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Gregory F. Treverton  
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## Intelligence for an Age of Terror

During the Cold War, U.S. intelligence was concerned primarily with states; nonstate actors like terrorists were secondary. Now, the priorities are reversed – and the challenge is enormous. States had an address, and they were hierarchical and bureaucratic; thus, they came with a “story.” Terrorists do not. States were “over there,” but terrorists are there and here. Therefore, they put pressure on intelligence at home, not just abroad. They also force intelligence and law enforcement – the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) – to work together in new ways, and, if those 700,000 police officers in the United States are to be the “eyes and ears” in the fight against terrorism, new means of sharing not only information but also analysis across the federal system are imperative. The strength of this book is that it underscores the extent of the change and ranges broadly across data collection and analysis, both foreign and domestic, and it presents the issues of value that arise as new targets require the collection of more information at home.

Gregory F. Treverton is director of the RAND Corporation’s Center for Global Risk and Security. Earlier, he directed RAND’s Intelligence Policy Center and its International Security and Defense Policy Center and was associate dean of the Pardee RAND Graduate School. His recent work has focused on terrorism, intelligence, and law enforcement, with a special interest in new forms of public–private partnership. Dr. Treverton has served in government for the first Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, handling Europe for the National Security Council (NSC); most recently, he served as vice chair of the National Intelligence Estimates (NIEs). He holds a B.A. *summa cum laude* from Princeton University and a master’s degree in public policy and a Ph.D. in economics and politics, both from Harvard University. His books include *Reshaping National Intelligence for an Age of Information* (Cambridge University Press, 2001) and *New Challenges, New Tools for Defense Decisionmaking* (2003).

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## Preface

This book very much stands alone, but it also takes up where my 2001 book, *Reshaping National Intelligence for an Age of Information*, left off. At the beginning of the last chapter of that earlier book, completed before September 11, I observed that the book had been mostly about how intelligence should reshape in continued fair weather for globalization. What, I asked, might turn that weather fouler? The first excursion I considered was a major terrorist attack on the United States (the other, haunting from the perspective of 2009, was a global economic collapse). This is hardly prescient – a stream of blue-ribbon panels had predicted an attack, sometime.

I imagined that an attack would make intelligence more important, which has turned out to be the case and thus became a reason for this book. (The other prediction I made was that military instruments would not turn out to be very relevant, and so military budgets would decline. On that score, I was either wrong or premature – depending on whether the war in Iraq is regarded as central to or a diversion from the fight against terror.) It struck me then, and continues to strike me now, that for all our talk about terrorism and other transnational threats as the preeminent targets of intelligence, the implications of that shift run much deeper than is usually realized. That became a second reason for doing this book.

As usual, the book accreted as much as it was written, as I drew on and adapted work done for other purposes. In the process, I incurred intellectual debts to a large number of colleagues, not all of whom I name here. My old friend Philip Bobbitt and I have come to many similar conclusions about the market state and about intelligence in an age of terror, sometimes by different routes, and I am always stimulated by talking with or reading him. John Parachini, who directs RAND's Intelligence Policy Center, has been a sparring partner for ideas throughout. RAND has provided support of a more tangible sort, first to assess the 2004 intelligence act and outline the next steps, then to work on drafting this book.

After September 11th, I had the opportunity to build up RAND's analytic support for the FBI – first in a review of the Bureau's internal security in the wake

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of the Robert Hanssen spy case and a blue-ribbon panel report, and most recently in a congressionally mandated assessment of the pros and cons of establishing a domestic intelligence service separated from law enforcement, a project of which the FBI was not the sponsor but in which it did have a keen interest. The work has been for me a fascinating introduction to a very different organizational culture than traditional intelligence, one I've come to admire in many respects. Even better, Bruce Ciske of the Bureau has been my informal guide throughout that introduction – a distinct professional and personal pleasure.

My chapter on analysis draws on work commissioned by the then–Assistant Director of Central Intelligence for Analysis and Production, Mark Lowenthal, and his deputy, Bill Nolte. I am grateful to them for that chance to snoop around the analysis shops in the intelligence community, and to my then–RAND colleague in that venture, Bryan Gabbard. I'm also grateful to Roger George and Jim Bruce, longtime colleagues, the latter now at RAND, whose edited volume on analysis gave me the chance to think more about “politicization.”

The chapter on analysis and the sections on learning organizations draw on a chapter commissioned by the CIA for a book on the psychology of intelligence analysis. The editor of that book, Dr. Richard Rees, worked over my chapter harder and more creatively than any editor ever has – all to my benefit. Alas, the book's fate is a kind of parable for the challenges U.S. intelligence faces. Cleared as unclassified, the CIA still decided not to publish the book – because an “official” publication by the CIA was thought to sanction comments that were critical, albeit intended as constructive criticism. The result was thus the oddity of an unclassified book that is available only on the CIA's highly classified computer system.

Finally, I have had the good fortune for the past several years to be a sometime visiting professor at the Swedish National Defence College. Only the Swedes would invite a foreigner to develop an intelligence program at their national defense college, but they have, happily. It has given me opportunity and incentive to think comparatively across a range of issues from the nature of the target and how to deal with “complexities,” to how to engage both new customers and private citizens in jointly producing useful intelligence. I thank my colleagues there, especially Wilhelm Agrell, Lars Nicander, Jan Leijonhielm, and Magnus Ranstorp.

I owe debts of other sorts to two other people, to whom I dedicate this book. The late Richard E. Neustadt, my friend, mentor, and colleague, first introduced me to the particularities of the political “tribe” when I was a graduate student. The example of his graceful prose left a lifelong appreciation for the power of a four-word sentence. The other is my wife, Karen – partner, friend, and more throughout the writing of this book and the rest of life's adventures. Needless to say, none of these good people should be held responsible for any shortcomings that remain. Those are mine alone.

Pacific Palisades, California

January 6, 2009

Acronyms

Symbol	Definition*
AAR	after-action review
ACS	Automated Case Support (FBI)
AFL–CIO	American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations
ATTF	Anti-Terrorism Task Force (U.S. attorneys)
AUMF	authorization for use of military force
BfV	Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz, or Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution (Germany)
CALL	Center for Army Lessons Learned
CAPPS II	Computer-Assisted Passenger Prescreening System II
CBM	confidence-building measure
CBP	Customs and Border Protection
CBRN	chemical, biological, radiological, or nuclear
CD	Counterintelligence Division (FBI)
CENTCOM	Central Command
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CID	Criminal Investigative Division (FBI)
CMS	Community Management Staff
COINTELPRO	Counterintelligence Program (FBI)
COPS	Community Oriented Policing Services
CSIS	Canadian Security and Intelligence Service

\*All institutions are in the United States unless otherwise specified.

CTC	Counterterrorism Center (CIA)
CTD	Counterterrorism Division (FBI)
CTR	Currency Transaction Report
DARPA	Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency
DCI	Director of Central Intelligence
DDNI	Deputy Director of National Intelligence
DEA	Drug Enforcement Administration
DHS	Department of Homeland Security
DI	Directorate of Intelligence
DIA	Defense Intelligence Agency
DIAC	Defense Intelligence Agency Center
DMPI	designated mean points of impact
DNI	Director of National Intelligence
DST	Direction de la Surveillance du Territoire, or Territorial Surveillance Directorate (France)
DTA	Detainee Treatment Act
EAD	Executive Assistant Director (FBI)
EC	electronic communication (FBI)
ECPA	Electronic Communications Privacy Act
FAA	Federal Aviation Administration
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
FIA	Future Imagery Architecture
FIG	Field Intelligence Group (FBI)
FISA	Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act
FISC	Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court
FNLA	National Front for the Liberation of Angola
FRA	Defence Radio Establishment (Sweden)
FutureMAP	Future Markets Applied to Prediction
HUMINT	human intelligence
ICDO	Integrated Concepts Development Office
IFOR	Intervention Force (United Nations)
IG	Inspector General
IMINT	imagery intelligence
INR	State Department Bureau of Intelligence and Research
INS	Immigration and Naturalization Service
IRA	Irish Republican Army
IRS	Internal Revenue Service



ISAC	Information Sharing and Analysis Center
ISE	Information-Sharing Environment
ISI	Inter-Service Intelligence (Pakistan)
ISR	intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance
IT	information technology
JMIC	Joint Military Intelligence College
JMIP	Joint Military Intelligence Program
JTFCT	Joint Task Force Counterterrorism (DIA)
JTTF	Joint Terrorism Task Force
LEA	law enforcement agency
MASINT	measurement and signatures intelligence
MATRIX	Multistate Antiterrorism Information Exchange
MLE	military liaison element
MPLA	Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NCIX	National Counterintelligence Executive
NCTC	National Counterterrorism Center
NED	National Endowment for Democracy
NGA	National Geospatial Intelligence Agency
NGO	non-governmental organization
NIC	National Intelligence Council
NIC-C	National Intelligence Coordination Center
NIE	National Intelligence Estimate
NIO	National Intelligence Officer
NIP	National Intelligence Program
NIPF	National Intelligence Priorities Framework
NOC	non-official cover
NRO	National Reconnaissance Office
NSA	National Security Agency
NSB	National Security Branch
NSC	National Security Council
NSL	National Security Letter
NYPD	New York Police Department
ODNI	Office of the Director of National Intelligence
OIPR	Office of Intelligence Policy and Review (Justice Department)
OSINT	open-source intelligence
PA&E	policy analysis and evaluation

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PACOM	Pacific Command
PDB	President’s Daily Brief
PNR	passenger name records
RCMP	Royal Canadian Mounted Police
RCMP-SS	Royal Canadian Mounted Police Security Service
RDM	robust decision making
RFU	Radical Fundamentalist Unit (FBI)
SAC	Special Agent in Charge (FBI)
SAG	Strategic Assessments Group (CIA)
SAR	suspicious activity reporting
SCC	Sector Coordinating Council
SCI	secret compartmented intelligence
SIGINT	signals intelligence
SIS	Senior Intelligence Service
SOCOM	Special Operations Command
SOUTHCOM	Southern Command
SSA	Social Security Administration
STEP	Science and Technology Experts Program
TIA	Total (Terrorism) Information Awareness
TIARA	Tactical Intelligence and Related Activities
TIDE	Terrorist Identities Datamart Environment
TLAM	Tomahawk Land Attack Missile
TSA	Transportation Security Administration
TSC	Terrorist Screening Center
TSDB	Terrorist Screening Database
TSP	Terrorist Surveillance Program
TTIC	Terrorist Threat Integration Center
UAV	unmanned aerial vehicle
UBLU	Usama Bin Laden Unit (FBI)
UN	United Nations
UNITA	National Union for the Total Independence of Angola
WMD	weapons of mass destruction

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