

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 Administration

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 Scopetta, 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. Plaughner, 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

