

hard-working and dedicated intelligence professionals did very well, given the limited tools and resources they received and the constricting institutional culture and policy guidance they faced. The IC's rank-and-file deserve no discredit for resource decisions and for creating these policies.

Ultimately, as the findings of the Joint Inquiry make clear – though they carefully stop short of saying so explicitly – accountability must begin with those whose job it was to steer the IC and its constituent agencies through these shoals, and to ensure that all of them cooperated to the best of their abilities in protecting our national security. Responsibility must lie with the leaders who took so little action for so long, to address problems so well known. In this context, we must not be afraid publicly to name names, and I do so here. The U.S. Intelligence Community would have been far better prepared for September 11 but for the failure of successive agency leaders to work wholeheartedly to overcome the institutional and cultural obstacles to inter-agency cooperation and coordination that bedeviled counterterrorism efforts before the attacks: DCIs George Tenet and John Deutch, FBI Director Louis Freeh, and NSA Directors Michael Hayden and Kenneth Minnihan, and former NSA Deputy Director Barbara McNamara. These individuals are not responsible for the disaster of September 11, of course, for that infamy belongs to Al-Qa'ida's 19 suicide hijackers and the terrorist infrastructure that supported them. As the leaders of the United States Intelligence Community, however, these officials failed in significant ways to ensure that this country was as prepared as it could have been.