

# STATEMENT TO ACCOMPANY TESTIMONY BEFORE THE HOUSE PERMANENT SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE

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1. It is vital the Congress does not become too fixated on the lessons of 9/11 and instead focuses on a transforming watershed opportunity. There are a number of vital intelligence requirements that are beyond terrorism.
2. Any new approach to intelligence should begin with the future requirements and work back. It should be designed as an idealized intelligence system for protecting the American people and enhancing America's leadership in the world.
3. Only once an idealized system has been outlined can we begin the process of migrating the current inadequate, in some cases dysfunctional, and in every case far too slow, shallow and uncoordinated a system into the future desired system.
4. The current intelligence system has to be replaced and not repaired. Focusing on repair will only make it more complicated and even more cumbersome.
5. The greatest challenges to American security involve life and death for America as we have known it:
  - a. Nuclear weapons (Weapons of Mass Destruction);
  - b. Biological weapons (Weapons of Mass Murder); and
  - c. Electromagnetic pulse (Weapons of Mass Disruption).

Any of these weapons could have such an impact that our way of life as a free country would end. At the emerging intersection of a readily accessible global information and transportation network and proliferating weapons of mass destruction and weapons of mass murder, there is an increasing capability for small numbers of enemies to engage in total war—and the prospective destruction of the safe, prosperous, and free system of democracy in which we live.

Future intelligence requirements have to meet the requirements of protecting America and her allies from potential destruction of this scale.

6. This requires intelligence systems that look at Russia, China, Pakistan, India and other large countries as well as monitoring rogue dictatorships like North Korea, Iran and Syria. Furthermore this intelligence system has to be able to penetrate and understand non-state terrorist movements and the international criminal activities which empower and facilitate actions against civilization.

Finally, to create a no surprise and no sanctuary capabilities, this intelligence system has to take into account the scale of ungoverned areas (see attached map of *Possible Remote Havens for Terrorist and Other Illicit Activity*) and the complexity of language, culture, and history that have to be mastered by analysts as well as collectors of intelligence.

7. In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the right intelligence system has to:

- a. Be real time (Lieutenant General Keith Alexander's observation that "we have information age technologies, but industrial age processes");
- b. Be seamlessly networked between domestic and international intelligence and flexibly layered for all users—including our NATO allies and coalition partners as needed. The system must transparently cross regions and all types of problems—the right user has to be able to access the right information and the right analysis in virtually real time (the search engine Google and The Weather Channel's Weather.com website may be models of this future); and
- c. The information has to be analyzed contextually by people who spend years understanding the language, culture, history and personalities against which we are gathering information (this will require both many more analysts and many more foreign area specialists in the military);
- d. The system has to be predictive in translating current knowledge into estimates of future behavior but the predictions should come in a range of possibilities and not simply as a single community conclusion;

e. There has to be a powerful lessons learned system (modeled off the Joint Forces Command Lessons Learned structure) and a culture of self learning so the system is permanently improving by measuring its past performance against learned realities and then systematically improving procedures and systems.

8. There should be a single National Director of Intelligence (NDI) as a Cabinet official who advises the President and the National Security Adviser but is also directed with managing the intelligence system as a whole. The NDI must have budget authority to be effective and the top-line budget should be unclassified. This would also require a separate head of the Central Intelligence Agency who would actually focus on running that agency.

9. The President and the Congress should focus on metrics of achievement against which to measure the intelligence community. This should start with an understanding of the deep-mid-near layers of security requirements with deep being ten years out, mid being five years out and near being next year.

10. The President' daily brief should be redesigned to include more strategic analysis and more range of opinions. There should also be a system for monthly and quarterly briefs in more depth.

11. The speed and effectiveness that a global, information age world will require cannot be achieved by the Bureaucratic Public Administration we have inherited from the past. This is essentially a pre-industrial age system invented by the civil service reform movement of the 1880s when male clerks worked with quill pens and bottles of ink. We must invent a system of Entrepreneurial Public Management that moves with the speed, agility, and efficiency of information age processes. This will require a major shift in how Congress thinks about public activities and the metrics we use to measure success.

12. We should almost certainly split the FBI into a law enforcement agency and an anti-terrorism agency. The "caution and conviction focus" totally appropriate for a law enforcement agency is highly inappropriate and self destructive for an anti-terrorist agency. The "speed, risk-taking and aggressiveness" we want from a system engaged in stopping a terrorist armed with a biological or nuclear weapon would be frightening if exercised by law enforcement. It is asking too much of

people to believe both cultures can coexist in the same agency. One or the other will dominate and we will risk losing either our security or our freedoms.

13. Covert operations have had enormously impact on our history and the most important covert operations have been non-violent. France and Italy were saved from communism by American covert actions in 1947 to 1948. The wave of Soviet funded anti-American propaganda was defeated in the 1940s and 1950s by covert American operations. Congress must find new effective methods for funding very large civilian covert operations that are clearly part of the intelligence and diplomatic system—not part of the military. It would be an enormous mistake to put all covert operations inside the Department of Defense.

14. The Congress needs to look at its own responsibility for the failures in intelligence.

- a. What past laws that crippled either human intelligence overseas or the sharing between domestic and overseas intelligence have to be changed?
- b. How does Congress protect a stable intelligence community budget when it comes to the appropriations process? Does this require a separate appropriations subcommittee for intelligence so it is not crowded out by defense requirements?
- c. How can Congress clarify jurisdictions in both intelligence and homeland security so the Executive Branch can cooperate without absurd drains on senior executives for multiple appearances?
- d. Congress should make permanent select committees on homeland security.
- e. Congress should establish a serious system of educating newly elected members over a three or four term period into knowledge about national security, homeland security and intelligence. Our Constitution requires the Congress to be as informed as the Executive Branch and the life and death nature of some of these threats require every member to be so informed. Today that is simply not the case.
- f. The Congress, on a bicameral basis, should establish an independent commission to review Congress and intelligence over the last 20 years and

suggest systems improvements in the legislative-executive process. An advisory commission should be established to study intelligence successes of the 1940s and 1950s. All too often, Congress focuses on Executive branch inadequacies without ascertaining to what extent those inadequacies are the fault of Congress.

## WARNING

When everything has been done to improve our intelligence systems, the defense and homeland security systems will still need to be strengthened because no matter how clever and effective we are sooner or later we will be surprised. The record of alert countries being surprised is long and decisive.

I agree completely with Efraim Halevy, former head of Mossad, Israel's intelligence service, who recently wrote in *The Economist*:

“I have reason to believe that George Tenet...got it right on both key issues. He correctly assessed the terrorist threat, and his basic approach to the Iraqi conundrum was similarly accurate. The fact that WMD have not yet been found in Iraq is no proof that there was nothing there; those who can conceal complete squadrons of aircraft in the sand could easily act similarly when it comes to WMD.”

Our country faces active opponents who will study our new systems and our new procedures and sooner or later one of them will surprise us. Since we now live in an age of mass destruction, mass murder, and mass disruption we have to design defense and homeland security systems that are so robust and so in depth that after the surprise we are still a safe, prosperous, free society. The long war between good and evil, between freedom and tyranny, between civilization and barbarism will not end no matter how good our intelligence. Therefore we will have to be robustly prepared both at home and abroad.

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