



SUMMARY OF CONTENTS

OVERVIEW	1
----------------	---

PART ONE: LOOKING BACK

INTRODUCTION TO PART ONE	39
CHAPTER ONE: Iraq	43
CHAPTER TWO: Libya	251
CHAPTER THREE: Al-Qa'ida in Afghanistan	267
CHAPTER FOUR: Terrorism: Managing Today's Threat	279
CHAPTER FIVE: Iran and North Korea: Monitoring the Development of Nuclear Weapons	305

PART TWO: LOOKING FORWARD

INTRODUCTION TO PART TWO	307
CHAPTER SIX: Leadership and Management: Forging an Integrated Intelligence Community	311
CHAPTER SEVEN: Collection	351
CHAPTER EIGHT: Analysis	387
CHAPTER NINE: Information Sharing	429
CHAPTER TEN: Intelligence at Home: The FBI, Justice, and Homeland Security	451
CHAPTER ELEVEN: Counterintelligence	485
CHAPTER TWELVE: Covert Action	499
CHAPTER THIRTEEN: The Changing Proliferation Threat and the Intelligence Response	501

CONCLUSION 537
POSTSCRIPT: Additional Intelligence Challenges 543

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Authorizing Executive Order 551
Appendix B: List of Findings and Recommendations 557
Appendix C: An Intelligence Community Primer 579
Appendix D: Common Abbreviations. 591
*Appendix E: Biographical Information for Commissioners
and List of Commission Staff* 595



CONTENTS

OVERVIEW	1
-----------------------	---

PART ONE: LOOKING BACK

INTRODUCTION TO PART ONE	39
---------------------------------------	----

CHAPTER ONE: IRAQ	43
--------------------------------	----

Introduction	45
---------------------------	----

Nuclear Weapons	52
------------------------------	----

The Intelligence Community's Pre-War Assessments	53
--	----

Post-War Findings of the Iraq Survey Group	60
--	----

Analysis of the Intelligence Community's Pre-War Assessments	65
---	----

Biological Warfare	80
---------------------------------	----

The Intelligence Community's Pre-War Assessments	81
--	----

Post-War Findings of the Iraq Survey Group	86
--	----

Analysis of the Intelligence Community's Pre-War Assessments	87
---	----

Conclusion	110
------------------	-----

Chemical Warfare	112
-------------------------------	-----

The Intelligence Community's Pre-War Assessments	113
--	-----

Post-War Findings of the Iraq Survey Group	119
--	-----

Analysis of the Intelligence Community's Pre-War Assessments	121
---	-----

Conclusion	130
------------------	-----

Delivery Systems	132
-------------------------------	-----

The Intelligence Community's Pre-War Assessments	134
--	-----

Post-War Findings of the Iraq Survey Group	141
--	-----

Analysis of the Intelligence Community's Pre-War Assessments	142
Conclusion	146
Regime Decisionmaking	147
The Intelligence Community's Pre-War Assessments	148
Post-War Findings of the Iraq Survey Group	151
Analysis of the Intelligence Community's Pre-War Assessments	154
Conclusion	156
Cause for the Intelligence Community's Inaccurate Pre-War Assessments	157
Collection	157
Analysis	168
Information Sharing	177
Dissemination	180
Politicization	187
Accountability	194
<u>CHAPTER TWO: LIBYA</u>	251
Introduction	252
Comparing Intelligence Assessments with U.S. Findings in Libya	253
Nuclear Weapons	253
Chemical Weapons	254
Biological Weapons	255
Delivery Systems	256
The Underpinnings of Success	257
Nuclear Program	257
Chemical and Biological Warfare Programs	258
Delivery Systems	259
Analysis	259
Looking Ahead	262
Reduced Emphasis on the Target	263
Conclusion	263
<u>CHAPTER THREE: AL-QA'IDA IN AFGHANISTAN</u>	267
Introduction	268

Comparison of Intelligence: “Before” and “After”	
Snapshots of Al-Qa’ida’s Weapons of Mass Destruction	
Programs in Afghanistan	269
Biological Weapons	269
Chemical Weapons	270
Radiological and Nuclear Weapons	271
Awakening to a New Threat: Collection Shortfalls and Analytic	
Uncertainty	273
Inadequate Collection: Little Insight into Al-Qa’ida’s	
Capabilities and Intentions	273
Analysis: Cross-Discipline Collaboration, Warning,	
and Evaluation	274
Conclusion	276
CHAPTER FOUR: TERRORISM: MANAGING TODAY’S	
THREAT	279
Introduction	280
Systemic Flaws as of the “Summer of Threat”	281
Notable Improvements Since the September 11 Attacks	282
Information Sharing: Much Room for Improvement	285
Counterterrorism Warning and Analysis: A Struggle	
Between Agencies	288
Who’s in Charge of Counterterrorism Analysis and Warning?	288
A Failure to Warn with One Voice	292
<i>Text Box: What Part of “Warning” Should Be</i>	
<i>Competitive?</i>	292
Maintenance of Redundant Capabilities	294
The Failure to Manage Community Resources in Response	
to the WMD Terrorism Threat	295
Defining Roles and Responsibilities for the	
WMD Terrorism Threat	296
The Domestic Intelligence Effort on WMD Terrorism	297
Conclusion	298
CHAPTER FIVE: IRAN AND NORTH KOREA: MONITORING	
THE DEVELOPMENT OF NUCLEAR CAPABILITIES ..	305

PART TWO: LOOKING FORWARD

INTRODUCTION TO PART TWO	307
CHAPTER SIX: LEADERSHIP AND MANAGEMENT: FORGING AN INTEGRATED INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY	311
Introduction	312
Building an Integrated Intelligence Community	313
Levers of Authority: Powers and Limitations of the New DNI	313
Organize Around Missions	317
Coordinate Target Development	319
Facilitate Information Sharing	320
Create Real “Jointness” and Build a Modern Workforce	321
Develop New Mechanisms for Spurring Innovation	326
A Different Kind of “Center”: Developing the National Counter Proliferation Center	327
Potential Pitfalls on the Path to Integration	331
Working with the FBI: Integrating Intelligence at Home and Abroad	331
Working with the Defense Department: Coordinating the National Intelligence Program with the Secretary of Defense	332
<i>Text Box: Another Potential Pitfall: Legal Myths in the Intelligence Community</i>	335
Sustained Oversight from the Outside and Improved Self- Examination from Within: Making Sure Reform Happens ..	336
Conclusion	342
Addendum: The Office of the Director of National Intelligence	343
CHAPTER SEVEN: COLLECTION	351
Introduction	352
The Targeting Challenge	353
The Cold War	353
Today’s Targets	354
Addressing Today’s Collection Demands	355
Creating an “Integrated Collection Enterprise”	356

Integrated Target Development	358
Strategic Management of Collection	359
<i>Text Box: Targeting in an Integrated Fashion</i>	360
Integrated Data Management	361
Integrated Strategic Planning and Investment	362
Integrated Development of New Collection Techniques	364
Improving the Performance of Individual Collection	
Disciplines	365
Human Intelligence Collection	365
<i>Text Box: Collecting Human Intelligence: Custodial</i>	
<i>Interrogations</i>	373
Technical Intelligence Collection	374
Open Source Collection	377
Protecting Sources and Methods	380
Authorized Disclosures of Sources and Methods	381
The Problem of Media Leaks	381
<u>CHAPTER EIGHT: ANALYSIS</u>	387
Introduction	388
<i>Text Box: Achieving Community Integration</i>	
<i>Among Analysts</i>	390
Managing the Community of Analysts	391
Tapping Non-Traditional Sources of Information	395
<i>Text Box: Context Is Critical</i>	398
Managing the Influx of Information	401
Fostering Long-Term Research and Strategic Thinking	402
Encouraging Diverse and Independent Analysis	405
Improving Tradecraft Through Training	407
<i>Text Box: What Denial and Deception (D&D)</i>	
<i>Means for Analysis</i>	410
Making Analysis More Transparent	411
Improving Scientific, Technical, and Weapons Intelligence	414
Serving Intelligence Customers	416
Modernizing the Analyst-Customer Relationship	417
Components of the Analyst-Customer Relationship	418
Serving the President and Senior Policymakers	419
Retaining the Best Analysts	423

Learning from Past Mistakes	424
Conclusion	425
CHAPTER NINE: INFORMATION SHARING	429
<i>Text Box: An End to “Sharing”</i>	430
Introduction: The Lay of the Land	430
Implementing the New Intelligence Legislation: Disentangling Overlapping Authorities	432
Managing Information Access, Information Security, and Information Technology	436
Learning From Past Information Sharing Experience	438
Setting Uniform Information Sharing Policies	441
Employing Strong Enforcement Mechanisms and Incentives to Drive Change	444
Protecting Privacy and Civil Liberties	445
CHAPTER TEN: INTELLIGENCE AT HOME: THE FBI, JUSTICE, AND HOMELAND SECURITY	451
Introduction	452
Change and Resistance to Change at the FBI	452
Change	452
Resistance to Change	454
Integrating the FBI into the Intelligence Community	457
The DNI’s Budget Authority Over the FBI	457
Appointment Authority and the Weakness of the Intelligence Directorate	460
“Intelligence Elements” of the FBI	464
Realigning the FBI’s Intelligence Elements	465
Ending the Turf War Between the FBI and CIA	468
The Department of Justice: The Remaining Reorganization. ..	471
The Department of Homeland Security: More Walls to Breach ..	473
CHAPTER ELEVEN: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE	485
Introduction	486
The Counterintelligence Challenge	488

The Status Quo	489
Institutionalizing Leadership	490
Inside the Agencies	492
Conclusion	495
CHAPTER TWELVE: COVERT ACTION	499
CHAPTER THIRTEEN: THE CHANGING PROLIFERATION THREAT AND THE INTELLIGENCE RESPONSE	501
Introduction	502
Biological Weapons	503
Introduction: “The Greatest Intelligence Challenge”	503
Biological Threats	505
The Intelligence Gap: What We Don’t Know	506
The United States Response: The Biodefense Shield	508
Going Forward: Improving Biological Weapons Intelligence Capabilities	509
Conclusion	516
Nuclear Weapons	516
Introduction	516
Loose Nukes: The Great Unknown	517
<i>Text Box: Established Nuclear Powers: China and Russia</i>	518
The Khan Network: “One-Stop Shopping” for Proliferation . . .	519
Conclusion	520
Chemical Weapons	520
The Interdiction Challenge: Intelligence for Action	522
Introduction	522
Improving the Flow of Information	523
Developing Tools to Do It in Real Time	523
Going Forward: A Different Model	524
Protecting our Borders: The Department of Homeland Security	527
Enlisting Commerce and Treasury to Combat Proliferation . .	529
Introduction	529
Department of Commerce: Enforcing the Export Control Regime	530

Department of the Treasury: Stopping Proliferation Financiers	531
Conclusion	532
CONCLUSION	537
POSTSCRIPT: FUTURE INTELLIGENCE CHALLENGES	543
Security, Counterintelligence, and Information Assurance	545
Rethinking Overhead Collection	546
Maximizing Intelligence Support to Public Diplomacy and Information Warfare	547

APPENDICES

<i>Appendix A: Authorizing Executive Order</i>	551
<i>Appendix B: List of Findings and Recommendations</i>	557
<i>Appendix C: An Intelligence Community Primer</i>	579
<i>Appendix D: Common Abbreviations</i>	591
<i>Appendix E: Biographical Information for Commissioners and List of Commission Staff</i>	595

INTRODUCTORY NOTE ON CLASSIFICATION

This unclassified report is derived from a 692-page classified report that was delivered to the President on March 31, 2005. We endeavored to write our classified report in a manner that allowed as much of its content as possible to be released—word for word—in this unclassified report. Because our mandate required us to review, and reach conclusions from, some of the more sensitive information in the possession of the United States Government, there was some information that we simply could not release in our unclassified report. Where the unclassified report omits substantive information that appears in the classified report, we make reference to the omission and, where possible, offer a general description of the omitted material.

We also note here that there are two chapters of our classified report that we could not include at all in our unclassified version. First, our classified report contained a chapter addressing the United States' intelligence capabilities with respect to two countries of proliferation concern, Iran and North Korea. Regrettably, even generalized statements about the state of the Intelligence Community's understanding of these countries are classified, and so we could not include our findings in this area in our unclassified report. Second, our classified report includes a short chapter on covert action which also is too sensitive to include in an unclassified format.