

APPENDIX A

COMMON ABBREVIATIONS

CAP	combat air patrol
CAPPS	Computer Assisted Passenger Prescreening System
CENTCOM	Central Command
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CONR	Continental U.S. NORAD Region
CSG	Counterterrorism Security Group
CTC	Counterterrorist Center
DIA	Defense Intelligence Agency
DCI	Director of Central Intelligence
ESU	Emergency Service Unit (NYPD)
FAA	Federal Aviation Administration
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
FDNY	Fire Department of New York
FFTC	Florida Flight Training Center
FISA	Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act
FISC	Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court
INS	Immigration and Naturalization Service
ISID	Inter-Services Intelligence Directorate (Pakistan)
JCS	Joint Chiefs of Staff
JI	Jemaah Islamiah
JTTF	Joint Terrorism Task Force
KSM	Khalid Sheikh Mohammed
Legat	legal attaché
MAK	Mektab al Khidmat
MON	memorandum of notification
NEADS	Northeast Air Defense Sector
NCTC	National Counterterrorism Center
NGO	nongovernmental organization
NMCC	National Military Command Center

NORAD	North American Aerospace Defense Command
NTSB	National Transportation Safety Board
NSA	National Security Agency
NSC	National Security Council
NSPD	national security policy directive
NYPD	New York Police Department
OEM	Office of Emergency Management (New York City)
OFAC	Office of Foreign Assets Control
OIPR	Office of Intelligence Policy and Review
OMB	Office of Management and Budget
PAPD	Port Authority Police Department
PDD	presidential decision directive
PEOC	Presidential Emergency Operations Center
SEC	Securities and Exchange Commission
TSA	Transportation Security Administration
TTIC	Terrorist Threat Integration Center
UBL	Usama Bin Ladin
WMD	weapons of mass destruction
WTC	World Trade Center
WTO	World Trade Organization

APPENDIX B

TABLE OF NAMES

U.S. OFFICIALS

Madeleine Albright	Secretary of State, 1997–2001
Charles Allen	Assistant Director of Central Intelligence for Collection, 1998–
Richard Armitage	Deputy Secretary of State, 2001–
Larry Arnold	Commander, First Air Force and Commander of the Continental U.S. North American Aerospace Defense Command (NORAD) Region, 1997–2002
John Ashcroft	Attorney General, 2001–
Monte Belger	Acting Deputy Administrator, Federal Aviation Administration 1997–2002
Samuel “Sandy” Berger	National Security Advisor, 1997–2001; Deputy National Security Advisor 1993–1997
J. Cofer Black	Director, DCI Counterterrorist Center, 1999–2002
Joshua Bolten	White House Deputy Chief of Staff, 2001–2003
Robert “Bear” Bryant	Deputy Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation, 1997–1999
George H. W. Bush	41st President of the United States, 1989–1993; Vice President, 1981–1989
George W. Bush	43rd President of the United States, 2001–
Andrew Card, Jr.	White House Chief of Staff, 2001–
Richard B. Cheney	Vice President of the United States, 2001–
Richard Clarke	National Counterterrorism Coordinator, NSC, 1997–2001
William J. Clinton	42nd President of the United States, 1993–2001
William Cohen	Secretary of Defense, 1997–2001

Roger Cressey	NSC counterterrorism official, 1999–2001
Ralph Eberhart	Commander in Chief, NORAD and U.S. Space Command, 2000–
Tommy Franks	Commander, U.S. Central Command (CENT-COM), 2001–2003
Louis Freeh	Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation, 1993–2001
Scott Fry	Director of Operations for the Joint Chiefs of Staff, 1998–2000
Jane Garvey	Administrator, Federal Aviation Administration, 1997–2002
Newt Gingrich	Speaker of the House, 1995–1999
Rudolph Giuliani	Mayor, City of New York, 1994–2001
John Gordon	Deputy Director of Central Intelligence, 1997–2000
Al Gore, Jr.	Vice President of the United States, 1993–2001
Scott Gration	Fry's Chief Information Operations Officer, 2000–2001
Stephen Hadley	Deputy National Security Advisor, 2001–
Dennis Hastert	Speaker of the House, 1999–
Karl Inderfurth	Assistant Secretary of State for South Asia, 1997–2001
Donald Kerrick	Deputy National Security Advisor, 2000–2001
Zalmay Khalilzad	NSC Senior Director for Near East and South Asia and Special Envoy to Afghanistan, 2001–2003
Anthony Lake	National Security Advisor, 1993–1997
Trent Lott	Senate Majority Leader, 1996–2001
Mary McCarthy	NSC senior director for intelligence, 1998–2001
John McLaughlin	Deputy Director of Central Intelligence, 2000–2004
William Milam	U.S. Ambassador to Pakistan, 1998–2001
Norman Mineta	Secretary of Transportation, 2001–
Robert Mueller	Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2001–
Richard Myers	Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, September 2001–; Joint Chiefs Vice Chairman, 2000–2001
John O'Neill	FBI Special Agent in Charge for National Security, New York Field Office, 1997–2001; Chief of Security of the World Trade Center, killed on 9/11
Paul O'Neill	Secretary of the Treasury, 2001–2002
James Pavitt	Deputy Director of Operations, CIA, 1999–2004
Thomas Pickard	Acting Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation, June 25, 2001–September 4, 2001

Thomas Pickering	Under Secretary of State, 1997–2000
Colin Powell	Secretary of State, 2001–
Ronald Reagan	40th President of the United States, 1981–1989
Janet Reno	Attorney General, 1993–2001
Condoleezza Rice	National Security Advisor, 2001–
Bill Richardson	Ambassador to the United Nations, 1997–1998
Thomas Ridge	First Secretary of Homeland Security, 2003–; Homeland Security Advisor, 2001–2003
Bruce Riedel	Senior Director for Near East and South Asia, NSC, 1997–2001
Christina Rocca	Assistant Secretary of State for South Asia, 2001–
Michael Rolince	FBI Section Chief, International Terrorism Operations Section, 1998–2002
Donald Rumsfeld	Secretary of Defense, 2001–
Peter Schoomaker	Commander, Special Operations Command, 1997–2000
Gary Schroen	CIA Station Chief, Islamabad, 1996–1999
Michael Sheehan	Counterterrorism Coordinator, U.S. Department of State, 1998–2000
Hugh Shelton	Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, 1997–2001
Walter Slocombe	Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, 1994–2001
James Steinberg	Deputy National Security Advisor, 1996–2000
Strobe Talbott	Deputy Secretary of State, 1994–2001
George Tenet	Director of Central Intelligence, 1997–2004
Larry Thompson	Deputy Attorney General, 2001–2003
Dale Watson	Executive Assistant Director for Counterterrorism and Counterintelligence, FBI, 2001–2002
Paul Wolfowitz	Deputy Secretary of Defense, 2001–
Anthony Zinni	Commander, U.S. Central Command (CENT-COM), 1997–2000

OTHERS

Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz	Crown Prince and de facto regent of Saudi Arabia, 1995–
Mohdar Abdullah	Yemeni; student in San Diego who assisted two 9/11 hijackers
Sayf al Adl	Egyptian; high-ranking member of al Qaeda military committee
Mahmud Ahmed	Director General of Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence Directorate, 1999–2001
Mohammed Farrah Aidid	Somali warlord who challenged U.S. presence in Somalia in the early 1990s (deceased)

Ali Abdul Aziz Ali	(a.k.a. Ammar al Baluchi) Pakistani; KSM's nephew; financial and travel facilitator for 9/11 plot
Ahmad Khalil Ibrahim Samir al Ani	Iraqi intelligence officer who allegedly met with Atta in Prague, Czech Republic; currently in U.S. custody
Mohamed Atta	Egyptian; tactical leader of 9/11 plot; pilot/hijacker (AA 11) (deceased)
Mohammed Atef	(a.k.a. Abu Hafs al Masri) Egyptian; al Qaeda military commander (deceased)
Tawfiq bin Attash	(a.k.a. Khallad, Waleed bin Attash) Yemeni; senior al Qaeda operative connected to the U.S. embassy bombings, the USS <i>Cole</i> attack, and the 9/11 attacks; currently in U.S. custody
Anwar Aulaqi	U.S. citizen; Imam at Rabat mosque (San Diego, CA) and later at Dar al Hijra mosque (Falls Church, VA), who associated with two 9/11 hijackers
Abdullah Azzam	Palestinian; founder of the Maktab al Khidmat, which provided logistical support to mujahideen in Afghanistan (deceased)
Jamal al Badawi	Yemeni; co-conspirator arrested in Yemen for the USS <i>Cole</i> attack
Said Bahaji	German son of Moroccan immigrant; Hamburg cell associate
Saeed al Baluchi	Saudi; candidate 9/11 hijacker
Fayez Banihammad	Emirati; 9/11 hijacker (UA 175) (deceased)
Abu Ubaidah al Banshiri	Egyptian; al Qaeda military commander until 1996 (deceased)
Abu Bara al Yemeni	(a.k.a. Abu al Bara al Ta'izi, Suhail Shurabi, and Barakat) Yemeni; potential suicide bomber in original 9/11 plot
Ramzi Binalshibh	Yemeni; Hamburg cell member; coordinator for 9/11 plot; currently in U.S. custody
Omar Hassan Ahmed al Bashir	President of Sudan, 1989–
Abu Bakar Bashir	Indonesian; spiritual leader and founder of Jemaah Islamiya, al Qaeda-affiliated terrorist group in Southeast Asia
Omar al Bayoumi	Saudi; assisted two 9/11 hijackers in San Diego, CA
Khalil Deek	U.S. citizen; created electronic version of <i>Encyclopedia of Jihad</i> ; believed to be involved in millen-

	mium plot to destroy tourist landmarks in Jordan
Caysan Bin Don	(a.k.a. Isamu Dyson, a.k.a. Clayton Morgan) U.S. citizen; met two 9/11 hijackers in Los Angeles and San Diego, CA
Zakariya Essabar	Moroccan; Hamburg cell associate
Jamal Ahmed Mohamed al Fadl	Sudanese; al Qaeda member who defected to the United States in 1996
Ahmed al Ghamdi	Saudi; 9/11 hijacker (UA 175) (deceased)
Ali Abd al Rahman al Faqasi al Ghamdi	(a.k.a. Abu Bakr al Azdi) Saudi; candidate 9/11 hijacker; currently in U.S. custody
Hamza al Ghamdi	Saudi; 9/11 hijacker (UA 175) (deceased)
Saeed al Ghamdi	Saudi; 9/11 hijacker (UA 93) (deceased)
Saeed (“Jihad”) al Ghamdi	Saudi; candidate 9/11 hijacker
Hassan Ghul	Pakistani; al Qaeda facilitator; currently in U.S. custody
Abu Hafz al Masri	<i>see</i> Mohammed Atef
Abu Hafz al Mauritanian	Mauritanian; senior al Qaeda theologian
Wadi al Hage	U.S. citizen; al Qaeda operative; Bin Ladin’s personal assistant; convicted in embassy bombings trial
Mushabib al Hamlan	Saudi; candidate 9/11 hijacker
Hani Hanjour	Saudi; 9/11 pilot/hijacker (AA 77) (deceased)
Mustafa al Hawsawi	Saudi; al Qaeda media committee member; financial and travel facilitator for 9/11 plot
Nawaf al Hazmi	Saudi; 9/11 hijacker (AA 77) (deceased)
Salem al Hazmi	Saudi; 9/11 hijacker (AA 77) (deceased)
Ahmad al Haznawi	Saudi; 9/11 hijacker (UA 93) (deceased)
Gulbuddin Hekmatyar	Afghani; founder and leader of the Hizb-e-Islami, a Taliban opposition group; Prime Minister of Afghanistan, 1993–1994; 1996
Saddam Hussein	President of Iraq, 1979–2003
Zein al Abideen Mohamed Hussein	(a.k.a. Abu Zubaydah) Palestinian; al Qaeda associate; currently in U.S. custody
Abu Hajer al Iraqi	<i>see</i> Mamdouh Mahmud Salim
Riduan Isamuddin	(a.k.a. Hambali) Indonesian; operational leader of Jemaah Islamiya; currently in U.S. custody
Ziad Jarrah	Lebanese; 9/11 pilot/hijacker (UA 93) (deceased)
Abderraouf Jdey	(a.k.a. Faruq al Tunisi) Tunisian/Canadian; candidate 9/11 hijacker

Mohamed al Kahtani	Saudi; candidate 9/11 hijacker; currently in U.S. custody
Mir Amal Kansu	Pakistani; extremist who killed two CIA employees at CIA headquarters in Virginia in 1993 (executed)
Hamid Karzai	Interim Leader and later President of Afghanistan, Dec. 2001–
Younis Khalis	Afghani; leader of Hizb-e-Islami; hosted UBL upon his return to Afghanistan in 1996
Khallad	<i>see</i> Tawfiq bin Attash
Wali Khan Amin Shah	(a.k.a. Osama Asmurai) Turkmen; early associate of Usama Bin Ladin; convicted in Manila air (Bojinka) plot
Ibn al Khattab	Saudi; mujahid leader in Chechnya
L'Houssaine Kherchtou	(a.k.a. Joe the Moroccan, Abu Talal) Moroccan; former al Qaeda member who broke with Bin Ladin and became a U.S. government informant
Usama Bin Ladin	(UBL) Saudi; head of al Qaeda
Ibn al Shaykh al Libi	Libyan; head of jihadist training camp in Afghanistan
Ahmed al Nami	Saudi; 9/11 hijacker (UA 93) (deceased)
Sheikh Saeed al Masri	Egyptian; head of al Qaeda finance committee
Ahmed Shah Massoud	Leader of Afghanistan's Northern Alliance, a Taliban opposition group (assassinated Sept. 9, 2001)
Khalid al Mihdhar	Saudi; 9/11 hijacker (AA 77) (deceased)
Khalid Sheikh Mohammed	(KSM) (a.k.a. Mukhtar) Pakistani; mastermind of 9/11 attacks; currently in U.S. custody
Majed Moqed	Saudi; 9/11 hijacker (AA 77) (deceased)
Mounir el Motassadeq	Moroccan; Hamburg cell associate
Zacarias Moussaoui	French; arrested in the U.S. in connection with the 9/11 attacks
Hosni Mubarak	President of Egypt, 1981–
Pervez Musharraf	Leader of Pakistan, 1999–
Abdelghani Mzoudi	Moroccan; Hamburg cell associate
Qutaybah al Najdi	Saudi; candidate 9/11 hijacker
Abd al Rahim al Nashiri	(a.k.a. Mullah Bilal) Saudi; mastermind of USS <i>Cole</i> attack; currently in U.S. custody
Mullah Mohammed Omar	Leader of Afghanistan's Taliban, which ruled most of the country from 1996 to 2001
Abdul Aziz al Omari	Saudi; 9/11 hijacker (AA 11) (deceased)
Muammar Qadhafi	Leader of Libya, 1970–

Fahd al Quso	Yemeni; al Qaeda co-conspirator arrested in Yemen for the USS <i>Cole</i> attack
Sayyid Qutb	Egyptian writer; member of Muslim Brotherhood (deceased)
Eyad al Rababah	Jordanian; Virginia resident who helped Hazmi and Hanjour
Abd al Rahim Ghulum Rabbani	(a.k.a. Abu Rahmah) Saudi; al Qaeda member who worked closely with KSM in Karachi and assisted many of the 9/11 hijackers
Sheikh Omar Abdel Rahman	(a.k.a. the Blind Sheikh) Egyptian cleric; convicted for crimes related to 1993 World Trade Center bombing and 1995 plots against other NY landmarks
Saud al Rashid Ahmed Ressayam	Saudi; candidate 9/11 hijacker (a.k.a. Benni Antoine Noris) Algerian; convicted in millennium plot to bomb Los Angeles International Airport
Mamdouh Mahmud Salim	(a.k.a. Abu Hajer al Iraqi) Iraqi; chief procurement officer for al Qaeda in Sudan; arrested in connection with 1998 embassy bombings
Yazeed al Salmi	Saudi; briefly a housemate of a 9/11 hijacker in San Diego
Abdul Rasul Sayyaf	Afghani; head of the Hizbul-Ittihad El-Islami, and KSM's mentor
Aysel Senguen Nawaz Sharif	German; fiancée of 9/11 hijacker Jarrah Pakistani Prime Minister, 1990–1993, 1997–1999
Marwan al Shehhi	Emirati; 9/11 pilot/hijacker (UA 175) (deceased)
Mohand al Shehri	Saudi; 9/11 hijacker (UA 175) (deceased)
Wail al Shehri	Saudi; 9/11 hijacker (AA 11) (deceased)
Waleed al Shehri	Saudi; 9/11 hijacker (AA 11) (deceased)
Mohamedou Ould Slahi	(a.k.a. Abu Musab) Mauritanian; recruited 9/11 hijackers in Germany
Yazid Sufaat	Malaysian; member of Jemaah Islamiya
Satam al Suqami	Saudi; 9/11 hijacker (AA 11) (deceased)
Madani al Tayyib	Saudi; former head of al Qaeda finance committee
Zuhair al Thubaiti	Saudi; candidate 9/11 hijacker
Fahad al Thumairy	Saudi; Imam of King Fahd mosque in Los Angeles; accredited diplomat at Saudi Consulate in Los Angeles
Hassan al Turabi	Sudan's longtime hard-line ideological leader and Speaker of the country's National Assembly

	during the 1990s
Prince Turki bin Faisal Ramzi Yousef	Saudi intelligence chief prior to 9/11 (a.k.a. Abdul Basit) Pakistani; convicted master- mind of and co-conspirator in 1993 WTC bombing and Manila air (Bojinka) plots
Khalid Saeed Ahmad al Zahrani	Saudi; candidate 9/11 hijacker
Mohammed Haydar Zammar	German citizen from Syria; jihadist; possible recruiter of Hamburg cell members
Ayman al Zawahiri	Egyptian; UBL's deputy and leader of Egyptian Islamic Jihad terrorist group
Hamdan Bin Zayid	Emirati; Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of the United Arab Emirates
Abu Zubaydah	<i>see</i> Zein al Abideen Mohamed Hussein

APPENDIX C

COMMISSION HEARINGS

The Commission held 12 public hearings during the course of its investigation, convening for a total of 19 days and receiving testimony from 160 witnesses. The following is a list of hearings and witnesses in order of their appearance. All witnesses appearing during the 2004 calendar year testified under oath.

FIRST PUBLIC HEARING

Alexander Hamilton Customs House, New York, N. Y.

March 31–April 1, 2003

The Honorable George Pataki, Governor, State of New York

The Honorable Michael R. Bloomberg, Mayor, City of New York

The Experience of the Attack

Harry Waizer, survivor, Cantor Fitzgerald, LP

David Lim, Police Department, Port Authority of New York and New Jersey

Lee Ielpi, Fire Department of New York (retired)

Lieutenant Colonel Brian Birdwell, United States Army

Craig Sincock, United States Army (retired)

Representatives of the Victims

Stephen Push, Families of September 11

Mary Fetchet, Voices of September 11

Mindy Kleinberg, September 11 Advocates

Allison Vadhan, Families of Flight 93

The Attackers, Intelligence, and Counterterrorism Policy

Daniel Byman, Georgetown University

Abraham D. Sofaer, Hoover Institution

Brian Jenkins, RAND Corporation

Magnus Ranstorp, University of St. Andrews

Borders, Money, and Transportation Security

Glenn Fine, Inspector General, U.S. Department of Justice

Lee Wolosky, Boies, Schiller & Flexner LLP

Gerald Dillingham, Director, Civil Aviation Issues, General Accounting Office

**Law Enforcement, Domestic Intelligence, and
Homeland Security**

Michael Wermuth, RAND Corporation

Steven Brill, Author, *After: How America Confronted the September 12 Era*

Zoë Baird, Markle Foundation

Randy Larsen, ANSER Institute for Homeland Security

Immediate Response to the Attacks

Shawn Kelley, Assistant Chief, Arlington County Fire Department

William Baker, American Society of Civil Engineers

Ken Holden, Commissioner, New York City Department of
Design and Construction

SECOND PUBLIC HEARING***Congress and Civil Aviation Security***

Hart Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

May 22–23, 2003

Congressional Oversight

Representative Nancy Pelosi (D-Calif.)

Senator John McCain (R-Az.)

Senator Joseph Lieberman (D-Conn.)

Intelligence Oversight and the Joint Inquiry

Senator Bob Graham (D-Fla.)

Senator Richard Shelby (R-Ala.)

Representative Porter Goss (R-Fla.)

Representative Jane Harman (D-Calif.)

Affected Constituencies

Senator Charles Schumer (D-N.Y.)

Senator Hillary Rodham Clinton (D-N.Y.)

Senator Jon Corzine (D-N.J.)

Senator Frank Lautenberg (D-N.J.)

Representative Jerrold Nadler (D-N.Y.)

Representative Christopher Shays (R-Conn.)

**State of the System: Civil Aviation Security
on September 11**

Jane Garvey, former Administrator, Federal Aviation Administration

Kenneth Mead, Inspector General, Department of Transportation

James May, Air Transport Association of America

Bogdan Dzakovic, Civil Aviation Security Inspector,
Transportation Security Agency

September 11, 2001: The Attacks and the Response

The Honorable Norman Mineta, Secretary of Transportation
Major General Craig McKinley, Commander, 1st Air Force and the
Continental United States NORAD Region (CONR)
Lieutenant General Mike Canavan (retired), former Associate Administrator for
Civil Aviation Security, Federal Aviation Administrator

Reforming Civil Aviation Security: Next Steps

Stephen McHale, Deputy Administrator, Transportation Security Agency
Major General O.K. Steele (retired), former Associate Administrator for
Civil Aviation Security, Federal Aviation Administration
Mary Schiavo, former Inspector General, Department of Transportation

THIRD PUBLIC HEARING

Terrorism, al Qaeda, and the Muslim World
Russell Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.
July 9, 2003

Al Qaeda

Rohan Gunaratna, Institute for Defence and Strategic Studies
Mamoun Fandy, United States Institute of Peace
Marc Sageman, University of Pennsylvania

States and Terrorism

Laurie Mylroie, American Enterprise Institute
Judith Yaphe, National Defense University
Murhaf Jouejati, Middle East Institute and George Washington University
Mark Gasiorowski, Louisiana State University

The Challenge within the Muslim World

Rachel Bronson, Council on Foreign Relations
Steven Emerson, The Investigative Project
Gilles Kepel, Institute of Political Studies, Paris
Dennis Ross, Washington Institute for Near East Policy

FOURTH PUBLIC HEARING

Intelligence and the War on Terrorism
Russell Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.
October 14, 2003

Leadership of U.S. Intelligence

James R. Schlesinger, former Director of Central Intelligence and
Secretary of Defense

John M. Deutch, former Director of Central Intelligence and
Deputy Secretary of Defense

Intelligence and National Security Policy

James B. Steinberg, The Brookings Institution and former Deputy
National Security Advisor

Warning of Transnational Threats

Richard Kerr, former Deputy Director of Central Intelligence

Mary O. McCarthy, former National Intelligence Officer for Warning,
Central Intelligence Agency

John Gannon, Staff Director, House Select Committee on Homeland Security

FIFTH PUBLIC HEARING

Private/Public Sector Partnerships for Emergency Preparedness

Drew University, Madison, N.J.

November 19, 2003

Highlights of New Jersey's Public/Private Sector Partnerships

The Honorable James E. McGreevey, Governor, State of New Jersey

The Challenge of Private Sector Preparedness

John Degnan, The Chubb Corporation

Skyscraper Safety Issues from 9/11 Family Members

Monica Gabrielle, Skyscraper Safety Campaign

Sally Regenhard, Skyscraper Safety Campaign

Public/Private Initiatives Since 9/11

Michael F. Byrne, Director, Office of National Capital Region Coordination,
Department of Homeland Security

Dennis J. Reimer, Oklahoma National Memorial Institute for
Prevention of Terrorism

Richard A. Andrews, National Center for Crisis and Continuity Coordination

Private Sector Experience on 9/11

William Y. Yun, Fiduciary Trust Company International

**Standards for Emergency Management and
Business Continuity**

Glenn Corbett, John Jay College of Criminal Justice

Randall Yim, Director, National Preparedness Team, General Accounting Office

Future Strategies for Private Sector Preparedness

William G. Raisch, Greater New York Safety Council

Peter R. Orszag, The Brookings Institution

James Haviaris, Rockefeller Group Development Corporation

Thomas Susman, Ropes & Gray

SIXTH PUBLIC HEARING

Security and Liberty

Russell Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

December 8, 2003

Intelligence Collection within the United States

Larry D. Thompson, former Deputy Attorney General of the United States

Philip B. Heymann, former Deputy Attorney General of the United States

Stephen J. Schulhofer, New York University, School of Law

Protecting Privacy, Preventing Terrorism

Judith A. Miller, former General Counsel, Department of Defense

Stewart A. Baker, former General Counsel, National Security Agency

Marc Rotenberg, Electronic Privacy Information Center

Preventive Detention: Use of Immigration Laws and Enemy Combatant Designations to Combat Terrorism

Jan Ting, Temple University

Khaled Medhat Abou El Fadl, UCLA School of Law

David Martin, University of Virginia School of Law and former General

Counsel, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Justice

Government Organization and Domestic Intelligence

The Honorable William P. Barr, former Attorney General of the United States

John J. Hamre, former Deputy Secretary of Defense

John MacGaffin, former Associate Deputy Director for Operations,

Central Intelligence Agency

SEVENTH PUBLIC HEARING

Borders, Transportation, and Managing Risk

Hart Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

January 26–27, 2004

The Border Security System Prior to September 11

Mary A. Ryan, former Assistant Secretary for Consular Affairs,

Department of State

Doris Meissner, former Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service,

Department of Justice

An Incident in Florida

Jose E. Melendez-Perez, Inspector, Customs and Border Protection,

Department of Homeland Security

Visas and Watchlisting Today

Maura Harty, Assistant Secretary for Consular Affairs, Department of State

Russell E. Travers, Deputy Director, Information Sharing and Knowledge

Management Department, Terrorist Threat Integration Center,
 Central Intelligence Agency
 Donna A. Bucella, Director, Terrorist Screening Center, Federal Bureau
 of Investigation

The Response to September 11 on the Borders

James Ziglar, former Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service,
 Department of Justice
 Robert C. Bonner, Commissioner, Customs and Border Protection,
 Department of Homeland Security
 Peter F. Verga, Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary for Homeland Defense,
 Department of Defense

Aviation Security on 9/11: The Regulators

Jane F. Garvey, former Administrator, Federal Aviation Administration
 Cathal L. “Irish” Flynn, former Associate Administrator of Civil Aviation
 Security, Federal Aviation Administration
 Claudio Manno, Assistant Administrator for Intelligence, Transportation
 Security Administration

Aviation Security on 9/11: The Airlines

Edmond L. Soliday, former Vice President of Safety, Quality Assurance, and
 Security, United Airlines
 Andrew P. Studdert, former Chief Operating Officer, United Airlines
 Gerard J. Arpey, Chief Executive Officer, American Airlines
 Timothy J. Ahern, Vice President—DFW Hub, and former Vice President of
 Safety, Security, and Environmental, American Airlines

Acts of Courage in the Sky

Nydia Gonzalez, Manager, Southeast Reservations Center, American Airlines

Risk Management after September 11

James M. Loy, Deputy Secretary, Department of Homeland Security

EIGHTH PUBLIC HEARING

Counterterrorism Policy

Hart Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

March 23–24, 2004

Diplomacy

The Honorable Madeleine K. Albright, former Secretary of State
 The Honorable Colin L. Powell, Secretary of State

The Military

The Honorable William S. Cohen, former Secretary of Defense
 The Honorable Donald H. Rumsfeld, Secretary of Defense

Intelligence Policy

The Honorable George J. Tenet, Director of Central Intelligence

National Policy Coordination

The Honorable Samuel R. Berger, former Assistant to the President for
National Security Affairs
Richard A. Clarke, former National Coordinator for Counterterrorism,
National Security Council
Richard L. Armitage, Deputy Secretary of State

NINTH PUBLIC HEARING

Hart Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.
April 8, 2004

The Honorable Condoleezza Rice, Assistant to the President for
National Security Affairs

TENTH PUBLIC HEARING

Law Enforcement and Intelligence
Hart Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.
April 13–14, 2004

Law Enforcement, Counterterrorism, and Intelligence Collection in the United States Prior to 9/11

The Honorable Louis J. Freeh, former Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation
The Honorable Janet Reno, former Attorney General of the United States

Threats and Responses in 2001

Thomas J. Pickard, former Acting Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation
Ambassador J. Cofer Black, former Director, Counterterrorism Center,
Central Intelligence Agency
The Honorable John Ashcroft, Attorney General of the United States

The Performance of the Intelligence Community

The Honorable George J. Tenet, Director of Central Intelligence

Preventing Future Attacks Inside the United States

John O. Brennan, Director, Terrorist Threat Integration Center,
Central Intelligence Agency
Lieutenant General Patrick M. Hughes, Assistant Secretary for Information
Analysis, Department of Homeland Security
John S. Pistole, Executive Assistant Director for Counterterrorism and
Counterintelligence, Federal Bureau of Investigation
James L. Pavitt, Deputy Director of Operations, Central Intelligence Agency

FBI Leadership and Initiatives Post-9/11

The Honorable Robert S. Mueller III, Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation
Maureen Baginski, Executive Assistant Director for Intelligence,
Federal Bureau of Investigation

ELEVENTH PUBLIC HEARING

Emergency Response

New School University, New York, N.Y.

May 18–19, 2004

Alan Reiss, former Director, World Trade Center, Port Authority of
New York and New Jersey

Joseph Morris, former Chief, Port Authority of New York and
New Jersey Police Department

Bernard B. Kerik, former Commissioner, New York Police Department

Thomas Von Essen, former Commissioner, Fire Department of New York

Richard Sheirer, former Director, New York City Office of
Emergency Management

Raymond W. Kelly, Commissioner, New York Police Department

Nicholas Scoppetta, Commissioner, Fire Department of New York

Joseph F. Bruno, Director, New York City Office of Emergency Management

The Honorable Rudolph W. Giuliani, former Mayor, City of New York

Dennis Smith, Author, *Report from Ground Zero*

Jerome M. Hauer, former Commissioner, New York City Office of
Emergency Management

Edward P. Plaugher, Chief, Arlington County Fire Department

The Honorable Michael R. Bloomberg, Mayor, City of New York

The Honorable Thomas J. Ridge, Secretary of Homeland Security

TWELFTH PUBLIC HEARING

The 9/11 Plot and National Crisis Management

National Transportation Safety Board Conference Center,

Washington, D.C.

June 16–17, 2004

Al Qaeda

Mary Deborah Doran, Special Agent, Federal Bureau of Investigation

Patrick J. Fitzgerald, U.S. Attorney for the Northern District of Illinois

CIA Officials

Outline of the 9/11 Plot

Jacqueline Maguire, Special Agent, Federal Bureau of Investigation

James N. Fitzgerald, Special Agent, Federal Bureau of Investigation

Adam B. Drucker, Supervisory Special Agent, Federal Bureau of Investigation

CIA Officials

Military Response on 9/11

General Richard B. Myers, United States Air Force, Chairman,
Joint Chiefs of Staff

Admiral (select) Charles Joseph Leidig, United States Navy,
Deputy Director for Operations, National Military Command Center
General Ralph E. Eberhart, United States Air Force, Commander,
North American Aerospace Defense Command (NORAD) and
United States Northern Command
Major General Larry Arnold, United States Air Force (retired),
former Commander, Continental United States NORAD Region (CONR)

FAA Response on 9/11

Monte R. Belger, former Acting Deputy Administrator, Federal Aviation
Administration
Jeff Griffith, former Deputy Director, Air Traffic Control,
Federal Aviation Administration
John S. White, former Facility Manager, Air Traffic Control Systems
Command Center, Federal Aviation Administration
Benedict Sliney, Operations Manager, New York Terminal Radar Approach
Control, Federal Aviation Administration