priority may be the result of a predetermined world view, a cognitive bias that prevents new information from influencing the existing perspectives. Naturally, because high-priority foreign policy issues set the trajectory for national strategy, their importance leaves little opportunity for emerging events to permeate the mindsets of US leadership. Similarly, in the drive to be remembered as a leader or administration who did something memorable, the narrow-minded focus on certain issues may create a mindset that diminishes the importance of developing concerns. If leadership chooses to delay or deny priority escalation, the subsequent adjustments to mandate-level functions will materialise late, or as occurred in Bogotá, not at all.

Ostensibly, Marshall's goal of stamping out communism in Europe may have caused him to presuppose that communism was not a threat in the western hemisphere. Similarly, Carter refused to accept that his ally, the Shah of Iran, was in danger of overthrow by the Iranian populous. To Carter, the Shah represented regional police, a significant weapons consumer, and a key supplier of oil to the US. Further, the Shah had requested that the US stay out of domestic affairs, and successive presidents abided by this entreaty. Carter was eager to concentrate on other issues, such as the Middle East peace process and the SALT II negotiations. Finally, Clinton's drive to fix the faltering US economy and avoid engagement in Africa after the Battle of Mogadishu caused him to resist escalation in Rwanda for fear of public backlash. Examination of similar cases can broaden the universe of evidence and identify whether artificial suppression of priority is a common thread. If so, broader examinations can determine if the thread is consistent only among social movements, or across all cases where the developing concern is in a low-priority region.

Finally, the common thread throughout these cases is that when more successes occurred at the mandate level, the outcome tended to result in success. In contrast, where there were more failures observed in that portion, the outcome resulted in failure. The influence of the R&P is visible, yet the US still employs a binary perspective which obstructs any real efforts to address the ongoing issues related to mandate failure. If the United States is to keep the role of 'global police', then understanding the influence of the R&P, and making the necessary

adaptations to it, would be extremely valuable, particularly as examples of mandate-level failure still arise.

Although its contents remain classified, a considerably more recent case may give indications of a similar pattern. In December 2010, sixty-three years after el Bogotázo, Tunisian police demanded a bribe from 26-year old Mohamed "Basboosa" Bouazizi. Like 30% of Tunisians, Bouazizi was unemployed. He sold fruits and vegetables off his unlicensed greengrocer cart to support his widowed mother, sick uncle, and six younger siblings. The police had demanded bribes of Bouazizi for years, but on this day, he was unable to pay. The officers assaulted Bouazizi, confiscating his weighing scales and destroying his produce cart. Humiliated, he went to the governor's office to complain but was turned away. In a last desperate act, Bouazizi stood in the middle of traffic in front of the governor's office and shouted, "How do you expect me to make a living?" He doused his body with paint thinner and set himself ablaze.[4] By the time Bouazizi succumbed to his burns on 4 January 2011, his story had captured national attention; over 5,000 Tunisians attended his funeral.[5] Hours later, the already ongoing anti-government demonstrations across Tunisia reached fever pitch. By 14 January, Tunisian President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali fled the country, ending 23 years of rule. Within days, over a million Egyptians took to the streets in similar fashion, rising up against President Hosni Mubarak.[6] His 30-year rule ended after only 18 days of protest.[7] The world watched as almost immediately, demonstrations erupted in 15 other nations in the region.

As occurred in previous cases, the intelligence community was immediately accused of failure to provide early warning of the "Arab Spring". President Obama told Director of National Intelligence James Clapper that he was "disappointed with the intelligence community" over the failure to predict the demonstrations.[8] Meanwhile, CIA official Stephanie O'Sullivan was undergoing nomination proceedings for the role of Deputy Director of National Intelligence.

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[4] Rifai, Ryan. "Timeline: Tunisia's Uprising." *Al Jazeera English*. 23 Jan. 2011. http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/spotlight/tunisia/2011/01/201114142223827361.html

[5] "Tunisia Suicide Protester Mohammed Bouazizi Dies." *BBC News*. BBC, 05 Jan. 2011. http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-12120228

[6] "Timeline: Egypt's Revolution." *Al Jazeera English*. 14 Feb. 2011.

[7] Blair, Edmund, and Samia Nakhoul. "Egypt Protests Topple Mubarak after 18 Days." *Thomson Reuters*, 11 Feb. 2011.

[8] Dozier, Kimberly. "Obama "Disappointed" by Intel on Arab Unrest." *Associated Press*. 4 Feb. 2011.

During her televised hearings, Senator Saxby Chambliss (R-GA), gave O'Sullivan ten days to provide a written timetable showing when the intelligence community had briefed the president regarding "the seriousness of the situation" in Egypt.[9] As DCI Hillenkoetter had testified six decades earlier, O'Sullivan also testified that the intelligence community had given warning to the Obama administration of instability in Egypt at the end of 2010. Further, the CIA produced over 400 reports focusing on issues related to political stability in the Middle East and North Africa throughout 2010.[10]

In the case of the Arab Spring, there are also indications that political stability in the Middle East may not have been a high priority to the Obama administration. Former Congressional staffer John Diamond stated, "To be fair to the agency, a regime that has been in power for 30 years is by definition a low risk for turnover and change."[11] Based on Diamond's assertion, political stability in the Middle East was a low priority item.

The full repercussions of the "Arab Spring" have not yet been felt. As ongoing issues continue in Yemen, Syria, Libya, Iraq, and elsewhere, intelligence and policy information regarding the Arab Spring remain classified. But this example begins to show similar patterns to the other cases. There was near-immediate blame on the intelligence community, coupled with an expectation that they should have provided information on a low priority topic. Further examination of this case may also indicate patterns of artificial suppression of priority, perhaps based on the assumed longevity of Middle Eastern leaders. As information becomes available, a case study of priority shifts surrounding the Arab Spring would prove worthy of further investigation.

Dahl has observed that intelligence can only succeed when decision makers are receptive to warning.[12] This can prove difficult in cases where low priority issues are concerned. This can lead to an anchoring bias, or a "deaf captain syndrome", where decision makers become

[9] National Intelligence Nomination Hearing. Senate Select Intelligence Committee. *C-Span*. 3 Feb. 2011. http://www.c-span.org/video/?297842-1/national-intelligence-nomination-hearing. 22 Feb. 2011.

[10] Baram, Marcus. "CIA's Mideast Surprise Recalls History of Intelligence Failures." *The Huffington Post.* 11 Feb. 2011. http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2011/02/11/cias-mideast-surprise-history-of-failures_n_822183.html.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Dahl. *Intelligence and Surprise Attack: Failure and Success from Pearl Harbor to 9/11 and beyond,* p. 20.

predisposed to dismissing information that conflict with their world view.[13] Problematically however, if the emerging concern metastasises into a crisis, the intelligence community is often held responsible. This leads one to ask: *what causes the impulsive reaction to fault the intelligence community?*

Causes for accusation of the intelligence community

Prognostication Expectation

Three underlying causes appear to form the majority of reasons why the intelligence community is consistently accused of failure. The first of these is a "prognostication expectation", where decision makers have poor understanding of intelligence community functions, and therefore set unreasonable expectations for intelligence community output. These unrealistic expectations drive the second and third causes for accusation: the community is expected to "know" the needs of the policymaker; and they are expected to provide intelligence in the manner most desired by the user, which most recently has taken the form of current intelligence. Finally, the key reason for accusation of failure is that in large part, failure is in the eye of the beholder. If intelligence is designed to inform the consumer, then the consumer assesses whether the information was sufficient.

Policymakers, including recently elected or appointed officials, or those juggling multiple projects, may sometimes have unreasonable expectations of intelligence community capabilities. This 'prognostication expectation' is defined by Loch Johnson, who states that the intelligence community is expected to know the consumer's needs, and provide immediate information with 100% certainty, in a manner most easily consumable to the policymaker.[14] As Johnson notes, this defies human capabilities, protective instincts, and technological feasibility.[15]

Policymakers have historically neglected to feed input into the R&P mechanism. This can lead to unchanged and outdated requirements, or cause intelligence managers to make decisions on requirements. Again, this is tantamount to policymaking, and creates an accountability

[13] Davies, Philip, and Anthony Glees. "Butler's Dilemma: Lord Butler's Inquiry and the Re-Assessment of Intelligence on Iraq's Weapons of Mass Destruction." *The Social Affairs Unit*. 2004.

[14] Johnson. *America's Secret Power*, p. 83.

[15] Ibid.

issue. On the other hand, a policymaker that does engage with the system may make requests that necessitate changes to collection methods or technical systems. As Lowenthal points out, developing these tools takes time; if the intelligence community is uncertain about the requirements, it can impact development of the needed capabilities.[16]

The Drive for Current Intelligence

A second cause for accusation of failure stems from the type of intelligence desired by decision makers. Policymakers have a natural tendency to focus on near-term issues.[17] As a result, administrations tend to struggle with balancing the need for current intelligence in high priority areas against the requirements essential to identifying mid-range and long-term security concerns elsewhere.[18] As policymaker attention "gyrates wildly from crisis to crisis,"[19] they tend to spend less time studying long term trends, including emerging concerns in low-priority areas.

A significant drive for current intelligence spawned after the 1991 Gulf War, when the US military began to focus on real-time intelligence.[20] Over time, policymakers began to absorb an increasing desire for faster access to timely information. Thus, the intelligence community responded, causing a shift away from estimative, long-term intelligence. In terms of the R&P, former Director of Central Intelligence Robert Gates writes that the CIA has struggled with the unwillingness or inability of most policymakers to spend too much time on long-range issues which guide agency efforts. Gates states, "trying to get senior policy official to attend meetings or to discuss longer range intelligence requirements has been an exercise in frustration."[21]

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[16] Lowenthal. *Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy,* p. 60, 209

[17] Kennedy, ed. *Of Knowledge and Power*, p. 15

[18] Ibid.

[19] Byman, Daniel. "Strategic Surprise and The September 11 Attacks." *Annual Review of Political Science* 8.1 (2005): 149.

[20] Cooper, Jeffrey R. *Curing Analytic Pathologies: Pathways to Improved Intelligence Analysis*. Central Intelligence Agency. (Washington DC: Center for Study of Intelligence, 2005), p. 32.

[21] Gates, Robert M. "The CIA and American Foreign Policy." *Foreign Affairs,* vol. 66, no.2 (1987)

Too much attention on current intelligence is a detriment to the overall picture of strategic intelligence.[22] One analyst explains, "The sheer volume of information, the sheer growth of consumers, the pressure to do it quickly, has driven research out of the market."[23] In the increasingly militaristic terms that define national intelligence requirements, Goodman finds that the CIA has given more focus to the current intelligence needs of the fighter, while devoting considerably less time to the enduring geopolitical needs of the policymaker."[24]

Frank Watanabe underscores this point in his *Fifteen Axioms for Intelligence Analysts, which states* "The consumer does not care how much you know, just tell him what is important." Watanabe states that analysts tend to demonstrate their depth of knowledge on a topic by loading analysis with too many facts and details which may obscure the vital facts and put off the consumer.[25]

This 'tyranny of current intelligence' as it is sometimes called, results in narrowly focused intelligence that omits greater context, and hampering the continuity of analysis.[26] A 2008 roundtable conducted within intelligence community surfaced fears that the shift toward current intelligence has cause a lack of analytic depth, making intelligence products "little or no better than what most […] policymakers can provide for themselves."[27]

Thus, when issues emerge in low-priority areas, one of two concerns can arise. The first is that there is little estimative intelligence available to inform policymakers. For example, prior to the Iranian Revolution, the intelligence community did not complete the National Intelligence Estimate on Iran. The second is that the warnings were present, but ignored in favour of current intelligence on areas of high priority. This is shown in the unheeded warnings that were presented in Bogotá and Rwanda. In these instances, the policymaker can argue that

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[22] Goodman, Melvin. "America Is Safer since 9/11." The Christian Science Monitor. 18 Sept. 2006. http://www.csmonitor.com/2006/0918/p09s01-coop.html.

[23] "Intelligence and Policy: The Evolving Relationship." *Center for the Study of Intelligence Roundtable Report*. Georgetown University, November 10, 2003. (Washington, DC: Central Intelligence Agency, June 2004), p. 7.

[24] Goodman, Melvin. "America Is Safer since 9/11." *The Christian Science Monitor*. 18 Sept. 2006.

[25] Watanabe, Frank. *Fifteen axioms for intelligence analysts.* Central Intelligence Agency. (Washington DC: Center For the Study of Intelligence, 1997). https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/csi-publications/csi-studies/studies/97unclass/axioms.html

[26] Kerr, Richard, et al. "Issues for the US Intelligence Community." Studies in Intelligence 49.3 (2005): 47-54.

[27] Ibid.

the intelligence community either failed to produce materials, or failed to call attention to significant developments.

Failure is in the eye of the beholder

As consumers of intelligence, decision makers have the advantage of deciding whether the intelligence provided is sufficient to their needs. For example, in the aftermath of el Bogotázo, the committee investigating the failure found that the CIA had performed its duty.[28] However, some within the State Department argued that the CIA failed to provide information regarding the *specific nature* of the threat. The sufficiency of intelligence is subjective; Marrin writes, "policymaker satisfaction with intelligence analysis is a notoriously fickle and idiosyncratic metric."[29] To a policymaker, sufficiency can be measured in part by the quantity of information provided. A common misconception is that failure stems from a lack of reports provided to policymakers. To the contrary, Grabo argues that failure may sometimes stem from too much information or warning.[30] This may be particularly true in conditions where subtle changes are reported over a protracted period of time, causing the reader to overlook the differences, or losing their attention altogether. Therefore, in order to attract and maintain attention, agencies must transmit information in a way that calls attention while being careful not to make policy recommendations, especially as they relate to priority.

In some cases, however, when a decision maker claims that intelligence was insufficient, they are not referring to the *amount* provided, but to the *certainty* of the reporting. Again, this is sometimes a result of a policymaker's inability to understand the limitations of intelligence. The word "estimates" is used to refer to intelligence products because they are not certainties. They are an assessment of probabilities based the evidence available. Grabo emphasises that although estimates may not provide the certainty that decision makers sometimes desire before action, these assessments should be encouraged.[31] However if a policymaker feels that the certainty of estimates is insufficient, they can argue that the intelligence community failed. In short, failure becomes a matter of perspective. This defence

[28] Barrett. *The CIA and Congress*, p. 36

[29] Marrin, Stephen. "Evaluating the Quality of Intelligence Analysis: By What (Mis) Measure?." *Intelligence and National Security* 27.6 (2012): 910.

[30] Grabo, Cynthia M., and Jan Goldman. *Anticipating Surprise*, p. 96.

[31] Ibid., 13

mechanism becomes particularly visible if policy leadership fails to respond, or responds incorrectly to a crisis.

When each of the above factors are taken into consideration, it becomes possible to envision a hypothetical line of reasoning that leads to faulting the intelligence community. Unreasonable expectations, neglecting to put needs into the system, and drive for current intelligence over estimative material can create a continuous cycle of expectation and failure. This becomes particularly true when the policymaker does not give an indication of his or her expectations. Therefore, when failure occurs, policymakers have the capacity to argue that the intelligence was inadequate or uncertain, or that intelligence reports failed to call attention to an urgent matter. This could in turn cause the policymaker to lose faith in the intelligence provided, and resort to external means of obtaining information. A simplified "loop of accusation" is demonstrated below.

Figure 8: Hypothetical Loop of Accusation

In the aftermath of failure, accusations levelled against the intelligence community are common. If there is an egregious impact on national security and foreign policy, the accusations tend to be met with investigations, mainly into intelligence community activity. It is here that the binary construct becomes most visible. Hearings such as those held in 1948

and 2011, call upon intelligence community leaders (Hillenkoetter and O'Sullivan, respectively) to respond to accusations and defend agency or community actions. In other cases, the President or Cabinet may commission investigations (i.e., Ford commissioned the Rockefeller Committee following release of the Family Jewels), or by Congressional departments, as HPSCI did following dire warnings that the Shah was in danger. Investigations of this nature tend to focus nearly exclusively on department or agency level functions, forgoing the broader observations that incorporate policy input and response. As a result, recommendations for change tend to centre around intelligence structures, functions, and methods, leaving a void in acknowledging systemic processes. When these processes are overlooked, their impacts cannot be addressed; yet they are almost always overlooked.

Why are Requirements & Priorities not discussed?

Perhaps the most compelling reason that the R&P is not discussed is because of what it may reveal. For instance, the Church and Pike investigations initially sought to publicise intelligence budgets, but the issue never went far in Congress. Since 2005, the National Intelligence Program and Military Intelligence Program have released to the public an annual bottom-line figure[32], but the intricacies remain obscured. Information such as budget distribution could result in a compromise of secret information should canny mathematicians reverse-engineer the figures. Further still, opening this information leaves both communities to contend with public opinion on how much should be spent, and toward which aims.

In part, the R&P is not discussed because it is a huge undertaking to address the mechanism. The R&P is bigger than a single target, a single department, or a single community. It is a mechanism that absorbs the universe of potential US intelligence targets, and binds every actor in national security and foreign policy to a unified national agenda. The structure and the body that controls it has been altered several times. Although fundamentally the process remains unchanged, its inputs and outputs are in constant motion as new needs arise and old needs fade. Compliance to the national targets vary by department or agency, yet the R&P

[32] "U.S. Intelligence Budget Data." U.S. Intelligence Budget Data. *Federation of American Scientists*. https://fas.org/irp/budget/

remains an omnipresent machine that sits in the background and guides nearly every action taken in the communities.

In terms of academic or practical discussion of the mechanism, Davies points out, "There is a very real and pronounced preference for speaking and writing about agencies and almost an aversion to discussing interagency mechanisms and processes."[33] If examining agencies or departments is a daunting task, factoring in the R&P can seem insurmountable. As a result, the tendency is to zoom in from the macroscopic and observe smaller components. It follows then, that when addressing outcomes from national security or foreign policy events, the same mindset would follow. Examinations are limited to department or agency levels, reinforced by —and reinforcing—the binary construct.

A National Consistency Bias?

Herman explains, "The circumstances of intelligence increase the risk of biased judgments about it. Its failure makes for good media exposure; and official enquiries always search for culpability, *in a way historians are liable to inherit"* (emphasis added).[34] Senior level politicians have a highly visible public platform to vocalise their opinion on the quality of intelligence output, or make direct accusations of failure against the community. The charges tend to reverberate throughout various media platforms, often with comparatively little rebuttal from intelligence leadership. In some instances, intelligence leadership agrees with the charges. For instance, in 2015, former DCI Michael Morell released a book which claims that the US intelligence failed to estimate al-Qaeda's ability to take advantage of political turmoil following the Arab Spring.[35] Without an understanding of the mechanics that bind the communities, the wider public hears a repetitive mantra that the intelligence community is flawed. Over the course of successive failures, it causes a national confirmation bias, where the idea of intelligence failure becomes accepted at face value. Since the turn of the

[33] Davies, Philip H. J. *Intelligence and Government in Britain and the United States, Vol. 1,* p.32.

[34] Herman, Michael. *Intelligence Power in Peace and War*, p. 224.

[35] Morell, Michael J., and Bill Harlow. *The Great War of Our Time: The CIA's Fight Against Terrorism--from Al Qa'ida to ISIS*. (New York: Twelve, 2015).

millennium, the American public has consumed a litany of public accusations regarding both domestic and foreign security. A sampling includes:

2001— Failure to predict the September 11 attacks[36]

2004— Failure to locate weapons of mass destruction in Iraq[37]

2010— Failure to identify the Christmas Day airport bomber in Detroit[38]

2011— Failure to foresee the Arab Spring[39]

2013— Failure to prevent the Boston Marathon bombings[40]

2014 —Failure to estimate the threat of Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL, Daesh)[41]

2014— Failure to predict Russia's incursion into Ukraine[42]

2015— Failure to predict Russia's interference in Syria[43]

Even when after action reports find no fault in intelligence community actions, such as the findings on the Boston Marathon bombings,[44] the perception of the community changes very little. A public poll conducted in January 2016 indicates that Americans are still shell-shocked from 9/11 and subsequent attempts and threats of terrorist attacks on US soil.[45] It can be

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[36] Johnston, David. "9/11 Congressional Report Faults F.B.I.-C.I.A. Lapses." *New York Times*. 24 July 2003. http://www.nytimes.com/2003/07/24/us/9-11-congressional-report-faults-fbi-cia-lapses.html

[37] "Report Slams CIA for Iraq Intelligence Failures." *CNN.* 9 July 2004. http://edition.cnn.com/2004/ALLPOLITICS/07/09/senate.intelligence/

[38] MacAskill, Ewen, Daniel Nasaw, and Jon Boone. "Barack Obama Criticises CIA Failures over Detroit Bomb Plot." *The Guardian.* 6 Jan. 2010. Web. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/jan/05/cia-intelligence-weaknesses

[39] Dozier, Kimberly. "Obama "Disappointed" by Intel on Arab Unrest." *Associated Press*. CBS Interactive, 04 Feb. 2011.

[40] Viser, Matt. "Congressional Report Details Intelligence Failures Prior to Marathon Bombing." The Boston Globe. 26 Mar. 2014. https://www.bostonglobe.com/news/nation/2014/03/26/congressional-report-details-intelligence-failures-prior-marathon-bombings/P1EJ4eGWdvt1K809brQ5VO/story.html

[41] Paletta, Damian, and Kristina Peterson. "Obama Says U.S. Intelligence Underestimated Islamic State Threat." *The Wall Street Journal.* 28 Sept. 2014. http://www.wsj.com/articles/obama-says-u-s-intelligence-underestimated-developments-in-syria-141191807

[42] Crawley, John. "U.S. Intelligence Under Fire Over Ukraine." *CNN*. 6 Mar. 2014. http://edition.cnn.com/2014/03/05/politics/ukraine-u-s-intelligence/

[43] Taylor, Guy. "Congress Investigates U.S. Intelligence Failures on Russian Aggression in Syria." *Washington Times*. 8 Oct. 2015. Web. http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2015/oct/8/congress-investigates-us-intelligence-failures-rus/

[44] Sullivan, Eileen. "No Intelligence Failures Led to Boston Bombing Attack, Review Says." *PBS*. 10 Apr. 2014. http://www.pbs.org/newshour/rundown/congress-briefed-review-boston-bombing/

[45] "Americans' Priorities for 2016." The Associated Press-NORC Center for Public Affairs Research. Associated Press and NORC at the University of Chicago, Jan. 2016. Web. 23 Jan. 2017. http://www.apnorc.org/projects/Pages/HTML%20Reports/americans-priorities-for-20160122-2346.aspx

argued that the series of accusations could cause the US public to become disenchanted with the US intelligence community, and fearful that they fail to provide accurate warning regarding domestic terrorism or national security. As Herman observed, journalists and historians writing about the failure cite the findings, interviews, and media sources, and 'inherit' the assertions of culpability. Problematically, this confirmation bias can generate a national complacency, and cause the public to assume that intelligence output is inadequate. However, as Betts states, "In focusing on failures, critics often lose sight of the system's many successes."[46] Success tends to take the form of maintaining the status quo, and therefore receives considerably less acknowledgement. Further, agencies are more reluctant to discuss success, because it can reveal sources and methods are still used.[47] Therefore, success is often not newsworthy. As a result, the binary construct is reinforced, and the omission of the R&P leaves a gap in the story. The gap is often to the benefit of the policymakers.

Partisan Weapons and Proximity Fluctuation

Where partisan competition exists, intelligence is used as a political weapon, and failure benefits the adversary. The occurrence of a national security failure can sometimes be a political jackpot. For example, in 1947, Republicans Thomas Dewey, intent on becoming the next president, was particularly outspoken against the CIA in the aftermath of el Bogotázo.[48] As the election season led up to party primaries and the general election, Republicans could construe the failure in Colombia as the fault of Truman and his newly created intelligence structure.

Intelligence is a malleable tool in the hands of a partisan adversary. Intelligence estimates and failures, or the absence of administration support for intelligence needs, can become weaponised. For instance, in 1960, John F. Kennedy and the Democrat party used information

[46] Betts. *Enemies of Intelligence*. Kindle Location 110

[47] Dahl, Erik J. *Intelligence and Surprise Attack*, p. 15. It must also be noted that there are times when accusations against intelligence are so outstanding that it becomes necessary for the community to defend itself. For example, the incoming Trump administration has questioned the accuracy of intelligence findings on Russian interference with the 2016 elections. The Office of the Director of National Intelligence released a public version of their findings, stating that the community "rarely can publicly reveal" the extent of its knowledge or bases for its assessments, as it could "imperil the ability to collect critical foreign intelligence in the future." See: Office of the Director of National Intelligence. "Background to Assessing Russian Activities and Intentions in Recent US Elections" *The Analytic Process and Cyber Incident Attribution.* 6 January 2017. https://www.dni.gov/files/documents/ICA_2017_01.pdf

[48] Davis, Jack. "The Bogotazo."

obtained from Strategic Air Command against the incumbent, Republican President Dwight Eisenhower. Kennedy and the Democrats argued that Eisenhower was weak on defence, and as a result, the Soviets had a greater number of nuclear weapons than the US—a "missile gap."[49] The allegation is believed to have been a significant force-multiplier for the Democratic Party, and is attributed to helping Kennedy win the election. After the election, Secretary of Defence Robert McNamara presented evidence to suggest that there was indeed a missile gap, but it was in favour of the US. A day later, Senate minority leader Everett Dirksen (R-IL), called the election a fraud and wanted it to be re-run.[50]

In this century, the mid-term elections of 2006 were swayed greatly by the intelligence failure that led to the Iraq War. Senator Robert Menendez (D-NJ) argued that his Republican opponents were "living in an alternative reality where intelligence findings don't matter […] and rhetoric about the war on terror is more important than results."[51] The accusations of intelligence failure were an impetus for the Democratic Party to gain the majority of seats in Congress.

When political adversaries use intelligence to make claims of policy failure, they are implicitly acknowledging the requirements and priorities process. The accusation suggests that the administration ignored, manipulated, or incorrectly identified priorities. This underscores the argument that the firewall is a myth. The intelligence community becomes an instrument of battle because the mandate enmeshes the communities. If a firewall exists between the two communities, then policy could not be faulted for the failures of intelligence, and nor would intelligence community actions have an impact on elections.

In this regard, the treatment of the intelligence community is similar to the weaponising of other departments within the government. The implementation of the Affordable Care Act was similarly used as a battle-cry from Republican opposition, most recently in the 2014 mid-

[49] Miller, Jeremy. "Distorting Intelligence "The Missile Gap". *United States Naval Academy*. http://www.usna.com/NC/History/SeaStories/1942/MissileGap.htm Web. 24 Mar. 2015.

[50] Ibid.

[51] Kriner, Douglas L., and Francis X. Shen. "Iraq Casualties and the 2006 Senate Elections." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 32.4 (2007): 507-30.

term elections,[52] negatively politicising the US Department of Health and Human Services. The issue of climate change has similarly caused opposition to politicise the US Environmental Protection Agency.[53] The key distinguishing feature between these departments and the intelligence community is the perception of the firewall that divides their actions.

The Proximity Fluctuation

Just as adversaries use public platforms to bind an administration to intelligence failures, senior policymakers have utilised their public platform to deflect blame. In this manner, they can distance themselves or their political party from the agencies with little reprisal from colleagues or voters.[54] For instance, In 1979, Carter accused the CIA of failing to forecast the Soviet incursion in Afghanistan.[55] In 2003, Bush blamed Director of Central Intelligence George Tenet for failing to warn about allegations of a nuclear materials deal between Iraq and Niger.[56] Most recently, in 2014, President Barack Obama said that Director of National Intelligence Jim Clapper acknowledged that the intelligence community underestimated the threat of ISIL.[57] Michael Morell, former deputy director of the Central Intelligence Agency, responded in an interview, sarcastically restating the pro-policy school of thought: "There is a saying in the intelligence community: 'There are no such things as policy failures, only intelligence failures.' Every president that I served with did this, and I think every future president is going to do this."[58]

As mentioned earlier, the "optimal" proximity between intelligence and policy has been a long-standing debate. Because this is a moving target, politicians tend to decide for themselves how close they want to be to intelligence, depending what is most useful to them.

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[52] Jacobson, Louis. "Ted Cruz Says in 2014 Elections, Voters Made Clear Their Opposition to Obamacare, 'amnesty'" *Politifact.com*. Tampa Bay Times, 21 Nov. 2014. Web. 06 Apr. 2015. http://www.politifact.com/truth-o-meter/statements/2014/nov/21/ted-cruz/ted-cruz-says-2014-elections-voters-made-clear-the/.

[53] Hayward, Steven F. "The EPA Is Politicized-So Make It Official." *WSJ.com. Wall Street Journal*, 8 Jan. 2013. http://www.wsj.com/articles/SB10001424127887323320404578216034024416590.

[54] Ibid.

[55] Diamond, John. *The CIA and the Culture of Failure: U.S. Intelligence from the End of the Cold War to the Invasion of Iraq.* (Stanford, CA: Stanford Security Series, 2008), p. 72-73.

[56] Johnston, Lauren. "CIA Takes Blame for WMD Flap." *CBS News*. 12 July 2003.

[57] "Obama: US "underestimated" Jihadists Taking Advantage of Syria Civil War." *Al Akhbar English*. 29 Sept. 2014. http://english.al-akhbar.com/node/21744.

[58] "Interview with Michael Morell." *This Morning*. CBS News. 1 Oct. 2014. Television. http://www.cbsnews.com/videos/defeating-isis-cia-insider-on-what-the-intelligence-community-knew/

In the aftermath of failure, elected officials have a self-interest in deflecting fault onto the intelligence community, keeping unwanted attention away from policymakers or their departments. In contrast, when a policy official requires intelligence for the pursuit of a broader strategy, they may align themselves considerably closer to the community. Proximity is a sliding scale, and can be adjusted to meet policymaker needs. For example, Vice President Dick Cheney viewed the intelligence community as an extension of the administration in the lead-up to the 2003 Iraq War. Former National Intelligence Officer Fulton Armstrong discussed the influence of this proximity in response to Robert Jervis' 2010 book, *Why Intelligence Fails*. Armstrong said:

> "Jervis wasn't in the kitchen and, perhaps, doesn't know the pressure analysts feel when a vice-president and cabinet members ask the same question over and over—signalling 'try again, try again.' Nor, perhaps, does he know the power of an administration's flattery."[59]

Cheney was not the first to rely on policymaker influence at the agency level in hopes of gaining a political success. Presidents Nixon and Johnson, and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger notably felt that the CIA—despite being created to generate independent assessments—should comply with policy desires.[60] However Cheney did utilise his proximity with the intelligence community and this public platform, to issue public intelligence in order to gain national support for the war.[61] In 2006, when accusations of failure in Iraq began to surface, Vice President Cheney distanced himself from the intelligence community and his relationship with the agencies:

> "It's been a tough time for the agency. They […] missed 9/11 and obviously were criticized for that. The report about weapons of mass destruction in Iraq before […] the war in Iraq was another instance where there was a breakdown in the system. It didn't produce the quality intelligence that was needed, so [CIA Director Porter Goss] took on the assignment at a very difficult time. And now he's leaving."[62]

To a great extent, politicians tend to distance themselves when failure may result in the formation of fact-finding committees, particularly if they are likely to be comprised of political

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[59] "The CIA and WMDs: The Damning Evidence by Fulton Armstrong." *The New York Review of Books*. 19 Aug. 2010.

[60] Ibid.

[61] Hastedt defines public intelligence as "secret intelligence that has become part of the societal debate over the conduct of American foreign policy." See: Hastedt, Glenn. "Public intelligence: Leaks as policy instruments–the case of the Iraq War." *Intelligence and National Security*, 20:3, 2005. 419-439.

[62] O'Donnell, Kelly. "Interview with Vice President Dick Cheney."*NBCUniversal News Group*, 10 May 2006. http://www.nbcnews.com/id/11442707/ns/politics/t/interview-vice-president-dick-cheney/

adversaries with a partisan agenda (for example, if the administration's party holds a minority in Congress). Further, even in bipartisan commissions, there is a self-interest in focusing on actions taken at the agency level rather than incorporating systemic malfunctions which could incriminate the decision makers. This leads to the question: *would recommendations for reform change if the R&P process—with the simultaneous examination of intelligence and policy actions—became a significant factor in after-action investigations?*

Argument for the consistent application of an R&P-centric model

Based on the findings observed here, the mandate-level functions within the R&P did in fact play a role in the outcomes of urgent events. However as mentioned, investigation into the R&P mechanism is more commonly found in assessments of general intelligence structures and activities, as opposed to failure. Requirements have been described as "the most over-bureaucratized aspect of intelligence management,"[63] and lambasted over the course of decades. The process is over-burdened and underutilised, and as more needs are fed into the system, it becomes less functional. Attempts to reform the process in one area has often led to difficulties in another. Further, the implementation of reforms has been selective. Changes to the system are either enacted or contested amid a melee of agencies contending for primacy, or Cabinet heads pushing political agendas.

The vast majority of suggested reforms have been largely dismissed. Amy Zegart found that in the two decades between the fall of the Soviet Union and the 9/11 attacks, "six bipartisan blue-ribbon commissions, three major unclassified governmental initiatives, and three think-tank task forces examined the U.S. intelligence community."[64] Of the 340 recommendations for reform made by these groups, only 35 were implemented; 268 recommendations resulted in "no action at all."[65] Reform appears to go through a loop of recommendation, selective implementation, modification, and failure. Zegart found that the intelligence community examinations uncovered four consistent and major issues: insufficient human intelligence;

[63] Comments by J. W. Huizenga in Report by the Commission on the Organization of the Government for the Conduct of Foreign Policy: Background and Principal Recommendations (Murphy Commission), Volume 7. Washington D.C. June 1975, appendix U, p. 43. As found in: Herman, Michael. *Intelligence Power in Peace and War.*

[64] Zegart, Amy B. "September 11 and the Adaptation Failure of U.S. Intelligence Agencies." *International Security* 29.4 (2005): 85-86.

[65] Ibid.

failure to align intelligence needs with personnel skills or information sharing; a lack of coherence within the USIC; and weaknesses in setting intelligence priorities.[66] Each of these problems are symptoms of a weak R&P mechanism, and to some great degree, are caused by weaknesses within the role of the intelligence lead. In considering whether the nature of recommendations would change if the R&P is included in recommendations, one must consider the potential arguments for doing so.

1. *Creates a common, system-wide method for the examination of outcomes*

There is currently no single method of investigation utilised to observe outcomes in the aftermath of a national security or foreign policy event. As a result, the myriad strategies result in different and isolated areas of focus, concentrating separately on policy, agency, or department activities without observing the systemic functions that link them. For instance, the HPSCI evaluation of US intelligence performance prior to November 1978 concentrated heavily on intelligence community activities. The eight-page report dedicates only two small paragraphs and three bullet points on the role of the consumer.[67] The NFAC report, written by Robert Jervis, concentrates on actions taken within the National Foreign Assessment Center. A systemic examination would not restrict or discourage departments or agencies from conducting internal investigations, however the findings of those investigations should then be considered a component of a broader investigation.

2. *Aids in establishing a system of metrics to monitor and assess the success or failure of functional components*

Over time, the regular application of a common model would result in a catalogue of assessments. With equal points of comparison over a series of investigations, there is an increased ability to make 1:1 comparisons, allowing the joint communities to pin-point common threads of concern and identify consistent weaknesses and strengths.

[66] Ibid.

[67] House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence. "Iran: Evaluation of US Intelligence Performance Prior to November 1978."

3. *Supports a strategy of evidence-based policy*

The goal of evidence-based policy is to make decisions based on evidence rather than reflexive responses to short-term pressures.[68] Over the past eight years, the Obama administration has concentrated on developing a rigorous strategy of using evidence to inform policy decisions.[69] The administration applies evidence-based policy by first identifying and testing model programs that have evidence of positive impact on outcomes, and then replicating the most successful model for continued testing. If successful, the model is institutionalised and consistently monitored. The results of regular evaluations are used to maintain and improve the program.[70] Evidence-based policy under Obama has been largely utilised for domestic social concerns, but similar approaches toward the requirements and priorities process could be aided by the application of a systemic model.

4. *Limits the potential for use of intelligence and investigations as a partisan weapon*

Following the Family Jewels leak, President Ford initiated the Rockefeller Commission to forestall partisan investigations which could leverage recent events to attack the Republican Party. Similarly, in 2002, the Bush administration initiated the 9/11 Commission to conduct an independent, bipartisan investigation into the failures of September 11, 2001. However, there were near immediate claims that members of the 9/11 Commission had conflicts of interest. Henry Kissinger resigned from the role as head of the Commission over these allegations,[71] and Executive Director of the Commission, Philip Zelikow, had links to the White House that may have influenced the report to limit the administration's responsibility.[72]

A systemic model is not likely to prevent policymakers from attempting to limit their culpability in cases of failure. However, such a model would oblige acknowledgement of

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[68] United Kingdom. Cabinet Office. *Modernising Government.* London: 1999, p. 15.

[69] Brown, Chris. *Evidence-informed Policy and Practice in Education: A Sociological Grounding.* (Bloomsbury Publishing, 2015), p. 29.

[70] "What Is Evidence-Based Policy? A View from the US." The Alliance for Useful Evidence. 23 Apr. 2015. http://www.alliance4usefulevidence.org/what-is-evidence-based-policy/#sthash.8CmXgYXU.dpuf

[71] "Kissinger Resigns as Head of 9/11 Commission." CNN. Cable News Network, 13 Dec. 2002. http://edition.cnn.com/2002/ALLPOLITICS/12/13/kissinger.resigns

[72] Shenon, Philip. *The Commission: An Uncensored History of the 9/11 Investigation*. (New York: Twelve, 2009), p. 60.

weaknesses at all parts of the system. On the policy side, because Congressional committees affiliated with intelligence or foreign relations are comprised of members from both parties, the observation and accountability at this level could potentially limit the tendency to make accusations against one party while absolving the other.

5. *Addresses policymaker accountability and the tyranny of ad-hocs*

Historically, policymakers have historically neglected to feed input into the R&P mechanism. This can lead to an accumulation of unchanged and outdated requirements, or cause intelligence managers to make decisions on requirements. Again, this is tantamount to policymaking, and creates an accountability issue. Using the model as a post-action review tool and an audit trail can account for whether needs are presented and updated regularly. This serves two purposes. First, it causes an enforcement of accountability, reducing the need for intelligence middle managers to essentially make policy decisions. Second, it aids in preventing the 'tyranny of ad-hocs'.

As mentioned earlier, politicians tend to swing from one crisis to the next. Where national security or interests are concerned, these mandate shifts can ignite a new series of problems, which are sometimes referred to as the 'tyranny of ad-hocs.' Weaknesses in R&P process can allow for the escalation of too many ad-hoc issues, multiple emergencies could cause the rapid depletion of supplemental funds, causing resources to be taken from another task.[73] In addition, while escalation of urgent issues is meant to be immediate, de-escalation tends to be considerably slower. If policymakers are not engaged in the process, the intelligence community is unaware of whether the issue or region is still a priority to the consumer. This could leave dead issues in the requirements pool for too long, eroding resources and eventually breaking down the priority system.[74] Here again, the model can aid in limiting the tyranny of ad-hocs by holding policymakers accountable for input and regular review of their needs, particularly after a crisis event has de-escalated.

[73] Lowenthal. *Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy*, p. 99.

[74] Betts, *Enemies of Intelligence*, p. 19.

6. *Addresses agency-level accountability for compliance and programming to meet national requirements*

In the drive to gain greater share of the intelligence budget, agencies will sometimes redirect their focus to concentrate on high-priority items, leaving lower priority items with fewer resources. This results in a redundancy of effort and creates gaps in intelligence. Further, although the intelligence budget is released with the associated allocation for national priorities, agency and department heads are not compelled to adhere to the allocations, and often reprogram a portion of the budget to accommodate departmental needs. The R&P model can then serve to identify whether agency-level activity as a result of reprogramming funds away from low-priority items, or concentrating too heavily on high-priority targets.

7. *Aids in establishing and managing policymaker expectations*

One of the key difficulties that the intelligence community faces is the ability to manage the expectations of the policymaker. A benefit of utilising the model is that in holding intelligence and policy simultaneously accountable, it fosters dialogue, which provides an opportunity for policymakers to express those needs, and for members of the community to discuss the capabilities and limitations in place with regard to the issue. Further, where a policymaker has a need that requires changes to the technical capabilities of a specific intelligence channel, a joint effort can be made to identify the needs and agree to reasonable timelines for their execution.

8. *Causes reconsideration of the role of the DNI*

In 2014, Loch Johnson argued that of all the reform proposals made, none was more important than appointing a Director of National intelligence with a broad perspective on spending, planning, and intelligence functions, that could overcome the "stovepiped autonomy of the individual intelligence agencies that has plagued them since 1947."[75]

[75] Johnson, Loch K. "A Framework for Strengthening U.S. Intelligence." *Yale Journal of International Affairs* (Winter, 2006): 130.

Further, Johnson argues that he should be provided with a full budget and appointment powers over all intelligence agencies.[76]

Nearly every report on intelligence reform, from the Eberstadt report in 1949 to the WMD Commission in 2005 has come to similar conclusions, calling for "stronger and more centralised management of the Intelligence Community."[77] The lead figure in the intelligence community has never *actually* been given the authority to prevent departments and agencies from reprogramming budgets to address departmental needs. Nor can he compel agencies concentrate on national priority targets or foster collaborative efforts. Rather, the lead intelligence official's responsibility has historically been complicated by pushback from competing agencies, and depleted over the course of successive decisions by the NSC, Cabinet, and oversight committees. Arguably, cumulative impact of the weakened role is that the community is left with a lead intelligence official who does not have the authority to enforce compliance to national intelligence priorities amongst the agencies he governs. Using the model over a series of cases may underscore the consistent weaknesses stemming from restrictions to the role of the intelligence lead, and compel reconsideration of those constraints.

Conclusion

The model is not a panacea; it will not prevent partisanship, cause full policymaker participation or agency compliance, or compel the NSC to provide more power to the DNI. But it does create a model that is less myopic in scope and introduces a more holistic observation of systemic functions. This could potentially influence the way that the US government thinks about reform.

At first glance, it may be easy to argue that the problems within the mechanism are the fault of one community or the other; to claim that intelligence community has run amok with autonomy, or the policy community has become complacent with expectations. However, it must be reinforced that the mechanism, its controls, and its output are a joint effort. Although it relies on input and agreement from policymakers, the recommendations of where and how to obtain intelligence comes from that community. Budgets, authorisations, and collaboration

[76] Ibid.

[77] Silberman, Laurence, and Charles S. Robb. "The Commission on the Intelligence Capabilities of the United States Regarding Weapons of Mass Destruction." Washington DC, 31 March 2005.

are a joint decision; once in place, it is then incumbent on the policymakers to continue to provide regular formal feedback or updates, and for the agencies to adhere to the strategy and respond accordingly. In times of crisis, the smooth function of the process, guided by an authoritative intelligence lead, can arbitrate the rapid give-and-take of communication, and oversee the distribution and application of mandate-level components.

Further, these considerations may also lead the government to consider whether the agencies are being utilised in the best possible manner. For instance, in the UK, it is not the intelligence services that address issues of foreign policy or national interest, but policy offices. Future research which incorporates a comparative analysis of requirements structures could provide insight into how the US can enact effective change to intelligence structures.

Russell argues, "The American public mistakenly believes that our intelligence problems have been fixed, when the reality is probably that we have created even more problems with the reforms that have been implemented."[78] The first half of this is statement is arguably untrue; although Americans have seen changes to the intelligence structure, the American public has never fully been convinced that the intelligence problems have been fixed.

Inside the intelligence community, the one thing that has not changed is the is the expectation of change. Adjustments to the mechanism, both major and minor, have been made by nearly every successive administration since 1947. 2017 marks the 60-year anniversary of the National Security Act. Over the next 60 years, the US will continue to adapt to an ever-changing operational environment, addressing new and fluctuating foreign policy issues, and new threats emanating from numerous vectors. In understanding that some failure is inevitable, the best recourse is to get as close to consistent success as possible.

Fixing the system, above all, requires brutal, honest and reflection; reflection that is not a common condition in politics or among politicians. It is fine to establish a model that addresses systemic mechanisms. But in the absence of its rigorous application, borne of a genuine desire to improve the prospects for national security, the cycle of limited and fruitless recommendations will continue to haunt an aging system.

[78] Russell, Richard L. *Sharpening Strategic Intelligence: Why the CIA Gets It Wrong, and What Needs to Be Done to Get It Right.* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2007), p. 2.

APPENDIX A: ACRONYMS

BNE	Board of National Estimates
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CIG	Central Intelligence Group
CFI	Committee on Foreign Intelligence
CMS	Community Management Staff
COINTELPRO	Counter Intelligence Program
DCI	Director of Central Intelligence
DCIA	Director, Central Intelligence Agency
DCID	Director of Central Intelligence Directive
DDNI/II	Deputy Director of National Intelligence for Intelligence Integration
DNI	Director of National Intelligence
DoD	Department of Defense
EO	Executive Order
ERP	European Recovery Program (Marshall Plan)
EU	European Union
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
GEOINT	Geospatial Intelligence
HPSCI	House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence
HUMINT	Human Intelligence
IAC	Intelligence Advisory Committee
IC	Intelligence Community
IMINT	Imagery Intelligence
IOB	Intelligence Oversight Board
IOP	Intelligence Oversight Program
IPC	Interagency Clandestine Collection Priorities Committee
IR	Intelligence Requirements
IRAC	Intelligence Resource Advisory Committee

IRTPA	Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act of 2004
JMIP	Joint Military Intelligence Program
JSOC	Joint Special Operations Command
KIQ	Key Intelligence Questions
MASINT	Measurements and Signals Intelligence
MRND	National Republican Movement for Democracy and Development (Rwanda)
NCIB	National Intelligence Collection Board
NEO	Non-combatant Evacuation Operation
NFAC	National Foreign Assessment Center
NFIB	National Foreign Intelligence Board
NFIP	National Foreign Intelligence Program
NIC	National Intelligence Council
NID	National Intelligence Daily
NIM	National Intelligence Managers
NIPF	National Intelligence Priorities Framework
NIO	National Intelligence Officer/ National Intelligence Objective
NIP	National Intelligence Program
NIPE	National Intelligence Program Evaluation
NIR	National Intelligence Requirements
NIT	National Intelligence Topics
NITC	National Intelligence Tasking Center
NITCI	National Intelligence Topics of Current Interest
NSA	National Security Agency
NSC	National Security Council
NSC/DC	National Security Council Deputies Committee
NSC/IWG	National Security Council Interagency Working Groups
NSC/PC	National Security Council Principles Committee
NSCIC	National Security Council Intelligence Committee

NSCID	National Security Council Intelligence Directive
NSPD	National Security Presidential Directive
OAG	Operations Advisory Group
OAS	Organisation of American States
ODCI	Office of the Director of Central Intelligence
ODNI	Office of the Director of National Intelligence
OMB	Office of Management and Budget
ONE	Office of National Estimates
ORE	Office of Reports and Estimates
OSD	Overseas and Defence Secretariat (Britain)
OSS	Office of Strategic Services
PBCFIA	President's Board of Consultants on Foreign Intelligence Activities
PDD	Presidential Decision Directive
PFIAB	President’s Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board
PIAB	President’s Intelligence Advisory Board
PNIO	Priority National Intelligence Objectives
PRC	Policy Review Committee
RANU	Rwandese Alliance for National Unity
RPF	Rwandan Patriotic Front
SALT	Strategic Arms Limitation Talks
SASC	Senate Armed Services Committee
SIGINT	Signals Intelligence
SIR	Strategic Intelligence Review
SCC	Special Coordination Committee
SMO	Support to Military Operations
SSCI	Senate Select Committee on Intelligence
TIARA	Tactical Intelligence and Related Activities
TT	Theory Testing (Process Tracing)

UNAMIR	United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda
USIB	United States Intelligence Board
USIC	United States Intelligence Community

APPENDIX B: ETHICAL APPROVAL

College of Business, Arts and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

04 September 2017

Letter of approval

Proposer: Neveen Shaaban Abdalla

Title: Misdiagnosis of Intelligence Failure

Dear Neveen,

I can confirm that The College Research Ethics Committee approved your research ethics application for the above-named project. Approval was issued on 19 February 2015 by Dr Myron Varouhakis.

Any changes to the protocol contained in your application, and any unforeseen ethical issues which arose during the project, must be notified to the Committee.

Kind regards,

James Knowles
Chair, Research Ethics Committee
College of Business, Arts and Social Sciences
Brunel University London

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