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Club of California

EXCERPTS OF REMARKS

BY

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BEFORE

THE COMMONWEALTH CLUB OF CALIFORNIA

JULY 23, 1976

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LET ME TELL YOU SOMETHING OF THE MECHANISM THAT HAS BEEN CREATED BY THE U.S. GOVERNMENT TO GATHER AND PRODUCE INTELLIGENCE. AS YOU KNOW, IT WAS THE SECOND WORLD WAR -- AND SPECIFICALLY PEARL HARBOR -- WHICH FOCUSED AMERICAN ATTENTION ON THE NEED NOT JUST FOR INFORMATION, BUT FOR A UNIFIED, NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE SERVICE. BEFORE THE WAR, WE HAD WHAT COULD BE CALLED DEPARTMENTAL INTELLIGENCE. THE WAR DEPARTMENT HAD MILITARY INTELLIGENCE, THE NAVY DEPARTMENT HAD NAVAL INTELLIGENCE, AND SO ON.

BUT IN TODAY'S TERMINOLOGY, NO ONE WAS "GETTING IT TOGETHER." ALL OF THE INFORMATION THAT MIGHT HAVE LED AN ANALYST TO CONCLUDE THAT JAPAN INTENDED TO ATTACK PEARL HARBOR WAS AVAILABLE IN WASHINGTON. BUT IT WAS NOT IN ONE PLACE FOR AN ANALYST TO STUDY; IT WAS INSTEAD IN SEPARATE BITS AND PIECES CAREFULLY CONTROLLED BY EACH DEPARTMENT.

AFTER THE WAR, IT WAS CLEAR THAT AMERICA REQUIRED CONTINUING INTELLIGENCE ON DEVELOPMENTS AND TRENDS ABROAD AND THAT A CENTRAL ORGANIZATION WAS NEEDED TO ENSURE THAT WE HAD ALL OUR FACTS TOGETHER AND WOULD NEVER AGAIN BE CAUGHT BY SURPRISE.

Approved For Release 2006/12/11 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000200220028-2

Approved For Release 2006/12/11 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000200220028-2

IN 1947, PRESIDENT TRUMAN SIGNED INTO LAW THE NATIONAL SECURITY ACT WHICH CREATED THE CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY. THE AGENCY WAS INTENDED TO BE -- AND IS -- THE CENTRAL POINT FOR PRODUCING NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE, THAT IS, INTELLIGENCE PRODUCED TO SERVE NATIONAL POLICYMAKERS AND INTELLIGENCE OF INTEREST TO MORE THAN ONE DEPARTMENT OR AGENCY.

THE AGENCY WAS NOT INTENDED TO TAKE OVER THE VERY VALID FUNCTIONS OF THE VARIOUS DEPARTMENTAL INTELLIGENCE ORGANIZATIONS. THOSE ORGANIZATIONS EXIST TODAY AND ARE ESSENTIAL PARTS OF THE DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES THEY SERVE.

THE NATIONAL SECURITY ACT ALSO CREATED THE POSITION OF DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE -- THE DCI. THE DCI IS THE NATION'S SENIOR FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE OFFICER AND THE PRESIDENT'S PRINCIPAL ADVISOR ON FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE. IT WAS INTENDED THAT THE DCI SHOULD WEAR TWO HATS: ONE AS DIRECTOR OF THE CIA AND THE OTHER AS HEAD OF THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY AS A WHOLE.

IN THE EARLIEST DAYS, THE DCI TENDED TO CONCENTRATE ON HIS ROLE AS HEAD OF THE CIA. BUT OVER THE YEARS, AS THE PROBLEMS WE FACED ABROAD GREW IN COMPLEXITY, SO, TOO, DID THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY. PEOPLE AND RESOURCES IN ALL OF THE VARIOUS PARTS OF THE COMMUNITY INCREASED.

Approved For Release 2006/12/11 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000200220028-2

Approved For Release 2006/12/11 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000200220028-2

IN 1971, THE PRESIDENT INSTRUCTED THE DCI TO TAKE A MORE ACTIVE ROLE IN COORDINATING THE RESOURCES AND ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMUNITY. IN THE PAST FIVE YEARS WE HAVE MADE MAJOR STRIDES IN BUILDING A TRUE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY -- WITH A CAPITAL I AND A CAPITAL C. THE COMMUNITY NOW CONSISTS OF THE CIA; THE DEFENSE INTELLIGENCE AGENCY; THE NATIONAL SECURITY AGENCY; AND THE INTELLIGENCE COMPONENTS OF THE MILITARY SERVICES, THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, THE FBI, THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT, AND THE ENERGY RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION.

IN FEBRUARY, AS YOU PROBABLY REMEMBER, PRESIDENT FORD ISSUED AN EXECUTIVE ORDER THAT STRENGTHENED THE DCI'S ROLE AS THE LEADER OF THE NATION'S INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY. THAT ORDER ALSO DIRECTED NEW ORGANIZATIONAL ARRANGEMENTS TO STRENGTHEN THE DCI'S MANAGEMENT OF THE COMMUNITY.

THESE NEW ARRANGEMENTS HAVE MADE SOME VERY IMPORTANT CHANGES, AND I WOULD LIKE TO TAKE JUST A MINUTE TO OUTLINE SOME OF THEM. I THINK IT IS VERY IMPORTANT FOR YOU TO UNDERSTAND THESE RELATIONSHIPS IN ORDER TO SUPPORT THE MISSION OF YOUR INTELLIGENCE SERVICE AND TO REPOSE TRUST AND RELIANCE IN THE MANNER IN WHICH WE CONDUCT OURSELVES AND OUR BUSINESS.

Approved For Release 2006/12/11 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000200220028-2

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A COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE, WHICH I CHAIR, HAS BEEN CREATED BY THE PRESIDENT. IT CONTROLS BUDGET PREPARATION AND RESOURCE APPLICATION FOR THE ENTIRE NATIONAL FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE PROGRAM. IT MANAGES OUR INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES AND ESTABLISHES POLICY FOR THE COLLECTION AND PRODUCTION OF NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE.

AN OPERATIONAL ADVISORY GROUP HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED TO MAKE RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE PRESIDENT CONCERNING SPECIAL INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES IN SUPPORT OF NATIONAL FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES -- THAT IS, COVERT ACTION. THE GROUP ALSO REVIEWS AND APPROVES SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE COLLECTION OPERATIONS. THE MEMBERS OF THIS BOARD INCLUDE THE ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS, THE SECRETARIES OF STATE AND DEFENSE, THE CHAIRMAN OF THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF, AND THE DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE.

IN RESPONSE TO THE INVESTIGATIONS OF U.S. INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES CONDUCTED BY THE ROCKEFELLER COMMISSION AND BY THE SENATE AND HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEES, THE PRESIDENT ALSO HAS CREATED AN INTELLIGENCE OVERSIGHT BOARD OF THREE PROMINENT PRIVATE CITIZENS. THIS BOARD RECEIVES AND CONSIDERS REPORTS BY THE INSPECTORS GENERAL AND GENERAL COUNSELS OF THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY CONCERNING ANY ACTIVITIES THAT RAISE QUESTIONS OF LEGALITY OR PROPRIETY. IT IS THE BOARD'S RESPONSIBILITY TO ENSURE THAT THE ATTORNEY GENERAL AND THE PRESIDENT ARE PROPERLY ADVISED.

Approved For Release 2006/12/11 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000200220028-2

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IN ORDER TO ENABLE ME TO DEVOTE MORE ATTENTION TO FORMULATING AND CARRYING OUT POLICIES FOR THE COMMUNITY, THE PRESIDENT ALSO HAS DIRECTED THAT I HAVE TWO DEPUTIES. ONE IS RESPONSIBLE TO ME FOR THE DAY-TO-DAY OPERATION OF THE CIA AND THE OTHER IS RESPONSIBLE TO ME FOR ACCOMPLISHING MY ROLE AS HEAD OF THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY. LEGISLATION TO ESTABLISH THESE POSITIONS WILL BE INTRODUCED IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

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HAVING GIVEN YOU THE OUTLINE OF THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY AND OF ITS CONTROL MECHANISM, LET ME SPEAK VERY BRIEFLY ABOUT THE SPECIFIC ROLE OF THE CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY. THE CIA IS THE NATION'S RESOURCE FOR PRODUCING NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE. AND IT TRULY IS A NATIONAL RESOURCE -- OUR TRAINED, SKILLFUL, AND IMAGINATIVE ANALYSTS ARE A WEALTH BEYOND PRICE.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY PROVIDE US TODAY WITH MEANS OF COLLECTING INFORMATION THAT IS BEYOND THE WILDEST IMAGININGS OF EVEN A FEW YEARS AGO. YET DESPITE THE MIND-BOGGLING ADVANCES MADE IN THIS AREA, THERE IS STILL AN ESSENTIAL NEED FOR INFORMATION FROM PEOPLE. TRAINED AND EXPERIENCED PEOPLE ARE NECESSARY TO ACQUIRE INFORMATION THAT IS ONLY AVAILABLE THROUGH ACCESS TO KNOWLEDGEABLE FOREIGN OFFICIALS AND TO THE PLANS AND INTENTIONS OF FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS THAT MAY BE ADVERSE TO U.S. INTERESTS.

Approved For Release 2006/12/11 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000200220028-2

Approved For Release 2006/12/11 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000200220028-2

I AM A COMPARATIVE NEWCOMER TO THE INTELLIGENCE BUSINESS, BUT I HAVE BEEN IMMERSED LONG ENOUGH TO HAVE NO HESITANCY IN SAYING TO YOU THAT THE CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY IS AN ORGANIZATION OF WHICH THE ENTIRE NATION CAN BE PROUD.

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ON MY WAY HERE TODAY, I WAS REMINDED OF SOMETHING THAT WAS WRITTEN BY JOHN BUCHAN IN 1940, A TIME OF DESCENDING DARKNESS ON EUROPE AND THE FREE WORLD, WHEN GREAT BRITAIN STOOD VIRTUALLY ALONE AGAINST THE SEEMINGLY IRRESISTIBLE ENEMY. JOHN BUCHAN, AS YOU REMEMBER, IS THE FAMILY NAME OF LORD TWEEDSMUIR, THEN GOVERNOR GENERAL OF CANADA AND ALSO AUTHOR OF SOME NOW CLASSIC TALES OF ESPIONAGE AND ADVENTURE. JOHN BUCHAN WROTE THEN:

> "THE UNITED STATES IS THE RICHEST, AND, BOTH ACTUALLY AND POTENTIALLY, THE MOST POWERFUL STATE ON THE GLOBE. SHE HAS MUCH, I BELIEVE, TO GIVE TO THE WORLD; INDEED, TO HER HANDS IS CHIEFLY ENTRUSTED THE SHAPING OF THE FUTURE. IF DEMOCRACY IN THE BROADEST AND TRUEST SENSE IS TO SURVIVE, IT WILL BE MAINLY BECAUSE OF HER GUARDIANSHIP. FOR, WITH ALL HER IMPERFECTIONS, SHE HAS A CLEARER VIEW THAN ANY OTHER PEOPLE OF THE DEMOCRATIC FUNDAMENTALS."

THAT WAS WRITTEN IN 1940, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, AND SURELY IT IS AS TRUE TODAY AS IT WAS THEN. TO BE SURE, MANY THINGS HAVE CHANGED, LARGELY BECAUSE OF THE WAY THAT

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Approved For Release 2006/12/11 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000200220028-2

WE DID DISCHARGE OUR RESPONSIBILITIES AFTER WORLD WAR II. LARGELY BECAUSE OF OUR OWN POLICIES AND ACTIONS, WE ARE NO LONGER IN THE POSITION OF FOOD SUPPLIER TO THE FREE WORLD; WE ARE NO LONGER IN THE POSITION OF THE REBUILDER AND SUPPORTER OF WAR-SHATTERED ECONOMIES OF THE WORLD; AND, LARGELY BECAUSE OF THE SUCCESS OF OUR POLICIES, WE HAVE RELINQUISHED WHAT TOLERANCE WE HAD FOR BEING THE WORLD'S POLICEMAN.

BUT THE WORLD IS NOT YET SUCH AS WE WOULD WANT IT TO BE. MAYBE IT NEVER WILL BE. IT CERTAINLY IS NOT LIKELY TO BECOME A UTOPIAN WORLD WITHIN OUR LIFETIME OR EVEN IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE. AND WHILE WE ARE STRIVING TO MAKE OUR CONTRIBUTION TO A WORLD OF PEACE AND SECURITY AND TRUST, WE FIND THAT WE STILL NEED -- QUITE CONSISTENT WITH THIS STRIVING -- TO HAVE NATIONAL SECURITY SECOND TO NONE IN THE WORLD.

IN PEACE, PRESIDENT FORD HAS SAID, THERE IS NO SUBSTITUTE FOR INTELLIGENCE. IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE COUNTRY THAT WE LOVE AND THE SYSTEM OF FREEDOM IN WHICH WE BELIEVE, WE MUST ABOVE ALL HAVE KNOWLEDGE. KNOWLEDGE OF WHAT THE INTENTIONS ARE OF THOSE THAT WOULD WISH US HARM, KNOWLEDGE OF WHAT POTENTIAL FOR DOING US HARM THEY MAY POSSESS. WE NEED THAT KNOWLEDGE TO PROVIDE IT TO THOSE WHO MAKE POLICY FOR OUR NATION SO THAT WE MAY BE PREPARED WITH POLICIES AND ACTIONS OF OUR OWN, AND SO THAT WE MAY ADOPT POLICIES AND ACTIONS THAT PROTECT AND PROMOTE OUR

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Approved For Release 2006/12/11 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000200220028-2

NATIONAL INTERESTS WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF PEACE AND SECURITY, AND, HOPEFULLY, TRUST. FOR THE ONLY ALTERNATIVE TO ACTING ON THE BASIS OF KNOWLEDGE IS ACTING ON THE BASIS OF IGNORANCE AND THAT IS NOT WHAT WE WISH FOR OURSELVES, EITHER IN OUR PRIVATE LIVES OR IN OUR INTERNATIONAL DEALINGS.

THE ONE ELEMENT OF THE PROFESSION OF INTELLIGENCE, THAT ESSENTIAL COMPONENT OF NATIONAL SECURITY AND FOREIGN RELATIONS, THAT HAS TROUBLED US AS CITIZENS OF A FREE NATION IS THE NECESSARY -- INDEED, ESSENTIAL -- ELEMENT OF SECRECY THAT IS INHERENT IN OUR PROFESSION. IT IS NO WONDER THAT EVEN THE VERY FACT OF SECRECY TENDS TO STIMULATE SUSPICION AND GIVE AN AURA OF SENSATIONALISM, AND THEREFORE OFTEN AN ENTIRELY ERRONEOUS PERSPECTIVE TO VARIOUS DISCLOSURES AND FINDINGS, OCCASIONALLY, IF I MAY SAY SO, WITHOUT DUE REGARD FOR THE AMOUNT AND QUALITY OF EVIDENCE.

IF SECRECY IS ESSENTIAL, SO TOO, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, IS ACCOUNTABILITY. NO ACTIVITY OF OUR GOVERNMENT MAY BE CONDUCTED WITHOUT BEING SUBJECTED TO A RELIABLE AND RESPONSIBLE SYSTEM OF CHECKS AND BALANCES. BUT, MY FRIENDS, ACCOUNTABILITY IS ONE THING; RECKLESSNESS IS ANOTHER. IT IS NOT THOSE WHO DISCLOSE THE NAMES OF OUR INTELLIGENCE OFFICERS SERVING ABROAD THAT ADD TO THE SECURITY OF A FREE SOCIETY. IT IS NOT THOSE WHO BELIEVE THEY CAN ON THEIR OWN JUDGMENT DISCLOSE INFORMATION WHICH HAS BEEN CLASSIFIED IN THE INTERESTS OF OUR SECURITY THAT CONTRIBUTE TO THE

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Approved For Release 2006/12/11 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000200220028-2

RESPONSIVENESS OF GOVERNMENT TO THE PEOPLE. AND IT IS NOT THOSE WHO DETERMINEDLY DENY THE GOOD WILL AND RESPONSIBILITY OF PEOPLE IN AND OUT OF GOVERNMENT BY DWELLING ON ABUSES OF THE PAST THAT ENHANCE THE MECHANISM OF ACCOUNTABILITY WHICH THIS FREE SOCIETY HAS CREATED FOR THE CONTROL OF LEGITIMATELY SECRET GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBILITIES.

THE GREAT MAJORITY OF US, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, HAVE FAITH IN THE STRENGTH AND EFFECTIVENESS OF OUR DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS, FOR WHILE DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS MAY BE USED TO SOW SEEDS OF WEAKNESS AND DISTRUST, THEY EXIST IN ORDER TO MAKE US STRONG AND SELF-RELIANT, AND THEY HAVE PROVED THEIR EFFECTIVENESS IN THE 200 YEARS OF OUR HISTORY.

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YOU ALL KNOW SOME OF THE PROBLEMS I FACE IN THIS JOB. I WISH YOU COULD ALSO SHARE IN THE PRIDE I FEEL FOR OUR INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY AND THE COMFORT I GET, AS AN AMERICAN, IN SEEING THE TREMENDOUS TALENT WE HAVE IN THE CIA AND ACROSS THE WHOLE COMMUNITY.

I WISH YOU COULD TALK TO SOME OF OUR EMPLOYEES WHOSE HEADS ARE HIGH AFTER A COUPLE OF YEARS OF VICIOUS BATTERING. THEY ARE AS VIGOROUSLY OPPOSED TO THE MISTAKES OF THE PAST AS OUR STRONGEST CRITICS, BUT THEY HAVE RETAINED A PERSPECTIVE. THEY KNOW THE NEED FOR A STRONG INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY, AND THEY ARE PREPARED TO WITHSTAND THE BATTERING, IF THAT IS NECESSARY, TO WORK FOR A CAUSE THEY BELIEVE IN.

Approved For Release 2006/12/11 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000200220028-2

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I WISH YOU COULD HAVE MET THE SON OF RICHARD WELCH, WHO WAS GUNNED DOWN FOLLOWING DISCLOSURE OF HIS NAME BY PEOPLE BENT ON DESTROYING CIA. THIS YOUNG MAN KNEW WELL THAT HIS FATHER HAD DIED FOR A CAUSE IN WHICH HE DEEPLY BELIEVED.

AND I HOPE THAT INCREASINGLY ALSO YOU WILL DRAW REASSURANCE AND PRIDE FROM THE MANNER IN WHICH THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY NOT ONLY RESPONDS TO THE DIRECTION OF THE ELECTED CHIEF EXECUTIVE BUT ALSO IS ACCOUNTABLE TO THE ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES IN CONGRESS.

I BELIEVE THAT AMERICA'S INTELLIGENCE SERVICE IS A GREAT NATIONAL ASSET. AMERICA'S INTELLIGENCE IS GOOD. WE ARE WORKING HARD TO MAKE IT EVEN BETTER. YOUR UNDERSTANDING, SUPPORT AND TRUST ARE ESSENTIAL FOR OUR SUCCESS.

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