Foreword

Studies is pleased to present this special edition marking the 20th anniversary of the passage of the Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act (IRTPA), which created the position of Office of the Director of National Intelligence (ODNI) to oversee the US Intelligence Community. The edition includes a rich mix of perspectives and reminiscences from people who were instrumental in crafting and implementing IRTPA, particularly during the formative years of the ODNI. Their insights and perspectives are valuable additions to the historical literature and should stimulate discussion of the future direction of the IC. We thank all of the contributors and particularly guest editors Ronald Sanders and Michael Richter, themselves early ODNI stakeholders, who conceptualized the idea of a special edition and did the legwork in rounding up contributions.

Readers will note that the contributors are generally advocates of IRTPA and proud of ODNI's accomplishments. These authors concede that there have been many critics of the legislation or its implementation, but there are no contributions by critics. Despite the breadth of topics covered in this edition, there are gaps, even of the formative years. There is little about the impact of IRTPA on intelligence collection or on smaller IC components and liaison services, for example, or about the clashes between ODNI and CIA that set de facto bounds on the DNI's role. Some gaps have been covered elsewhere in *Studies* and other publications, but there is a wide scope for additional contributions to the historical literature, including those that provide differing perspectives on IRTPA's impact, for good or ill.

Contributions that examine how ODNI has evolved over the past decade would be particularly useful in informing the ongoing debate over the future of the IC. Several of the articles in this edition allude to ongoing questions about ODNI's utility, and the incoming administration's review of government programs for efficiency may well reinvigorate debate on the IC's role and composition. In this context, what is the current situation? Has IRTPA achieved its goals? Have the challenges many of the contributors cite been resolved? If not, are they achievable or endemic? And, more broadly, what implications do such developments as the explosion of open-source information, advances in artificial intelligence, and renewed great-power competition across a range of military-economic-technical spheres have for the IC?

Structure of this Special Edition

This edition begins with reflections on intelligence reform by former Principal Deputy Director of National Intelligence Michael Hayden, former DNIs Michael McConnell and John Negroponte, and scholar and former ODNI executive Edward Wittenstein. After reviewing the background to passage of IRTPA, they touch on their efforts to implement a law that they saw as having an "awkward but practical" balance between broad responsibilities and limited, ambiguous authorities—for example, over budgets and personnel—capped by the law's language that the DNI could not "abrogate" a Cabinet secretary's authorities. Given this, they stress that DNI's success has relied heavily on informal influence, whether from proximity to the president or good relationships with IC and DOD leaders.

The remainder of this edition is organized around the impressions of various key participants in the passage and initial implementation of the IRTPA, either as leaders in ODNI or in other IC components. Two major political figures who played key roles passing the IRTPA, Senator Susan Collins and former Representative Jane Harman, offer their personal views on the complex political dynamics that led to the passage of the legislation through the Congress and to the desk of President George W. Bush. National Security Advisor Stephen Hadley and White House aide Michael Allen discuss the impetus for passing IRTPA from an Oval Office perspective, and former Deputy Director of Central Intelligence John McLaughlin recalls his thinking about the process.

Turning to the process of early implementation, a number of former IC leaders describe the challenges they faced after the act's passage to make it work. Senior ODNI leaders Ron Burgess, Tom Fingar, Patrick Gorman, Ben Powell, Caryn Wagner, and David Shedd recount wrestling with the law's structural, operational, and administrative ambiguities as they implemented initiatives in areas ranging from collection and analysis to information sharing and budget formulation and execution.

James Clapper—who has written about his service as the fourth DNI previously in *Studies*—provides new details on his experiences as director of the National Geospatial-Intelligence Agency when IRTPA was passed and later as the under secretary of defense for intelligence. Melissa Hathaway provides insights on the successes and challenges of the first Comprehensive National Cybersecurity Initiative—an initiative she led under DNI McConnell that filled a critical IC programmatic vacuum and has fed into ongoing US cyber security efforts. Mike Leiter offers his reflections on the development, maturation, and challenges of the National Counterterrorism Center, an ODNI office he led and argues was the flagship of post-9/11 IC reform.

Several of the contributors draw on their experiences to look ahead. Among these, Ron Sanders and Mike Richter detail the challenges of structuring a scheme of interagency joint-duty assignments modeled after the Goldwater-Nichols Act to foster IC integration; they argue that a more formal, centralized system focused on senior leaders is needed to reach this goal.

The issue closes with perspectives on the broader impact on the IC of 9/11 and IRTPA. William Evanina, John Pistole and Valerie Caproni, and Barry Zulauf offer reminiscences on the impact of ODNI and of changing threats on their organizations. Finally in an interview with *Studies* Managing Editor Joseph Gartin, former Acting DCIA Michael Morell and former CIA Chief Operating Officer Andrew Makridis provide their perspectives as senior CIA leaders who served in and alongside ODNI.

As always, we invite reader feedback on the articles and welcome submissions to *Studies* at any time.

—John Pulju, Chair, *Studies* Editorial Board

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Contributors

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Hon. Ronald Sanders served as the IC chief human capital officer.

Michael Richter, Esq., is a partner at Grant Herrmann Schwartz & Klinger, where he leads the firm's litigation practice. He served as the ODNI civilian joint duty program manager.

Contributors

Michael Allen is managing director of Beacon Global Strategies. He previously served as the majority staff director of the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence and on in a variety of positions in the National Security Council and Homeland Security Council under President George W. Bush.

LTG Ronald Burgess retired from the US Army in 2012 after 38 years of service. He served twice as the acting principal deputy director of national intelligence and as the 17th director of the Defense Intelligence Agency.

Valerie E. Caproni is a judge in the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York and former general counsel of the FBI.

Retired Lt Gen James Clapper served as the director of national intelligence (2010–17), under secretary of defense for intelligence, and director of the National Geospatial-Intelligence Agency and the Defense Intelligence Agency.

Sen. Susan Collins has represented Maine in the US Senate since 1997. She chaired the Senate Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs Committee (2003–7) and later served as the committee's ranking member (2007–13).

William Evanina is founder and CEO of the Evanina Group, advising business leaders on strategic corporate risk. He served as director of the National Counterintelligence and Security Center (2014–21).

Dr. Thomas Fingar is a Shorenstein APARC Fellow in the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies at Stanford University. He served as the first deputy director of national intelligence for analysis and, concurrently, chair of the National Intelligence Council (2005–8).

Patrick Gorman is the CEO of Cynomiq, an AI-driven cyber security posture-management platform. He served in various executive roles at Booz Allen, Bank of America/Merrill Lynch, and Bridgewater Associates, as well as the acting chief information officer in the Office of the Director of National Intelligence.

Stephen Hadley is a principal at RiceHadleyGates & Manuel, LLC, an international strategic consulting firm. He served as assistant to the president for national security affairs under President George W. Bush (2005–9).

Contributors (cont.)

Former Representative Jane Harman represented California's 36th District (1993–99, 2001–11). She was the ranking member on the House Intelligence Committee (2002–6) and chaired the Homeland Security Committee's Intelligence Subcommittee (2007–11).

Melissa Hathaway is president of Hathaway Global Strategies, which provides strategic advice to companies, NGOs, and countries. She led cyber security initiatives under Presidents George W. Bush and Barack Obama.

Retired Gen Michael Hayden served as the director of CIA and NSA and as the principal deputy director of national intelligence (2005–6).

Michael Leiter is a partner at Skadden, Arps, Slate, Meagher & Flom, where he heads the firm's CFIUS and national security practice. He served as director of the National Counterterrorism Center (2007–11) and as first deputy chief of staff in the ODNI.

Andrew Makridis served as head of the Weapons and Counterproliferation Center of CIA, CIA associate deputy director for science and technology, and CIA's chief operating officer.

Retired VADM Michael McConnell served as director of national intelligence (2007–9) and director of NSA (1992–96).

John McLaughlin is a senior fellow and distinguished practitioner-in-residence at Johns Hopkins University. He served as the acting director of central intelligence (July–September 2004) and the deputy director of central intelligence (2000–2004).

Michael J. Morell served as deputy director of CIA (March 2010–August 2013). He was acting director of CIA from July 2011 to September 2011 and November 2012 to March 2013.

Amb. John Negroponte served as director of national intelligence (2005–7).

John S. Pistole is the president of Anderson University. He served as administrator of the US Transportation Security Agency (2010–14) and as a deputy director of the FBI.

Benjamin A. Powell is a partner at WilmerHale specializing in cybersecurity. He served as general counsel in the Office of the Director of National Intelligence (2006–9).

David Shedd served as chief of staff and deputy director of national intelligence for policy, plans, and requirements in the Office of the Director of National Intelligence. He later served as acting director and deputy director of the Defense Intelligence Agency.

Caryn A. Wagner served as assistant deputy director of national intelligence for management (2005–7) and the first chief financial officer for the National Intelligence Program. She also served as the executive director for Intelligence Community Affairs (2004–5) and the under secretary for intelligence and analysis at the Department of Homeland Security (2010–12).

Edward Wittenstein served as executive assistant to the director of national intelligence (2005–7) and deputy secretary of state (2007–9).

Dr. Barry Zulauf, is a senior ODNI executive on a joint duty assignment as the defense intelligence officer for counternarcotics and transnational organized crime. He served as the IC analytic ombudsman and chief of Analytic Integrity and Standards. ■

Directors of National Intelligence

John Negroponte
(2005–7)
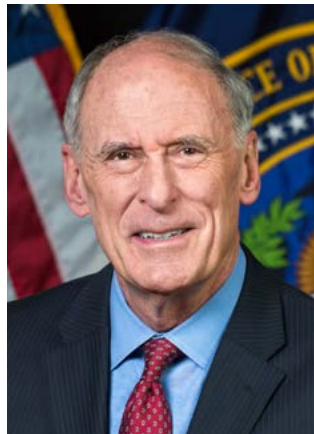
J.Michael McConnell
(2007–9)

Dennis Blair
(2009–10)

James Clapper
(2010–17)

Michael Dempsey
(Acting, January–March 2017)

Dan Coats
(2017–19)

Joseph Maguire
(Acting, 2019–20)

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(Acting, February–May 2020)

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Acronyms & Abbreviations

AIS	Analytic Integrity and Standards		DIA	Defense Intelligence Agency
ARC	Analytic Resources Catalog		DHS	Department of Homeland Security
BPA	Business Process Automation		DIB	Defense Industrial Base
CDO	Chief Data Officer		DIE	Defense Intelligence Enterprise
CFO	Chief Financial Officer		DNI	Director of National Intelligence
CI	Counterintelligence		DOD	Department of Defense
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency		DOE	Department of Energy
CJD	Civilian Joint Duty		DOS	Department of State
CMS	Community Management Staff		DVE	Domestic violent extremism
CNCI	Comprehensive National Cybersecurity Initiative		EAD	Executive Assistant Director, FBI
CNSS	Committee on National Security Systems		EO	Executive Order
			FIG	Field Intelligence Group
CSA	Combat Support Agency		FISA	Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act
CT	Counterterrorism		FISC	Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court
CTIIC	Cyber Threat Intelligence Integration Center		FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
DCI	Director of Central Intelligence		GOMO	General Officer Management Office
DCIA	Director, Central Intelligence Agency		HASC	House Armed Services Committee
DDCI	Deputy Director of Central Intelligence		HSGAC	Homeland Security and Government Affairs Committee
DDCIA	Deputy Director, CIA		HPSCI	House Permanent Select Community on Intelligence
DDCI/CM	Deputy Director of Central Intelligence/Community Management		HSIP	Homeland Security Intelligence Program
DDI	Director of Defense Intelligence		HSC	Homeland Security Council
DDNI	Deputy Director of National Intelligence		IC	Intelligence Community
DDNI/A	Deputy Director of National Intelligence for Analysis		ICAP	IC Officer Assignment Program
			IC CHCO	IC Chief Human Capital Officer
DDNI/C	Deputy Director of National Intelligence for Collection		IC CIO	Intelligence Community Chief Information Officer
DEA	Drug Enforcement Administration		ICD	Intelligence Community Directive
DEXCOM	Deputies Executive Committee		IC IRC	Intelligence Community Incident Response Center

Acronyms and Abbreviations (cont.)

IC ITE	Intelligence Community Information Technology Enterprise	NSPM	National Security Policy Memorandum
INR	Bureau of Intelligence and Research, Department of State	ODNI	Office of the Director of National Intelligence
INT	Intelligence (source)	OMB	Office of Management and Budget
IRTPA	Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act	ORCON	Originator Controlled
JD	Joint Duty	PCLOB	Privacy and Civil Liberties Oversight Board
JDA	Joint-Duty Assignment	PDB	*President's Daily Brief*
JIACTF	Joint Inter-Agency Cyber Task Force	PDDNI	Principal Deputy Director of National Intelligence
LNI	Library of National Intelligence	PFIAB	President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board
MIP	Military Intelligence Program	PIAB	President's Intelligence Advisory Board
MOA	Memorandum of Agreement		
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding	PM ISE	Program Manager, Information Sharing Environment
NCIX	National Counterintelligence Executive	PPD	Presidential Policy Directive
NCPC	National Counterproliferation Center	RASER	Rapid Analytic Support and Expeditionary Response
NCSC	National Counterintelligence and Security Center	SEMO	Senior Executive Management Office
NCSG	National Cyber Study Group	SSCI	Senate Select Committee on Intelligence
NCTC	National Counterterrorism Center	TIDE	Terrorist Identities Datamart Environment
NGA	National Geospatial-Intelligence Agency	TSDB	Terrorist Screening Data Base
NIC	National Intelligence Council	TTIC	Terrorism Threat Integration Center
NIM	National Intelligence Manager	UCDMO	Unified Cross Domain Management Office
NIMA	National Imagery and Mapping Agency	USD(I)	Under Secretary of Defense for Intelligence
NID	National Intelligence Director	USD(I&S)	Under Secretary of Defense for Intelligence and Security
NIO	National Intelligence Officer	US(I&A)	Under Secretary for Intelligence and Analysis, DHS
NIP	National Intelligence Program		
NSA	National Security Agency	WMD	Weapon of Mass Destruction ∎
NSAP	National Security Advisory Panel (NSAP)		
NSB	National Security Branch, FBI		
NSPD	National Security Presidential Directive		