

63. Jane Garvey interview (Oct. 21, 2003).
64. As defined by statute, *covert action* "means an activity or activities of the United States Government to influence political, economic, or military conditions abroad, where it is intended that the role of the United States Government will not be apparent or acknowledged publicly, but does not include—(1) activities the primary purpose of which is to acquire intelligence[.]” 50 U.S.C. § 413b(e). Executive Order 12333, titled “United States Intelligence Activities,” terms covert action “special activities,” defined as “activities conducted in support of national foreign policy objectives abroad which are planned and executed so that the role of the United States Government is not apparent or acknowledged publicly, and functions in support of such activities[.]” E.O. 12333 § 3.4(h). Pursuant to that order, the CIA has primary responsibility for covert action; another nonmilitary agency may conduct covert action only if the president determines that it “is more likely to achieve a particular objective.” *Ibid.* § 1.8(e).
65. See 50 U.S.C. § 401a(4).
66. DCI report, “National Foreign Intelligence Program Historical Data FY 1985 to FY 2003,” Feb. 11, 2004.
67. For quote, see Joint Inquiry testimony of Michael Hayden, June 18, 2002; see also Michael Hayden interview (Dec. 10, 2003).
68. Michael Hayden interview (Dec. 10, 2003).
69. For the CIA’s early years, see John Ranelagh, *The Agency: The Rise and Decline of the CIA* (Simon & Schuster, 1986). For the Agency’s more recent history, see Robert M. Gates, *From the Shadows: The Ultimate Insider’s Story of Five Presidents and How They Won the Cold War* (Simon & Schuster, 1996).
70. Regarding the dissolution of the OSS and creation of the CIG, see Michael Warner, *Central Intelligence: Origin and Evolution* (Center for the Study of Intelligence, 2001); Executive Order 9621, “Termination of the Office of Strategic Services and Disposition of its Functions,” Sept. 20, 1945; “Presidential Directive on Coordination of Foreign Intelligence Activities,” Jan. 22, 1946 (11 Fed. Reg. 1337, 1339).
71. Regarding fears of creating a U.S. Gestapo, see Amy Zegart, *Flawed by Design: The Evolution of the CIA, JCS and NSC* (Stanford Univ. Press, 1999), p. 268, n. 6.
72. National Security Act of 1947, Pub. L. No. 80–253, § 102(d)(3), codified at 50 U.S.C. § 403–3(d)(1).
73. On plausible deniability, see, e.g., Ranelagh, *The Agency*, pp. 341–345; Evan Thomas, *The Very Best Men: Four Who Dared: The Early Years of the CIA* (Simon & Schuster, 1995), pp. 230–235.
74. James Pavitt interview (Jan. 8, 2004).
75. Steve Kappes interview (May 7, 2004); James Pavitt interview (Jan. 8, 2004).
76. Jami Miscik interview (Aug. 29, 2003).
77. Mary McCarthy, Fritz Ermarth, and Charles Allen briefing (Aug. 14, 2003).
78. See Tom Mangold, *Cold Warrior: James Jesus Angleton, the CIA’s Master Spy Hunter* (Simon & Schuster, 1991).
79. Ruth David interview (June 10, 2003).
80. “According to the 2002 Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System statistics, American colleges granted only six degrees in Arabic in the survey year.” Joint Inquiry report (unclassified version), p. 344.
81. Leo Hazelwood interview (Aug. 25, 2003); Duane Clarridge interview (Sept. 16, 2003).
82. Charles Allen interview (Sept. 22, 2003); Duane Clarridge interview (Sept. 16, 2003); David Carey interview (Oct. 31, 2003); Leo Hazelwood interview (Aug. 25, 2003); John Helgeson interview (Sept. 5, 2003); Robert Vickers interview (Sept. 17, 2003); CIA Inspector General report, “The Agency’s Counterterrorism Effort,” Oct. 1994.
83. Cofer Black testimony, Apr. 13, 2004.
84. James Pavitt interview (Jan. 8, 2004).
85. George Tenet testimony, Mar. 24, 2004; George Tenet testimony, Apr. 14, 2004.
86. Richard Armitage interview (Jan. 12, 2004).
87. See Dana Priest, *The Mission: Waging War and Keeping Peace with America’s Military* (W.W. Norton, 2003).
88. Michael Sheehan interview (Dec. 16, 2003).
89. See DOS report, Bureau of Consular Affairs, “1990 Report of the Visa Office,” Oct. 1991; DOS Inspector General report, “Review of the Visa-Issuing Process; Phase I: Circumstances Surrounding the Issuance of Visas to Sheik Omar Ahmed Ali Abdel Rahman,” Mar. 1994; Mary Ryan interviews (Sept. 29, 2003; Oct. 9, 2003); DOS briefing materials, presentation on consular systems delivered to the Information Resources Management Program Board, Apr. 26, 1995; DOS report, “History of the Department of State During the Clinton Presidency (1993–2001),” undated (online at www.state.gov/r/pa/ho/pubs/c6059.htm); Foreign Relations Authorization Act, Pub. L. No. 103–236 (1994), § 140(a).
90. See Gordon N. Lederman, *Reorganizing the Joint Chiefs of Staff: The Goldwater-Nichols Act of 1986* (Greenwood, 1999).
91. William Cohen interview (Feb. 5, 2004); John Hamre interview (Dec. 9, 2003); Hugh Shelton interview (Dec. 5, 2004); Cohen Group meeting (Dec. 12, 2003).
92. See Monterey Institute of International Studies report, “Nunn-Lugar-Domenici Domestic Preparedness and WMD Civil Support Teams,” Oct. 2001 (online at <http://cns.miiis.edu/research/cbw/120city.htm>); National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1997, Pub. L. No. 104–201, 110 Stat. 2422 (1996); DOD report, “Domes-