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