Mr. President, I rise to offer, along with Senator

Hutchison, and also Senator Roberts and Senator Mikulski, this

amendment. I will explain it in further detail. But the main objective

of our amendment is to institutionalize much needed reform, based upon

our recent experience, which is, namely, the practice of alternative

analysis, or, as we say, ``red teaming,'' in the production of

significant intelligence assessments.

As to this Rockefeller-Hutchison amendment, I am very pleased to say

I believe the distinguished chair and ranking member of the Committee

on Governmental Affairs have indicated their support for this

amendment--that is my hope--and that, therefore, the amendment will be

accepted by them and supported, obviously, by our colleagues without

the need for a vote.

Section 123 of the Collins-Lieberman bill provides for placement of

the National Intelligence Council within the office of the national

intelligence director. The Council is currently under the Director of

Central Intelligence.

As the Senate Intelligence Committee report on prewar intelligence on

Iraq explains, National Intelligence Estimates are the intelligence

community's most authoritative written judgments--they are the golden

standard--on national security issues.

The Collins-Lieberman bill reforms the work of the National

Intelligence Council, based in significant part on the findings of the

Intelligence Committee's Iraq review.

Importantly, it requires the National Intelligence Estimates to

distinguish between the intelligence underlying estimates and the

judgments of analysts about the intelligence itself. The bill also

requires that the estimates describe the quality and reliability of the

intelligence underlying the analytical judgments, present and explain

alternative conclusions, and characterize any uncertainties. Our

amendment builds upon this important reform in two ways.

First, our amendment applies these reforms not only to National

Intelligence Estimates, to which they are currently limited, but also

to other analytical products of the National Intelligence Council,

which is the senior group made up of intelligence people and people

from public and private sectors--the senior group.

Second, our amendment will institutionalize a method of ensuring that

an alternative analysis is used in the preparation of National

Intelligence Estimates and is available to policymakers reviewing the

estimates so they get the full picture.

It does this by providing for the establishment within the national

intelligence authority of an office of alternative analysis, whose head

will be appointed by the national intelligence director. The national

intelligence director is required to ensure the independence of the

office of alternative analysis. The unit is directed to review every

National Intelligence Estimate, and any other intelligence report

designated pursuant to guidelines established by the director.

The important purpose of the Rockefeller-Hutchison bill is the

following: To thoroughly examine all facts, all assumptions, analytical

methods, and judgments used in the estimate--in other words, the

ability to question, to

be a contrarian, to dig deeper, to ask questions that otherwise and

heretofore have not been asked. To make sure that the alternative

analysis is available to policymakers, our amendment also requires that

each National Intelligence Estimate or other product that is subject to

an alternative analysis include the alternative analysis in its

appendix.

While our Intelligence Committee's Iraq review did not include

committee recommendations, I can assure our colleagues of the

widespread support within our committee of the importance of

alternative analysis or ``red teaming'' as it is called informally. It

remains important for the body of the National Intelligence Estimate to

state dissent from within the intelligence community. But beyond that,

it is vital for a dedicated group of analysts to examine all aspects of

an estimate--data, assumptions, analytic methods, and judgments.

The ultimate objective is to enable the National Intelligence Council

personnel, the national intelligence director, and the executive and

legislative branch policymakers to appraise the intelligence

community's analysis on matters central to our national security.

I would like to express my special appreciation to Senator Hutchison

who has been working on this for a long time and had a similar

amendment. Our staffs worked flawlessly together. Senator Roberts,

chairman of the full Intelligence Committee, also had a related

amendment making it clear that the national intelligence director is

responsible for ensuring competitive analysis throughout the

intelligence community. I thank both Senators for their contribution.

I also wish to express my appreciation to Congresswoman Jane Harman

for developing in the House an alternative analysis proposal from which

we have benefited preparing this amendment.

I hope the Rockefeller-Hutchison amendment is acceptable.

I yield to the distinguished Senator from the State of Texas.