# 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

Immigration and Naturalization Service ISID Inter-Services Intelligence Directorate (Pakistan)

**ICS** Joint Chiefs of Staff Iemaah Islamiah II

Joint Terrorism Task Force ITTF **KSM** Khalid Sheikh Mohammed

legal attaché Legat

INS

MAK Mektab al Khidmat

memorandum of notification MON Northeast Air Defense Sector NEADS NCTC National Counterterrorism Center NGO nongovernmental organization **NMCC** National Military Command Center 430 APPENDIX

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
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Assistant Director of Central Intelligence for Col-Charles Allen

lection, 1998-

Deputy Secretary of State, 2001-Richard Armitage

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

41st President of the United States, 1989-1993; George H. W. Bush

Vice President, 1981–1989

43rd President of the United States, 2001-George W. Bush 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

D 0	
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 Colin Powell Ronald Reagan Janet Reno Condoleezza Rice Bill Richardson Thomas Ridge	Under Secretary of State, 1997–2000 Secretary of State, 2001– 40th President of the United States, 1981–1989 Attorney General, 1993–2001 National Security Advisor, 2001– Ambassador to the United Nations, 1997–1998 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 Ara-
	bia, 1995–
Mohdar Abdullah	Yemeni; student in San Diego who assisted two
	9/11 hijackers
Sayf al Adl	Egyptian; high-ranking member of al Qaeda mili-
	tary committee
Mahmud Ahmed	Director General of Pakistan's Inter-Services
	Intelligence Directorate, 1999–2001
Mohammed Farrah	Somali warlord who challenged U.S. presence in
Aidid	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 mujahi- deen 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-

	nium 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	Sudanese; al Qaeda member who defected to the
al Fadl	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 Hafs al Masri	see Mohammed Atef
Abu Hafs al Mauritani	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	(a.k.a. Abu Zubaydah) Palestinian; al Qaeda asso
Mohamed Hussein	ciate; currently in U.S. custody
Abu Hajer al Iraqi	see Mamdouh Mahmud Salim
Riduan Isamuddin	(a.k.a. Hambali) Indonesian; operational leader of
Zied Iennele	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 Kansi	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	see 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 Afghan- istan
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 Tal- iban opposition group (assassinated Sept. 9, 2001)
Khalid al Mihdhar	Saudi; 9/11 hijacker (AA 77) (deceased)
Khalid Sheikh	(KSM) (a.k.a. Mukhtar) Pakistani; mastermind of
Mohammed	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
Mullah Mohammed Omar	Cole attack; currently in U.S. custody 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	Saudi; candidate 9/11 hijacker
Ahmed Ressam	(a.k.a. Benni Antoine Noris) Algerian; convicted in millennium plot to bomb Los Angeles Inter- national Airport
Mamdouh Mahmud	(a.k.a. Abu Hajer al Iraqi) Iraqi; chief procurement
Salim	officer for al Qaeda in Sudan; arrested in con-
	nection 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	German; fiancée of 9/11 hijacker Jarrah
Nawaz Sharif	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

1 .	1	4000
during	the	1990s

Prince Turki bin Faisal Saudi intelligence chief prior to 9/11

Ramzi Yousef (a.k.a. Abdul Basit) Pakistani; convicted mastermind of and co-conspirator in 1993 WTC

bombing and Manila air (Bojinka) plots

Khalid Saeed Ahmad Saudi; candidate 9/11 hijacker

al Zahrani Mohammed Haydar — German citizen from Syria; jihadist; possible

Zammar 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 see 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 APPENDIX 447

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