# NATO Intelligence Sharing in the 21st Century

## Columbia School of International and Public Affairs
## Capstone Research Project, Spring 2013

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# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report analyzes the opportunities and obstacles for intelligence sharing with select NATO members: France, Germany, Italy, and Turkey. In addition to describing the history, organizational structure, and capabilities of these members' civilian and military intelligence organizations, the report provides a framework for assessing a country's propensity to share intelligence based on the following six factors: strategic priorities, security environment, established partnerships, intelligence capabilities, and culture. We hope this framework can serve as an enduring analytical tool for intelligence scholars and practitioners.

Based on our research, we conclude the following about the prospects for intelligence sharing with France, Germany, Italy, and Turkey:

Due to the insular nature of **France's** secret services and the lack of legislative oversight, France's propensity to share intelligence will depend on the characteristics of its potential partners. France will be likely to share if the partner is involved in similar areas of strategic interest, if it is affected by an event that causes a sense of crisis in France, if there are mutual "boots on the ground," or if the partner is a member of *Five Eyes*.

Historically, **Germany** has been a reliable NATO partner. It is likely to continue to share intelligence with Western allies because it has congruent strategic priorities and established institutional partnerships. The major obstacle for sharing in this case is Germany's traumatic historical experience with both militarism and intelligence, and the resulting reluctance to get involved in military missions. Germany's strong signals intelligence and human intelligence capabilities in the Middle East make it an attractive sharing partner.

Of the countries studied in this report, **Italy** may be the most willing to share intelligence. Italy is undergoing deep defense cuts and is therefore facing the need to maintain its current intelligence capabilities in the face of capacity constraints. Intelligence sharing offers a solution to this problem, and the fact that Italy must cooperate with other countries to address its most pressing strategic threats creates strong incentives for intelligence sharing partnerships. Nonetheless, there are real obstacles to sharing, including the country's weak cyber systems and lingering questions about the judicial oversight of Italian intelligence services.

**Turkey** is an attractive partner for intelligence sharing due to its unique geopolitical position, which enables Turkey to share its intelligence on a transactional basis as long as such cooperation serves its core strategic interests. Two major drivers for Turkish intelligence sharing are Turkey's desire to leverage its soft power to increase its regional influence and Turkish fears of Kurdish separatism. However, compared to other countries in our brief, Turkey is probably least likely to share intelligence due to its relatively close relationship with and energy dependency on Russia and Iran and occasionally strained relationship with the US and Israel.

# INTRODUCTION AND FRAMEWORK

This NATO Capstone project focuses on the national civilian and military intelligence organizations of the following four NATO members: Germany, France, Italy, and Turkey. In addition to describing the historical development, organizational structures, and relationships of these countries' intelligence enterprises, the project provides a brief overview of their relative strengths and weaknesses with regard to their ability to participate in NATO operations. After establishing the general capabilities and design of each member state's intelligence apparatus, the project determines what the incentives and obstacles are for each country to share intelligence. By understanding the core competencies of key NATO allies, the U.S. Department of Defense and the Intelligence Community as a whole will be better prepared to plan and execute joint operations.

In this report "intelligence" is defined as a product that enables policymakers to make more informed decisions on matters of national interest. Intelligence agencies attempt to provide political leaders a decision-making advantage in the policy process, combining open and secret sources in their analyses. The collection of secrets makes intelligence agencies different from other organizations; it also makes international intelligence sharing problematic. A country's "intelligence enterprise" includes civilian and foreign intelligence agencies, domestic police and customs organizations, the armed forces, and the diplomatic community. All these institutions play a role in collecting and analyzing information.

We urge readers not to think about a country's propensity to share intelligence as a binary choice. Our research and interviews with intelligence officers reveals that this "yes or no" framework does not reflect the dynamics of an intelligence enterprise. To the contrary, intelligence professionals generally agree that sharing intelligence in the global marketplace is a given because no single country can expect to achieve its security objectives alone. We argue that a comprehensive study of intelligence sharing should acknowledge that sharing does and will happen between countries, and it should focus instead on how and under what conditions countries share intelligence. To do so we ask the following questions: 1) "What types or pieces of intelligence will a country decide to share?", 2) "How much intelligence will a country decide to share?", and 3)"Under what circumstances and conditions will the country choose to share?"

It is also important to note that intelligence sharing is not necessarily a simple quid-pro-quo transaction. In fact, most intelligence sharing is asymmetrical, with one party sharing much more than the other. Additionally, countries may share intelligence in a complex liaison, whereby they exchange information for other benefits, such as goodwill or credit for some future sharing arrangement.

Based on our research and interviews with academics and intelligence officials, it is clear that interpersonal relationships matter for intelligence sharing. These include relationships between senior government officials, long-time bureaucrats in the diplomatic, military and intelligence enterprises of partner nations, and on-the ground operators who conduct day-to-day intelligence gathering and analysis. While these personal relationships influence whether a country will share intelligence, human interactions are hard to predict and difficult to sustain beyond any one person's career. As a result, our analysis does not incorporate individual interactions as a determinant of how countries share intelligence over the long-term. We do not discount the importance of human interactions in the everyday process of sharing, but we recognize the limitations of using personality as a factor that drives intelligence sharing since political leaders and intelligence officers come and go and new individuals assume different roles within national intelligence services.

Many practitioners in the intelligence community stated that trust is a fundamental driver of intelligence sharing. Unfortunately, they disagreed about whether trust was a cause of cooperation or a result of previous sharing success. Trust is most likely both a cause and consequence of successful intelligence cooperation. In addition, trust is reinforcing. Trust between countries will increase after each successful interaction, and as countries build trust, future intelligence sharing arrangements become more likely. Similarly, when intelligence cooperation fails countries will be hesitant to continue sharing in the future. In this regard, trust determines the sustainability of an intelligence sharing arrangement, but other criteria are needed to explain when and how sharing starts.

We identify six factors that create a framework for understanding the intelligence sharing opportunities and limitations for France, Germany, Italy, and Turkey. We hope this framework can serve as an enduring analytical tool for assessing whether a country will be enthusiastic about sharing. The six components of our framework are *strategic priorities*, *security environment / deployed forces*, *established partnerships*, *governance models*, *capabilities*, and *culture / history*. We list these factors from broadest national perspectives in the international environment to the smallest areas of domestic structure and public sentiment.

Strategic Priorities
A country's strategic priorities are broad national policies that are defined by a nation's grand strategy. These policies underscore what a country's vital interests are based on its values and goals. Strategic priorities outline how a country views its role in the world, and they are determined by a country's perceived international threats, risks, and ambitions. Strategic priorities are an important factor for analyzing intelligence sharing because they serve as lens through which to evaluate and predict a country's policies in any given situation. Historically, countries with congruent strategic priorities are likely to share intelligence. Countries vulnerable

to the same threats, for example, or that share common enemies have incentives to share intelligence in pursuit of mutual interests.

Security Environment / Deployed Forces

A country's security environment plays a role in determining that country's propensity to share intelligence. Nations in a conflict or immediate crisis will seek ways to overcome the imminent threat by sharing. Security crises create incentives for intelligence sharing, as does a country's steady-state relationship in its region. If the country is surrounded by unfriendly neighbors, its threat and risk calculation – and thus its willingness to share intelligence – will be quite different from a country surrounded by allies. Absent a security crisis, countries may still find reasons to join allies in conflicts abroad or deploy forces on peace-keeping missions through multilateral institutions. For example, NATO members involved in Afghanistan that share tactical deployments will be prone to share intelligence.

Established Partnerships

While trust in and of itself is not a factor in this framework, established partnerships between countries address the trust dynamic in a relationship. Countries that have institutionalized sharing arrangements enjoy a demonstrated degree of trust, and they are therefore more likely to share intelligence in the future. Additionally, formal military alliances make communication more effective between partners and lead to a greater likelihood of sharing intelligence.

Governance Models

We use the term "governance model" to refer to the internal dynamics of a country's intelligence enterprise. The governance model includes how the intelligence community recruits, trains, and promotes members; how the intelligence community interacts with other government agencies; and what legal regimes exist for intelligence oversight and budgeting. An intelligence enterprise's governance model is important for understanding the risks and rewards of intelligence sharing. Bureaucratic hurdles, domestic political struggles, or budget constraints can impede a country's ability and willingness to share. Countries that have similar governance models will have bureaucratic incentives to share intelligence. Organizations that have similar designs will promote similar values. Agencies that instill a similar culture or atmosphere in their people are likely to also create similar incentives for sharing. When political institutions have similar designs they will be more capable of communicating and integrating shared information.

Capabilities

Each country has strengths and weaknesses regarding intelligence gathering and analysis. A country's comparative advantages or disadvantages in the intelligence market will inform what kind of intelligence it seeks and with whom it chooses to share. For example, the United States excels in areas of technical intelligence with high resolution satellites and communications equipment, but America's human intelligence (HUMINT) capabilities fall short of its

technological advantages. It follows that the United States has an opportunity to share its superior imagery intelligence (IMINT) capabilities in exchange for a partner's HUMINT. Countries will seek partners that complement their core competencies, and will look to share information in ways that make both partners better off than they would be without sharing.

Culture / History
Public views about intelligence will either enable or restrict intelligence sharing. A country's history of intelligence successes and failures will impact how citizens feel about their intelligence agencies. Moreover, the country's military and diplomatic history will influence how the public feels about what role the country wants to play in the world. In this framework, culture and history provide context for each other factor. For example, a country with a colonial history may value established partnerships with former colonies. Or a country with a militaristic past may have a cultural psyche that is skeptical of a national security apparatus that favors secrecy and influences policy in opaque ways. Finally, cultural ties, common values, and language can help countries overcome short-term political disagreements and serve as enablers for intelligence sharing.

It is important to note that not all of these factors will be necessary to establish a sharing relationship, and under varied circumstances some criteria will matter more than others. Moreover, one criterion could be paramount to one country and a different criterion to another. We do not take a quantitative approach to measuring and weighing these factors for specific scenarios. Our research concludes that in order to understand when and how a country might share intelligence, it is necessary to understand how a country views itself according to these criteria. The more similarities a potential partner shares with a given country in these factors, the more likely sharing will occur.

# FRANCE

## POLTICAL OVERVIEW

France is a democracy that utilizes a semi-presidential system of government. Every five years, French citizens elect a President by majority rule, with two rounds if necessary. The President then appoints a Prime Minister, who must be confirmed by the lower house of the legislature, the National Assembly. The President appoints all government ministers, and barring a different party controlling the National Assembly, has very strong authority over the Executive Branch of the Government.

While France's Legislative and Judicial branches play prominent roles in domestic affairs, neither have much of a say when it comes to intelligence. All intelligence oversight is contained within the Executive, and attempts by the Legislative branch to expand their control over French intelligence have failed in recent years.

*Foreign Policy*

While the era of colonialism is past, France continues to maintain an interest in the development of their former colonies in the Middle East, the Maghreb, and West Africa. Starting with the French involvement with the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) mission in Afghanistan, the government has participated in an active, interventionist foreign policy involving a number of states. This policy has spanned two Presidents and two political parties, seemingly transcending normal political concerns. In 2002, the French deployed peacekeeping soldiers to Côte D'Ivoire in order to stop a civil war. They remain there to this day, most recently making news in 2011 when the forces intervened to install the newly elected President into power when the incumbent refused to leave office.

French forces were instrumental in the overthrow of Gaddafi in Libya, flying sorties against the regime to support rebel ground forces. They did so with logistical support from the United States, and both nations have now been the targets of attacks by extremist groups in Libya. Presently, French soldiers are deployed in Mali to support government troops fighting a radical Islamic insurrection in the North. The French intervention in Libya was significant not only as a continuation of the trend of French intervention in Africa, but also because President François Hollande, the first Socialist President since Mitterand in the 1980s, ordered the action. The trend that started with the more conservative Sarkozy will clearly continue even under Socialist governments.

**HISTORY OF FRANCE'S MODERN INTELLIGENCE SERVICES**

While much of the history of French intelligence dates back to Napoleonic days, it remains essential knowledge for understanding the services and, more importantly, how French citizens perceive them. The first real focus on intelligence by the French was domestic intelligence. The *cabinet noir*, which existed under the Napoleonic governments of the early 1800s, was given the sole task of opening and reading private mail in order to uncover Royalist plots and other germane intelligence and gossip.[1] This practice was widely known and continued well into the 20th century.[2] Dissidents such as Victor Hugo, knowing their mail was being opened, would write letters to the *cabinet noir* and ask them to forward along separate pieces of mail to their final destination.[3] Attempts by the Legislature to kill the practice also failed.[4]

Proper intelligence services developed over time, especially before World War I. Foreign intelligence capabilities were military-based, and focused on the German threat. These services endured up until the beginning of World War II. All the French intelligence services failed to uncover the German plan to attack through Ardennes, leading to the Fall of France and German occupation until the Liberation.[5] Along with the military, the secret services had failed to prevent German victory, a fact that greatly damaged their reputation domestically and internationally. Some intelligence failures lead to the loss of life; this French intelligence failure led to the loss of French sovereignty.

During World War II, French intelligence did not present a unified front against its enemies. The Vichy government developed its own service which was strongly opposed by the BCRA, the intelligence service of de Gaulle and the Free French. Instead of working together, the two services found themselves in direct confrontation. While Americans see World War II as an international conflict, in France it was both a war against the Axis and a civil war to determine the ultimate fate of the country. The intelligence services were a part of this conflict, and rather than focus on how to defeat the Germans, they instead consumed themselves with positioning their respective leader to take control once the occupation ended. De Gaulle eventually triumphed over Giraud, but this saga did not help the reputation of the services. France emerged from World War II to the reality that it was no longer an intelligence power.[6]

In more recent history, the French secret services are known for another highly public intelligence failure, *L'affaire du Rainbow Warrior*, when agents from the DGSE (the French CIA) sunk a Greenpeace vessel, the *Rainbow Warrior*, killing a photographer. The mission was undertaken to stop the vessel from monitoring French nuclear weapon testing in the Pacific. The event continues to taint the reputation of the DGSE as well as French intelligence activity overseas.[7] The fact that the services are known for their failures is not an indictment against the capabilities and professionalism of the organizations, but rather the curse of any organization that works covertly and cannot speak of their successes. Their failures have merely resonated particularly well with the French people, marring the public perception of the services. The

people continue to believe that intelligence organizations are a necessity, but would prefer that their activities remain in the dark to avoid any future embarrassment.

**STRUCTURE AND LEADERSHIP OF FRANCE'S INTELLIGENCE SERVICE**

The French secret services are strongly centralized under the Executive Branch. They are likely structured this way to prevent the infighting seen during World War II, and this structure has been brought further together as France tries to combat Islamic extremism.[8] The services are split among different ministries in the government, but all report to the President instead of their relevant ministers.[9] The organizations are run at the director level by technocrats.
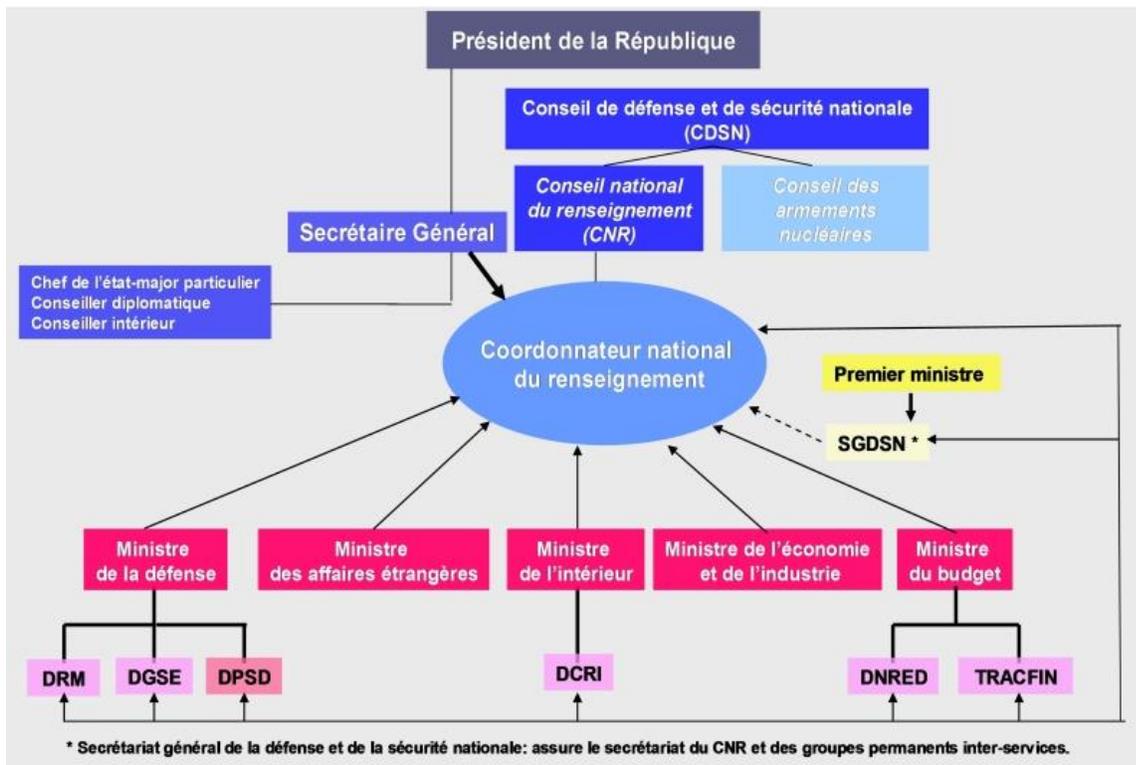


*Ministry of Defense*

**Direction du renseignement militaire (DRM):** the French military intelligence agency, charged with satisfying the needs of the military. The head of the DRM is Didier Bolelli, previously the General of the Army Corps

**Direction générale de la sécurité extérieure (DGSE):** the French foreign intelligence service. It gathers and exploits intelligence relevant to France's security and detects activity outside the country directed at French interests. The DGSE is similar to the CIA in the United States in that it is not allowed to act inside France. The director of the DGSE is Bernard Bajolet, who was

appointed in April of 2013. M. Bajolet is a career diplomat and intelligence expert, and was previously the National Intelligence Coordinator of the National Intelligence Council. Most recently, he was the French Ambassador to Afghanistan.

**Direction de la protection et de la sécurité de la défense (DPSD):** the French military counter-intelligence agency, charged with assuming the responsibility of the security of personnel, information, materials, and secure facilities.[10] The head of the DPSD is Général Jean-Pierre Bosser, a lifelong military officer.

*Ministry of the Interior*

**Direction centrale du renseignement intérieur (DCRI):** the French domestic intelligence service, charged with counterintelligence and counterterrorism in France. It was created in 2008 through a merger of the two previous organizations, the DST and the infamous DCRG (or just RG.) The head of the DCRI is Patrick Calvar, a lifelong intelligence official who was previously the head of the DGSE.[11]

**Unité de coordination de la lutte anti-terroriste (UCLAT):** the French counterterrorism unit, tasked with coordinating efforts across the French secret services including the French Gendarmes. It is housed under the National Police, headed by Claude Baland, a career police officer.

**Direction du Renseignement de la Préfecture de Police (DRPP):** Police intelligence service, dealing with intelligence on the local and regional level towards counterterrorism efforts and the maintenance of public order. The director is René Bailly, a career police officer.

*Ministry of the Economy*

**Direction nationale du renseignement et des enquêtes douanières (DNRED):** French customs, charged with gathering intelligence about customs investigations and the movement of illicit merchandise. The director is Jean-Paul Garcia.

**Traitement du renseignement et de l'action contre les circuits financiers clandestins (TRACFIN):** French financial intelligence, charged with tracking illicit or clandestine transactions. It also works to prevent money laundering as well as terrorist financing. The director is Jean-Baptiste Carpentier.

**CAPABILITIES AND GEOGRAPHIC SCOPE**

France's most significant intelligence capability is its HUMINT capacity in the Middle East, the Maghreb, and West Africa. France established its presence in this region over a century ago through their former colonies. The French colonial legacy has resulted in a deep cultural understanding of these regions, and French intelligence officers have developed a great language capacity for these countries, as well as large human information networks that have persisted over generations. As a consequence France has an enormous comparative advantage for HUMINT over others with no current or historical presence in these regions. As Islamic extremism continues to flourish, France will be relatively more capable of identifying these actors, understanding their motives, and countering their message due to the depth of knowledge they possess in comparison with potential partner states.

France also has an advantage in HUMINT regarding its agents based overseas. Since the colonial legacy has resulted in a large French expatriate community, French agents can operate in these nations without raising much suspicion. To put it more simply, a Frenchman in Mali will seem normal while an American may turn heads. This gives French agents the freedom to communicate with the population and develop a more complete sense of the situation on the ground before choosing whether to carry out a specific action.

France possesses a small IMINT capability but continues to expand it by launching new satellites. The Helios class satellites were launched in 1995 and 1997, respectively, and have a resolution of one meter. However, just recently France launched two new satellites in the Pleiades series with a vastly improved resolution of 70 centimeters.[12] This capability continues to pale in comparison with nations such as the United States, but with an equatorial launch pad in French Guinea it is likely that French IMINT capabilities will continue to expand.

In terms of Earth-based IMINT, France does have a non-offensive drone contingent, consisting of the DRAC, the Sperwer, and the Harfang. France does not presently own any drones with an offensive capability, but has expressed interest in buying U.S. Reapers for use in the Malian conflict.[13]

France also possesses a SIGINT capability– nicknamed *Frenchelon* by the press in comparison with ECHELON used by the *Five Eyes* nations – with a number of land and sea-based platforms. While the network does cover most of the areas of French interest, it is small in comparison to ECHELON.[14] France does possess a small cyber capability, but reportedly "lags behind the U.K. and Germany in cyberdefence capabilities and is far behind the U.S. The national cyber-security authority, ANSSI, appears to be understaffed with around 230 employees.  It is generally not included in the organizational structure of the French intelligence agencies.[15] This casts some doubt on whether or not ANSSI is involved in any intelligence gathering activities.

**ANALYSIS FOR INTELLIGENCE SHARING**

Due to the insular nature of France's secret services and the lack of legislative oversight, France's propensity to share intelligence will depend on the characteristics of its potential partners. France will be likely to share if the partner nation is involved in similar areas of strategic interest, if it is affected by an event that causes a sense of crisis in France, if there are mutual "boots on the ground," or if the partner is a member of *Five Eyes*. These partners are the nations that France wishes to influence the most or those that have a more expansive intelligence capability than France.

*Strategic Priorities*

France has both strong regional and international strategic priorities. In Europe, France aims to remain one of the most powerful countries on the continent. France is a founding member of the European Union, dating back to the European Coal and Steel Community with Germany, and as a nuclear weapon state it believes it commands a great deal of respect and influence. To achieve this goal, it will mean pursuing both economic and military power as it continues to jockey for the top spot with Germany.

France has a vital interest in maintaining peace and prosperity in its former colonies, specifically in the Maghreb and in West Africa, as demonstrated by the foreign policy France pursued there in the past decade. The French military has intervened on multiple occasions in Africa since 2002, reaffirming both French military power and its active foreign policy. Finally, France has been dealing with Islamic extremism for a long time, and will continue to combat terrorism to the full extent of its resources and legal regime.

These strategic priorities create an opening for intelligence sharing between France and a country involved in the same regions of the world as the French are. If another country is particularly active in the Middle East, the Maghreb, or West Africa, France will be likely to share intelligence in order to influence this nation's actions and maintain France's role as the preeminent foreign power in the region. Sharing could be used as a means to prevent action from an outside power, but also to encourage it. France has acted unilaterally in Africa, in Côte d'Ivoire and Mali specifically, but has shown its limitations by requiring American logistical assistance in the bombing of Libya to remove the Gaddafi regime. France may wish to continue to use NATO as a foreign policy tool in future interventions.

France will likely share intelligence with another nation that is equally affected by Islamic extremism, especially if that country is targeted by the same organizations that target France. For example, the Toulouse shooter in 2012 claimed al Qaeda membership and was an Algerian

national. French involvement in North Africa likely gives them a comparative advantage when it comes to information on al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM). As AQIM expands their actions from regional attacks to international strikes, France will have desirable information for partners not involved in the region.

If a potential partner is not involved in North Africa, this will not necessarily hinder intelligence sharing with France. However, shared involvement will likely be the catalyst for an intelligence relationship and be the most important issue when evaluating the utility of sharing.

*Security Environment*

France is still actively involved in three conflicts and continues to maintain a small presence in a fourth. Since 2001, France has been in Afghanistan with the NATO ISAF force, and while there are no longer French combat forces on the ground, around 1,500 remain for training and logistical purposes.[16]

French planes flew sorties against the Gaddafi regime during the 2011 insurrection there, and France continues to have a strong diplomatic presence in Libya. Its intervention has drawn further ire from Islamic extremist groups as evidenced by the use of a car bomb against the French Embassy in Tripoli on April 23, 2013.[17] France, like most Western nations, has dealt with terrorism for decades and considers the threat a credible security issue.

French military forces have been actively deployed in Côte d'Ivoire since 2002. They initially deployed in 2002 to stop a civil war in accordance with a treaty between the two nations. Most recently, forces there acted to install the newly elected government in 2011 when the previous President refused to yield power after losing his reelection bid. The country remains unstable to this day, with French forces present in a stabilization role. France also deployed military forces to Mali in January of 2013 in support of the Malian government forces fighting a separatist, Islamic extremist movement in the North. Forces there have since pushed back the rebels and created a much better security environment for the incumbent regime.

These deployments have created numerous opportunities for intelligence sharing agreements. The ISAF forces use NATO classifications – Cosmic Top Secret, NATO Secret, etc. – to share information in a rare multilateral arrangement.[18] American logistical support and intelligence sharing made airstrikes in Libya possible.[19] The United States has also been working with France to share intelligence relevant to the conflict in Mali.[20] Shared interests in a conflict are clearly an enabler for intelligence sharing, and will continue to be in the future. None of these conflicts creates any sense of crisis for France, but considering its emphasis on combatting terrorism it is likely that France would cooperate and share any relevant intelligence on those who have or are looking to attack a partner state.

*Established Partnerships*

France is a founding member of the European Union, uses the Euro as its currency, and remains invested in the union's continued existence. It acts within the union in an attempt to maintain and grow French influence in Europe, especially to balance against German economic power. France is also a founding member of NATO, joining at the organization's inception in 1949. However, France withdrew its military from the alliance in 1967 while remaining a political member. President Sarkozy finally rejoined the French military to NATO in 2009. Even when the French military was not technically part of the structure, France still responded to the terrorist attack on the United States and the invocation of Article 5 by invading Afghanistan with the multilateral ISAF.

France also engages in bilateral intelligence sharing with nations such as the United Kingdom and the United States, as well as other members of the *Five Eyes* intelligence sharing agreement.

Considering its membership in Western institutions, and its status as a liberal Western democracy, France will be more likely to share intelligence if another nation fits these same requirements. This includes being a member of NATO, the EU, or just being a liberal democracy. Membership in these organizations and similar political institutions will not be a sufficient condition for sharing with France, but they will certainly add to the probability that France would be willing to share its secrets with said country. Any nation that is openly anti-West would not be likely to receive French cooperation in the intelligence field, a point especially relevant with the rise of Salafist political parties in the Middle East-North Africa region.

France will also continue to share with *Five Eyes* nations for a number of reasons, a major one being that France is a bit envious of this arrangement and unhappy about its exclusion from it.[21] France will likely submit to sharing agreements with these nations to influence their action around the world and increase France's influence with the English-speaking nations.

*Governance Models*

French intelligence is extremely centralized. Funding for the intelligence agencies is contained in the Ministry budgets that are approved by the National Assembly, and funding is completely secret. This is the only involvement the Legislative branch has in the French intelligence process. In fact, "the French National Assembly and the French Senate…have practically no say on intelligence control matters."[22] Intelligence officials do not appear before parliamentary committees, and parts of the intelligence budget come from the *fonds spéciaux* (special funds), which the French parliament cannot review. As a result, the French Parliament does not

influence the governance of French intelligence.[23] A 2002 proposal for the creation of an intelligence committee in both the National Assembly and the Senate seems to have gained no traction.

The executive exercises control over intelligence with inter-ministerial committees that set the priorities of the French secret services. The first is the *Conseil national du renseignement (CNR)* which exists under the *Conseil de défense et de sécurité nationale (CDSN)*. The CNR is led by the President of the Republic, and includes the Prime Minster as well as the Ministers and service directors of all French intelligence agencies. The second institution is the *Secrétariat général de la défense et de la sécurité nationale (SGDSN)*, the successor to the SGDN, the Prime Minister's intelligence service. The SGDSN assures the coordination of the CDSN, and works with the *Coordonnateur national du renseignement* – the French DNI – to adapt legal institutions to ensure that French intelligence activity is legal.

Everyone involved in these processes is appointed by and reports to the President, again illustrating the Executive's dominant control over intelligence. The French secret services are reassured by this control, as the Executive openly limits parliament's involvement in the field of intelligence.[24] The key figures in intelligence are very private, and rarely speak or appear in the media outside the announcement of their appointment. Absent legislative oversight, these figures have no reason to appear in public.

France will prefer a partner with a similar regime when sharing intelligence, especially a partner that stresses secrecy in their affairs. A centralized system will be attractive to them because fewer people will be aware of their activities and thus decrease the chance of an unwanted intelligence leak. If a partner meets these requirements, then sharing may be easy considering the lack of oversight in France.

For countries with more open intelligence systems, there are more obstacles than enablers here. A country that is very open about its intelligence organization may deter France from entering into sharing agreements with it, especially if that nation has a tradition of declassification. Disclosure even after the fact does not seem to be desirable from France's perspective. Any country with strong oversight provisions may also have problems securing a sharing agreement with France.

There is a high level of cooperation between the judiciary and the intelligence services in France that has produced excellent results in the country's fight against terrorism, but there are questions about how much oversight authority the judiciary has over the intelligence community. While mere participation gives the judiciary a say in how the intelligence community conducts operations, there are questions about the "constitutional legality of these collaboration practices."[25] If a partner has a strict legal regime for dealing with terrorism, this may hinder

sharing agreements with France since they have taken serious efforts to ensure the legality of their counterterrorism efforts.

*Intelligence Capabilities*

France's range of capabilities generally encourages sharing agreements. Its enviable HUMINT capabilities in regional hot spots makes it a go-to source for intelligence, especially from countries with no historical involvement in the region and a lack of resources to train agents in the language and culture of these countries. The rise of Islamic extremism coupled with the democratic revolutions of the Arab Spring give these countries new strategic significance to outside powers who will become increasingly involved in the region. France will have the opportunity to share intelligence in a bid to influence how these countries will pursue their interests.

While France's SIGINT and IMINT capabilities are not insignificant, they pale in comparison to the resources used by some other nations. France values intelligence obtained by nations that have superior IMINT capabilities, so France will be open to a sharing agreement with these nations so it can access that intelligence. As stated previously, France is jealous of the *Five Eyes* agreement, and ECHELON's expansive SIGINT capability may explain that envy. France will be open to a sharing agreement involving these larger networks in order to augment its systems.

*Culture and History*

Given the premium the French place on secrecy, a partner that does not value secrecy will likely have trouble getting France to enter an intelligence sharing agreement. However, a further point about French history deserves to be made. The legacies of French intelligence, even those from Napoleonic days, continue to haunt the secret services. While things like strategic interests and a sense of crisis will outweigh any cultural misunderstandings, it is important for France's partners to know and understand this history to most effectively operate when dealing with its secret services. Their history, namely an intelligence failure that resulted in a loss of sovereignty, is unique among their potential Western partners. Knowing this history explains much about why they are structured the way they are, and why they act the way they do. While it may not be the breakthrough to a sharing agreement, it will certainly help build a relationship that may lead to future sharing in times of crisis or overlapping strategic interests.

# Germany

## POLTICAL OVERVIEW

With 81 million inhabitants,[26] Germany is the most populous country in the European Union (EU) and the 16th largest country in the world. In terms of PPP, it is the world's fifth largest economy. Germany is a federal parliamentary democracy and a key member of the EU and NATO. It maintains 229 diplomatic missions abroad.

*Political System*

The Federal Republic of Germany is comprised of 16 states. Federal parliamentary elections are held every four years (next in September 2013). Parliament (*Bundestag*) elects a Chancellor.[27] There are five major political parties: (1) The Christian Democratic Union (CDU), (2) The Social Democrats (SPD), (3) The Free Democrats (FDP), (4) The Greens and (5) The Left Party. Smaller parties like the Pirate Party (a European liberal movement) and right wing extremists (NPD) have not been able to establish themselves as a serious force in national politics so far.

It is worth noting that the terms "conservative", "liberal", and "socialist" carry different connotations in Germany than they do in the United States. The CDU is Germany's "conservative" force, but it still supports a strong welfare state. The Free Democrats (FDP) (currently in a governing coalition with the CDU) is "liberal", but they are the advocates of small government in Germany. The SPD, Germany's oldest party, is often seen as the equivalent of the Democrats in the U.S., but it is decidedly more left-leaning in terms of economics and social policy. The Greens established themselves in the 1980s and 1990s with an environmentalist agenda and served in a government coalition with SPD under Schröder. The German Left has traditionally been fervently antimilitaristic and is in favor of strong parliamentary oversight of all military and related activities, including intelligence.

*Foreign Policy*

For historical reasons, Germany is extremely hesitant to use its military muscle abroad and spends little on defense in relation to its economic clout.[28] Germany's combat mission to Kosovo in 1999, its first since World War II, was fiercely controversial, and the deployment of German troops abroad is still a sensitive subject in German politics. Moreover, Berlin has been known to stress multilateral cooperation. Its foreign policy priorities include development assistance, multilateral cooperation and, currently, dealing with the European debt crisis.

**HISTORY OF GERMANY'S MODERN INTELLIGENCE SERVICES**

Germany's foreign intelligence organization, the *Bundesnachrichtendienst* (BND), was established in 1946. The Wehrmacht's intelligence in the East was led by Major General Reinhard Gehlen, who sided with the Allies after the war. The Gehlen Organization essentially functioned as an outpost of the CIA, but it was highly controversial because it recruited staff from the SS, Gestapo, and other notorious Nazi groups. In 1956, the Gehlen Organization became the BND and was handed over to the Federal Government. Its initial purpose was to collect information about East Germany. As a result, the BND developed strong HUMINT and SIGINT capabilities in its immediate vicinity. However, the organization was riddled with inefficiencies and cronyism under Gehlen's leadership. The BND had an abysmal reputation in Germany, not least because of the problematic amount of double agents on both sides of the border. Its credibility problems were so severe that in some instances, high level U.S. officials dismissed correct BND assessments of crises in the Middle East and Europe.[29]

The 1972 assassination of Israeli athletes at the Munich Olympics was a critical juncture for the BND as it then began to focus on anti-terrorism. As Germany's democracy consolidated, parliamentary oversight was established through the "Parliamentary Control of the Intelligence Activities of the Federation Act" in 1978. Another turning point was German reunification in 1991. Besides a few spectacular cases of treason that came to the fore, another round of fierce public debate about the agency's legitimacy took place. As Germany's foreign policy priorities shifted from reunification with the East, to security in Europe, and, eventually, to terrorism, the BND shifted from espionage to sophisticated SIGINT capabilities.

In 2006, the Federal Chancellery and Federal Ministry of Defense agreed to integrate the evaluation and analysis units of the Intelligence Centre of the Federal Armed Forces into the BND. From 2007 on, the BND gradually assumed the task of central situation processing for the Federal Ministry of Defense and the Federal Armed Forces, which had previously been done under both the Ministry of Defense and the Ministry of the Interior. In 2008, the BND began to implement the most substantial reform of its organizational and operational structure in history. The BND is expected to fully relocate to Berlin from the Bavarian small town of Pullach in 2016.

In the last decade, the BND appeared relatively frequently in German and international media. In 2003, U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell notoriously cited a faulty German source ("Curveball") prior to the Iraq invasion. In 2006, however, there was public outrage in Germany about the fact that limited intelligence facilitating the invasion had been supplied to the U.S. at all. From 2006-2008, the BND mediated secret negotiations between Israel and Hezbollah that led to the 2008 prisoner swap. In 2012, the failure of Germany's domestic intelligence agencies

to stop a right-wing terrorist cell in eastern Germany caused yet another public outcry and is likely to lead to significant institutional reforms.[30]

**STRUCTURE AND LEADERSHIP OF GERMANY'S INTELLIGENCE SERVICE**

Germany's intelligence community is much more centralized than that of the United States, or the United Kingdom, with foreign and military intelligence services operating under one roof at the BND.[31] However, there is a strict organizational separation of foreign and domestic secret services, as well as intelligence and police operations. This separation is a product of historical doctrine, but it may change as a consequence of German intelligence's failure to curb the activities of right-wing terrorism.

Structure of Germany's Foreign Policy and Intelligence Bureaucracy
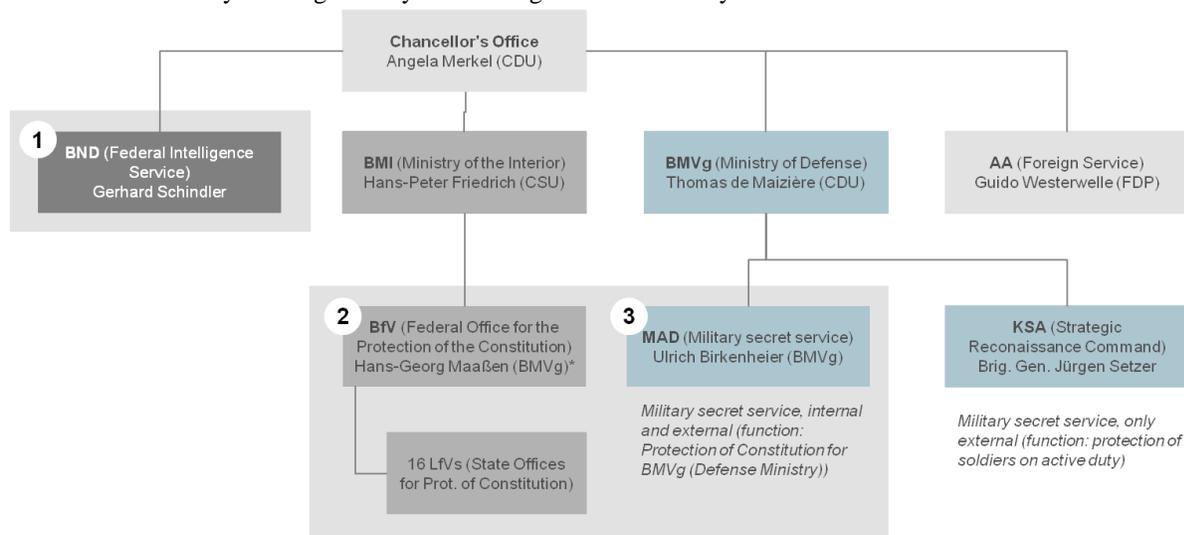


*Foreign and Military Intelligence*

The BND, Germany's *Federal Intelligence Service*, is Germany's key intelligence organization – it is the largest in size and has the broadest mission (gathering foreign and military intelligence). Its budget was recently increased to more than 500 million Euros, more than twice the budget of the *Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution* and the military's small own secret service combined.[32] The BND reports directly to the head of the Chancellor's Office, Ronald Pofalla, and it employs approximately 6,000 people, half of whom are "operatives."[33] The BND's headquarters are located in Pullach, Bavaria – a controversial location because the campus-like structure was originally built for the Nazi party elite. The ongoing relocation to Berlin is expected to be completed in 2016.[34]

Most BND staff are career bureaucrats. A very large proportion of German government officials are lawyers by training. BND President Gerhard Schindler, a member of the free market oriented

(liberal) FDP, is no exception. Schindler was a career bureaucrat in the Ministry of the Interior and is also a former first lieutenant and paratrooper in the German army. He was appointed in 2011 and has an excellent reputation in Berlin. Schindler is said to be a "hands-on" and reform-oriented leader. He also reportedly takes a rather hawkish stance on security issues.[35] The two second most powerful people are two Vice Presidents who are rotated in every three or four years from the Foreign Ministry (von Geyr) and the Ministry of Defense (Stier). Purportedly, power in this organization is very centralized at the top and the President is endowed with significantly more influence than his VPs.[36]

BND organizational structure[37]
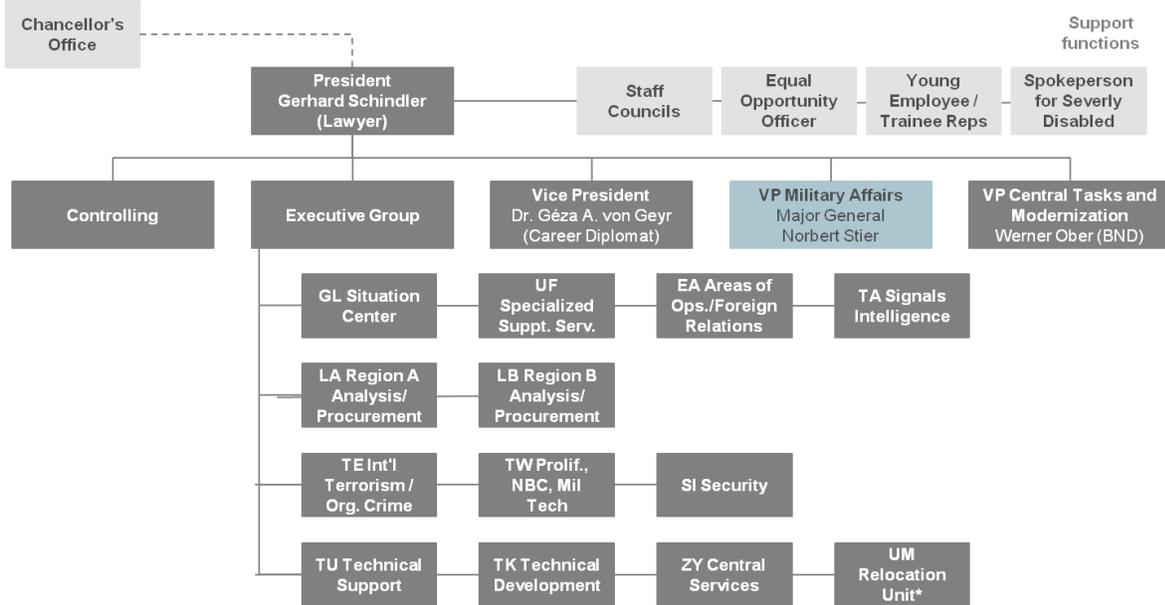


*Other intelligence organizations*

Germany's domestic secret service is the *Bundesverfassungsschutz* (BfV, or Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution). Its staff of 2,600 is tasked with gathering information about potential security risks that originate within Germany. In addition, there are also 16 state-level offices for the protection of the constitution (LfVs). This setup has been known to create significant bureaucratic hurdles for operations which require interagency cooperation.

Germany's military also has its own secret service, the MAD (*Militärischer Abschirmdienst)*, which is supposed to guarantee the safety of soldiers and to prevent infiltration of the Bundeswehr with extremist ideas. There have been vocal calls to abolish MAD, which staffs 1,200 people, because its purpose could be served by the BND.[38]

There is strong parliamentary oversight of intelligence activities in Germany, and BND head Schindler has publically stated that he welcomes this. There are two main bodies that oversee intelligence activities. The Parliamentary Control Committee (*PKGr*) consists of 11 members of parliament and has the right to be informed about all major intelligence operations when it inquires. Additionally, a hybrid body of parliamentarians and non-parliamentarians called the G10 commission is authorized to decide on a case-by-case basis whether the right to privacy in telecommunications (Article 10 of the German Basic Law, *Grundgesetz*), may be breached.[39]

## CAPABILITIES AND GEOGRAPHIC SCOPE

German intelligence relies heavily on wiretapping and surveillance of electronic communications. Historically, Germany has had to invest in sophisticated SIGINT capabilities, which were carried over into the post-Cold War world. The BND does boast some highly capable HUMINT, especially in the Middle East, and skilled country analysts in the headquarters in Germany. The current BND president has expressed a desire to increase specific HUMINT capabilities in areas that are of special importance to Germany's security, again noting especially Middle Eastern countries.[40] Moreover, there are indications that Germany is making its first attempt to build IMINT capabilities for intelligence purposes.[41]

The BND has undergone significant operational improvements since the end of the Cold War. First, the previously strict separation of information procurement abroad and analysis at home has been somewhat relaxed in the last decade, which enables more effective operations. BND president Schindler has established a BND committee that works on eliminating unnecessary bureaucratic hurdles as much as possible.

Second, the new types of missions that the German army began to engage in after the end of the Cold War were a learning experience not just for the *Bundeswehr*, but for German intelligence services, too. The Afghanistan mission in particular helped the BND improve its procurement capabilities, which were apparently subpar a decade earlier in Bosnia. Professor Wolfgang Krieger of the University of Marburg notes that the traditional job of German intelligence operatives was essentially to "count tanks on the other side of the border" – a much less sophisticated task than controlling terrorist threats.[42]

Today, according to Schindler, capabilities in the Middle East are strong, with a number of local offices and staff attached to German embassies, especially in Afghanistan, Syria, and Yemen. More precise information on the location of BND operations and the nature of specific local capabilities is not accessible through open source material. It is known, however, that the BND explicitly wants to avoid spreading itself too thin and plans to focus on a few countries where it

has serious interests.[43] Moreover, the BND played a substantial role in bringing about the 2011 prisoner exchange between Israel and Palestine.[44] Purportedly, BND activities have been instrumental in preventing a number of terrorist attacks in Afghanistan and in Germany.

## ANALYSIS FOR INTELLIGENCE SHARING

Germany has a long history of intelligence sharing with its key allies in NATO. As in any bilateral intelligence sharing relationship, there have been instances of miscommunication or distrust. Recent examples include Defense Minister De Maizière leading an inquiry into intelligence sharing after a U.S. drone killed a German citizen, leading the Ministry of Interior to instruct the *BfV* to stop providing the Americans with information that would enable the location of German citizens.[45] During the notorious Curveball incident, the atmosphere between the CIA and the BND was "poisonous" according to David Kay, a US weapons inspector in Iraq.[46] However, overall, the BND has close working relationships with key allies – notably the United States, and especially the CIA, with which it shares some institutional history as described above.

*Strategic Priorities*

The overlap of German strategic priorities with those of Western allies is significant, making Germany likely to exchange intelligence with countries that share its security goals, notably the prevention of terrorist attacks. Germany's strategic priorities are outlined in a 2006 Ministry of Defence White Paper. The challenge of international terrorism is highlighted as Germany's key strategic priority. Other challenges that the White Paper mentions include globalization, nuclear weapons proliferation, regional conflict in Europe's periphery, illicit weapons trade, development challenges and fragile states, transport/resources/communication, energy security, migration, and pandemics.[47] This list is remarkably similar to the key challenges outlined in the last U.S. National Military Strategy, apart from obvious differences in geographic focus.

Although there has been no major terrorist attack in Germany thus far, there is a lot of potential breeding ground for it – not least because of Germany's large working-class Muslim population (about 5.4%[48] of the total population). The BfV estimates that 38,000 people are active members of jihadist networks on German territory.[49] Most notoriously, the 9/11 hijackers were trained in Hamburg. A number of potential bombings on German soil have been prevented by the authorities.

Because the security threats Germany is facing are so global and interconnected in nature, intelligence sharing with allies is often a strategic necessity. For example, a terrorist cell in Düsseldorf led by Abdeladim el-K purportedly could not have been dismantled without information from the CIA.[50] Likewise, German intelligence services provide information to the

United States on issues that are of strategic importance to both. Open source material does not reveal what kinds of information have been shared lately other than counterterrorism intelligence, but there is ground to assume that sharing also occurs concerning other threats.

*Security Environment*

Germany currently faces no major security crisis in its immediate vicinity, but there are a few trouble spots in Europe which regularly affect German interests. The tension between economic relations with Russia and Germany's posture on civil and human rights flares up relatively frequently. Russia's "near abroad" in the south of the former Soviet Union tends to be a breeding ground for Islamism and is geographically close to Germany. The Middle East plays a critical role for German foreign policy because of its vicinity to Turkey and the European Union, and because of Germany's special relationship with Israel. Chancellor Merkel has repeatedly stated that the protection of Israel's right to exist is "raison d'état" for Germany. Southeast Europe is another troublesome area where much of the human and weapons trafficking problems that Europe grapples with originate. Lastly, North Africa is a regional challenge because of the massive influx of illegal immigrants into Italy, Spain, and other Southern European EU members.

Finally, while the Euro crisis has no direct repercussions on security policy, it may mean that a common European defense policy becomes harder to formulate because the monetary crisis is destroying trust in common institutions and processes. However, due to overwhelming similarities between EU members' key strategic challenges, the Euro crisis is by far not as important for security policy as it is for economic policy.

*Established Partnerships*

Germany is a strong international advocate of multilateralism and a key member of the European Union and NATO. It has a history of active intelligence sharing with its European neighbors, as well as with the United States bilaterally. The Club de Berne, an intelligence sharing forum between the intelligence services of now 27 EU member states plus Norway and Switzerland, was established in 1971 with Germany as a founding member. Moreover, intelligence sharing with NATO members has been the norm, especially during joint operations such as in Afghanistan.

Bilateral relations with the CIA are strong. Although official German policy was to stay out of the Iraq War almost entirely and the BND denies any involvement, Germany's major news magazine DER SPIEGEL claimed that the BND helped the U.S. on several occasions during the Iraq War – not just in the notorious CURVEBALL case.[51] There is no open source material

about details of sharing agreements in policy areas other than counterterrorism, but it seems reasonable to assume that cooperation is going on concerning a variety of policy issues.

*Governance Models*

There are three key points about the structure of German intelligence which have a bearing on whether, and with whom, Germany will share intelligence. First, German intelligence is highly centralized. Second, there is a strict separation of police and intelligence operations. Third, most decisions on sharing are made at the highest levels of government, in the Chancellor's office.

In contrast to the majority of other Western intelligence organizations, notably the United States and Great Britain, Germany's foreign and military intelligence operations are bundled within the BND. This difference in organizational structure has consequences for how German intelligence organizations interact with their alliance partners. First, intelligence communities that are structurally similar may find it easier to communicate. According to Krieger, having "mirror images" of one's own bureaucracies on the other side may make it easier to find the "right" counterpart for a specific operation. Because both the CIA and BND are foreign intelligence organizations, the mere nature of the organizations may facilitate cooperation between them. Secondly, the recent reform that the BND underwent (the bundling of intelligence collection and analysis after decades of separation), may influence sharing decisions, but in a more ambiguous way. Increased organizational effectiveness may improve communications with established partners. On the other hand, it may be more difficult to disentangle raw information from processed information, of which the latter is generally more likely to be shared.

The strict separation of policing and intelligence can be an obstacle for cooperation, even within Germany and between German agencies. This has been a major problem in combating the Zwickau terror group, a neo-Nazi group in eastern Germany, a scandal which has caused policy makers to challenge the strict division between intelligence and policing.[52] When sharing information with foreign organizations, German intelligence officials may worry that their information could be used for law enforcement abroad in a way which is incompatible with German law.

Third, apart from being very centralized, German intelligence is also quite hierarchical. According to daily newspaper FAZ, no expense of over $1000 can be made without the approval of the Chancellor's Office, let alone the sharing of sensitive information.[53] For "easier" cases, such as routine sharing, there are some established channels at lower levels of the bureaucracy.[54] Consequently, Germany will readily share information with a country with which it has solid diplomatic relationship at the highest levels.

*Intelligence Capabilities*

Germany has good SIGINT capabilities; sophisticated, but regionally limited HUMINT capabilities; and thus far no IMINT capabilities of its own. This can drive cooperation in the following ways: the BND has been known to assist allies particularly in the Middle East, where it has sophisticated regional expertise and a number of local offices. Secondly, the BND has been quite successful at wiretapping and electronic surveillance, which is currently proving useful in uncovering movements of illegal funds within the European Union.[55]  On the other hand, the lack of IMINT capabilities and HUMINT capabilities in certain geographies also drives Germany's need for information from alliance partners. Unfortunately, detailed information about the BND's capabilities is impossible to come by using open source material.

*Culture and History*

German culture and history are likely to discourage intelligence sharing. Partly because of Germany's historical legacy, Germans place a high premium on ethical standards in foreign policy, and their concern for human rights is a stronger driving force than many foreign observers realize. Germans tend to be highly skeptical of all things military, they tend to distrust their intelligence organizations, partly because of the recent memories of intense and pervasive espionage in East Germany, and there are major concerns with German information being used for purposes that are considered unethical or illegal at home.

Germany's participation in NATO's 1999 Kosovo mission was profoundly controversial, but only domestically. It was the first time German soldiers were on a combat mission abroad since World War II. Prior to that mission, German defense doctrine had advocated "never again" for several decades. A deeply embedded sense of antimilitarism and pacifism still keeps the German army in their barracks in situations where alliance partners readily go to war. In a representative survey conducted in 1999, 50% of participants agreed or strongly agreed with the statement "I find all things military repulsive" and 65% believe that "war is always morally wrong".[56] Germany's recent refusal to participate in the Libya campaign was a case in point. Germany was, and still is, heavily criticized for not pulling its weight in NATO and being too tightfisted on matters that are important to the alliance. The underlying reason for this behavior, however, is not austerity, but the historical memory that makes it an extremely difficult decision to put German boots on the ground abroad. By implication, this also means that Germany may not share information with countries that it has friendly relations with only because they might use them in wars Germany is not willing to participate in. In an instance where sharing occurred anyway (with the U.S. during the Iraq war), the government felt it needed to keep this political decision secret. When cooperation on target-finding (notably with the Defense Intelligence Agency) was revealed, the public's reaction was extremely negative.[57]

Another potential obstacle to intelligence cooperation with Germany is the concern over German intelligence being used for purposes that are not acceptable within the framework of German law. Examples of such activities include the death penalty, targeted killings, or interrogation methods that German law does not allow. For example, "[t]he deadly air strike [by a U.S. drone] on [a German citizen on] Oct. 4, 2010 marked a turning point in the cooperation between German and American intelligence agencies,"[58] because the highest levels of government and civil society launched inquiries into the legality of passing on information that is used for such purposes.

In sum, Germany is likely to share a substantial amount of intelligence with countries that have congruent strategic priorities and provide a reasonable guarantee that German information will not be used for purposes that violate Germany's very narrow definition of legitimate war. Germany's SIGINT capabilities and strong HUMINT in the Middle East make it an attractive partner to cooperate with. Especially in its struggle against international terrorism, Germany is likely to rely on information from its partners in the future as well. However, the extremely hierarchical structure of Germany's intelligence bureaucracy necessitates sharing agreements at very high levels of government, ideally within long-term alliance relationships.

# ITALY

## POLITICAL OVERVIEW

Italy is a parliamentary republic with a constitution that divides government into an executive, a bicameral legislative and a judicial branch. The president of the republic, a largely ceremonial role, is elected to a seven-year term by the parliament and representatives from the regional legislatures. As head of state, the president has the power to dissolve parliament, call new elections, and designate candidates to form new governments. The president also appoints the Prime Minister (PM), who is the head of government, with the support of parliament. The PM nominates the other ministers, which are then appointed by the president to form the Council of Ministers. Led by the PM, the Council of Ministers carries out the executive functions of the state.[59]

Italy has a long history of political instability, meaning governments have not traditionally survived long before being dissolved. This phenomenon was most recently reversed by the long tenure of Silvio Berlusconi's coalition governments,[60] but a recent political impasse, in which elections in early 2013 did not produce a clear majority or an easily assembled coalition, might signal a return to the historical status quo. Nevertheless, government instability has not carried over to Italy's foreign policy.

*Foreign Policy*

Since the end of World War II, Italian foreign policy has consisted of three main foci: Atlanticism and the NATO alliance, European integration, and Italy's immediate region – the Mediterranean, North Africa and the Balkans.[61] These priorities have remained relatively stable, with variance only in the degree of emphasis placed on Atlanticism or Europeanism. Center-right governments have tended to stress the former and center-left governments the latter.[62] Italian governments across the spectrum, however, have valued close relations with the United States, which have been a constant feature of post-WWII Italian foreign policy.[63]

Italy's primary security interests are regional, with an emphasis on containing potential threats emanating from the Mediterranean basin, the Balkans, and the Middle East.[64] Italy's porous borders confound its exposure to these areas – it is a main entry point for illegal immigration into Europe – as does the entrenchment of organized crime in the country.[65] Foreign criminal networks have increasingly taken residence in the country and have begun collaborating with domestic mafias in the international trafficking of arms, drugs, and human beings.[66] Terrorism has also been an increasing concern, of both the domestic left wing and the international jihadi variety, as has the proliferation of WMD.[67]

Recognizing that instability even outside of the region can threaten Italian security, Italy has embraced intervention to manage crises beyond its immediate strategic area.[68] It has evolved from a "security consumer" to a "security provider," and is now one of the top contributors to military and civilian missions under NATO, EU or UN auspices.[69] Nevertheless, Italy would prefer that NATO remain anchored to Europe rather than evolve into an international crisis management force. NATO is an essential element of Italy's security structure, and Italians view the alliance as an indispensable asset and not merely an extension of Italy's capabilities.[70] Italy participates in multilateral interventions outside of its strategic area in order to ensure that the organizations to which it contributes will in turn assist with maintaining the stability of its own strategic neighborhood.[71]

Even as Italian foreign policy has become more autonomous and independent of the EU, its participation in multilateral organizations continues to be of enormous importance for the country.[72] Italy leverages its membership in NATO and the EU to assist its autonomous foreign policy initiatives, such as its unique relations with Russia and Turkey.[73] Membership in these organizations, and especially in NATO, provides Italy with a means to remain an influential world actor.[74] This feature of Italian foreign policy has become even more pronounced since the advent of the European sovereign debt crisis, which has and will continue to reduce Italy's security and defense capabilities and make it more dependent on NATO and the EU.[75]

## HISTORY OF ITALY'S MODERN INTELLIGENCE SERVICES

Since the Italian Republic was founded in 1946, the country's intelligence apparatus has been reorganized numerous times in an effort to increase accountability and bring the intelligence community more firmly under the Prime Minister's control. The most recent restructuring occurred in 2007, partly in response to tensions between the Italian government and its intelligence service over the issue of extraordinary renditions.[76]

Before 1977, the Italian intelligence apparatus was comprised of a central agency within the Ministry of Defense, the Defense Intelligence Service (SID), directly answerable to the Defense Chief of Staff and responsible for intelligence collection, counterintelligence, and the protection of military secrets. Three separate intelligence agencies, Operations and Situation Intelligence Sections (SIOS), were established within each of the three branches of the Italian armed forces. These sections were "entrusted with technical and military intelligence as well as military police tasks."[77]

In 1977, following a scandal involving SID's chief who was arrested for alleged involvement in the 1970 fascist Borghese Coup,[78] the Italian parliament passed a law that reformed the intelligence sector by establishing two separate agencies: the Military Intelligence and Security Service (SISMI), under the authority of the Ministry of Defense; and the Intelligence and

Democratic Security Service (SISDE), established within the Ministry of the Interior.[79] These intelligence agencies received funding from the defense and interior budgets, respectively.[80] The law gave the Prime Minister oversight powers and overall political responsibility for security intelligence policy through the creation of an Executive Committee for Information and Security Services (CESIS), but in spite of this arrangement SISMI and SISDE were formally dependent on and accountable to their respective ministries.[81] This arrangement lasted for 30 years but created coordination issues. Parliament reorganized the Italian intelligence apparatus again in 2007 to address operational weaknesses.

As of 2007, intelligence gathering has been entrusted to the Security Intelligence Department, (DIS), the External Intelligence and Security Service (AISE), and the Internal Intelligence and Security Service (AISI).[82] The latter two replaced SISME and SISDE, respectively, and are no longer under the authority of the Ministries of Defense and Interior. The new law emphasizes the Prime Minister's role as the head of Italy's intelligence apparatus by establishing DIS – a central intelligence coordinator similar to the U.S. Director of National Intelligence – within the executive branch to coordinate all intelligence activities. The law also strengthens intelligence oversight mechanisms and ensures a separation between foreign and domestic intelligence agencies. In addition, the law reformed the way the intelligence agencies recruit new hires; previously, officers were transferred to agencies from the military and police forces, but today the staff of both AISE and AISI are directly hired by DIS in an open and competitive procedure. Finally, the law created a new functional guarantee that shields intelligence agents from judicial investigation; however, this immunity does not apply to actions that physically harm individuals.[83]

## CURRENT STRUCTURE AND LEADERSHIP OF THE INTELLIGENCE SERVICE

As noted above, the current structure of the Italian Intelligence System consists of three entities: the collection agencies AISI and AISE, and the central coordinating body, DIS, linking these agencies to the office of the PM. AISI gathers intelligence within Italy, specifically to safeguard against internal threats, while AISE collects intelligence abroad. Thus, the agencies' areas of competence are divided geographically, although there is some functional overlap. Both agencies focus on international terrorism and counterespionage, for example, with jurisdiction determined by the location of operations. The agencies are legally prohibited from operating outside their jurisdictions unless expressly authorized by DIS.[84]

Structure of Italy's Current Intelligence Service[85]
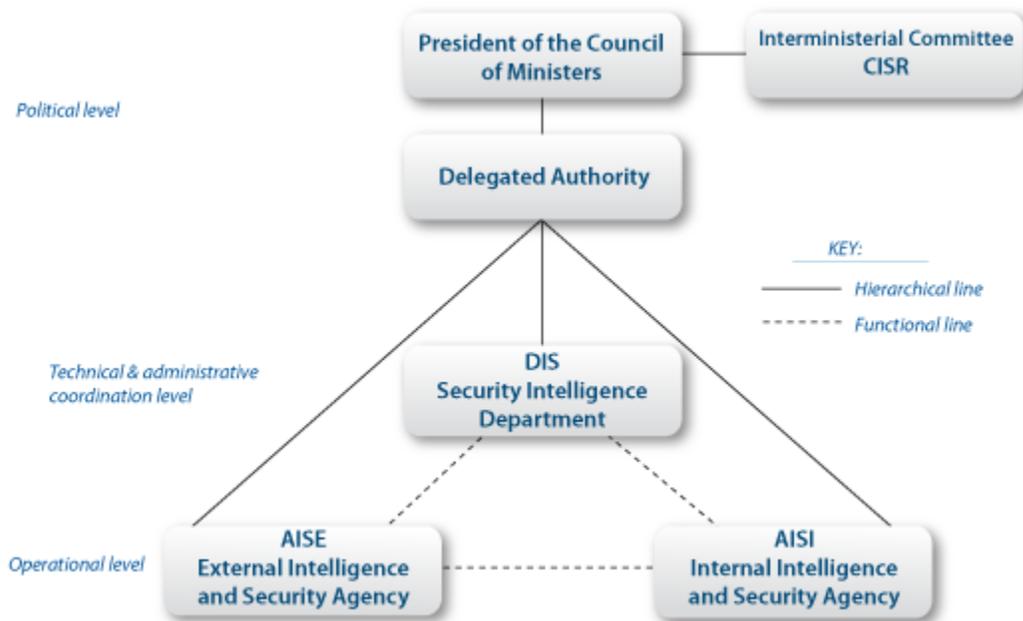


In response to current and looming budget cuts, the Intelligence System began further reorganization in April 2013 to increase centralization of administrative and logistical functions within DIS, including analytical functions. The reorganization, legislated by parliament in Law 133 of 2012, is designed to eliminate bureaucratic redundancies in the collection agencies, allowing them to focus on their collection operations while strengthening DIS's coordinating function.[86]

Coordination between the civilian agencies and Italy's military intelligence body, the Information and Security Unit of the Defense General Staff (RIS), is the responsibility of DIS, which acts as a hub between AISE and the headquarters of the Ministry of Defense (MoD).[87] RIS, which remains under the authority of the MoD and is outside the civilian Intelligence System,[88] acts in close liaison with AISE, especially where Italian troops are deployed.[89] The military intelligence service is legally confined, however, to activity in defense of Italian military operations and infrastructures abroad.[90]

The Interministerial Committee for the Security of the Republic (CISR) is an advisory body that includes the heads of the following ministries with stakes in intelligence and security policy: Defense, Foreign Affairs, Interior, Justice, Economy and Finance, and Economic Development.[91] The CISR, in collaboration with the PM, determines intelligence requirements based on the informational needs of the ministries,[92] and establishes the intelligence budget and its allocation between the three bodies.[93] In 2011, the Intelligence System established liaison offices at each of the CISR ministries to ensure that collection coincides with the requirements of policymakers.[94] However, the PM, who chairs the CISR, has ultimate responsibility for setting intelligence and

security policy and for appointing the directors of the agencies,[95] and has final authority over the budget[96] – which is independent from the public budget and not subject to the oversight of the whole parliament.[97]

Finally, the Parliamentary Committee for the Security of the Republic (COPASIR) is a parliamentary oversight body comprised of five members from each chamber of the legislature, with equal representation from the ruling party, or coalition, and the opposition. The committee scrutinizes – but does not determine – the finances of the intelligence apparatus and, in what commentators believe is the most important of the committee's oversight powers, reviews the operations and strategies of the agencies to ensure they are consistent with the pursuit of national interests and not the interests of any particular political party.[98] Like congressional intelligence committees in the United States, COPASIR conducts periodic hearings with the agencies, DIS, and CISR and receives periodic reports from them. It has no jurisdiction, however, over RIS – the military intelligence service.[99]

## CAPABILITIES AND GEOGRAPHIC SCOPE

*Geographic Scope*

AISE, the external wing of Italy's intelligence apparatus, operates globally primarily through the use of human intelligence (HUMINT). The Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs hosts 319 foreign offices abroad, 126 of which are embassies.[100] It is likely that the Italian Intelligence service makes use of Italy's diplomatic missions, and is thus worldwide in scope. The Italian media speculates that of the approximately 2,500 agents in AISE, there are only 200 operating abroad in about 50 overseas posts.[101] In addition, Italian troops are currently deployed in over 20 countries,[102] and AISE has been specifically tasked with identifying threats to Italian soldiers abroad in collaboration with RIS, Italy's military intelligence service.[103]

According to a 2011 Italian intelligence report to parliament, the country's intelligence operations have been especially focused in the following regions:[104]

*North Africa*: AISE's activities were primarily focused on the crisis in Libya. The agency paid special attention to the activity of radical Islamist movements and the routes of illegal immigration into Italy. Other countries highlighted in the report include Egypt, with reference to the fall of Hosni Mubarak's regime; Tunisia, in which Italian intelligence followed the growth of the Islamic movement Ennahda; Morocco, with the Royal Family's choice to support the drafting of a new constitution; and Algeria, given the social and political discontent in that country.

*East Africa*: AISE monitored the instability in Somalia, with specific reference to piracy activities, and conflicts in Sudan.

*Middle East*: Intelligence activity followed the changing security environment, political tensions, and ongoing instability in Afghanistan and Pakistan, especially in areas where Italian troops are currently operating. The report makes special note of the instability in Syria, of the need to protect Italian forces operating in Lebanon as part of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFL), and of special attention given to the relationship between the United States and Pakistan after the killing of Osama Bin Laden.

*Balkans:* AISE followed the widespread criminality in the region, which is an area of major concern for Italian national security, and intelligence collection was particularly oriented towards "persistent nationalist claims."[105]

*Latin America:* Intelligence focused on the region's energy policies and the "concurrent ambitions for leadership in the area."[106]

*The Arctic:* Italian intelligence activity focused on predominant geo-strategic interests and the exploitation of natural resources in the Arctic.

The following is a breakdown of 2011 AISE intelligence "country of interest" reports sent to government bodies and police forces, divided by region:[107] 40% Asia, 37% Africa, 15.5% Middle East and Arabian Peninsula, 4% Central Asia, 3% Balkans, 0.4% South America.

Regarding intelligence cooperation, Italian intelligence agencies have developed and managed relations with NATO and EU committees, as well as with the foreign intelligence services "participating in several meetings, workshops, and seminars."[108] In 2011, Italian agencies sent 12,816 intelligence reports to foreign counterparts, and received 99,242 reports from abroad.[109]

*Intelligence Capabilities*

Given Italy's budgetary constraints, the Italian intelligence service has comparatively good HUMINT capabilities, especially in North Africa and in countries where Italian troops are currently deployed, but it lacks robust technical intelligence. Ongoing cuts to the Italian defense budget will further hinder the country's intelligence capabilities, as 100 employees total from AISE and AISI were scheduled to be laid off in April 2013.[110]

Italian image intelligence capabilities (IMINT) are limited, but Italy does operate a system of four satellites, COSMO-SkyMed (Constellation Of Small satellites for the Mediterranean basin Observation).[111] The satellites were commissioned and funded by the Italian Space Agency and Ministry of Defense to be used for both civilian and intelligence purposes, and to date they are the largest investment Italy has made in space systems for earth observation.[112] In addition to

COSMO-SkyMed, Italy has contributed funding to France's Helios satellites, and is involved in an asymmetric sharing relationship with France, whereby France exchanges seven images from Helios for 75 radar images from COSMO-SkyMed.[113] Finally, Italy recently purchased another satellite from Israel. The Israeli satellite is an improved version of the Ofek 9, which has the ability to see objects as small as 20 inches.[114]

Italy has no known signals intelligence (SIGINT) capabilities, but in 2011 it leased a SIGINT-equipped Gulfstream jet from Lockheed Martin. The media reports that Italy's decision to lease the jet underscores its need to maintain its intelligence capabilities in the face of deepening cost constraints.[115] Italian defense cuts preclude the possibility of purchasing the aircraft.

In line with Italy's desire to maintain intelligence capabilities "on the cheap," the Italian intelligence enterprise actively engages in open source intelligence (OSINT) gathering. The DIS has promoted new projects "designed to optimize the exploitation of open sources," and AISE trains agents to analyze texts in "rare" languages.[116] Such an emphasis on OSINT, coupled with special language training, may be attractive to potential intelligence sharing partners.

One major weakness that may compromise Italy's intelligence capabilities is the country's cyber systems. Italy is one of the least prepared and weakest European countries to respond to a cyber-threat, and although the government has paid increasing attention to cyber security, no firm cyber defense policies have yet to be implemented.[117]

It is worth noting that the Italy's planned defense cuts are designed to free up more funding for C4I (Command, Control, Communication, Computers, and Intelligence) assets, cyber warfare, forces digitization, and ISAR (Intelligence, Surveillance, Target Acquisition And Reconnaissance) capabilities.[118] Part of Italy's official policy is to enhance TECHINT, particularly protection against cyber threats.[119]

**ANALYSIS FOR INTELLIGENCE SHARING**

*Strategic Priorities*

Italy's primary strategic interests lie in its immediate geographic vicinity – the Mediterranean, the Balkans, and North Africa and the Middle East. Its most pressing concern is to protect itself from potential spillovers of instability originating in these regions. However, as explained above, Italy has adopted an expanded definition of national security that includes international terrorism, piracy threats to important trade routes, transnational criminal activity, illicit trafficking, illegal immigration, and the proliferation of WMD as national security threats. This expanded concept of national security acknowledges the necessity of intervention in areas outside of the immediate region in order to maintain stability and contain the above threats.[120]

Italy is fully subscribed to global security, and contributes to the maintenance of international stability through its participation in NATO, EU, and UN operations. Not only does this participation further the pursuit of its security interests under the expanded concept outlined above, but it also preserves Italy's relevance and influence as a world actor – another important driver of Italian foreign policy.[121]

Additionally, Italy has identified energy security as a long-term strategic interest. As part of its strategy, Italy believes it is necessary to engage in "external action" to create or maintain relationships with its energy suppliers and transit countries, as well as to maintain and promote stability in the regions where these countries are found – Eastern Europe, the Caucuses, North Africa and the Middle East.[122]

Another strategic priority is economic security. Italy has specifically tasked its intelligence services with collecting economic and corporate intelligence – to identify potential threats to or vulnerabilities within its national economy, and to identify threats to Italian enterprises abroad while providing counterespionage services to protect its industries from foreign penetration.[123]

As a result of all of the above, Italy would be willing to share intelligence with states that have overlapping security interests. On the macro-level, these would be states that are concerned with the maintenance of global stability, and in particular those that face similar threats of terrorism, share common trade routes, are affected by common transnational criminal networks, and are concerned with stemming the flow of illicit trafficking and the proliferation of WMD. States that have energy security interests in common areas would also be potential sharing partners, as would states that have business enterprises abroad in the same or similar regions that are vulnerable to foreign penetration. Italy's willingness to share would be most intense with countries that have intelligence on the Mediterranean region.

*Security Environment/Deployed Forces*

Italy faces no current security crisis, although global terrorism, illegal immigration, organized crime, and cyber-attacks remain persistent threats. The European sovereign debt crisis, however, is severely weakening Italy. As part of the country's ongoing austerity measures, Italian defense minister Giampaolo di Paola said the armed forces would be cut by 20 percent over the next decade. [124] The intelligence services will be affected by these cuts, as layoffs in the service have already taken place. The economic crisis will create opportunities for intelligence sharing for Italy, as they will incentivize the Italian government to share so that it can continue to receive information it will no longer be able to acquire for itself due to budget cuts.

This incentive for Italy to burden share has been explicitly stated regarding the country's armed forces; Italy views the economic crisis as an incentive to increase cooperation and integration of its military forces with those of its allies to maintain capabilities on the cheap.[125] In addition, Italian troops are deployed in over 20 countries in what are mostly international crisis management missions with its NATO and EU allies. There are obvious advantages for Italy to share intelligence with countries where Italian troops are stationed. Conversely, other countries may be less willing to share with Italy due to reduced capabilities resulting from budget cuts.

*Established Partnerships*

Italy is a founding member of NATO and the European Union, and both international organizations are vital for Italy's activist foreign policy. For example, of Italy's 132 military deployments from World War II to the present, over half were conducted under the aegis of either NATO or the EU, and all were multilateral. Because of Italy's budgetary constraints, the country has been a big proponent of EU integration in matters of security and defense, and a major advocate of the European Common Security and Defense Policy.[126] Italy sees EU integration as a way to maintain international influence on the cheap, and to that end it supports synchronicities between NATO and the EU as well. Given Italy's interest in cooperating with these international organizations, there are good prospects for intelligence sharing between Italy and its EU and NATO allies.

Moreover, Italy's close relationship with the United States has been a cornerstone of Italian foreign policy since the end of World War II.[127] Italian governments of all colors have valued the American alliance, and Rome still considers its relationship with Washington to be its most valuable. Indeed, the more independent course Italy's foreign policy has taken in recent years has actually created more opportunities for the U.S-Italy relationship.[128] Specifically, Italy's solid relations with Russia and Iran place it in a unique diplomatic position to barter with countries that have traditionally been antagonistic with the West. Furthermore, Italy is not necessarily opposed to sharing intelligence with countries that have had difficult relationships with the West despite its close ties to the U.S.

Italy exerts influence in North Africa, particularly in Libya. To give just one recent example, the media reports that AISE's activity in Libya helped orchestrate the release of British commandos and MI6 agents detained by Libyan insurgents in March 2011. Given Italy's partnerships, Italy will be willing to share intelligence with partners with whom Italy has already established a bilateral sharing relationship. Prospective partners might include countries that have an interest in exploiting Italy's regional influence in North Africa. By contrast, an absence of a history of intelligence sharing with Italy may serve as an obstacle to sharing in the future.

*Governance Model*

Law 124 of 2007 reorganized the Italian Intelligence System into its current configuration, putting the intelligence services under the authority and control of the PM rather than the Ministries of Defense and Interior. In addition to this reorganization, the law reformed the judicial oversight of the intelligence services, two aspects of which are relevant to intelligence sharing: the state secret privilege and functional guarantees.

"State Secret" is the highest classification of sensitive information within Italy, the handling of which is highly compartmentalized. The PM has the sole authority for determining information to be classified as a state secret, but liaisons with foreign intelligence services are explicitly categorized as appropriate for such a designation.[129] Information classified as a state secret cannot be disclosed for fifteen years, renewable for a further fifteen years at the discretion of the PM. After thirty years of non-disclosure, the PM must still consult with relevant states before disclosing information pertaining to foreign liaisons.[130] State secrets are protected from disclosure even from the judiciary. However, disputes between the executive and the judiciary over the appropriate use of the classification are settled by the Constitutional Court.[131]

The reform law also extends a "functional guarantee" to Italian intelligence agents, shielding them from prosecution for illegal actions they undertake in performing their official duties. The guarantee is rigidly tailored, however. Illegal activity must be authorized by the PM and cannot include actions that "threaten the life, the physical integrity, the individual personality, the personal liberty, the moral freedom, the health, or the safety of one or more individuals." Furthermore, the guarantee does not extend to actions that infringe upon the political rights of Italians, or against journalists, trade unions, political parties or any Italian state institutions.[132] Once again, case of dispute between the executive and the judiciary over the appropriate use of the functional guarantee, are settled by the Constitutional Court.[133]

Given that the state secret designation has been strengthened with the new law, and that foreign liaisons are explicitly categorized as warranting such a classification, the new judicial oversight mechanisms may encourage intelligence sharing with Italy. Potential partners may feel that their collaboration will be sufficiently protected. However, Italy's courts have a reputation for being fiercely independent, as demonstrated by the recent conviction of high-ranking Italian intelligence officials for their alleged involvement in the extraordinary rendition of the Muslim cleric Abu Omar.[134]

In this particular instance, the Constitutional Court sided with the executive and upheld the state secret privilege, thereby rendering key evidence against the Italian intelligence officials inadmissible and leading to the dismissal of the case against them.[135]  Nevertheless, the Italian

Supreme Court – a distinct entity from the Constitutional Court – disagreed with that dismissal and ordered a retrial, in which the Italian officials were eventually convicted.[136]

This example demonstrates the degree to which the protections afforded to Italian intelligence agents through the state secret privilege and the functional guarantees remain unclear, as the state secret privilege was upheld but the officials were nevertheless convicted, ostensibly on the basis of other evidence not covered by the privilege. Given this recent history, together with the narrow scope of the functional guarantees, Italian agents may be hesitant to collaborate with foreign intelligence services if they feel that such cooperation will expose them to prosecution.

The consolidation of the intelligence apparatus under the authority of the PM can also have effects on intelligence sharing. On one hand, the intelligence services are less autonomous. Under a single chain of command, there are fewer "pressure points" available to influence sharing. On the other hand, a single chain of command under a PM that sets intelligence and security policy, determines the budget, and appoints directors to the services might suggest that cooperation will be influenced by the interests and desires of the PM.

Curiously, the Italian military intelligence body, the RIS, remains outside of the Italian Intelligence System, and as such is not subject to these reforms. It remains under the authority of the Defense Minister, and is also outside the jurisdiction of the parliamentary oversight body, COPASIR. Given that military intelligence services tend to be more open to information sharing than civilian services, RIS's autonomy might present an opportunity for potential sharing partners. Even though RIS's jurisdiction is confined to gathering intelligence relevant to the protection of military operations and infrastructure abroad, they are known to work closely with AISE, and as such this might present an opportunity for indirect cooperation with the foreign intelligence service.

*Capabilities*

In light of Italy's need to maintain its intelligence capabilities in the face of ongoing budget cuts, as well as its comparative advantage in HUMINT, it is likely that Italy will seek intelligence sharing partners who can offer sophisticated IMINT and SIGINT in exchange for human intelligence in North Africa.

Financial cutbacks will create both opportunities and obstacles for Italian intelligence sharing. Italy will seek partners with whom to share intelligence to defray costs and diversify information gathering, but reduced capabilities resulting from cuts means Italy will have less to share in the marketplace for intelligence, making it a less attractive partner. While Italy may endeavor to increase intelligence sharing so as to maintain its current capabilities, other partners may be reluctant to share since the Italians will have less to provide. Concerns about Italy's weak cyber

systems will also hinder partners' propensity to share with Italy, since the potential for leaks may make partners hesitant to share sensitive information.

*Culture and History*

The Italian intelligence agencies have a history of politicization, having in the past spied on members of the judiciary and opposition political figures.[137] The 2007 reform was, in part, designed to overcome this aspect of their history. Analysts regard the most important function of COPASIR, the parliamentary oversight body, as its power to review intelligence operations to ensure their compliance with national security objectives and not the political objectives of the ruling party. Similarly, the functional guarantees extended to Italian secret agents explicitly do not cover political activities.[138]

The Abu Omar extraordinary rendition affair certainly made many Italians more suspicious of their intelligence service. However, it is interesting that foreign liaisons are now more protected under the 2007 reform law than they were in the past. Excluding actions that in any way harm individuals from the functional guarantee appears to be the most salient reform resulting from the rendition affair. Indeed, in a statement to the media after the sentencing of the former external intelligence chief for his role in the rendition, the current director of the DIS stressed the need to protect the confidentiality of foreign liaisons.[139]

The director of DIS has also spoken publicly about the need to cultivate a "culture of secrecy" within the intelligence system.[140] Part of this effort entails further professionalizing the service through direct recruitment from the public rather than transfers from the military or police services. Accompanying these new recruitment methods, two new academic degree programs have been created at well-known Rome universities, designed to train future intelligence professionals.[141] The open recruitment system may improve perceptions of the intelligence service held by the Italian public.

A more open recruitment policy might also affect intelligence sharing. Italian journalists have bemoaned the lack of competence within the services, alleging that promotions were distributed based on connections and patronage rather than merit.[142] If these criticisms are accurate, replacing current agents with a more professional service could encourage greater intelligence sharing. In fact, one journalist claims that British intelligence did not inform AISE of an impending operation to free hostages taken in Nigeria, even though one of them was Italian, in part because of the Italians' perceived incompetence.[143] On the other hand, if Italy's agents currently abroad – most of which are still active military personnel – have cultivated strong connections with their military counterparts in other nations, intelligence sharing might be hindered if they are replaced with civilian agents lacking that common bond.

To conclude, Italy's willingness to share is driven primarily by its budgetary constraints, which provide the Italian government with incentives to share intelligence in order to receive information it can no longer acquire for itself due to reduced capabilities. Italy must also cooperate with other countries in order to deal with transnational threats, which further lends itself to sharing intelligence to tackle asymmetrical threats.

# TURKEY

## POLTICAL OVERVIEW

The Ottoman Empire ruled the Middle East, the Caucasus, most of North Africa, and the Balkans for several centuries until it was succeeded by the Republic of Turkey in 1923. Under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, Turkey reformed into a modern, secular, and westernized state. After World War II it joined NATO and later aspired to become a member of the European Union.

Turkey is a parliamentary representative democracy and a unitary centralized state established by a constitution. Since its foundation as a republic in 1923, Turkey has developed a strong tradition of secularism. The military, in its role as traditional guardians of secularism, have staged three coups between 1960 and 1980, and in 1997 the army persuaded an Islamist-led government to resign. The Constitution of Turkey specifically defines its government as a secular political entity and declares no official religion for the country despite over 99 percent of Turks identifying themselves as Muslim.[144] This democratic tradition makes Turkey the largest and longest lasting Muslim democracy in the Middle East.

Since 2002, the pro-Islamist Justice and Development Party (AKP) has led the country through an economic renaissance. It has enjoyed an average GDP growth rate of almost 6 percent during the period of 2002-2011 and a per capita income increase from 3,500 USD to 10,500 USD. Turkey is the 17th largest economy in the world with a GDP of about 800 billion dollars.[145]At the same time, inflation declined from 49 percent in 2002 to 7.3 percent in March of 2013, while foreign investments surged from $1 billion in 2002 to $15.9 billion in 2011.[146]

Despite such strong economic performance and significant political reforms, Turkey still struggles with political problems. For the last three decades, the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) has been fighting an armed struggle against the Turkish state for an autonomous Kurdistan and cultural and political rights for the Kurds in Turkey. The PKK still represents one of the most pressing issues for the Turkish government. Furthermore, the current stalemate in Turkey's EU bid over the unresolved status of Cyprus frustrates the Turkish public, whose support for EU membership has fallen from over 70 percent to as low as 33 percent.[147] By contrast, Turkey's fast-growing population, which will number almost 100 million by 2050 according to UN forecasts, is increasingly supportive of the pro-Islamist AKP agenda, mostly because of the rising standards of living in the last eleven years. Although socially conservative, the AKP's liberal economic platform has led to significant rise in living standards for an average Turk, also reflected in the fact that the AKP is currently holding 327 seats in the 550-seat Turkish parliament. Their success clearly shows that the voters are more concerned with their wallets than with the issues over secularism and this trend will hardly change as long as Turkey's economic performance is strong.

One of the most pressing issues for the AKP that creates tensions in Turkish society is constitutional reform, which is expected to take place before the next presidential elections in August 2014.[148] The reform is not viewed favorably by nationalist and Kemalist forces in Turkey, including the military. At the same time, Turkey is heavily energy dependent on imports of gas and oil from Iran, Iraq, and Russia. This dependency often generates frictions between Turkey and the West. The country's future depends both on having secure supplies of energy and a good relationship with the West – its main source of foreign direct investment. As a result, Turkey is drilling for its own energy to ease its reliance on oil and gas imports and is looking for alternatives, such as shale gas, to diversify the energy supplies for an increasingly demanding population.[149] These factors help explain why Turkey is still considered to be a 'potential backslider' – a country in which special political and social circumstances threaten to generate a slide toward various forms of isolation.[150]

## HISTORY OF TURKEY'S MODERN INTELLIGENCE SERVICES

The first intelligence organization in modern Turkey was established in 1914 by Enver Pasha and named Teskilah-I Mahsusa, the Special Organization.[151] After World War I, the Mondros Truce dissolved Teskilah-I Mahsusa, and replaced it with the Karakol Cemiyeti (KC), the Policy Guild. KC was providing logistical support to those fighting the Allied occupation forces in Anatolia but was quickly dissolved following the occupation of Istanbul in 1920.[152] That year, the Turkish Grand National Assembly formed the Mudafaa-I Milliye (MIM), the National Defense Group, in order to create a new and more extensive network of combined military and civilian agents. However, the MIM was disbanded following the liberation of Istanbul from Allied Forces in an effort to establish a modern intelligence organization.[153]

The first modern intelligence organization was established in 1926 under the Chief of the General Staff Field Marshal Fevzi Cakmak and called Milli Emniyet Hizmeti Riyaseti (MAH). MAH was subordinate to the Ministry of Interior Affairs and designed to bring Turkey's intelligence capabilities more in line with Europe's and the rest of the developed world.[154] MAH successfully served as Turkey's primary intelligence agency until 1965 when it was replaced in an effort to better consolidate Turkey's national security apparatus by the Milli Istihbarat Teskilati MIT (National Intelligence Organization). On July 22, 1965, the passage of Law no. 644 created the office of Undersecretary of National Intelligence, removed the new office from the Ministry of Interior Affairs, and made it directly accountable to the Prime Minister.[155] The MIT operates today as the main Turkish intelligence organization.

**STRUCTURE AND LEADERSHIP OF TURKEY'S INTELLIGENCE SERVICE**

Turkey's top intelligence officer is Hakan Fidan, who was appointed to the position by his close friend, Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan in May of 2010. Fidan is 45, married and a father of three. He was educated in the United States and earned a bachelor's degree in political science and government from the University of Maryland University College, and has a master's and doctoral degree from Ankara's private Bilkent University.[156] Previously Fidan was a non-commissioned officer in the Turkish Armed Forces and worked at NATO's Germany-based Allied Rapid Reaction Corps.[157] Regarding the implications of Fidan's appointment for Turkey's relationship with Israel, the Israeli daily *Haaretz* reports that "the Israeli defense establishment, particularly Mossad, viewed his promotion with concern accusing him of steering Turkey away from the Jewish state and closer to Iran."[158] Newspapers in Turkey suggest Erdogan is grooming Fidan as his protégé to become the next Prime Minister.[159]

Turkey's central geographic location in the Middle East necessitates a high level of centralization; because of which both domestic and foreign intelligence are integrated into one agency that combines civilian and military forces.[160] Although the MIT is required to report to the President, Chief of General Staff, Secretary General of the National Security Council and other related Ministries, the Undersecretary of MIT is responsible only to the Prime Minster for the performance of duties. Currently, the MIT is fully independent of any democratic oversight and the agency cannot be investigated without approval from the Prime Minister.[161] In addition to reporting its findings to the Prime Minister, the MIT is also expected to provide direction and technical advice to the various members of the intelligence community, in order to facilitate their activities and conduct its own counter-intelligence operations.[162]

The National Intelligence Coordination Board (NICB), directed by the MIT Undersecretary, provides guidance in intelligence activities in order to coordinate the work of the entire intelligence community.[163] In addition to the NICB, Milli Guvenlik Kurulu (MGK), the National Security Council, whose members include the President, the Prime Minister, the Chief of General Staff, the Ministers of National Defense, Interior and Foreign Affairs, and Commanders of the different branches of the Armed Forces, holds monthly meetings to guide and shape national security policy.[164]

**CAPABILITIES AND GEOGRAPHIC SCOPE**

Today Turkey is expanding the scope of its intelligence requirements and capabilities beyond the Middle East and Greece. Under MIT head Fidan, Turkey is looking to become a global player in the intelligence community.

A key step towards expanding MIT's stature within the global intelligence community came in 2011 when MIT established an internal training center, the Center of Intelligence Studies (ISAMER), focused on intelligence studies to help recruit, train, and educate its personnel on new technologies and contemporary methods of intelligence production. The ISAMER is an academic institution that focuses on world intelligence literature and scientific publications; organizes international seminars; and serves as a body of coordination and cooperation with foreign intelligence services.[165] The ISAMER demonstrated its commitment to greater global involvement in 2012 when it conducted an international conference on intelligence operations at MIT headquarters. The conference, titled "From Intelligence to Decision-making: Intelligence Analysis for Decision-makers," was held in Ankara on June 4th and 5th and included members of the relevant Ministries and Security organizations in Turkey as well as 21 academics, 9 of which were foreign.[166]The meetings addressed strategic intelligence and political decision calculations, democracy, terrorism and counter-terrorism, and the use of technology and scientific analysis in intelligence production.  Turkey intends to make this conference a recurring event that attracts numerous thinkers, writers and members of the global intelligence community to see how MIT is adapting to become a significant player in the world intelligence marketplace.

Headquartered in Ankara, the MIT utilizes Turkey's diplomatic presence in 123 countries to gather intelligence. However, their exact international operational methodologies are unknown.[167] The composition of MIT has gradually changed from a military-dominated organization in the 1980s to an almost entirely civilian one today. Currently, military personnel compose approximately 4.5% of the agency."[168] In addition to this, more than 70% of MIT employees are university graduates below the age of 40 and the goal is to increase this figure to 90% in order to create a more qualified and capable organization.[169]

Turkey's intelligence enterprise is guided by Parliamentary Law 2937 also known as the "State Intelligence Services and the National Intelligence Organization."[170] According to 2937 Law, MIT's domestic and international duties and responsibilities include: obtaining and producing national security intelligence as well as delivering this intelligence to the relevant institutions; meeting the intelligence needs and requirements of the President, the Prime Minister, the Chief of General Staff, the Secretary General of the National Security Council and relevant Ministries; making proposals to the National Security Council and the Prime Minister on directing the intelligence activities of the public institutions; providing consultancy in technical issues regarding the intelligence and counterintelligence activities of the public institutions; delivering the information and intelligence which the General Staff deems necessary for the Armed Forces, to the Headquarters of the General Staff; and conducting counter-intelligence activities.[171]

**ANALYSIS FOR INTELLIGENCE SHARING**

*Strategic Priorities*

Turkey seeks to use soft power to increase its influence in the Middle East, North Africa, the Caucasus, and the Balkans. In the last ten years, Turkey's strong economic performance contributed to its rise as a regional power. In order to sustain this economic growth, Turkey must address its vulnerabilities – especially its oil and gas dependency – by networking aggressively throughout the Middle East, North Africa, the Caucasus, and the Balkans. In fact, the pro-western and pro-Israeli stance that held Turkey at odds with most of its neighbors during the Cold War has started to shift towards a new foreign policy named "zero problems with the neighbors." As part of this new policy, Turkey is developing economic interdependence with neighboring countries, cultivating good relationships with Russia and Iran, and acting as a bridge-builder and peace-maker in the region.

Another Turkish strategic priority is to achieve EU membership and become an influential EU state. Although Turkey still officially seeks EU membership, the negotiations with the EU have stalled for the last seven years over the Cyprus issue. Since 2006 the EU has refused to open negotiations on eight chapters relevant to Turkey's restrictions regarding the Republic of Cyprus, and to provisionally close any chapter until Turkey agrees to fully implement the Additional Protocol to the Association Agreement to Cyprus.  In May 2012, the EU launched new positive agenda to bring fresh dynamics into the EU-Turkey relations but no further developments followed this attempt.

Finally, Turkey aims to maintain good relations with other global actors and to be an influential actor on a variety of global issues. Turkey maintains strategic relationship with the United States through bilateral strategic ties and also through NATO. At the same time, Turkey aspires to have good neighborhood policy with Russia as well as with Eurasia in general, and sees these relationships complimentary to its relations with the U.S. or the EU. Turkey is also a member of G-20, maintains observer status in the African Union, has a strategic dialogue mechanism with the Gulf Cooperation Council, and actively participates in the Arab League.

Given these strategic priorities, Turkey would be willing to share intelligence with states that have similar regional interests, such as the ones that are concerned with the Kurdish question, the proliferation of WMDs in the Middle East, or with the role of terrorist organizations in Syria and North Africa. As a country that is heavily dependent on oil and gas imports, Turkey will be likely to share intelligence with another nation that is capable of meeting its high demands for energy. Turkey's good relationship with Russia and Iran, for instance, is partially conducted on this basis. Turkey would also be likely to share with countries that have intelligence on the Balkans as this could increase Turkey's footprint on the European continent. Fully aware of its

attractiveness for intelligence sharing due to its unique geopolitical position, Turkey is most likely to share intelligence on a transactional basis, as long as such cooperation serves its core strategic interests.

*Security Environment*

Turkey is located at the crossroads of three continents, in an area of the world that is a primary source of global energy resources and home to many diverse peoples with ancient and proud cultures. This region is in varying stages of political and socio-economic development, and is frequently in conflict. Currently, Turkey is experiencing two immediate security crises on its borders with varying levels of threat.

First, Turkey faces the imminent danger of spillover from the Syrian conflict. The conflict could also escalate into a regional war between the Sunni and Shia powers, with Iran and Lebanese Hezbollah on one side, and Turkey, Saudi Arabia, and Qatar on the other. In addition, Turkey shares a 560-mile border with Syria and is experiencing a large influx of refugees, mostly from the Sunni centers targeted by Assad's forces. Turkey has provided logistical support to the Syrian opposition, as well as a safe haven for the tens of thousands of Syrian refugees fleeing the violence. Last year, Syrian forces bombed Turkish territory and killed many innocent civilians; Turkey responded by firing on Syrian government targets.[172]Because of the risk Syrian missile attacks pose to Turkey, NATO has deployed air-defense missiles in the southeast of the country.

Second, the civil war in Syria frustrates Turkey's efforts to clamp down on the PKK because Syrian Kurdish groups affiliated with the PKK have taken control of towns in northern Syria near the Turkish border. In addition to Syria, Kurds are also present in northern Iraq where the Turkish military has launched air and artillery assaults on PKK targets. These strikes were made possible in part due to intelligence gathered by the U.S. drones and shared with the Turkish military.

A major enabler for intelligence sharing is if a partner has intelligence on the PKK and is willing to share it with Turkey in exchange for some mix of political, economic, or military goods or services (i.e. complex liaison). Likewise, if a partner is supportive of the PKK agenda, Turkey will either be highly suspicious of the partner's intelligence or not willing to share at all. An example of such trust issues with regard to the PKK is intelligence sharing between the U.S. and Turkey. Turkey does not have full confidence in American intelligence because the Turkish military and intelligence services have long believed that the PKK has American/Western support. The U.S. intervention in Iraq seriously jeopardized Turkey's security, and the formation of a Kurdish region in northern Iraq has disrupted Turkey's security calculations. While the PKK is on the U.S.'s terror list, Turkey's perception is that the U.S. also sees the matter as a struggle for freedom, a view which Turkey obviously doesn't share.[173]Past mistakes have also

undermined confidence, such as the Uludure incident from 2011, when civilians thought to be militants were bombed by Turkish Air Force following intelligence provided by U.S. drones. This has put Turkish intelligence in a publically difficult position. Because of all this, Turkey distrusts intelligence coming from the United States and often needs to further process it.

Paradoxically, if a partner opposes Turkey's view on the conflict in Syria or even directly supports Assad's forces, such activity will not prevent Turkey from sharing intelligence. For instance, last year MIT has shared intelligence obtained through the American Predators with Iran in exchange for information on the PKK extension in Iran, known as the PJAK or the Party of Free Life of Kurdistan, despite Iranian open support of Assad's regime.[174] However, after clashes on the Turkish-Syrian border last year, the possibility of further escalation has trumped the lack of trust between Turkey and the U.S. and forced them to cooperate more closely. Events in October 2012 highlight this point: U.S. intelligence agencies were the source of a tip that led the Turkish military to intercept and ground a Syrian passenger plane en route from Moscow to Damascus on suspicions that it was carrying Russian-made military hardware.

*Established Partnerships*

Turkey has been a member of NATO since 1952. During the Cold War, Turkey assumed the responsibility to protect the Alliance's southeastern border. As a result of Turkey's proactive foreign policy and its contributions to crisis management and peace-keeping missions, Turkey's role within NATO has expanded since the end of the Cold War. Currently, Turkey provides troops to NATO's missions in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, and Afghanistan. It also operates a missile defense system that provides radar information to all 28 NATO members. But Turkey is also uniquely positioned within NATO alongside the U.S. as a significant member that is not also in the EU. Turkey is not afraid to stand in opposition to the EU members in NATO, which can take the form of unilateral opposition or of a bilateral U.S.-Turkey camp within NATO.

From a historical point of view, relations between Turkey and the United States are multidimensional and based on mutual interest. Turkey and the U.S. cooperate on issues from Iraq, the Middle East, North Africa, the Balkans, the Caucasus, the Eastern Mediterranean, to Central and South Asia. The two countries also cooperate on critically important issues, such as counter-terrorism, energy security, nuclear non-proliferation, and global economic developments. However, this partnership has been marked by mutual mistrust and occasional tension, evidenced in part by intelligence blunders. Also, the US-Turkey partnership has suffered since the 2010 Mavi Marmara incident which resulted in the killing of nine Turkish activists by the Israel Defense Forces and created serious tensions between Turkey and Israel. This relationship is expected to improve after the recent apology made by Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, who also agreed to pay compensation.

At the same time, Turkey maintains good relations with Russia because it relies heavily on Russian gas imports. Given its energy dependency, Turkey often has to align its regional aspirations with Russia's interests even though it often disagrees with Russian foreign policy. For instance, as a member of NATO, Turkey sits in the opposite camp from Russia when it comes to desired outcomes of the civil war in Syria. In addition, Iran represents one of Turkey's most significant foreign partners because 20 to 30 percent of Turkey's gas imports come from Iran despite U.S. sanctions. In December 2012 for example, PM Erdogan said that Iranian gas imports are vitally important for Turkey. Turkey is thus opposed to tougher economic sanctions against Iran, as well as any potential Western military intervention. Consequently, Turkey's stance on Iran causes frictions with the United States and Israel.

Such contradictory partnerships and relations, mostly due to Turkey's unique geopolitical position, give Turkey an advantage when it comes to intelligence sharing. Turkey is an attractive intelligence sharing partner for global and regional powers with an interest in the Middle East. Turkey will share intelligence as long as the partner has the capacity to gather and willingness to share intelligence that is relevant to Turkey's interests. Turkey would also be willing to share intelligence in exchange for oil and gas exports.

The only obstacle to intelligence sharing given Turkey's partnerships would be if a partner is openly confronting Turkey's regional interests in a way that undermines its national security, or publically hurts Turkey's national pride. An example of this would be tensions in the relationship with Israel after the 2010 Mavi Marmara incident. However, strategic differences may not always hinder intelligence sharing.  For example, Turkey shared intelligence from U.S. drones with Iran despite Iran's support to Assad.

*Governance Models*

The intelligence enterprise in Turkey consists of five separate organizations: a central police force and a Gendarmerie that operate under the Ministry of Internal Affairs, a Coast Guard Command which functions under the Undersecretary of Customs, and the Directorate General of Customs Enforcement and the National Intelligence Organization (MIT) which both operate under the Prime Minister.[175] Additionally, the Turkish Armed Forces maintain their own intelligence organization.

The General Directorate of Security Police Force is responsible for public order and arrests under the command of various municipalities and district governors. The Gendarmerie is a para-military police force that operates outside of the geographically orchestrated zones from which the police operate.[176]  The Coast Guard performs its law enforcement mission on Turkey's littoral waters and like the U.S. Coast Guard remains separate from the Armed Forces during

peacetime. The Customs agency prevents illegal trafficking of commodities and human beings, narcotics, and other drugs as well as any items falling under the Convention of International Trade in Endangered Species.[177] While each of these organizations has a role to play in Turkey's intelligence enterprise, their budgets and mandates are small compared to the National Intelligence Organization, the MIT.

On January 11th, 1983 Turkey passed Law no. 2937, the Law on the State Intelligence Services and the National Intelligence Organization which effectively annulled and replaced Law no. 644, the 1965 law that established MIT and the office of the Undersecretary of National Intelligence. Law no. 2937 remains intact except for an addition in 2005 that granted wide-ranging wire-tapping powers to MIT, and an update in 2012 prohibiting investigations against MIT Officers without written approval from the Prime Minister. Law no. 2937 continues to be the primary legal document for Turkey's intelligence enterprise. This law established the position of Undersecretary of MIT and firmly planted the national intelligence apparatus inside the centralized office of the Prime Minister. The Undersecretary is appointed to this position by the "proposal of the Prime Minister and approval of the President, after it is discussed by the National Security Council."[178]

The legislative branch plays only a tangential role in the appointment of the Undersecretary of MIT, and it is not clear if the legislature can override the Prime Minister and the President in the Law. According to article 7 of Law no. 2937, "the Undersecretary of the MIT is responsible to the Prime Minister for the performance of the duties mentioned in article 4 and is not accountable to any person or office other than the Prime Minister."[179] The interpretation of this article has reduced almost all levels of parliamentary or judicial oversight of the MIT. Furthermore, the 2012 amendment specifically states:

"Investigation of the MIT members or any public official assigned by the Prime Minister to perform a specific duty, in course of their duties, due to crimes that have derived from the nature of their duty or that are alleged to be committed during the conduct of their duty or due to allegations of crimes that fall under the mandate of high criminal courts…requires the permission of the Prime Minister."[180]

This provision was added in the midst of a wire-tapping scandal in which the Undersecretary of MIT ignored a parliamentary commission's subpoena and the high court issued a warrant for his arrest. The 2012 amendment amounts to a functional veto power for the Prime Minister of any and all investigations into MIT personnel. Levent Koker, a Gazi University law lecturer said, "immunity laws for government officials put the state outside of the judiciary."[181]

The legislative branch has a nominal role to play in funding the national intelligence organization, but by law the budget of the MIT is determined in a secret meeting headed by the

Prime Minister.[182]   In a parliamentary system of government, the Prime Minister is himself a member of parliament, so the PM heads either the majority party unilaterally in the legislative branch or at least heads the governing coalition that holds a majority of seats in parliament.  In effect, this secret meeting for determining MIT's budget is controlled entirely by the Prime Minister with little or no influence from other branches of government unless there is a "vote of no-confidence" against the Prime Minister or a change in party leadership through elections. The Turkish Prime Minister effectively controls MIT's purse strings, its oversight, and the command authority to employ the national intelligence organization.

Additionally, article 20 of Law no. 2937 stipulates that "if the allocated funds prove to be insufficient to meet all expenses within the fiscal year, the Ministry of Finance shall give priority to the allocation of more funds to the MIT."[183] Article 22 goes further by clearly stating the MIT budget expenses and implementation are the sole responsibility of the Undersecretary (who is accountable only to the Prime Minister as decreed in article 7) and "not subject to Law no. 1050 on public accounting and not subject to Law no. 2886 on Government bids."[184]  Instead of being governed by established legislative rules that apply to all other public institutions, MIT's budget is governed by regulations determined solely by the Prime Minister.  In this case even though parliamentary commissions have certain budgetary responsibilities, Law 2937 effectively erodes the Ministry of Finance and other public accounting rules from influencing how much money MIT receives each year and verifying how those funds are spent.  The law consolidates budgeting accountability in the person of the Prime Minister.

Intelligence requirements for the MIT are determined by a National Intelligence Coordination Board also created by Law no. 2937.  Board members are legally defined as the "Secretary General or Deputy Secretary General of the National Security Council, the Head or Deputy Head of the General Staff Intelligence Department, the Undersecretaries of the Ministries and other relevant authorities as determined by the Prime Minister or invited by the Undersecretary of MIT."[185]

Under Fidan, MIT has continued to consolidate the entire intelligence enterprise within the executive branch. The Turkish media reports, "The establishment of a general-secretariat subordinated directly to him [Fidan] for coordination is very important.  It will serve as an umbrella body to gather the military, Foreign Ministry, police, the Financial Crimes Investigation Board, the Telecommunications Directorate, the Banking Regulation and Supervision Agency and revise what the needs of the country's intelligence community will be."[186]

The consolidation of intelligence oversight, responsibility, and capability within the executive branch in general and within the MIT specifically makes intelligence sharing more likely even though the undemocratic features of this system may offend many sharing partners' sensibilities.

The streamlined authorities mean the Prime Minister does not have many domestic political restrictions on how he uses the intelligence apparatus. This bureaucratic structure enables Turkey to be more aggressive with intelligence sharing since it can operate under the current legal system with relative impunity. While these anti-democratic features inhibit Turkey's ascension to EU membership and at times offend other parts of society, the Turkish public's trust and faith in the military and intelligence community have enabled the Prime Minister to act in what he perceives are Turkey's national security interests with little regard for domestic political opposition.

*Intelligence Capabilities*

In order to compete in the global intelligence community Turkey decided to increase its technical intelligence and electronic surveillance. It is also currently focusing on satellite development that will enhance its SIGINT and IMINT capabilities.

Last year, MIT set out to establish an "electronic intelligence village" to consolidate the MIT electronic directorate with Electronic Systems Command (GES). Turkish newspaper *Hurriyet Daily News* reports, "The GES facility was handed to the MIT by the Chief of the General Staff on 1 January 2012, a development that has been perceived as a civilization of intelligence gathering."[187] The combination of military and civilian intelligence gathering will allow for greater efficiency and sharing of resources that will enable the MIT to leverage the competencies of the Turkish Armed Forces.

In 2012, Turkey unveiled a plan to put 17 new satellites into orbit by the year 2020. The process began later in 2012 when Turkey launched the Gokturk II, an electro optical reconnaissance and observation satellite. A different Gokturk Ianda Turksat 4A, both communications satellites, will be launched in 2013. Turksat 4B will be launched in 2014 and Turksat 4A in 2015 along with Gokturk III, a synthetic aperture radar (SAR) reconnaissance and surveillance satellite. 2016 will see an infrared early warning satellite sent into orbit, along with the Turksat 5A communications satellite. In 2017, Turksat 5B and a second infrared satellite will be launched. The electro optical Gokturk IV and two more infrared satellites will be launched into orbit in 2018, and two more satellites will be launched in 2019. Finally, Turkey will complete its launch plan with a second SAR Gokturk V in 2020.[188]

This ambitious satellite plan demonstrates Turkey's continued commitment to improving its use of space-based technologies, both for its armed forces and its intelligence gathering. To better coordinate its space operations, Turkey established a National Space Agency in 2012 and works closely with "the Federal Russian Space Agency Roscosmos, the German aerospace center DLR, Britain's space agency BNSC and the Netherlands space office NSO, as well as defense companies Aselsan, Roketsan."[189]

Despite Turkey's growing interest and capability in satellite production, Turkey still lacks the ability to launch its own satellites into orbit and must seek help from foreign governments to implement its ambitious satellite plan. The United States is reluctant to help Turkey deploy numerous reconnaissance and surveillance satellites because Israel sees Turkey's advanced imagery capabilities as a way for Turkey to gain a better understanding of Israeli troop formations and deployments. Turkey officially stated that its satellites are designed to help it deal with potential issues with Syria or the PKK in northern Iraq, and are not targeted at Israel. Regardless, Turkey needs foreign help to achieve its space goal and has turned to others for assistance in satellite design and launch. On December 20th, 2012 the Gokturk II, Turkey's second domestically produced observation satellite, was carried into orbit by a Long March 2D rocket launched from China's Jiuquan Satellite Launch Centre in the Gobi Desert. The *South China Morning Post* reports, "The successful mission was described as being "a historic moment" by Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan, who had previously dismissed concerns the satellite would be used to observe Israel and undercut a U.S.-backed blackout on high-resolution space photography of Israeli territory."[190]

Turkey's satellites also include components from South Korea and it already agreed to future purchases from Telespazio of Rome and Thales Alenia Space of France and Italy. The new 1,000 kilogram spacecraft "will be similar to the two French Pleiades satellites now in orbit, with a 70-centimeter ground resolution in black and white and 2.8 meters in color."[191] Turkey's enhanced technical intelligence capabilities will enable MIT to share more signals intelligence and imagery in the region and the world. As Turkey continues to try and prove to the global intelligence community that MIT is a world-player, Turkey will be likely to find partners to share its new IMINT as a way of demonstrating its capacity to join the elite tier of intelligence organizations. Turkey will also search for opportunities to share its new found capacities with poorer or less capable partners in the Middle East as a way of enhancing Turkey's influence in the region. Turkey may use its growing intelligence abilities as a component of its political narrative that it is the emerging Middle East power that other Sunni Arab states should respect and emulate.

As Turkey looks to join the intelligence elite, MIT may be discouraged from sharing with partners that have less capable satellite imagery and who may look to Turkey's investments as a chance to reduce their own intelligence expenditures during this time of fiscal austerity. It is possible economic obstacles in Europe that lead to reduced investment in intelligence capability will impede Turkey from sharing intelligence with countries who seek to use Turkey's enhanced capabilities as a supplement to their own reduced capacities.

*Culture and History*

Traditionally, Turkey's intelligence enterprise is held in high regard by the public because of its close connection to the Turkish Armed Forces, who pride themselves as defenders of the secular political establishment. The current governing party, AKP, has strong Islamist ties, but has not abandoned the secular nature of the Turkish government. Despite Turkish military involvement in four separate government or political party coups in the last sixty years, the military and intelligence community on average remain widely supported institutions in Turkish society.

Even though the intelligence community is well-respected, political parties are using the national intelligence organization to undermine their opponents. The close legal relationship between the Undersecretary of MIT and the Prime Minister is amplified today by the close personal relationship of Undersecretary Fidan and Prime Minister Erdogan. A domestic wire-tapping scandal embarrassed Erdogan's political opponents and some argued the Prime Minister abused his intelligence authorities. Lale Kemal, the Ankara bureau chief for Turkey's left-leaning *Taraf* newspaper, claimed the power struggle can be seen between agencies of the intelligence enterprise, specifically MIT and the Prime Minister on one side and the police directorate of the Ministry of Interior on the other. *Taraf* itself became part of the scandal when it published a report claiming that "between 2008 and 2009 seven of its senior editorial staff members were wire-tapped by MIT in connection with a counter-terrorism investigation."[192] In 2011 MIT was also accused of releasing a videotape of a political opponent, Ihsan Barutcu, proving he was having an affair.[193] He was subsequently expelled from the nationalist Movement Party (MHP) on the eve of the 2011 general elections. A parliamentary commission has been established to investigate MIT wire-tapping, and one deputy from the Republican People's Party (CHP) who serves on the commission stated that from his understanding, "everybody in Turkey is wiretapped."[194]

The legal ambiguity that governs the oversight and accountability of Turkey's armed forces and intelligence could cause public support to erode in the future. Today, laws that protect the Prime Minister and consolidate his authority over intelligence and security at the expense of judicial or parliamentary oversight represent anti-democratic values that are out of step with Europe's governance standards and could be a road block to Turkey's goal of one day officially joining the European Union.

Turkey's secular traditions will continue to allow large degrees of autonomy for MIT to share intelligence with numerous partners. If intelligence sharing is seen as a method of increasing Turkish influence in the region, then the public will encourage even more sharing. To the contrary, if intelligence sharing reinforces domestic political infighting and highlights the anti-democratic nature of the governance model, then the Turkish public will oppose sharing. The role of culture and history indicate that Turkey will be impeded in any intelligence sharing

endeavor that includes Greece, Israel, or Saudi Arabia who are viewed as Turkey's main rivals in the region.  The continuing crisis in Syria represents a clear chance for Turkey to prove its increased capabilities and to enhance its influence in the area, but Turkey will have to ensure it is not seen by its domestic constituency as helping Israel's position in the Middle East.

# CONCLUSION

Recognizing that no single country can expect to be able to gather and analyze all information all the time, sharing in the global marketplace for intelligence will continue to be a staple of international relations. Given this reality, the key questions to ask include: 1) What kind of intelligence will a country share? 2) How much intelligence will the country share? And 3) Under what circumstances will sharing occur? Based on our interviews with intelligence experts, military to military sharing at the tactical level is more likely than institutionalized sharing at the strategic level. Both formal and informal sharing at the lowest levels of an intelligence enterprise can endure and overcome political difficulties at the geo-strategic levels.

Of the four countries analyzed in this report, we find that **Italy** is the most willing to share intelligence, but it may also be the least attractive partner to other nations. Italy's decreased intelligence budget and shrinking capabilities coupled with its weak cyber security may turn potential partners away from Italy.

**Germany** may be the most reliable partner because it shares the same strategic priorities with almost all members of the NATO Alliance. Moreover, Germany's strong commitment to multilateral organizations and international law makes it likely to use sharing as a way to strengthen the credibility of international institutions. Despite this outward commitment, Germany may find its historical and cultural experience prohibitive, as it manifests itself in an extremely rigid and constrictive legal regime that can paralyze intelligence sharing.

**France** seeks to share intelligence to increase its position in the Alliance, in Europe, and to enhance its role on the world stage. Instead of being focused on specific transactional intelligence sharing for other forms of intelligence, France may be most willing to share to gain influence because it sees itself as an elite member of the global community.

Finally, **Turkey** may be the most attractive partner to any country looking to establish a sharing relationship because its intelligence enterprise is playing a more prominent role in Turkish foreign policy. Namely, the intelligence community is developing increased technical intelligence capabilities and is integrating parts of its civilian and military intelligence apparatus, specifically in relation to cyber operations. Unfortunately, Turkey may also be the most difficult to share with because of its relations with Iran, Russia, and China, all of which have opposed certain aspects of the NATO Alliance. Turkey will also be wary of potential partners with strong ties to Greece or Israel.

The analytical framework described above can be applied to any country in order to better understand how and when that country may choose to share intelligence. If a country seeks to share with a potential partner we recommend evaluating these criteria for both parties. Sharing is

the result of a country's analysis of both itself and its partner. Countries will look for partners with similar characteristics as prerequisites for intelligence sharing.

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## APPENDIX



**NATO Intelligence Sharing in the 21st Century**
Undersecretary of Defense for Intelligence, US Mission to NATO
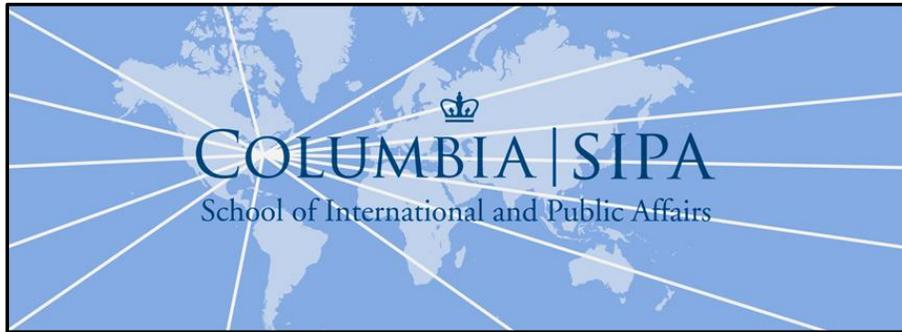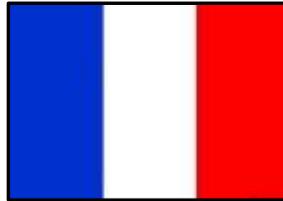
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# Method for Standardized Assessment
## Six key factors influence a country's willingness to share intelligence

| Factor | What does it mean? | Why is it important? |
|---|---|---|
| **1** Strategic Priorities | What is this country's grand strategy? How does it view itself? What are its risks, threats? | Vital national interests determine policy |
| **2** Security Environment / Deployed Forces | Is this country facing a security crisis? Is this country surrounded by unfriendly neighbors? Does the country have boots on the ground ? | Historically a major enabler of intelligence sharing |
| **3** Established Partnerships | Does the country have established intelligence sharing practices with others? Does the country have formal alliances? | Precedent can create trust and make communication more effective |
| **4** Governance Models | What are the key internal dynamics in the IC? How does it interact with other government agencies? Funding and oversight procedures? | Bureaucratic hurdles can prevent cooperation Structural similarities between intelligence communities make communication easier |
| **5** Capabilities | What is the intelligence community good/bad at? What role does the intelligence community see for itself in the future? | Country may seek to cooperate with partners with complementary capabilities |
| **6** Culture / History | How does the public view the intelligence community? What are cultural relations with this country like? | Cultural ties have helped overcome political frictions historically, but cultural differences have also been key obstacles |

# Summary for France

| Factor | | French perspective |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | **Strategic Priorities** | Maintain strength in Europe<br>Protect former colonies, especially West Africa<br>Combat terrorism and Islamic extremism |
| 2 | **Security Environment / Deployed Forces** | ISAF member<br>Mali and Côte D'Ivoire<br>Libya intervention and extremism |
| 3 | **Established Partnerships** | NATO (Military since 2009)<br>Sharing with Western allies (UK, US) |
| 4 | **Governance Models** | Intelligence under Executive<br>Military/Civil separation, but both under MOD<br>Domestic agencies under Interior, Economy<br>Intelligence figures private |
| 5 | **Capabilities** | HUMINT capabilities high, especially in MENA<br>ANSSI tasked with cyber-defense<br>Moderate IMINT capability |
| 6 | **Culture / History** | Origins from infighting during WWII<br>Public does not trust secret services<br>Intelligence failure → Loss of sovereignty |

# Summary for Germany

| Factor | German perspective |
|---|---|
| **1**   **Strategic Priorities** | Protect against international terrorism and crime<br>Europe and multilateralism<br>Israel's security as "raison d'état" (Merkel) |
| **2**   **Security Environment / Deployed Forces** | Trouble spots: Russia, Southeast Europe, North Africa<br>Intelligence sharing in Afghanistan |
| **3**   **Established Partnerships** | Long-standing member of NATO, Club de Berne<br>Close working relationships with CIA |
| **4**   **Governance Models** | Highly centralized<br>Highly hierarchical<br>Recent wave of administrative reform |
| **5**   **Capabilities** | Sophisticated SIGINT<br>Highly capable HUMINT/analysts especially in Middle East<br>Beginning to build IMINT |
| **6**   **Culture / History** | Germans highly skeptical of intelligence<br>Problematic relationship with military<br>Concerns about German intelligence being abused |

# Summary for Italy

| Factor | | Italian perspective |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Strategic Priorities | Protect against transnational threats<br>Achieve security objectives multilaterally |
| 2 | Security Environment / Deployed Forces | Deep cuts planned for defense and intelligence enterprise<br>Military presence in over 20 countries |
| 3 | Established Partnerships | Founding member of NATO and the EU<br>Close ally of the United States<br>Exerts influence in North Africa |
| 4 | Governance Models | Bureaucratic reorganization of intelligence services<br>Strengthened classification system and prosecutorial immunity |
| 5 | Capabilities | Comparatively good HUMINT<br>Limited IMINT and SIGINT capability<br>Weak cyber systems |
| 6 | Culture / History | Increasing professionalization of intelligence service<br>New open recruitment policy |

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# Summary for Turkey

| Factor | Turkish perspective |
|---|---|
| **1 — Strategic Priorities** | Exert regional influence<br>Attain EU membership<br>Good relations with global actors |
| **2 — Security Environment / Deployed Forces** | Unique geostrategic position<br>Syrian conflict: spillover/escalation<br>PKK presence in Syria, northern Iraq, and Iran |
| **3 — Established Partnerships** | Non-EU member of NATO<br>Distrustful relations with the US<br>Energy-dependent on Russia and Iran |
| **4 — Governance Models** | Legal continuity<br>Limited oversight<br>High level of centralization |
| **5 — Capabilities** | Increased SIGINT and IMINT<br>International and domestic wire-tapping |
| **6 — Culture / History** | Close connection to military<br>Political power struggles<br>Secular traditions |