

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 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





Washington, DC 20505

EDITORIAL POLICY

Articles for *Studies in Intelligence* may be written on any historical, operational, doctrinal, or theoretical aspect of intelligence.

The final responsibility for accepting or rejecting an article rests with the Editorial Board.

The criterion for publication is whether, in the opinion of the board, the article makes a contribution to the literature of intelligence. Board members are all active or former Intelligence Community officers.

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Contributors (cont.)

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Directors of National Intelligence



John Negroponte (2005–7)



J.Michael McConnell (2007–9)



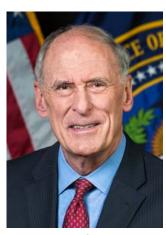
Dennis Blair (2009–10)



James Clapper (2010–17)



Michael Dempsey (Acting, January–March 2017)



Dan Coats (2017–19)



Joseph Maguire (Acting, 2019–20)



Richard Grenell (Acting, February–May 2020)



John Ratcliffe (2020–21)



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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	EAD	Executive Assistant Director, FBI
	Cybersecurity Initiative	EO	Executive Order
CNSS	Committee on National Security	FIG	Field Intelligence Group
CC A	Systems	FISA	Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act
CSA	Combat Support Agency	FISC	Foreign Intelligence Surveillance
CT	Counterterrorism		Court
CTIIC	Cyber Threat Intelligence Integration Center	FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
DCI		GOMO	General Officer Management Office
DCI	Director of Central Intelligence	HASC	House Armed Services Committee
DCIA	Director, Central Intelligence Agency	HSGAC HPSCI	Homeland Security and Government
DDCI	Deputy Director of Central Intelligence		Affairs Committee
DDCIA	Deputy Director, CIA		House Permanent Select Community
DDCI/CM	Deputy Director of Central	HIGID	on Intelligence
DDCI/CWI	Intelligence/Community Management	HSIP	Homeland Security Intelligence Program
DDI	Director of Defense Intelligence	HSC	Homeland Security Council
DDNI	Deputy Director of National	IC	Intelligence Community
	Intelligence	ICAP	IC Officer Assignment Program
DDNI/A	Deputy Director of National	IC CHCO	IC Chief Human Capital Officer
DDNI/C	Intelligence for Analysis	IC CIO	Intelligence Community Chief
DDNI/C	Deputy Director of National Intelligence for Collection		Information Officer
DEA	Drug Enforcement Administration	ICD IC IRC	Intelligence Community Directive
DEXCOM	Deputies Executive Committee		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	ORCON	Originator Controlled
	Prevention Act	PCLOB	Privacy and Civil Liberties Oversight
JD	Joint Duty		Board
JDA	Joint-Duty Assignment	PDB	President's Daily Brief
JIACTF	Joint Inter-Agency Cyber Task Force	PDDNI	Principal Deputy Director of National
LNI	Library of National Intelligence		Intelligence
MIP	Military Intelligence Program	PFIAB	President's Foreign Intelligence
MOA	O		Advisory Board
MOU			President's Intelligence Advisory Board
NCIX	National Counterintelligence Executive	PM ISE	Program Manager, Information Sharing Environment
NCPC	National Counterproliferation Center	PPD	Presidential Policy Directive
NCSC	National Counterintelligence and Security Center	RASER	Rapid Analytic Support and Expeditionary Response
NCSG	National Cyber Study Group	SEMO	Senior Executive Management Office
NCTC	National Counterterrorism Center	SSCI	Senate Select Committee on
NGA	National Geospatial-Intelligence		Intelligence
	Agency	TIDE	Terrorist Identities Datamart
NIC	National Intelligence Council		Environment
NIM	National Intelligence Manager	TSDB	Terrorist Screening Data Base
NIMA	National Imagery and Mapping	TTIC	Terrorism Threat Integration Center
NHD	Agency	UCDMO	Unified Cross Domain Management
NID	National Intelligence Director		Office
NIO	National Intelligence Officer	USD(I)	Under Secretary of Defense for
NIP	National Intelligence Program	11CD/10-C)	Intelligence
NSA	National Security Agency	USD(I&S)	Under Secretary of Defense for Intelligence and Security
NSAP	National Security Advisory Panel (NSAP)	US(I&A)	Under Secretary for Intelligence and
NSB	National Security Branch, FBI	J J (10011)	Analysis, DHS
NSPD	National Security Presidential Directive	WMD	Weapon of Mass Destruction ■