

certain specific target-related types of ethnic and cultural diversity should be sought as a bona fide occupational qualification. Without a fundamental shift in the CIA's operational paradigm, diversity for diversity's sake alone will do little to improve the CIA's ability to execute its mission.

VI. Covert Action

A. Clarity and Support

As with HUMINT operations, there is obviously little one can say here about the lessons that should be learned from the CIA's clearly mixed record of success in offensive operations against Al-Qa'ida before September 11, 2001.¹⁶³ One important lesson, however, was suggested by former National Security Advisor Sandy Berger in his testimony before our Joint Inquiry. In giving covert action instructions to the CIA, he said it is incumbent upon the President to convey

¹⁶³ DCI Tenet confirmed the existence of CIA offensive operations against Al-Qa'ida in public testimony before the Joint Inquiry. See George Tenet, testimony before joint SSCI/HPSCI hearing (October 17, 2002), *available from* FDCH Political Transcripts (October 17, 2002) (declining to discuss specific legal authorities received by CIA to conduct operations before September 11, 2001 but describing "offensive operations" and a "plan of attack" both "inside Afghanistan and globally" to "render" Al-Qa'ida terrorists [capture and deliver them to appropriate authorities], "disrupt" Usama bin Laden's terrorist infrastructure and finances, and otherwise "degrade his ability to engage in terrorism").